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HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1801.

NEW EDITION.

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PREFACE.

THE year 1801 is fraught with a greater number of important events than any other that has elapsed since the commencement of the Annual Register. From the Molucca Islands to the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, there was no country or coast that was not a scene of either military preparation or action, or political negotiation.—Across the Atlantic, the agitations in St. Domingo and Guadaloupe perplexed France, and alarmed Britain.

The treaties of peace that ensued were many and various; and these, with the new forms of government imposed on states, formerly independent, were certainly not less important than the actions at sea and land, by which they had been preceded.

To the natives and subjects of Great Britain and Ireland the history of 1801 is peculiarly interesting. The meeting of the Imperial Parliament, and the first effects of the union with Ireland in that assembly; the war in the Baltic with a kindred and hitherto a friendly

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nation; mutual preparation for invasion and for defence on the coasts of France and England; engagements on the French shores, seen or heard from the Cliffs of Dover.—All these objects naturally arouse the attention of the English reader, and may be supposed to occupy, in his imagination, more than their just proportion in that of a citizen of the world.

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To the extraordinary labours of this year, we have added a deduction of the facts and questions that had, for some time, agitated and divided the India House, and has seriously engaged the attention of the legislature.

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THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Meeting of the British Parliament.—His Majesty's Speech from the Throne respecting the high Price of Provisions—and recent Communications from the French Government.—Addresses of Thanks.—Amendments proposed.—Debates.—Proceedings relative to the Dearth of Provisions.—Divers Bills.—Royal Proclamation.—Industry and Zeal of the Legislature in devising Means for alleviating the public Distress.

THE riots which had taken place in many parts of England and Scotland, on account of the high price of provisions, and which have already been noticed in our last volume, were neither so violent nor obstinate as they would have been in countries where there is less moderation of character in the people, and less confidence in means of constitutional relief. The privations and sufferings of the lower orders, that is, of the great mass of the people, and indeed of many who ought rather to be classed in the middling rank, were so great, that every candid mind was less offended at the commotions of the populace, than struck with their forbearance and patience. There were, indeed, not a few men, in the enjoyment or expectation of places under government, who presented to the suffering multitude a frowning and hostile aspect,

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aspect, and who showed a disposition rather to maintain the public tranquillity by that mighty armed force which was now on foot, and distributed in all parts of the united kingdoms, than by the lenient methods of due sympathy, consideration, and assistance. Among the zealots for strengthening the hands of government, at all adventures, by all forcible means, murmurs were heard, that it was now high time for all men of property to look well to their own interests; nor did they hesitate to affirm, that the numerous bodies of volunteers in arms, were fully as necessary for the prevention of internal insurrection, as the repulsion of foreign invasion. Suspicions were entertained by those men, of the alacrity of common soldiers in this cause of coercion. They placed their chief confidence in the volunteers: among whom, indeed, there were not wanting individuals who would have been as ready instruments in the hands of the severest government, for the purpose of restraining and subduing their own countrymen, as for that of repelling external aggression. In short, there were some symptoms of a tendency to a marked and fatal division between men of property or of hopes, and men of no property and no hopes. And if the vigilance, prudence, and moderation, which was exercised, in the prevention or quelling of mobs by the acting magistrates, had not formed a counterbalance to the spirit of violence that was manifested, not by government, but by some of the retainers, and what may be termed the expectants of government, an aspect of affairs might have been suddenly presented, more terrible than any that has menaced this country since the full establishment of regular law and government. For commotions excited by extreme want, however inconsistent with political order, and however fraught with future evils, have nothing in their nature that shocks humanity. All questions of right, and all presages of future calamities, might have been lost in the general tide of sympathy and compassion; which would have given to the popular side the force of moral, perhaps even religious, sentiment.

The solicitude that was shown by individuals of all ranks to alleviate the sufferings of the poor, and the care of government to provide as much and as speedily as possible for their wants, gave consolation and hope to the people. The hand of private charity was still, as it had been, opened liberally. Associations, in cities and parishes, were every where formed, and resolutions taken for the relief of those who stood in most need of assistance. In the month of October, 1800, petitions from the city of London and other places were presented to his majesty to convene the parliament, without delay, that measures might be taken for relieving the distress of the people. The king graciously intimated that he had already given orders for an early meeting of the legislature for the dispatch of business. The parliament accordingly assembled on the 11th of November. The king, in a speech from the throne, declared that it was a tender concern for the welfare of his subjects, and a sense of the difficulties with which the poorer classes particularly had to struggle, from the present high price of provisions, that had induced him to call them together at an earlier period than he had

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had intended. He expressed an earnest desire, that, by their care and wisdom, all such measures might be adopted, as might appear best calculated to alleviate this severe pressure, and to prevent the danger of its recurrence, by promoting the permanent extension and improvement of agriculture. For present relief, he recommended the most ample encouragement for the importation of grain from abroad; attention to frugality, and economy in the consumption of corn; and also to the state of the laws respecting the commerce in the various articles of provision. If it should appear that the evil necessarily arising from unfavourable seasons, had been increased by any undue combinations or fraudulent practices, they would feel an earnest desire of effectually preventing such abuses; at the same time, he was sure, that they would be careful to distinguish such practices from that regular and long-experienced course of trade, which experience had shown to be indispensable, in the present state of society, for the supply of the markets, and for the subsistence of his people. He expressed his concern at the temporary disturbances which had taken place in some parts of the kingdom, which he ascribed to the instigation of malicious and disaffected persons, whose conduct was doubly criminal: as such proceedings must necessarily and immediately tend to increase the evil complained of, while they, at the same time, endangered the permanent tranquillity of the country, on which the well-being of the industrious classes of the community must always depend. His majesty, passing to the subject of the recent communication between him and the French government*, asserted his earnest desire of peace, and lamented that his wishes had been frustrated by the determination of the enemy to enter only on a separate negotiation, in which he could not engage consistently with public faith, or with a due regard to the permanent security of Europe.—Whenever the disposition of the French should afford a prospect of an honourable peace, he would promote it to the utmost of his power; but while such a peace was unattainable, he trusted that his parliament would support him with the same firmness and loyalty which had been signally evinced during the whole progress of a very important contest.—An address of thanks to his majesty for this speech was moved, in the House of Lords, by

The duke of Somerset, who recommended a review of those laws, which either directly or indirectly affected the production and the vending of corn, and, if necessary, to repeal, amend, and improve, such parts of them as might be any ways defective. He had heard it said, that the legislature should let trade take its course, and not endeavour to improve that which always succeeds best, if left entirely to the management of those individuals who are immediately interested in its success. There might, perhaps, he observed, be some foundation for this remark, had the legislature always been indifferent, and consequently impartial, to the concerns of agriculture and commerce; but where much has been done, some-

* Of which an account has been given in our last volume.

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thing more must frequently be done, to render what is already done effectual. Where medicine has been administered, it must be frequently continued. The numerous regulations established in this country with regard to agriculture and commerce, required the frequent attention of the legislature, either to enforce those regulations, or to rescind, amend, and alter them, as a change of circumstances and different states of society might require. With regard to the riots, the pretence for which had been the extreme scarcity, the duke observed, that the folly of such proceedings, on such grounds, might excite pity rather than indignation; but yet that it was for the interest of society, that, if persevered in, the authors of them should not escape. It might perhaps be necessary for their lordships, in the course of the session, to consider of some means for the conviction, or the more easy suppression of popular tumults. He was confident that the farming capital of the kingdom might be increased, agriculture improved, and provisions brought cheaper to market, if the property of the farmer were rendered more secure, by the more effectual prevention of riot, theft, and conflagration; but of these mischiefs he considered theft, though the least conspicuous, as the most prejudicial. The duke, after going over all the topics touched on in the speech from the throne, proposed, or, in parliamentary phraseology, moved an address, containing assurances, corresponding to the observations and sentiments expressed.—The motion for an address to his majesty was seconded by

Lord Hobart. With respect to the leading topic of the speech, the high price of provisions, his lordship observed, that such was the deficiency of the harvest in 1799, that, if the alarm of scarcity had not been rung in the last session, and a motion of a right reverend prelate for lessening the consumption of private families acceded to, the evil felt at that hour would have been considerably aggravated: for, although the agreement proposed in that motion was not signed by all of their lordships, the spirit of it was followed by many who did not sign it, and was attended by the very best effects throughout the country. To that alarm, to the voluntary economy produced by it, and to the compulsory reduction by the increase of price, he ascribed our escape from the severest distress: for it was now known, that had not the harvest of the current year, 1800, been much earlier than usual, the granaries were so completely exhausted, that in many parts of England, the condition of the people would have been most dreadful. From the extension of agriculture, recommended from the throne, much was to be expected; but this was a distant remedy. Present relief was the object to which their lordships' attention was more particularly directed; and the most immediate relief that occurred was importation, invited by encouragement: but that also, he observed, was precarious; and, therefore, what he should rely upon, was, economy at home, and the substitution of other grains to make up the deficiency of wheat. Lord Hobart had seen with concern, in the public prints, and particularly in resolutions of the county of Middlesex, that the high price of corn had been attributed to the war. This he considered as an unfounded

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founded and pernicious doctrine. He showed, that, from the experience of the present war, no man could be justified in maintaining this doctrine: that, if we examined into the periods of former wars and times of peace, we should find the balance of price against the latter; and that, in fact, the fluctuation had always depended on the course of the season. With regard to the latter part of the speech from the throne, he expressed his satisfaction that a period had now arrived, when a government had been established in France, with which his majesty's ministers could enter into negotiations for peace. Though he had voted against treating with Buonaparte, when he made overtures of peace last year, it might not be impolitic to negotiate at present. As to the probable permanency of his government, he was not competent to say much; but he could foresee none, on the permanency of which, all circumstances considered, we should be so well justified in founding our speculations. As far as an opinion could be formed from the public prints, it appeared to be quietly submitted to by the people of France; and that country had now arrived at the situation, in which all others, after similar convulsions, had been placed. He illustrated the truth of this position, by a remark of Mr. Hume's on the successful usurpation of Cromwell. "By recent as well as ancient example, it was become evident, that illegal violence, with whatever pretences it might be covered, and whatever objects it may pursue, must inevitably end, at last, in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person." Whether the house of Bourbon was ever likely to be restored, was a question he would not undertake to discuss. It would be wise to treat with the existing government, and to conclude a peace, whenever it could be effected, consistently with good faith to our allies, and a due regard to the honour and security of this country.

Lord Holland contended that the war was one, though not perhaps the principal, cause of scarcity. Notwithstanding what had been stated by lord Hobart, he feared that scarcity and war were almost necessary companions. He concurred in opinion with the duke of Portland, who, in a letter communicated to the public, condemned the clamour which had been excited against supposed monopolists, and deprecated all attempts to interfere in the operations of the dealers in grain; but with the general conduct of ministers he continued to be exceedingly disgusted. Whether Buonaparte's design be peace or war, he said, the conduct of our ministers gives him uncommon advantages. If his wishes be really for peace, he may be entitled to demand from them greater securities as a test of their sincerity; and, if his secret desire be war, while he professes peace, then, by their former conduct, he may obtain his object, and throw all the odium on them. Look back, said he, to the whole history of the war, and it will be seen, that every point which he had to accomplish, he has been assisted in obtaining by the impolicy of our ministers. Lord Holland moved an amendment to the address, in which there appears to be greater asperity than is usually discovered on similar occasions in the house of peers, or, indeed, in that of the commons. "We should receive with peculiar satisfaction *any*

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proof of his majesty's anxiety to restore the blessings of peace to these kingdoms; but we cannot conceal from ourselves, nor will we, by any ill-timed *flattery*, dissemble from his majesty, that a total change of councils appears to us necessary for the accomplishment of that desirable end, and the re-establishment of peace on any sure or solid foundation." This amendment was seconded by the earl of Suffolk.

Lord Romney said, that the noble lord (Holland) must excuse him, when he declared that he should have thought much of what had fallen from him would have better become the mouth of Lucian Buonaparte in an address to the French convention, than that of a British peer to a British parliament. He had asserted that the present war, and the conduct of it, formed one continued series of ill-success and disgrace. Was there ever any war, in which Britain had ever been engaged, that was more glorious to the British name, more honourable to our flag, or that had afforded so frequent an opportunity for British seamen and their brave commanders to signalize themselves by brilliant exploits? As to negotiation for peace, he saw no reason to think that Buonaparte would not as willingly treat with the present ministers as with others. With regard to the high price of provisions, being a considerable farmer himself, and living in a corn country, it had occurred to him, as a matter of great doubt, whether those purchasers of corn, who bought great quantities, did not do more harm than good? He begged leave also to suggest another regulation in the corn business, which was, that all corn should be brought into the market, and *pitched*, as in former times: by that means every person would be able to judge for himself, whether there was much corn in the market or not; whereas now, while corn was sold by sample, a few growers met in a private room, and nobody knew whether there was much or little at market. In case all the corn so brought into towns, should not be all of it sold on the market day, there should be in each town small granaries or warehouses let at easy rents, in which the unsold corn might be deposited till the next market day.—These hints of lord Romney's undoubtedly were of solid utility, and merited the ready and warm approbation which was bestowed on them by another patriotic nobleman and friend to the poor. This was

The earl of Suffolk. His lordship entirely concurred in opinion with lord Romney, in what he had proposed for consideration on the subject of the scarcity. He also concurred with him in opinion, that the greatest praise was due to our naval officers and seamen. They had, during the war, behaved most gloriously. But here he must stop: he could go no farther. On the contrary, he joined with the noble lord, who moved the amendment, in thinking that our military operations had been, on the whole, ill conducted. His majesty's ministers, he maintained, were highly to blame, for not having instituted an inquiry into several of the military expeditions of the war, which he specified.

Lord Grenville having followed lord Holland over the beaten ground of sincerity or insincerity in negotiation, the alleged connexion between war and scarcity, which he said had been clearly disproved, the

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the convention of El-Arish and other particulars, came to the important point of the difference between treating with Buonaparte now and before the battle of Maringo. If Buonaparte were in that house, said his lordship, and would speak truth, he must acknowledge that the battle of Maringo was the fixing of his power. If he had not succeeded on those plains, he had not now been chief consul of France. If he had not succeeded, he must have been involved in total ruin. If the noble lord would minutely contemplate the posture of affairs at that period, he would find that the power of Buonaparte was suspended by a fine thread, and that his proposition for a negotiation arose not so much from a desire of peace, as to confirm him in his precarious power. Since that time, a succession of events had consolidated his power, and he was now *de facto* ruler of France. On former occasions, his majesty's servants had been embarrassed by their duty, which prevented them from stating to the house all they knew respecting France. At the present moment they felt no such difficulty: and he distinctly declared, that, if the French government were sincerely desirous of peace, it might be concluded on fair and honourable terms. With respect to our ally, it would not be right to say that he had acted inconsistently with his alliance, especially as he had given his assurance that he would not; but if, contrary to good faith, other councils should influence his conduct, then there would be no difficulty in negotiating separately, including, however, those allies who remain with us. Though peace be a great object, though commerce be a great object, yet it was of importance that we should show to the world, that any nation entering into alliance with us, was sure never to be deserted.

The earl of Suffolk asked ministers what steps and proceedings they meant to take to diminish the high price of provisions? He also begged leave to remark, that the number of dragoons was too great, and more than sufficient, as it was not possible to employ them in any other than times of tumult and riot. He recommended the abstaining from brewing, and letting the barley grow solely for the use of the poor. He also reminded the house, of a suggestion which he had offered in a former session, namely, to concentrate all the force in the kingdom, as nearly in the middle of it as possible, and to build vehicles that would hold ten men each, so as to convey 10,000 troops, with little delay, wherever their exertions might be called for. These vehicles, when not otherwise employed, might be sent to fetch fish from the coasts, which would be a considerable relief to the poor and indigent.—On a division of the house there appeared to be five voices for the amendment; and against it fifty: so that the address was carried by a great majority.—A question was now put to ministers by the duke of Norfolk, of the same purport with the earl of Suffolk's, to which no answer had been given. His grace wished to know on what days the subjects contained in his majesty's speech were to be discussed? Lord Grenville said, he could not exactly tell, because it partly depended on the communications that were to be made to the house on the subject of scarcity, and partly on the business before the other house.—

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The duke of Norfolk then gave notice that he would move for the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the present high price of provisions.—Lord Grenville said, it was probable that this would be the same step that ministers might propose.

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In the House of Commons, an address of thanks to his majesty was moved by

Sir J. Wrottesly, who justified all the sentiments expressed in the speech from the throne; but insisted chiefly on the justice and necessity of protecting farmers and other individuals dealing in grain from the insults, abuses, and outrages, of a misguided multitude. His majesty, he observed, in directing them to the consideration of the laws respecting the various articles of provision, had recommended a most important distinction between any practices of that nature, and the long established course of trade, which experience had shown to be indispensable in the present state of society.—An address, corresponding to the different topics and sentiments contained in the speech, being then read, it was seconded by

Mr. W. Dickenson, junior. Mr. Dickenson ascribed the present high price of provisions chiefly to circumstances, which neither the eye of caution could foresee, nor the hand of care prevent. He alluded to two unfruitful years treading hard on the late harvest. At the commencement of the present harvest, there was not a month's consumption in the country. He believed, however, that there were other, though secondary causes of the dearness of provisions, particularly the practices of forestallers, regraters, and monopolists; and if this description of persons could be convicted of heaping artificial on the real calamities of the country, there was, in his opinion, no punishment which the law could inflict too severe. Yet, he candidly admitted, that the legislature should be particularly careful not to apply old or antiquated laws to the fair dealer of the present day; not to confound the unfair monopolist with the merchant, who was necessary for the supply of the markets. Mr. Dickenson, among various pertinent remarks, made some important observations on the evils that had befallen, and must befal, free states, on the dissolution of confederacies necessary to their political existence.

Mr. Dickenson, in conclusion, declared, that he seconded the address: 1st, because it had been moved, in an able speech, by his honourable friend; 2d, because it manifested our duty to our sovereign; 3d, because it asserted the independence and peculiar province of that house to grant the supplies.

Sir Francis Burdett asked ministers how they dared to put into his majesty's mouth that which they themselves and every man in the kingdom knew to be false. Having described the distressful state of the country, which had been brought on by the politics of the ministers, he declared, that, as the address went to approve the conduct of those to whom the public owed all its calamities, he should certainly most strenuously oppose it. For to the war solely, and the enormous taxes which it imposed, sir Francis ascribed the public distress. He considered money and bank notes as so many tickets, entitling the bearer to so many heads of cattle from the graziers, or so many quarters

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ters of corn from the cultivators of the earth. Sir Francis calculated, from the variety and weight of taxes, direct and indirect, that a very small fraction of a nine hundredth part of the produce remained to the cultivator as the reward of all the sweat, labour, and thirst employed upon his capital. The increased price of every thing was to be ascribed to the increase of taxes. Beset with claimants, all industry and produce would soon be at a stand, if the producer did not find out some means to struggle against his destruction. He cannot deny the authority or validity of the tickets to which he must answer: but he disputes their value, that is, he raises his price, and thus gives only five perhaps for that ticket which was issued for ten. The ticket-bearer is then disappointed, and either has his salary raised, or an additional number of tickets for his next service or contract. The same process is repeated: the tickets are multiplied, and the price rises; while the bulk of the nation, who have neither government tickets nor produce, are crushed between the two.

Mr. Robson expressed his disapprobation of the address now moved for by the noble baronet, because it did not hold out to the public the true and deplorable state of the country, and the real cause of the dearness of corn; and, what was nearly as bad, at least to the middling rank of the people, the dearness of every necessary of life. In the course of the three or four last months, he had had occasion to pass through most of the principal counties in England; when he had the pleasure to see plentiful crops, for the most part well got in, and at a small expense. In the month of August, and part of September, every body congratulated him, saying, Now, sir, we must have bread cheap! The finest oats, now about 50*s.* were sold at Huntingdon, the last week in August, at 24*s.* Mr. Robson here stated three facts, which prove how ticklish a thing it is to agitate the public mind. A short time afterwards (after the last week of August) a report appeared in the public newspapers by the board of agriculture: in which it was stated, that in the crop of the current year there had been a very considerable deficiency. Corn immediately began to rise. The people on this became dissatisfied. Tumultuous meetings and mobs seizing the corn, grew into riots. A proclamation of government, in which a scarcity of grain was still more explicitly asserted than in the board of agriculture's proclamation, and very justly showing the mischievous folly of riots, instead of appeasing the people, had a contrary effect: for they considered it as a measure intended not to produce precaution and prudent economy, but merely to encourage and protect farmers, whose interests were the same with those of the landlords and monopolizers *. On the back of that proclamation came a letter, announcing scarcity more forcibly still, from the duke of Portland, and very justly also reprobating and

* It is a remarkable and important truth, that if the conduct of government, or men of rank and power, admit of two interpretations, the people is always sure to adopt that which is the least generous or just on the part of their superiors.

exposing

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exposing the folly and madness of outrage *. These three measures were the immediate cause of the sudden rise in the price of corn; nothing was to be heard but a cry of scarcity, and that in the most plentiful counties. There was no more reason for the dearness of wheat, oats, and barley, than there was for that of coals, butter, leather,

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* In consequence of riots having broken out in Nottinghamshire and Oxfordshire, the duke of Portland, as secretary of state for the home department, wrote two official letters: the first, dated Whitehall, Sept. 20, 1800, and addressed to the town clerk of Nottingham: the second, dated Whitehall, September 29, 1800, and addressed to his grace (the duke of Marlborough) the lord-lieutenant of the county of Oxford. It was to the second of these that allusion was made by Mr. Robson, and other speakers, on the present subject. In that letter, the secretary of state represented to the lord-lieutenant, that from the best information that could be obtained of the state of this year's crop throughout the kingdom, it appeared that the produce of it, according to the most sanguine estimation, was not likely to amount to more than three-fourths of an average crop; and that it was thought by many, that it would not exceed three-fifths. But, be the amount what it might, it was, he heard, but too well ascertained, that the whole produce of the grain, in the best of years, was not equal to the annual consumption of the country. He solicited the exertion of the lord-lieutenant's great influence and authority to combat and counteract the prejudices which had operated no less powerfully than unfortunately in disposing a very large portion of the community to believe, that the late scarcity was artificial, and had been owing to the views and speculations of certain interested and rapacious men, who took advantage of the difficulties and distresses of the times, to enrich themselves at the expense of the public. It was too evident, that it had become indispensably necessary, without loss of time, to counteract and expose the folly and injustice of assuming a right to set prices on commodities brought to market, of fixing a maximum for the articles of daily consumption, of entering into associations (which was much the same thing) not to give more than a certain price for any of those articles; of obliging the growers of corn, or dealers in other articles of provision, to sell at a given price, and, what was worst of all, going in bands to the houses of farmers, and forcing them by threats and various other modes of intimidation, to enter into engagements to bring and dispose of their commodities at a given price: a proceeding which he could not advert to, without urging his grace to prosecute, without distinction, all persons concerned in it, in the most vigorous, exemplary, and impressive manner, which the power, military as well as civil, under his command, should most speedily and effectually enable him to do. If any thing could contribute to realize the absurd notion of corn being destroyed for the purpose of keeping up the price of it, that would be more likely to effect it than any other mode that could be adopted, as the life of a person possessed of corn, or any other article of provision, is rendered no less insecure than his property; and it would constantly tend, as all acts of violence do, to the concealment much more than the production of the commodity; the consequence of which must be obvious, in the injury resulting to landed property, by discouraging tillage and every sort of agriculture, and by locking up, or diverting into another channel, that capital which is perhaps more beneficially employed in the improvement of land than any other mode. It would so impede and obstruct the great source and means of the daily supplies of the country, that famine would soon be substituted in the place of scarcity, and that distress and confusion would soon ensue, which would debilitate its inhabitants, and enervate all its powers, more fatally than any calamity with which it had been visited for centuries, or than is to be met with in the annals of history. If the employment of property was not secure; if every man did not feel that he had power to retain what he possessed, as long as he pleased, and dispose of it at the time, in the manner, and at the price he chose to fix upon it; there must be an end of confidence, of industry, and of all valuable and virtuous exertion. The interest of the people, as well as the law, required, that the markets should be free and open.

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and hay. But Mr. Robson was not at a loss to account for the increased price of every thing, nor for the evils under which the people laboured. It was to be ascribed to the accumulation of taxes, and to the enormous increase of fictitious property. The farmer was compelled, to a certain degree, to raise the price of every thing that his farm produces. He could not help himself. The plain truth was, that the weight of taxes had absolutely subdued the pride, not only of the farmer, but of all the independent part of the country. He repeated to the chancellor of the exchequer, and would repeat it at all times, that, in his administration, the middling part of the people ceased to exist. Much had been said concerning the poor. He was at a loss to know what the poor meant. The denomination of the poor now extended half up the ranks of life. Persons possessing from 200*l.* to 700*l.* a year, must now be classed among the poor. Another cause, which contributed considerably to the dearness of every thing, was the immense quantity of fictitious paper circulated by country banks. Mr. Robson knew an instance of a farmer who owed a large arrear of rent, but who would neither pay it nor take his corn to market. Being pressed on the subject by his landlord, he went to the next town, to one of those banks, of which there were several in most towns, borrowed the money on his note at two months, paid his rent, and withheld his corn from market. To such a height did country banks, of which there were from four to five hundred in the kingdom, extend their fictitious currency, that he had in his possession one of their notes, promising to pay a guinea in BANK-PAPER *. On the whole, Mr. Robson was of opinion, that relief to the public, not only in bread, but all the necessaries of life, was to be expected from nothing but peace. The permanent taxes, the vast increase of fictitious property, the determination of ministers not to make peace, and their inability to manage the affairs of the nation, were the causes of our calamities.

Mr. Hardinge said that he had paid every attention to the observations both of the honourable baronet

* By one other movement, in the progress of artificial money, a note might be given, payable in a note of one or other *country bank*, and so on, possibly, through other stages. Money, which was wont to be a physical, has now absolutely become, for the most part, and indeed almost wholly, a metaphysical thing: and the Act of Faith, in which it consists, is expressed with great propriety on the thinnest paper, the exility of which seems to hold a middle place between the spiritual world and the solidity of matter. According to certain theorists in political economy, the facility of multiplying the signs of wealth is of no consequence, because money will always find its level. True, it will do so. But when? The poor labourer does not find it so easy a matter to raise his wages, as government, and other bodies, or great capitalists do, to pour down upon him a fresh inundation of paper money. It is a noted observation, *corrupto optimi pessima.* This engine of paper money, a novelty in Europe though not in India and China, it was that established, in the form of *assignats*, the French revolution. The same engine, indeed, enabled Britain to resist it: a happy effect, if its contagion could not otherwise be evaded; but a dangerous facility of going to war in general. This facility of creating money, may, in its farther progression, be pushed into consequences that shall bring at last a thing good, if used with moderation, into utter discredit.

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and the gentleman who had supported him: but that they had mistaken the object of the motion, which related merely to the propriety of an address to his majesty, thanking him for his paternal care in calling his parliament together, to consider the state of the country, and provide the means of relieving the people from the effects of the present scarcity. Many of their observations were of weight, but they would be brought forward with more propriety when the subjects to which they referred came regularly under discussion. The propriety of keeping close to the question in hand, was also shown at great, and indeed superfluous length, by

Mr. Pitt, who, with equal perspicuity, pointed out the two great and leading topics which the speech from the throne comprehended: the difficulties under which the public now laboured from the scarcity and high price of provisions; and the recent communications that had taken place with the enemy, which brought under review, in regular progress, the important question of peace or war. For the relief of the public he proposed two modes, which, he thought, were simple, practical, and safe. One was, an increase of importation: the other, a combination of economy with the use of substitutes for wheaten bread. From these methods, a much better effect was to be expected than from any experiments, which, on pretence of correcting the evil of monopoly, might strike at the freedom of trade, and circumscribe the application of industry and capital. Their agreeing to these preliminary steps by no means precluded farther inquiry or more deliberate determination. But, at present, no procrastination, no inquiry could be necessary to authorize the expedients proposed. With regard to the causes by which the present high price was occasioned, there were many opinions. Some, whose motives were unquestionable, and the humanity of whose views was conspicuous, might have been led, with the purest intentions, to give encouragement to the errors, and a sanction to the clamours, which had prevailed on the subject. Others, whose motives were more doubtful, had endeavoured to combine two distinct grounds of prejudice, and to connect the scarcity with the war. But the causes of the scarcity, and the policy and necessity of the war, were distinct subjects of consideration: and none would blend the discussion of the latter with that of the former, who wished only to communicate information, and suggest remedies. But, since the question had been started, he begged leave to suggest a few general observations, which seemed completely to overthrow the argument of those, *if there were any*, who seriously imputed the dearness of provisions to the war. Here Mr. Pitt, from a comparison of the prices of grain, at different periods of the present war (though the argument would be strengthened by a review of former wars), endeavoured to show that war, of itself, had no evident or necessary connexion with the dearness of provisions, and that there could be no reason for combining the scarcity with the distinct inquiry respecting the policy of the war. The reasoning of Mr. Pitt, on this subject, was the same with that of lord Hobart, in the house of peers, already stated. As to the extent of the deficiency of the late harvest,

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harvest, Mr. Pitt thought that it would be no less rash than unnecessary to give any opinion. For the practical purposes proposed, a knowledge of the precise deficit was not necessary. Last year the crops failed almost generally, in all the articles of provision. This year wheat was short: but several other kinds of grain, particularly barley, plentiful, both at home and abroad. By a due application of the resources of economy, and other substitutes, joined to importation, he was satisfied that the supplies of the year would be made to answer the consumption. He trusted, therefore, that one of their first measures would be to go into a committee of the whole house, to fix the quantum of bounty to be allowed on importation; that a select committee should be appointed to investigate the subject of the scarcity, to which committee should be referred the part of the king's speech which referred to that point; and that the committee should, from time to time, propose such measures as, from the result of their inquiries, should seem fit to be adopted.

On the question of peace or war, Mr. Pitt only observed, that, as the papers on which the merits of the case must be decided, were not yet before the house, it would be premature.

Mr. Sheridan did not object to the address; nor yet would his honourable friend, the honourable baronet near him (sir F. Burdett,) had he given close attention to it: for it contained nothing respecting the sincerity of ministers in their efforts to restore peace, but merely an approbation of that sentiment of the speech which expressed his majesty's determination to use all means that might be in his power to restore such a peace to the country, as would be consistent with its peace and security. The suggestion respecting importation, seemed to be well-timed and politic. And the language of the speech and of the minister this night, respecting an examination of the laws against forestallers and regrators, was wise and manly. But from the minister he differed widely in his opinion, that the high price of provisions was neither caused by the war nor the taxes. He allowed that, at a moment like the present, it was incumbent on the house simply to look at the question of the high price of provisions, and to inquire how the evils which the country suffered could be most effectually cured. Yet they ought not to skim over matters: it was indeed the duty of the house to find the people bread; but it was also their duty to find them the truth. If war was not alone the cause of the present high price of provisions, it was certainly an aggravation of the sufferings of the people. The war then ought to be discontinued. Would it be denied, that while there were 300,000 men employed in the navy and army, there was not, of necessity, a considerable waste of provisions? Every man employed in such service, caused, perhaps, a consumption of five times as much provisions as was used by the same number of individuals in time of peace. But, supposing it to be only four, or three times greater, and that they added the probable waste in the navy, the transport service, the victualling office, in barracks for the cavalry, regulars, and volunteers, and in general throughout the domestic departments of our warlike system, there was

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was no man, any thing in the shape of a minister, who would deny that war was a cause of scarcity and dearness. "God forbid," said Mr. Sheridan, "that the war should not be the cause! for, if it be not, the situation of the country is deplorable indeed. But, believing that the war is the great cause of our sufferings, I hope that the house, finding it to be so, will seriously be inclined to seek relief in peace.

The great argument made use of to show that there was no necessary connexion between war and the scarcity and dearness of provisions was combated, and, it would appear, with not a little success, by

Mr. Nichols. It appeared, he said, that, in 1793 and 1794, the agents of government had introduced too little corn from abroad: from whence arose a scarcity in the spring of the year 1795. The scarcity that took place in May, in that year, was not the consequence of a bad harvest in the preceding year, but of an insufficient introduction of corn in the years 1793 and 1794. The agents redoubled their activity in the subsequent part of 1795. But the introduction was still unequal to the demand. And the consequence was, that the minister signified to the corn-dealers that he would abandon the trade, if they would resume it. The dealers did resume it, and they imported, in the year 1796, a greater quantity than the most sanguine imagination expected; the importation amounted to 1,086,000 quarters. What was then the conduct of the minister? The corn-dealers say, he broke his faith with them: for, with 70,000, which his own agents had bought, and 80,000 more, which he had on hand, he sunk the price of corn 2*l.* 16*s.* a quarter. This gave birth to the second famine. This second famine, which took place in 1799, was early enough foreseen. Why was not corn sent for? The dealers would not trust the minister. They did not send while the Baltic was open. If they had, the famine would not have broken out so early. But the minister had said that, in 1797 and 1798, corn was cheap. True, but we had, in 1796, an importation of 1,086,000 quarters.

With respect to the frugality recommended in the consumption of corn, Mr. Nichols observed, that we had to pay from 3 to 400,000 soldiers and sailors, who certainly consumed more than they did in those employments from which they had been taken by the war. The men under sir Ralph Abercromby were fed with animal food, and with wheaten bread. In the cottages which they inhabited before the war, their usual fare was, perhaps, neither animal food nor wheaten bread. If they were Irishmen, their food consisted of potatoes and butter-milk. If Scotchmen, they had lived, probably, on oatmeal, barley bread, and herrings. If, therefore, they meant to adopt a real system of frugality, they must reduce the number of their soldiers and sailors.

Mr. Grey agreed with his honourable friend, sir Francis Burdett, that there was no effectual remedy but a peace. Mr. Pitt had concluded that war could have no peculiar effect to enhance the price of provisions, because wheat was cheap in 1797. But it appeared, he said, from the most authentic documents, that all kind of corn was dearer during the course of the seven years' of war, than during the seven years that preceded it; and that, exclusively of the

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the years of particular scarcity, which we had lately experienced, wheat had been eight shillings per quarter higher during the five cheapest years of the present war, than it was between 1788 and 1793. War must necessarily tend, in various ways, to produce symptoms of scarcity. Thousands were taken from laborious and productive occupations to run idle, and consume what was produced by the labour of others. If each of them did not exactly eat five times as much as he did before, yet certainly the effect which his change of life produced, in bringing on a scarcity, was as great as if he did: for, instead of living on vegetable diet, he must now be fed with beef and mutton; and it was well known that it required five times as much land to maintain one who lives on animal food, as another who tastes nothing but vegetables. Steadily adhering to the principles of Dr. Adam Smith, he maintained that, in general, all apprehension from unfair dealing was chimerical. In time of peace, he said, the demand is constant and regular; and speculation never will be extended beyond the wants of the community; but, in time of war, fleets are to be victualled, armies suddenly called together are to be fed, and expeditions are frequently fitted out: thus a spirit of adventure is generated, and enterprising men may take advantage of the facility of raising money to speculate to an unexceptionable degree. After a philippic on ministry, through whose misconduct, he asserted, the war had been unsuccessful, and every enterprise failed, while the country, through their continued attempts, groaned under a heavy load of misery, he concluded with moving, as an amendment, "That the last sentence in the address should be left out." That sentence was as follows: "Concurring with your majesty in the anxiety which your majesty entertains for the speedy restoration of peace, we shall see, with the utmost satisfaction, the adoption of all such measures as may best tend to promote and accelerate that desirable end, consistently with the honour of this country, and the true interests of your people; but if the disposition of our enemies should continue to render it unattainable, without the sacrifice of these essential considerations, we shall feel it our indispensable duty to persevere in affording your majesty the most zealous and effectual support, and to omit no exertion on our part, which can enable your majesty, under the blessing of Providence, to conduct this important contest to a prosperous conclusion, and to maintain, unimpaired, the security and honour of these kingdoms." Mr. Grey, in the course of his speech, had "called particularly on that right honourable gentleman, who had the more immediate direction of military affairs, to inform them, in what manner he had used the trust confided in him? He had the uncontrolled command of a mighty army, and he professed his sense of the necessity for executing some great enterprise; yet, in no one instance, had he gained an object which could, in any degree, contribute to the success of the war." In reference to this,

Mr. secretary Dundas said, that he had come down to the house with the persuasion that he should not have any occasion to speak. He found it, however, impossible to resist the peremptory call upon him by

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by the honourable gentleman, who had thought proper to challenge him to rise, at a time when he not only had not intended to mention, but expected that no other person in that house would have mentioned, any other matter than that which was mentioned in the speech from the throne. Mr. Dundas then set about showing, by an enumeration of various circumstances, that the war was successful, that we had made many and great conquests, fully cooperated with our allies, and prevented an addition to the naval force of our enemies.

Mr. T. Jones, among various observations, characterized by an air of naiveté or simplicity, made one which appeared to make a very general impression on the house. After wishing, in the most solemn manner, that his majesty's ministers had as sincere a regard to the welfare of the people, as our good and gracious, humane, benevolent, and religious sovereign, he said, "The fact is, his majesty's ministers now ride on the popularity of the king; and, I fear, they will risk that popularity." He owned, that it had been his practice, however disagreeing with them, to look up with respect to the political talents of the chancellor of the exchequer, the right honourable secretary, and others of his majesty's ministers; "but they are not," said Mr. Jones, "the men that we imagined them to be: I begin to think they are not above the common level of men; I think many of the gentlemen I occasionally act with equally fit for the trust they enjoy; and I do not think I overrate myself in saying, that, for my country's cause, I would enter into office, on a conviction that I might do as well; I could not well do worse, God knows." On the whole, as to the former part of the address concerning the poor, and his majesty's paternal regard for their welfare and comfort, Mr. Jones voted for it sincerely. As to the latter, breathing war, he totally deprecated it.

The amendment being negatived without a division, the original address, with very few dissenting voices, was carried. No time was lost by the legislature in its endeavours to provide remedies for the public distress. The commons, on the following day, voted bounties on the importation of various kinds of grain. Three several bills were brought forward: the first, to prohibit the use of grain in the distillation of spirits, and the manufacture of starch; the second, to prohibit the exportation of rice; and the third, to enable his majesty to prohibit, for a limited time, the exportation of provisions. A select committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of the high price and best remedies for the scarcity of provisions: the reports of which might, from time to time, suggest hints for salutary laws, or useful regulations. A select committee, for taking into consideration and making their reports, on so much of his majesty's speech as related to the dearth of provisions, was also appointed by the house of lords. Besides the three bills just mentioned, a bill was introduced into the house of commons, granting a bounty on the importation of all sorts of grain: a bill for permitting herrings, or other fish, the produce of the fishery carried on in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and on the coast of Labrador, to be imported in any British ship, without payment of duty, for

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for a time to be limited: a bill for making a better provision for the subsistence of the poor, and for enabling the overseers to employ a certain portion of substitutes in the distribution of parochial relief: a bill for permitting the importation of Swedish herrings, duty free. The motive assigned for the introduction of this bill, was, the scanty supply and high price of the produce of the Scotch fisheries, in the present year, in the article of herrings. In former years, when this species of fish was cheap, and not unfrequently so low as 4*s.* 6*d.* per barrel, upwards of 150,000 barrels were annually exported to the colonies in the West Indies: but now, when the fish was not so plentiful, the necessities of the country requiring the whole produce of the home fishery as supplementary provision for the poor; and the price so high as 15*s.* per barrel, the country could not afford the necessary supply of this article, at an eligible price, to our West India colonies. It therefore became necessary to permit the importation of Swedish herrings, duty free, for that purpose. This could not at all operate to the discouragement of our home fisheries in this article, as the price of their produce was now so extremely high, as to hold out the most ample encouragement for the most extensive exertions of those employed in the fishery. A bill was also introduced, allowing the use of salt, duty free, for the purpose of preserving herrings and other fish, in bulk, for a time limited, extending the allowance on pilchards cured and exported, to all pilchards now cured, whether exported or sold for home consumption; and for the protection, for a time limited, of persons engaged in the herring fishery, or in going to, or returning from, the fishery, from being impressed into his majesty's service: a bill for granting to his majesty the sum of 50,000*l.* for the purchase of stores of herrings, and distributing them for the use of the different parts of the kingdom: a bill, prohibiting the manufacture of flour or meal from wheat, or any other grain, finer than a specified standard, commonly called the brown-bread bill: and another bill, for continuing an act made in the last session of parliament, entituled, "An act to prohibit, until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, any person or persons from selling any bread which should not have been baked a certain time, namely, four-and-twenty hours."

All these bills having passed through the usual stages in both houses, were, in the course of December, by the royal sanction, passed into laws. A resolution was also agreed to by the house of commons, "That, for the purpose of affording temporary relief to such parishes within the bills of mortality, and the parishes adjacent thereto, as were unable to support their own poor, it was necessary that a local fund should be raised by a general tax or rate on such parishes, under certain regulations and exceptions, as might be thought expedient; and an humble address was presented to the king, desiring that his majesty would be graciously pleased to advance, out of the civil list, such sum as his majesty might think necessary for the immediate relief of the poor in the parishes of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green; Mile End New Town; and Christ Church, Spital

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tal Fields: with assurance to his majesty that the commons would make good the same."

The distress to which the poor of the three parishes just mentioned, who were obliged to make application for parochial relief, were reduced, through the inadequacy of the funds provided for them, was very great. By the statements given in, by the parish officers, to the committee appointed to consider of the high price of provisions, it appeared that they were not able to grant pecuniary aid to so much as one-tenth part of those persons, who would be likely now to receive it, if they resided in their own parishes; and also, that to the few whom they relieved, on account of their being entirely out of work, they gave only about one-fifth or one-sixth part of the sum commonly granted in London to persons in like circumstances. It was also stated, that the workhouses were, at that time, exceedingly crowded. In Mile End New Town, out of 860 houses, which were assessed to the poor rates, no less than 529 were supposed to pay a yearly rent of only 11*l.* and under; and, among these houses, many which paid a rent of less than 3*l.* per annum. The proportion of small houses, or of houses divided into small lodgings, in the two other parishes, was also very great. The rental of all these parishes, charged to the poor rates, was about 60,000*l.* The rental of the metropolis, including the parishes of St. Pancras and Mary-le-bonne, was estimated at about fifty times that sum, or about three millions. The number of persons in the three parishes, who were of the poorer class, and were not now relieved, were computed at between 16 and 17,000, forming, unquestionably, a large portion of the poorer labourers and manufacturers of various kinds, who wrought both for the city, and for other parts of the country.

The legislature, in providing a remedy for this evil, were not under the necessity of having recourse to any new law. By a clause in a law of the 43d year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, entituled, "An Act for the relief of the Poor," it was enacted, that, if the justices, charged with the execution of that act, should perceive that the inhabitants of any parish were not able to levy among themselves sufficient sums for the purposes of the act, "then two justices might tax, vote, and assess, any other of other parishes, or out of any parish within the hundred where the said parish was situated, to pay such sum and sums of money to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor parish, as the said justices should think fit." This clause, which had, in several instances, been acted on, afforded a clear proof, that it was not the intention of the laws, that parishes burdened in a particular manner with poor, should be so far insolated from all others, as never to call on them for relief; and that even whole counties are considered as liable, if necessary, to be charged with contributions, in order to ease contiguous parishes.

Thus the paternal care of the legislature was seen to extend to all classes of men in all situations; and thus the people of England were emphatically taught to consider the welfare of their neighbours as their own. The sum that might be wanted for the relief of the three poor and populous parishes above mentioned,

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tioned, until the season of next harvest, was estimated at 20 or 30,000*l*. At the same time that the parliament laboured with great diligence, by all means, to provide, or point out means by which the deficiency in the crops of the present, and the last year too, might be supplied, they judged it to be very expedient that all classes should be called on by the authority of him, whose benignant character and exemplary conduct well entitled him to be considered and called the father of his people, to observe the greatest economy in the use of all kinds of grain. A proclamation for this end was issued by his majesty, on the 3d of December, 1800, in consequence of a joint address from both houses of parliament.

In the course of the parliamentary inquiries into the causes and best means for the remedy of the scarcity, or the dearth of provisions, the idea that first occurs to the people of all countries, of restraining the very high exactions of the venders of grain, by compulsion, was adopted by a senator certainly not deficient in intelligence, any more than in an active zeal for the prosperity of his country, and the well being of his countrymen: though, on the present occasion, our praise must be limited to the purity of his benevolent intentions. It was to be expected, that in times of great distress, sentiments of tender sympathy would be eminently displayed among that order of men, whose hereditary rank and possessions, by a thousand recollections and anticipations, connected them more closely with the whole family of Englishmen, than those whose wealth is new, and acquired by means of a general commerce with all nations, and, in too many instances, at the expense of the great body of the people. There was, accordingly, in the concern that was shown for the sufferings of the poor, in this calamitous year, by the nobility and old gentry, something peculiarly anxious and parental; and which was displayed both in their public appearances and private sacrifices. The very sound of a *maximum* is naturally and justly an object of suspicion and alarm. Yet, in proposing a kind of modified maximum, the earl of Warwick clearly preferred the relief of the people to his own private interest. In the house of lords, November 14, on the subject of the state of the last crop,

The earl of Warwick said, that, from the strictest observation, he could positively declare, that on his own lands, not only those which he occupied, but throughout the whole of his neighbourhood, the late harvest was remarkably abundant. He could also assure the house, that the farmers were making two hundred per cent. profit! He was aware of the right which every man had in the disposal of his property, as well as the protection in that property to which he was entitled from parliament. Yet it would be admitted by all their lordships, that men employed as labourers, and particularly labourers in agriculture, had a right to receive as much wages as would maintain themselves and families: but so far from this being the case in his neighbourhood, he had known labourers to receive eight or nine shillings a week from farmers: a sum so insufficient for their support, that their families were actually starving. And yet these farmers were gaining twice more than they were, by their own acknowledgment, entitled to.

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Those who demanded and received upwards of twenty shillings a bushel for their corn, candidly owned that they would be contented with ten, provided that other farmers would bring down their prices to that standard. What then was to be done? If he might venture to give his opinion on so delicate a subject, he would certainly propose an exception to the general rule of protecting men in the absolute disposal of their property. In short, he would recommend the adoption of a *maximum*, by which no wheat should be sold at a higher price than ten shillings per bushel. Although, under any other circumstances, he should be hostile to a measure of this kind, yet, situated as the country was at present, he conceived it absolutely necessary.

Lord Grenville agreed with the earl of Warwick, that the price of labour was by no means sufficient for the support of the labourer and his family; and also that men ought to receive so much wages as should supply them with all the necessaries of life. But how the distresses of those people were to be relieved, was a question of great difficulty. With respect to what the noble earl had said concerning the abundance of the harvest in the particular district where he resided, no general conclusion, either as to abundance or scarcity, could be drawn from that assertion. As to the maximum proposed, he should never hear that word mentioned in the sense in which it had been used that day, without expressing the disapprobation he must feel at hearing that measure recommended, which of all others would have the most injurious and dangerous tendency, and which was most of all likely to defeat its own object. In every country where it had ever been adopted, it was found productive of the most dreadful mischief and danger.

The house having again entered on the subject of the scarcity of corn, on the 17th of November, the earl of Warwick, having apologized for the use he had inadvertently made on a former occasion of the word *maximum*, took the liberty of saying a few words in justification, not of the unfortunate word that he had dropped, but of the principle on which he had grounded his argument. He still contended that the gains of the farmers were enormous. He spoke from what he knew. The crops in his country, and for a district of 400 miles that he had travelled, were apparently most plentiful. He had sent his steward among the farmers, his own tenants, to remonstrate with them, and inquire why corn could not be sold at a cheaper rate. He brought him no very satisfactory answer. His lordship then took his horse, and, in order to make the necessary inquiry, rode among them himself: when the farmers admitted, that wheat might be sold at a much lower price, and yet afford them a competent profit; and that they would willingly subscribe their names to an association to sell their corn at a reduced price, if other farmers would do the same. He, as a farmer, believed that there was corn enough in the country to meet its wants, if any means were taken to compel the corn growers to bring it to market, and dispose of it at a reasonable profit: but as to corn-factors and great growers of corn, who would most likely be the witnesses called before the committee, they were interested in misleading them, and therefore their testimony ought not to be implicitly relied on.

The idea of resorting at all to the

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the principle of a maximum, on such an occasion as the present, was reprobated by the lord chancellor in the strongest terms. It was dangerous, he said, in the extreme, to hold forth such doctrines, or to inculcate that even the smallest proportion of relief was to be expected from their application.

This subject of the dearth of provisions, and the mode of relief by a compulsory reduction in the price of wheat, was resumed by the earl of Warwick, in the house of lords, on the 5th of December. That by the laws of England, all property was secure, as had been justly set forth by the lord chancellor, when the present question was under their lordships' consideration, he admitted: and also, that the security of property was a maxim not to be lost sight of in any government. But he observed, at the same time, that the laws of England did not protect property acquired by fraudulent and nefarious means. They did not protect the acquisitions of highwaymen. And he defied any one to show, on the statute books, the recognition of any such profession as that of corn-factor. On the contrary, the law spoke of persons employed in agriculture, as labourers or farmers: but the name of corn-factor was not to be met with. He did not deny the utility of middle-men to transport grain from one part of the kingdom to the other, in such proportion as it might be wanted: but he was of opinion, that they should be licensed, and be obliged to deal only on commission, and not permitted to trade on their own account. He appealed to the reverend bench, whether there was any passage in holy writ, which, any more than the law of the land, recognised or sanctioned the business of a corn-factor! On the contrary, Providence had given the productions of the earth for the use of its inhabitants: the grower and consumer had a joint property in the produce of the field; and it was never intended that ten or twenty men sitting together, should be enabled to buy up the greatest part of the grain necessary for the subsistence of the people, and regulate the price of provisions as suited their own interest. With regard to the particular maximum he had proposed, it was very different from that French maximum which some of their lordships had so justly reprobated. The French maximum went to all kinds of articles for the sustenance of man, which were to be paid for in a paper of no value, and therefore struck at the very root of property. His suggestion, on the contrary, tended to secure to the farmer a fair and liberal profit, at the same time that it would secure the public from those impositions, which, in his conscience, he believed to be the source of all the present distresses of the country. As a proof that the scarcity was artificial, lord Warwick mentioned a splendid instance of disinterestedness and generosity in a tenant of his, whose name shall go down with his noble landlord's, as far as the Annual Register may penetrate into the recesses of future times. Mr. John Radford, of Warwick, during the whole of the scarcity, sold his corn at half the market price. Lord Warwick had also conversed with several other farmers, who all declared that the prices were exorbitant, but that they had a right to the same prices as their neighbours. In proof that the scarcity was artificial, lord Warwick adverted to another circum-

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stance. Within these few months, there had been no less than 400 convictions throughout the country for forestalling, regrating, and monopolizing. What was the effect of this? A man of the name of Rusby was convicted. The price of oats, from fifty shillings per quarter, fell from day to day, till it came down so low as seventeen shillings and sixpence. It had since risen no doubt, as the impression made by that verdict had gradually worn off.

On the general subject of dearth and distress, lord Warwick observed, that it was the duty of every good government to find employment, if possible, for those who were willing to labour. There were numerous waste and uncultivated lands in the country, which the legislature, in its wisdom and discretion, might portion out to the poor, who he was sure would be willing and desirous to cultivate them. The enclosure and cultivation of the waste lands was also warmly recommended by the earl of Moira, and other speakers in both houses. The earl of Warwick said, that neither he, nor any of their lordships, could have any other inducement than the public good, and the wish to alleviate the sufferings under which the people now laboured. These alone were the motives which induced him to move the following resolution: "That from the 10th of this instant, December, to the 10th of June, 1801, the magistrates of every county in the kingdom shall be authorized, upon such evidence as may be given before them, to affix a certain determinate price, not only on corn, but on agricultural labour."

Lord Grenville most readily assented to the truth of what had been declared by lord Warwick, respecting the motives that had induced him to move the resolution: but he reminded him that the subject of it had already been twice discussed in that house, and almost unanimously condemned. Lord Grenville proceeded to condemn it a third time, on the old ground of protection of property, and the dangers to be apprehended from any violation of that principle. — The motion was then put, and negatived *.

In

* As this is not a question of party or politics, but of great and universal importance, and even anxious concern, the few observations we take an opportunity to make on this interesting subject will not be imputed as an indication of any improper bias in our narrative. Though the idea of fixing a maximum for corn was justly disapproved, as tending to aggravate, in the long run, instead of alleviating the public distress, yet, if there really was no scarcity, a matter which appears to us to be doubtful, there was something monstrous in idle capitalists, whether in the character of gentlemen farmers, corn-factors, contractors for government, or other denominations, *muzzling the ox that treads* out the corn, and rolling in luxury, while the actual cultivator of the soil, with his family, wanted bread. The laws, that support such a state of society are not to be violated, but they may be gradually modified and changed. Though the suggestion of a restriction on the price of grain be rejected, might not the idea of licensing corn brokers, and restraining them from dealing on their account, be adopted and improved?

In all civilized nations, in proportion as they are industrious and commercial, there is a progressive disjunction and divorce between accumulated capital and personal labour. Every one, who has got money, becomes unwilling to work, and speculates on the labour of others. There is a multiplication of master farmers, master carpenters, master tailors, master shoemakers, master chimney-sweepers, and master artificers of all sorts. It was this disunion between capital and labour, and this growing

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In the reports of both houses of parliament, there are many useful hints of means both for enlarging the resources and economizing subsistence. In both houses there appeared a sincere and anxious co-operation, both for the relief of the present pressure, and preventing the recurrence of a similar calamity in future. A measure, intimately connected with the prevention of such recurrence, was introduced into parliament by

Mr. Abbot, on the 19th of November, 1800 This was a bill for ascertaining the population of Great Britain. To Mr. Abbot it had long been a matter of surprise and astonishment, that a great, powerful, and enlightened nation, like this, should have remained hitherto unacquainted with the state of its population: the knowledge of which must be serviceable for so many important purposes of wise legislation and good government, and without

growing disposition to speculation, that, by sapping the industry, formed one of the leading causes of the decline and fall of the seven united provinces. The most healthy, happy, virtuous, and prosperous state of society, is that in which the union between personal industry, and capital acquired by personal industry, is the longest and the most effectually preserved. What has been the main cause of the wretchedness of the Irish and the Highlanders of Scotland? The midsmen of the former; and the tacksmen of the latter: the letting and subletting of land without end. In order to strike at the root of the great cause of the dearth of provisions, discourage monopolization of land, and combination, which is monopolization, in circulating its produce. All idle speculation on the productive labour of others, beyond what is necessary for the transference of various articles from one place to another, is an interception of the bounty of heaven falling on the earth in dews and rains, and fruitful seasons, intended by Providence to fill the hearts of men with food and gladness.

To such speculation there is indeed, as just observed, a natural tendency in the progression of society: which cannot, with impunity, be altogether quashed, or even rudely checked. It is the duty of legislatures to provide some palliative and counterpoise to an evil, which grows out of what is, to a certain extent, good. The idea proposed by lord Warwick of licencing and regulating the conduct of corn-dealers, appears to us to be highly worthy of all approbation. This measure, adopted and executed with due consideration, might, in the natural progress of ideas, be found to have a connexion with other measures of wise and salutary improvement: among which, one of the first would probably be, to discourage and restrain the excessive monopolization of land, and on the other hand to encourage and enable, by all practicable, safe, easy, and gentle means, the actual cultivators of the ground, to become cultivators on their own account, and venders too of grain, directly, in markets to the people. This last measure has been explained and recommended to legislatures more than twenty years ago, with great learning, ability, wisdom, and prudence, by the author of "*An Essay on the Right of Property in Land*," who is now well enough known to be professor Ogilvie, of the university of Aberdeen; and since also, by Mr. Newte, of Tiverton, in his "*Tour in England and Scotland*," who, after acknowledging the great merit of the ingenious professor, confirms his doctrine, and shows its practicability and advantage by various new illustrations. Their doctrine, we are happy to find, appears to gain ground. It has been espoused and ably maintained by other writers.

As to the enclosure, division, and cultivation of waste lands, recommended by lord Warwick and other friends to their country, the great difficulty here, is, that poor labourers have not a capital, which is necessary for that purpose. To this a complete remedy is proposed by general Fullarton, in a pamphlet, addressed to lord Carrington. Let a bank be established for lending money to the cultivators of land on registered mortgages, or what, in the northern part of this island, is called heritable security,

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which no country could avail itself of the full extent of its resources, or effectually and permanently provide for its wants. "But, sir," Mr. Abbot continued, "in times like these, when the subsistence of the people is in question, this knowledge becomes of the highest importance. It is surely important to know the extent of the demand, for which we are to provide a supply; and we should set about obtaining it immediately, not only for the uses of the current year (for which it must necessarily come late,) but also for the year that is to follow; a consideration inseparably connected with the former, and to which we are bound to look forward with all its possible circumstances. It is important also to obtain this information, for the purpose of knowing whether one of the chief causes, which, for the last thirty years, has made this country cease to export, and obliged it to depend for succour on its neighbours, is not an increased and increasing population; because this may fix our opinions not only upon the necessity of extending our scale of agriculture, but may serve also to show us the degree and point to which that extension must necessarily be carried: and if it be true that we have three millions of acres in this island fit for the plough, and hitherto uncultivated, we may see in what proportion we are called upon to render them most profitable for the public subsistence; and whatever the plan and arrangement to be devised for preventing the recurrence of this evil, which his majesty in his speech has so earnestly exhorted us to provide against, the extent and nature of the population of Great Britain must form a primary object in all such considerations.

"Assuming, therefore, that the measure which I am proposing is right in itself, and that the present times call upon us to carry it into effect, I will take the liberty of stating to the house what lights we have derived from the transactions of former times to guide us in the subject before us, and what sort of results we have hitherto obtained, before I proceed to submit to the consideration of the house what appears to me to be the most advisable course for our own conduct at present.

"Some numerations of the people of England appear to have been made in former times by public authority, but certainly with particular views, and for limited purposes. In the reign of Edward III, we have a subsidy roll for England, county by county, from whence the population of that period is estimated at 2,353,000 souls.

"In the reign of queen Elizabeth, the privy council called upon all the bishops for certificates of the number of families in their respective dioceses; and the population of that period is estimated at about 5,000,000. In the reign of James I, the bishops, in like manner, certified the number of communicants and recusants; and the people are estimated to have amounted at the restoration to 6,500,000. From these and other documents, such as the military musters, assessments, and parish registers, many private persons of skill and learning have estimated the people of England to have amounted, at the revolution, to about 7,000,000. Some desponding men have asserted, that the population afterwards decreased by a million

million and a half, between the revolution and the peace of Paris in 1763, although there is now good reason for believing that it has really increased in that interval by 2,000,000. And, strange as it may appear, even the best opinions of modern times, and each of them highly respectable, estimate our present numbers, according to one statement, at 8,000,000; and, according to other statements, formed on more extensive investigation, and (as it appears to me) a more correct train of reasoning, showing an increase of one-third in the last forty years, the total number now cannot be less than 11,000,000.

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"As to Scotland, that country was estimated, I ought rather to say numbered, very accurately in 1755; but it was done by private inquiry; and that process has been since repeated with great industry, showing also a considerable subsequent increase, in that country, of about one-fourth within the same period of time.

"But, in Ireland, where the means of calculation for this purpose have been more serviceable even than in England, the public opinion on the question, as applied to that country, is, nevertheless, still fluctuating to a very considerable extent. It is plain, therefore, that all these inquiries and estimates, proceeding without authority, upon such imperfect data, have terminated, as might be expected, in nothing but unsatisfactory conjecture; and different persons, reasoning even upon the same data, continue to give us very contradictory results.

"This being so, it remains for us to decide what should be done by us. Unquestionably, in my opinion, we are called upon, by every motive of general policy, and still more by the urgent pressure of our present circumstances, to do as other great nations have done, and substitute certainty for conjecture, and, instead of approximation, have the fact.

"It was the policy of the famous De Witt, in his day, to reduce all these fundamental points to a certainty; and the merits of his administration, at least for the internal politics of his country, have been allowed by all men. In Holland, this measure has been again recently executed. In Sweden, a regulation to the same effect was established so long ago as the year 1749, and is still in force. In Spain, a complete census has been twice taken during the present reign; *viz.* in the years 1786 and 1787. In America, it was taken in the year 1791; and the United States have again directed the same process to be carried into execution upon a still more extensive plan. And why should this great and powerful country choose to remain in ignorance of its most important concerns, when, by an instantaneous measure, it can at once dissipate every doubt?

"The means and the modes by which we may accomplish this object, appear to be obvious and easy; and I should propose to follow the course taken by this house in the year 1785, for obtaining information upon a point not foreign to this inquiry, I mean the poor rates. All that will be necessary, will be to pass a short act requiring the resident clergy and parish officers in every parish and township to answer some few plain questions, perhaps four or five, easy to be understood, and easy to be executed, which should

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should be specified in a schedule to the act, and to return their answers to the clerk of the parliament, for the inspection of both houses of parliament. From such materials, it will be easy (following the precedent of 1787) to form an abstract, exhibiting the result of the whole. This abstract may, of course, show not only the total number of inhabitants in the whole and every part of the kingdom, but may also show the proportion borne by the agricultural class to the other classes of his majesty's subjects; and by showing the increase or diminution of baptisms, burials, and marriages, from the latter of which, I mean the marriages, of which the registers are much more comprehensive, complete, and important, we shall have a correct knowledge of what concerns our increasing or decreasing demands for subsistence. And although we may find that an increased population adds to our strength in war, it is evident that it requires a vigilant attention to the means of supporting it.

"Sir, let me ask, if parliament had thought fit, in antecedent times, to adopt this course, and if such a result as I have described were now before us, should we not think such knowledge most valuable in discussing our plans of present and future policy for the subsistence of the people? And unless we ourselves institute such an inquiry at present, we shall not only forego it for our own loss, but we shall also deprive those who are to come after us of the assistance which they might derive from the positive knowledge of our state, and still more from a subsequent repetition of the same measures, and a view of their comparative result.

"Entertaining these sentiments upon this important subject, I have thought it my duty, sir, to bring the matter fully and distinctly before the house; and I shall therefore move for leave to bring in 'a bill for ascertaining the population of Great Britain.'" — This motion, seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, being agreed to, the bill was brought into the house on the day after, and, through the usual stages, carried into a law.

To the urgent business of providing a supply of food for the nation, a helping hand was lent by the directors of the East India company; who, with the concurrence and approbation of his majesty's ministers, on the 28th of August, 1800, sent directions to their governments in India to afford every encouragement to individuals to send rice and other grain to England, engaging that the ships so employed should be allowed to carry out return-cargoes, as had been allowed formerly to country ships; and, on the 30th of September, in order to encourage as large an importation as possible, before the next harvest should begotin, they sent farther directions to India, authorizing such ships as brought three-fourths of their tonnage in rice, to bring also such other goods as are usually imported into this country, with an indemnification, in case rice should be under certain prices here on their arrival. And they afterwards offered to grant licences to any ships, to be sent from this country to the East Indies, for the purpose of bringing home rice, on very liberal conditions, but under the express stipulation, that the ships should be cleared out from the custom-house before the 1st of December, 1800, or from any port in the

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the East Indies before the 1st of September, 1801.

But, of all the modes of relief afforded to the poor, or rather the ordinary class of the people, that which was adopted by the directors of the bank of England, in their conduct towards their servants, is entitled to the highest praise, and furnishes an example every way worthy of imitation. They made a very liberal addition to the salaries of their numerous clerks and other servants. In ministering to the wants of the people, in the way of donation or charity, there is something humiliating to self esteem, and something, too, that has no indirect tendency to relax industry, and weaken a confidence and pride in self-exertion. The step taken by the bank was not liable to either imputation. It may be remarked, at the same time, that the conduct of the bank was no more than justice. For, if, by their enormous issue of paper money, they lessen the value of the old guinea, it was fit that they should, in some measure, make up to their servants that disadvantage.

Having thus given some account of the proceedings of parliament respecting the scarcity, we proceed to those relating to the other great topic comprehended in his majesty's speech; the important question of peace or war.

CHAP.

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CHAP. II.

Motion in the House of Commons for Papers respecting the Evacuation of Egypt—negatived.—Motion for the same Purpose in the House of Lords —negatived.—Motion in the House of Commons for a separate Peace —negatived.—Motion in the same for a Dismissal of his Majesty's Ministers — negatived. — Navy and Army, and other Estimates. — Supplies granted for three lunar Months. — Ways and Means. — Army Returns.— Army and Navy Sedition Bill. — Suspension of Habeas Corpus — Alien Bill. — Prorogation of Parliament. — Proclamation respecting the Composition and the Meeting of the Imperial Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. — New Arrangements required by that great Event.

ON the 13th of November, 1800, copies of the correspondence between his majesty's ministers and the French government, respecting overtures towards opening a negotiation for peace *, were presented to the house of lords by the secretary, lord Grenville, and to the house of commons by Mr. secretary Dundas. — On the 18th, as no motion had been made by ministers for taking that correspondence into consideration,

Mr. T. Jones begged the attention of the house to the subject of the evacuation of Egypt; a subject to which he had already called that attention last session, and which had now become, by the incapacity of his majesty's ministers, the bone of contention between England and France, and the stumbling-block of peace. From the correspondence on the table, it was evident that those counsels which opposed the evacuation of Egypt by the invading army, presented a very serious obstacle to the conclusion, and even to the negotiation of a peace. Of the two points most insisted on by France, and which operated as impediments to peace, one was the demand of sending succours to Egypt; and it remained for the house to inquire, why that difficulty had not been precluded, by accepting the terms of the convention agreed on by general Kleber and the grand vizier, and guarantied by the sanction of a general officer. Mr. Jones, after six motions that he had made on the 23d of July, last session, on the subject of the evacuation of Egypt, were read by the clerk, said, that the object of his motion this day would be, the production of a letter, on the subject of which almost the whole

* The substance and result of that correspondence is given in our last volume, History of Europe, p. 213; and the correspondence itself in the Appendix.

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of the voluminous correspondence which he held in his hand turned. Having read a number of extracts from the correspondence, and particularly lord Grenville's instruction to Mr. Hammond, for holding a conference with Mr. Otto, on the subject of the proposed armistice between Great Britain and France, he asked if sir Sidney Smith was not joined with his brother Mr. Spencer Smith, as joint plenipotentiary of Great Britain at the court of Constantinople? Had he not power to treat at Acre? Did not ministry know, that, in conjunction with the bashaw Ghezzar, sir Sidney offered to convey the French out of Egypt, individually or in the aggregate? Did his majesty's ministers, previous to January 24, 1800, countermand the orders under which, it was presumed, he acted from the beginning of May in the preceding year, as if not warranted in his conduct? Did they, to prevent a repetition of such conduct, express their anger within the eight following months, or even some time after he had acceded to the convention? Did not lord Elgin, before and since the present year, instruct sir Sidney Smith to get the French out of Egypt by all possible means? Was not the intention of the court of London, not to ratify the original treaty, sent immediately to general Kleber in the first instance? Ought it not to have been sent to the French general through sir Sidney Smith? Ought not our ally, the Ottoman Porte, to have had the earliest notice? And, farther, did not La Constance galley deliver the letter of lord Keith, first to Kleber, at Alexandria, and then proceed with the same instructions to sir Sidney, who was on duty at Cyprus? What was the consequence? Did not eight or nine thousand of our good allies perish in the field? Was not the very existence of the Ottoman government threatened at its centre? In Mr. Hammond's letter to lord Grenville, after the conference with Mr. Otto, which letter referred, almost in every line, to Egypt, there was this particular assertion, "Mr. Otto added, that he would not conceal from me, that the reinforcement which France intended to send to Egypt amounted to 1200 men, and that the supply of military stores consisted chiefly of 10,000 muskets. The language of Mr. Otto, in this part of our conversation, and of Mr. Talleyrand's letter, appeared to me to be so decisive and peremptory, that I was induced to ask of him, distinctly, whether I was to understand, that this stipulation was a point from which the French government would not recede? Mr. Otto replied, that, in his opinion, the French government would not recede from it." Mr. Jones having recapitulated the whole of the correspondence, moved, "That the letter alluded to in general Kleber's letter to the Kaimakan of the sublime Porte, be now laid on the table of that house."

Mr. Pitt replied, that it would be hardly possible for his majesty's ministers to comply with the object of the present motion. It would be a very difficult thing for government to undertake for the production of a letter referred to in one from general Kleber to the Kaimakan, even supposing the representation given of it to be true, and the description of it in the motion proper, which it was not. But the answer he had to give to the

thereasoningof the honourable gentleman was exceedingly short. The motion appeared to be altogether unnecessary. He was not aware of any good end that could be answered, nor of any blame that could be fixed on ministers, in consequence of a French general being referred to a letter, which, evidently, on the face of the transaction, must have been written before government was acquainted with the convention alluded to having been signed by any British officer. The letter, therefore, could not state any new fact: nor had Mr. Jones offered any thing in addition to what he had urged unsuccessfully in the last session of parliament. As soon as it was known in England, that the French general had the faith of a British officer pledged to him, and was disposed to act upon it, instructions were sent out to have the convention executed, though the officer in question had, in fact, no authority to sign it. The contents of lord Keith's letter were far from being a secret. It was printed, quoted, and universally known in July last, when Mr. Jones brought forward a question on the same subject, which the house thought proper to negative. The next thing for the house to consider, was, in what manner the present subject was connected with the late correspondence between France and this country relative to an armistice. By the observations accompanying the motion, it was shown, that, in making the proposal, the French government meant to derive great advantage from the relief it might be enabled to send both to Malta and Egypt; a relief which it could not hope for, while our fleets and armies pursued their operations against them: and thus, it was evident that France set great value on reinforcing those places, which we had an equal interest in preventing them from doing. As we had, since the convention of El-Arish, taken Malta from the enemy, we were, in a degree proportionate to the importance of that island, masters of preventing them from sending any reinforcements to Egypt, the maritime places of which were, besides, blocked by our fleets. So far then it was plain, that, in respect to Egypt, France was not on higher ground, now that we were in possession of Malta, than it was at the time when general Kleber first entered into the capitulation. And he could not conceive what it was that gentlemen thought they could complain of. When parliament considered the conduct of his majesty's ministers, in refusing to acquiesce in a convention which they did not know to have had the sanction of a British officer, it should discuss that conduct with a reference to what was the state of Kleber's army at the time; with a reference to the condition of the war in Italy at the beginning of the campaign, when it was extremely doubtful whether the issue might be favourable to one side or the other; and most of all in this doubtful state of the termination of the contest, with a reference to the effect which such a reinforcement as that of the army of Egypt might be likely, under all the circumstances, to have on the war on the continent.

Mr. Grey, in answer to these positions, respecting the position of Kleber's army, the state of the belligerent armies in Italy, and the existing circumstances of the war, all

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all together, said, that the present motion did not preclude the consideration of any of these topics, but only asked for such information as would enable the house to judge of admiral Keith's instructions. It was not to be supposed, that the present motion would stand alone; but, if carried, be followed by others of a more comprehensive nature. With respect to sir Sidney Smith's powers, it was not necessary for him to be specially instructed, either to sanction or to reject a convention. Sir Sidney was the British officer commanding on the spot. And nothing was more undeniable, than that every military commandant had power to accept any stipulations, which his prudence might direct him to agree to with the enemy, without having any special authority for the purpose. On such occasions, government were bound, in good faith, to admit what their officers stipulated: and, if it were otherwise, the consequences would be subversive of those principles on which war was now conducted between civilized nations. On these and other grounds, Mr. Grey defended the propriety and the necessity of the motion: which he considered as a preliminary step to farther inquiry into the conduct of ministers on this important and interesting subject. M. Grey's observations on the powers of sir Sidney Smith, were supported by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Hobhouse. Mr. Sheridan observed, that the house of commons could not, without a neglect of its duty, omit entering into an inquiry into the matter before them: for he held it as a principle, which should never be lost sight of, that when an officer, either general or admiral, was employed, to take it for granted, that whatever such an officer did in name, and on the behalf of the country he served, was done according to his instructions, until the contrary was proved; otherwise nations could never confide in any proposal. Mr. Tierney said, that it was a part of the national compact to regard officers under government, abroad upon service in time of war, as having a certain portion of power, to be exercised according to their discretion, for the purpose of alleviating, or perhaps putting an end to, the horrors of war. What was observed by Mr. Hobhouse, had a reference to what had been asserted by Mr. Pitt, who had spoken a second time in explanation, on the present subject. Mr. Pitt said, that, before the order to lord Keith went out, there was no supposition that sir Sidney Smith was then in Egypt, nor that he would be a party to the treaty between the Ottoman Porte and the French general. When he did take a part in that transaction, it was not a direct part. He did not exercise any direct power: if he had done so, he would have done it without authority. He had no such power from his situation: for he was not commander-in-chief. Large powers, for obvious reasons, must be given to a commander-in-chief, subject to the discretion of the person with whom they were intrusted. But that neither was nor ought to be the case with every officer of inferior station. Such person, however great his talents, should not go beyond a specified point; for otherwise he might treat for whole provinces, and counteract his superior in command. But Mr. Hobhouse

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house observed, that, if even a subordinate officer, intrusted with the direction of a particular enterprise, entered, as sir Sidney Smith had done, into a convention, which, strictly speaking, he had no powers to conclude, many examples could be found, of cases in which the commander-in-chief thought himself bound to ratify what the subordinate officer had done, and in which government had ratified the consent of the commanding officer. Was not this the case at Cape Nicola Mole, when general Whitlock, though a subordinate officer, without any specific powers, and without the consent of the commander-in-chief, agreed to a convention which general Williamson, the commander-in-chief, afterwards thought himself bound to ratify, and which was afterwards ratified by government? An objection had been made to the form in which the motion was worded. This, indeed, Mr. Hobhouse did not think quite so accurate, and recommended it to his honourable friend to make some alteration in it.

Mr. Yorke, after observing that the motion was not of a parliamentary form, because parliament could have no power over a letter which must be in the possession of general Kleber, expressed his astonishment that any one could have the confidence to say, in that house, that the British fleet was in the least degree injured by that which took place, on our behalf, in Egypt; and that the more especially after we had been in possession of the intercepted French correspondence on that subject,

Mr. Percival said, that the English, after the orders from government had been communicated to them by lord Keith, had done nothing to break the treaty. The English committed no act of hostility. But the French, on receiving the communication from lord Keith, had chosen to break it themselves. If there was any breach of faith, it was on the side of the French. When government heard that the French had trusted and acted on the belief that this country would consent to the convention, it sent out orders not to ratify, but to respect it. With regard to the motion before the house, he could not recollect that he had ever heard one supported by less argument. He readily allowed, that the publication of a letter was not a sufficient means of information for the purpose of founding on it any specific motion. But, if this was the intention, the supporters of the motion ought to have argued from the contents of the letter, that it would afford ground on which to rest a motion.

Mr. Jones, as a proof that this country was a party in the convention of El-Arish, stated, that it was an article in this, that passports should be given to the French by the Porte, and by its allies, Russia and England. As to the form of the motion, said Mr. Jones, I am prepared. On such occasions as these, I generally go doubly armed, and now move, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that copies of all letters from the commander-in-chief of the fleet in the Mediterranean to general Kleber be laid on the table of this house." This motion was rejected by 80 noes against 12 ayes.

The repeated miscarriage of Mr. Jones's motions, in the house of commons,

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commons, did not discourage lord Holland from moving, on the 23d of December, 1800, in the house of lords, the production of certain papers relative to the evacuation of Egypt. His lordship adverted to the circumstances of the treaty of El-Arish, and concluded, from the information suffered to transpire, that Kleber had necessarily broken the convention for his own security; which unhappy affair had had a material effect on the late negotiations. He censured the conduct of ministers in the whole transaction, as guided by a narrow system of policy, which, in order to grasp at little advantages, suffers occasions of important aggrandizement to go by. Being therefore persuaded that the present tenure of Egypt by the French was owing to the misconduct of his majesty's ministers, and was a principal obstacle to our enjoyment of the blessings of peace, he thought it a duty incumbent on him to call for such papers as would tend to throw light on the subject. He therefore moved,

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, entreating that his majesty would be graciously pleased to order that there be laid before the house, a copy of the powers granted to sir Sidney Smith, on his mission to the Sublime Porte:

"Copies of all letters written by the English ambassador at Constantinople to sir Sidney Smith, during his stay at Acre and El-Arish:

"Copies of the instructions sent out by his majesty's ministers to the commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean fleet:

"And copies of all letters written by the commander-in-chief to any of the French generals commanding in Egypt."

Lord Grenville, on the question being put, said, that he feared no contradiction in asserting, that the continuance of the French army in Egypt was not occasioned by the breach of the convention of El-Arish; that they had practised a deception on the Ottoman government, and amused them with hopes of a negotiation which they broke. He was unwilling to say much of the conduct of a person who was now no more: but he was compelled to declare, that nothing could have been more unjustifiable than the perfidious conduct of general Kleber, in the attack he afterwards made on the army of the grand vizier by surprise. That general had been guilty of the violation of the treaty of El-Arish, by declaring afterwards that he would evacuate it, with *several variations* which circumstances rendered necessary: whilst his aide-de-camp had assured the Kaimakan, that general Kleber would execute the engagements as soon as transports arrived. He really believed that, among all the instances which Great Britain had given during this war of good faith, if he was called on to select one out of the rest, he should be inclined to pitch upon this very resolution of the British government to abide by the convention entered into between the Turks (not the British government) and the French at El-Arish.

Lord Hobart entreated the house to consider, what was the state of affairs on the continent of Europe at that time, and what might probably have been the consequence, if 20,000 seasoned troops, flushed with success, had been permitted to come from Egypt, and join the French army on the continent? Had the

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the result of such an addition to the French force been similar to what was unfortunately the result of the late campaign in Italy, he would ask what blame would not, in that case, have been imputed to the conduct of ministers, in permitting the French army to evacuate Egypt, and join their forces in Europe? The eagerness of lord Holland to speak farther on this subject being restrained by the chancellor, the house divided: when the motion was negatived by twelve votes against two.

Of a debate involving so deeply the character of the British government and nation, we have given a fuller account than might have been warranted, had not their good faith been loudly arraigned both abroad and at home. It is not our manner to interrupt our brief narrative, whether of facts or reasonings, by reflections, yet, on the present occasion, we cannot help remarking, that the good policy of our government, in the whole of their conduct respecting the convention of El-Arish, was as little censurable on the ground of policy as on that of good faith. The conduct of all ministers ought to be strictly watched; and, in this country, it still happily is so. Some charges, however, would be spared, if it were duly considered that ministers possess, on great political questions, the best means of information, and the best opportunities of contemplating events and councils in all their bearings. As, on the one hand, the public prosperity is sometimes ascribed to government, when it is purely the work of fortune; so they may be sometimes right when they are thought wrong by those whose positions do not command a view of the whole of the passing scenes to be taken into consideration.

On the subject of that part of his majesty's speech which related to the late negotiations for peace, a motion was made in the house of commons, on the 1st of December, by

Mr. Sheridan, who, instead of pointing out with minuteness, as he had once intended, where ministers had been guilty of insincerity, where of prevarication, where of hypocrisy, and where of weakness, endeavoured to prove, from the past conduct of our allies, and their present views, that we ought to disentangle ourselves from all continental connexions as soon as possible, and, by entering into a separate negotiation, conclude a separate peace. In doing this, he laid down two propositions, and established upon these two separate conclusions. The first proposition was, that, from the commencement of the confederacy, there had existed, in the different states which composed it, a mercenary spirit, a sole view to private aggrandizement, the grossest and most shameful insincerity. The conclusion from hence was, that we should withdraw from it, and avoid the obstacles which it threw in the way of peace. The second proposition was, that there appeared the strongest ground to suspect, that in all the negotiations for peace which ministers had carried on, although they might not have thwarted their plenipotentiaries, although there might have been conditions to which they would have acceded, still that they had never sincerely wished for success, and never sincerely lamented the want of it. The inference from this was plain. Since the same ministers remained in office, the interference

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ference of parliament was necessary. That alone could alter their intentions, counteract the mischiefs which their views were calculated to produce, or afford the least chance of salvation to the country. Mr. Sheridan, having made a variety of observations in support of his propositions, said, that a solid peace could be concluded only on the principles of one man. Who that man was, it was needless for him to mention. All right to interfere with the internal concerns of other nations must be disclaimed: and for commanding due respect to the constitution, they must trust to the good sense and loyalty of the people, and disdain the idea that jacobinism could make any impression on England. He concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, humbly to assure him, that they had taken into their most serious consideration the papers relative to the negotiation for peace with France, and that the result of their reflections on that important subject, founded as well on due examination of the documents now referred to them, as on experience of the past conduct of most of his majesty's allies, was an humble but earnest desire, that his majesty would omit no proper opportunity which might arise, consistently with the good faith ever preserved on the part of his majesty, of entering into a separate negotiation with the government of France, for a speedy and honourable peace: and, farther, to implore his majesty not to sanction any new engagements which should preclude such a mode of negotiation."

Mr. Windham, the secretary at war, represented the reasoning of Mr. Sheridan as absurd and even ridiculous. It amounted to this, that the exertions of the allies, however great it was necessary they should be, ought to be made by each party *separately* and not *jointly*. The best way for us, who are confederates, would be, to keep aloof from one another, and try our power separately. "Why really," said Mr. Windham, "there is attached to this assertion a degree of extravagance, and even ridicule, that prevents our making many observations on it, since it is difficult, if not impossible, for any observation to answer it better than the statement answers itself."—To the charge of perfidy against the powers who had acted in alliance with us, Mr. Windham, replied, that in his opinion, we had not reason to complain, in many respects, even of the breach of faith: certainly not as he had stated the matter; for although some of those powers had manifested a weakness in suffering themselves to be occupied by their own separate pursuits, yet the conclusion was not made good, that the cause of Europe was not benefited by this war, even in the points in which the confederates had most failed. "If a power, after having assisted you for a while, leave you, it is not correct to say, you have lost by that power. You have lost only the benefit of a continuance of its support. You cannot, with any propriety of reasoning, be said to have lost any thing else: for indeed you may have gained much; and that indeed," said Mr. Windham, "is our case in the present instance. For we have benefited much by the efforts of the allies while they continued in the common cause." With a reference to what Mr. Sheridan had said of disclaiming all right to interfere in the

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internal concerns of other nations, and disdaining all dread of jacobinism, Mr. Windham said, "gentlemen talk of the spirit of peace, by which they explain themselves to mean that we are to lay aside all jealousy of the principles of a jacobin republic; and that we are to cherish such principles, and with pure love take the fraternal embrace and kiss. I say, God avert such a peace from this country." Mr. Windham at the same time acknowledged, in another part of his speech, that the contradiction, the explosion, and the execration of the modern doctrines of the rights of man, had, in his opinion, abated the danger which would attend a pacification with a jacobine republic. As to the possibility of making peace only on the principles of Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham professed great respect for the talents of that right honourable gentleman, but his opinions and sentiments on the present war, he neither could admire, nor think on them without repugnance. They were, indeed, adapted to the peace of which Mr. Sheridan had spoken to-night. Let the house, Mr. Windham said, in conclusion, consider how they listen to propositions for peace, do away alliances on the continent, and put an end to the means of carrying on the war, for the sake of making way for the counsels of those who want to make a peace of pure love with a jacobine republic, instead of the spirit which this country ought to cherish of jealousy of such pernicious principles.

Mr. Grey defended the reasoning of Mr. Sheridan on the fragility of confederacies. He had not said that they might never be subservient to important purposes, or that their object could never be precise or intelligible. What he asserted was this, that confederacies among the members of which there was no harmony of design, no concert in operation, no cordial wish for a common end, whose object was unintelligible, and whose aim was not explicit, were destructive of any state. Out of the papers which formed the ground of the motion now before the house, it seemed to Mr. Grey that there were three leading questions: 1st, Whether a naval armistice was *prima facie* objectionable? 2d, Whether the modifications proposed in the course of the discussions were particularly exposed to objection? and 3d, Whether, supposing that the proposed terms were such as could not be entertained, ministers were then justifiable in not acceding to the proposal of a joint negotiation? Mr. Grey did not, any more than Mr. Sheridan, disapprove of the conduct of ministers in their several principles on the first of these questions; though it did not appear to him that, if once the principle of the armistice were admitted, the terms of the French were particularly unreasonable. Still, however, there were so many objections to the adoption of the principle, and the modifications which could at all sanction its adoption, that little expectation could be entertained of the success of negotiations of which this was to form the commencement. If even the supply of 12,000 men would have removed one of the obstacles to negotiation, he would not have purchased negotiation on such a condition. With regard to the armistice as modified by our proposal, France could not derive from thence a single advantage.

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tage. In no one point of view would it have served to equal the sacrifices made in the armistice by the French to Austria. From a review of the whole circumstances of the proposed armistice, he had reason to believe, that the proposal was never seriously intended to be adopted by either party; but though the principal of joint negotiation was so involved in difficulties, that it came to be rejected, the enemy offered us an opportunity of treating separately for peace. The precise point here was, whether, knowing as we did, the disposition of our allies on former occasions, and particularly the general conduct of Austria in the present war, ministers were entitled to sacrifice the peace of the country to the prospect of any advantages to be derived from joint negotiation. In proposals for peace, it might appear, at first sight, to be most advisable to connect our interests with those of our allies; but, from a review of treaties and negotiations, Mr. Grey endeavoured to show that this notion was erroneous. The same conclusion, he observed, was deducible from reasoning on human nature. The ruinous consequences of the greater number of confederacies had been forcibly stated by Mr. Sheridan. He would now add, that the same objections might, with little variation, be applied to joint negotiations for peace. The interests to be attended to were so discordant, the compensations to be made were so much the objects of jealousy, and the propensity to opposition was encouraged by so many circumstances, that it was no wonder to perceive them so seldom attended with cordiality, or followed up with success. On the whole, Mr. Grey, seeing nothing in reasoning, in history, or the particular circumstances of the case, to inspire a wish for joint negotiation, he considered ministers as highly culpable in refusing to treat separately for peace; and, as there were so many proofs of their incapacity and want of foresight, which must be evident to the house, he would conclude with giving his most cordial support to a motion, the adoption of which might speedily tend to disentangle the nation from its present embarrassments.

Mr. Dundas observed, that the chief object of the motion which had been made, and of part of the arguments which they had heard, was, to convince the house, that it was not the interest of this nation to connect itself with Austria; and that was the advice they gave the house, at a moment when the recommencement of hostilities between Austria and France had been announced, and when they did not know whether hostilities had not actually recommenced, or what had been the issue of the conflict. But they did know, that the advice given by Mr. Sheridan was neither more nor less than this, to tell France to "press upon Austria as hard as they could, for we have counselled the king of Great Britain to give her no assistance whatever." This was the general object of the motion. It did not say whether ministers had acted hitherto right or wrong. Indeed one part of their conduct, namely, that respecting a naval armistice, had met with the approbation of both the gentlemen who supported the motion. Mr. Dundas reminded the house, that, by an established maxim of our constitution, in all questions of peace or war, the

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decision belonged to the king, and that it was not the province of that house to interfere, unless on very great and important occasions; and such occasions could scarcely occur, except when the interposition of the house ought to be accompanied with an advice to his majesty to choose new counsellors. For a more contradictory and absurd proposition could not be conceived, than for that house to say, "We place so little confidence in your majesty's present advisers, that we think we ought, with a view to the future safety of the country, to take on ourselves the task of giving your majesty advice; but, at the same time, we think your present ministers ought to continue in office." But Mr. Dundas, without resting the defence of administration on the general maxim of the constitution, to which he had now referred, relied on the circumstances of the case; and proceeded to show, that, engaged as we were in an arduous contest with such an enemy as France, it would have been very unwise to separate ourselves from such an ally as Austria.

To what had been alledged by Mr. Dundas, respecting the absurdity of assuming the province, and yet approving the continuance of the present ministers in office, no reply was made either by Mr. Sheridan or Mr. Grey.—Thus the debate was cut short: though the purpose of voting, for or against the motion, as usual, seemed to remain unchanged; for, on a division of the house, there appeared for the motion, 35; against it, 156.

The defect or inconsistency of Mr. Sheridan's motion was completely avoided by Mr. T. Jones, who, in the same spirit, and for the same purpose, on the 4th of December, moved, in the house of commons, the dismissal of his majesty's ministers directly, and point blank. After arraigning their conduct, and representing the distress and dangers in which this had involved the public, in his own peculiar manner, in which there appears to be a mixture of bluntness, and a kind of serio-comic buffoonery, not unimpressive, he moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, earnestly imploring his majesty, that, taking into his royal consideration the sufferings of his loyal and affectionate people, he will be graciously pleased no longer to listen to the counsels of his present ministers, who, by their profusion and extravagance, have brought their country to the brink of famine and ruin; and who, by their incapacity, have shown themselves unequal to conduct the war with effect, or enter into negotiations of peace with honour." This motion was supported by Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Robson; and nothing, on the ministerial side of the house, was said against it. On a division of the house, however, there appeared for the motion, 13; against it, 66.

In this, which, though short, was an integral session of parliament, estimates were given in to the house of commons, respecting the different branches of the public service, and suitable supplies were voted for three lunar months. For the service of the navy 120,000 men, including 22,696, marines, were granted, from the 1st of January to the 1st of April, 1801. A sum, in the language of parliament, *not exceeding* 666,000*l.* was granted for the payment of the said men, for the period just specified, at 1*l.* 17*s.* per month;

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month; 684,000*l.* was granted for victualling them, at the rate of 1*l.* 18*s.* per man, per month. For the army, there was voted the number of 58,528 effective men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers, including 5,797 invalids, for guards and garrisons in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, to be employed from the 25th day of December, 1800, to the 24th day of March, 1801, both inclusive, being ninety days; and, for their maintenance, there was granted a sum not exceeding 506,255*l.* The sum of 501,480*l.* was granted for maintaining, for the same period, his majesty's forces in the plantations, including those serving in Portugal, at Gibraltar, and in the Mediterranean; those stationed at the Cape of Good Hope, and a corps of foot in New South Wales: 374,350*l.* for defraying the charge of the embodied militia of Great Britain, of the royal corps of miners of Cornwall and Devon, and of several corps of fencible infantry: 110,000*l.* for defraying the charge of the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others, on quarteringsoldiers; and the charge of an allowance to be made to the non-commissioned officers and private men of his majesty's land forces in Great Britain, in lieu of small-beer: 127,500*l.* for recruiting and contingencies for his majesty's land forces, of forage for the cavalry in barracks in Great Britain, and of extra feed for those in quarters: 145,000*l.* for defraying the charge of volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry in Great Britain: 171,200*l.* for defraying the expenses expected to be incurred in the barrack-master-general's department: 150,000*l.* for defraying the charge of foreign corps in the service of Great Britain: 205,000*l.* for defraying the ordinary establishment of the navy for three lunar months, commencing the 1st day of January, 1801: 20,000*l.* for defraying the expenses of the extraordinary establishment of the navy for the same period: 35,000*l.* for the maintenance of sick prisoners of war: 475,000*l.* for the expense of the transport service, and for the maintenance of prisoners of war in health: 457,000*l.* for the charge of the office of ordnance for land service: 35,000*l.* for foreign and other secret services: 60,000*l.* for the relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France, and American loyalists: 8,000*l.* for defraying the expenses of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts at home. All these sums for the expenses of the different articles for the months of January, February, and March, 1801. As ways and means for raising this supply, the land and malt taxes, with those on mum, cider, and perry, were continued from the 24th day of June, 1801, to the 24th day of June, 1802: certain duties on sugar, snuff, and tobacco, were continued from the 25th day of March, 1801, to the 25th day of March, 1802; and the sum of four shillings in the pound was to be raised within the space of one year, from the 25th day of March, 1801, upon pensions, offices, and personal estates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

On the 31st of December, 1800, the ARMY RETURNS were presented to the house of commons by the secretary at war. From these it appeared, that the number of men that had been raised for the service of the army, since the commence-

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ment of the present war, as far as could be made up from the documents in the adjutant-general's office, 24th of December, 1800, was, in all, 208,888. That the number of men, for the same period, who had been discharged from the service of the army, on account of wounds, bodily infirmities, and other causes, was, in all, 75,910. But this number included not only those entirely discharged from the service, bnt such as had been transferred from one regiment to another; both having been placed under the head of "discharged men."

That the number of men killed in action, or who had died in the service of the army, since the commencement of the present war, was 48,971.

That the number of effective men, rank and file, including invalids, militia, and foreign corps, as well as the regular and fencible troops, serving, in the pay of Great Britain, on the 24th of December, 1800, was 168 082.

The army and navy sedition bill was continued till the 1st of August, 1807, the term at which its expiration had been fixed by the Irish parliament. The suspension of habeas corpus was continued for six weeks, from the 1st of February, 1801, the date of its expiration. Before the legislature should come to a decision, on the expediency of renewing it for any length of time, it was thought proper to wait the deliberations of the Irish parliament. The alien bill was continued until the period of six months after the peace. These three bills did not pass without opposition, particularly the continued suspension of the habeas corpus law. On the last day of the year, the king, after giving the royal sanction to the bills that were thought necessary to be passed, closed the session of parliament.—His majesty, after returning his particular acknowledgments to both houses of parliament, for the distinguished industry and zeal with which they had applied themselves to the relief of the public distress, observed, that the time fixed for the commencement of the union of Great Britain and Ireland necessarily terminated their proceedings on that important subject; but he expressed his persuasion, that the consideration of it would be resumed with the same zeal and temper on the first meeting of the parliament of the united kingdom. The detention of the property of his subjects in the ports of Russia, contrary to the most solemn treaties, and the imprisonment of British sailors in that country, had excited in him sentiments, in which, he was sure, that the parliament and all his subjects would participate. He had already taken such steps as that occasion indispensably required; but, if it should become necessary to maintain, *against any combination*, the honour and independence of the British empire, and those maritime rights and interests, on which both our prosperity and security must always depend, he entertained no doubt, either of the success of those means, which, in such an event, he should be enabled to exert, or of the determination of his parliament and his people to afford him a support, proportioned to the importance of the interests to be maintained."

As the period had now arrived, when the whole frame of our government was to be dissolved, though instantly renovated and enlarged on the former plan, and the first day of the

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the new year and century was to usher in a new form, and a new title of government, his majesty, before he retired, ordered the chancellor to read a proclamation, declaring that the individuals, who composed the expiring parliament, should be the members, on the part of Britain, of the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that this imperial parliament should assemble on the 22d day of January, 1801. Immediately after leaving the house of lords, he held a grand council, in which some arrangements required by that great event were settled. A proclamation was issued on the 1st of January, 1801, the forty-first year of his majesty's reign, declaring his majesty's pleasure concerning the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of Great Britain and Ireland, and its dependencies, and also the ensigns armorial, flags, and banners thereof. The royal style and titles were to be expressed in the Latin tongue, by these words: "GEORGIUS Tertius, Dei gratia, Britanniarum rex, fidei defensor;" and, in the English tongue, "GEORGE the Third, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith." The arms or ensigns armorial of the united kingdom were ordered to be quarterly: first and fourth, England; second, Scotland; third, Ireland.—There was to be borne therewith, on an escutcheon of pretence, the arms of his majesty's dominions in Germany, ensigned with the electoral bonnet. The standard of the united kingdom to be the same quartering that was declared to be the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom, with the escutcheon of pretence thereon described. The union flag to be azure, bearing the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick. On the same day, January 1, 1801, a royal proclamation declared the ensign or colours to be borne at sea in merchant-ships belonging to any of his majesty's subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging. That the royal ships might be clearly and easily distinguished from vessels belonging to any of the king's subjects, an ensign, accurately described, was appointed for all merchant-ships or others not in his majesty's service. A new great seal was made, of course, in conformity with the alterations that had taken place in the royal titles and arms.

In honour of the union many promotions were made, and many new titles conferred, on noblemen of Ireland: a considerable number of whom either received advancement of rank in their own order, or were created peers of the united kingdom.

CHAP.

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CHAP. III.

The Imperial Parliament assembled.—Speech from the Throne.—Motion for an Address.—Amendment proposed.—Debates thereon.—Amendment rejected.—Address carried by a great Majority—and presented to his Majesty.

THE parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, otherwise called the imperial parliament, was opened, by commission, on the 22d of January, 1801, when the lord chancellor acquainted the house of commons, that it was his majesty's pleasure that they should immediately proceed to elect a speaker. The commons then withdrew, and elected their late speaker, Mr. Addington. This election was, on the next day, confirmed in the same manner by the royal approbation. The king, however, did not meet the parliament till the 2d of February. In his speech from the throne, his majesty adverted to the happy accomplishment of the legislative union of the two kingdoms; the unfortunate course of events on the continent; and the conduct proper to be observed in consequence of it. The representations which he had directed to be made to the court of Petersburgh, respecting the outrages committed against the ships, property, and persons of his subjects, had been treated with the utmost disrespect; and the proceedings of which he had complained, had been aggravated by subsequent acts of injustice and violence. Under these circumstances, a convention had been concluded by that court with those of Copenhagen and Stockholm, the object of which, as avowed by one of the contracting parties, was, to renew their former engagements for re-establishing by force a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights, and hostile to the interests of this country. He had taken the earliest measures to repel the aggressions of this hostile confederacy; at the same time, that he had given such assurances, as manifested his disposition to renew his ancient relations with those powers, whenever it could be done consistently with the honour of his crown, and with a just regard to the safety of his subjects. He expressed his confidence, that both houses of parliament would afford him the most vigorous and effectual support in his firm determination to maintain to the utmost, against every attack, the naval rights and interests of his empire. From external relations, he passed to the internal or domestic state of the united kingdom. He expressed his confidence, that their deliberations would be uniformly directed to the great object

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ject of improving the benefits of that happy union, which, by the blessing of Providence, had now been effected, and of promoting, to the utmost, the prosperity of every part of his dominions. He trusted, also, that they would resume the inquiries, which were so diligently prosecuted in the last session of parliament, as to the best means of relieving his subjects from the pressure of the present high price of provisions; and of preventing, as far as it could be done by human foresight, the recurrence of similar difficulties: and he assured them of his disposition to embrace the earliest opportunity of terminating the present contest with security and honour. —In the house of lords, the address was moved by

The duke of Montrose. In this circumstance, at the commencement of the important æra noticed in the speech from the throne, there was much propriety, as the family of Montrose was highly instrumental in promoting the union between England and Scotland, which has proved so fortunate for both kingdoms*. The union between Britain and Ireland, the first topic touched on in the speech from the throne, in the judgment of the noble duke, reflected the highest honour on both countries. It was of the greatest importance to the general interests of the empire; and would tend to promote the wealth and prosperity of Ireland, in a greater proportion than that of Britain. It would augment and consolidate the strength and resources of the empire, and cement and connect more closely the interests and affections of both countries. The anticipation of these advantages it was reasonable to form from an example within our own bosom. Scotland, notwithstanding the assertions and prophecies of the advocates against the union, had soon attained to a degree of strength and wealth very little expected even by her warmest friends. Those who opposed it had conceived, that the rights of Scotland would be sacrificed to those of England. The English, however, to their immortal honour, instead of taking any unfair advantage from the union, acquitted themselves with that friendship and generosity, for which they had always been distinguished. Instead of circumscribing the commerce of the Scots, they cherished their spirit of enterprise, by the most liberal subscriptions for the improvement of their fisheries, and the improvement of their agriculture and their manufactures. As to the northern confederacy, the next object of attention in the speech from the throne, there was no cause for the gloom and despondency with which many worthy individuals were now afflicted. Our courage and capacity were universally acknowledged. Activity and perseverance would crown our laudable efforts with the desired success. We were strong in energies, and strong in the justice of our cause. This last position the duke confirmed by reason, the authority of civilians, and the acknowledgment and practice of all maritime powers. On the subject of the high price of provisions, he said, we might expect much salutary aid from

* For a full and interesting account of the end of the 17th, and beginning of the 18th century, and particularly the characters, interests, and political views and conduct of the leading families in Scotland, at the time of the union, *vide* Cunningham's History of Great Britain.

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foreign sources. There were also considerable tracts of land, of little or no utility, which the legislature might render highly beneficial to the community. The bent of his own mind was greatly in favour of a general enclosure bill, and the cultivation of the fen lands. The address, corresponding to his majesty's speech, being moved by his grace, was seconded by lord Lucan, who rejoiced, that, at a moment when the course of events required all our exertion, we had thus secured the co-operation of our sister-kingdom.

The earl of Fitzwilliam lamented that the course of events had made so momentous a change in the aspect of Europe, and the affairs of this kingdom. He had deeply felt the consequences of the spirit that had broken out in France, and the destruction to which it led. The people of France had been called on to rally round the standard of order, and to reinstate the ancient family of their kings. The nations of Europe had felt it to be their just and wise policy to join this cause. No man would go farther than himself, even yet, in combating for the cause; but he must own the thing was hopeless. His hopes had been disappointed. The anarchy, however, to a great degree, was gone. France was now, in fact, established into a monarchy, under republican forms, and under a new ruler. It did not depend on the opinion of an individual, and, he feared, it no longer depended on the power and energies of the nation, to withstand the organization of the new order of things in France. The die was cast: he must submit. But, he could not think it possible for that house, consistently with their duty, to omit an inquiry into the causes of the failure of our efforts, when such large and almost unbounded powers had been intrusted to ministers, and when they had all Europe in friendship with them in the common cause; and why, instead of succeeding in this great object, they had all at once plunged us into a contest with our new allies. As to the union, he lamented that he could not this day rise to join in an unanimous vote of thanks to his majesty for his most gracious speech from the throne, on the occasion of that event, on which his ideas were sufficiently known. As the event was now past, he would exert himself to suppress all the emotions which he felt, and sincerely wished that the very sanguine expectations of the noble duke might be fulfilled. He could not, however, withhold his astonishment, that, at a crisis so awful, when we were about to be plunged into a new war, his majesty's ministers, instead of giving information to the house, had called on them for new confidence and new support. The war, into which we were now to be plunged, was a war of our own seeking, as far as Sweden and Denmark were concerned. We had it in our power to suspend the discussion of the question disposed of in the neutral code; for it was suspended, without any evil consequences, in 1780, when, surely, this country was not in the very difficult situation in which she stood at present. In conclusion, lord Fitzwilliam, declaring that he could not give his support to men who had proved themselves so unfit for the situations they filled, moved, as an amendment to the address, the following addition: "And that this house will proceed with all possible dispatch to make such inquiries into the

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the general state of the nation, but more especially into the conduct of the war, and into our relations with foreign powers, as shall enable us to offer to his majesty such advice as we may think most conducive to the honour of his crown, and the general interests of his people; and farther to assure his majesty, that if, owing to any unjust and unreasonable pretensions on the part of the enemy, peace cannot be obtained on such terms as are consistent with security; if the representations which his majesty has directed to be made to the court of Petersburgh, in consequence of the outrages committed against the ships, property, and persons of his subjects, have not received that reparation which the nature of the case requires; and, if the differences which appear unhappily to have arisen between his majesty and the other northern powers, are of a nature which presses for immediate decision; and the impossibility of any equitable adjustment renders new and more extended wars inevitable: we will give his majesty every support which the means of the country can afford, in the just hope and confidence, that his majesty's paternal care for the welfare of his people will induce him to take such measures as shall prevent, henceforward, a calamitous waste of their remaining strength and resources, either by improvident and ineffectual projects, or by general negligence and profusion; and shall ensure a wise and vigorous administration of their affairs, under the unexampled difficulties under which they are now involved." The motion for this amendment was seconded by the earl of Suffolk, and supported by lord Darnley, the earl of Moira, and lord Holland. Lord Suffolk showed, by the London Gazette, that, instead of 1000 men, stated elsewhere to have been lost in Holland, there had been actually killed and wounded between 12 and 13,000 British and Russians; and desired to know from the noble secretary of state, lord Grenville, why a return of the killed and wounded in the expedition to Holland had not been laid on the table? Lord Grenville replied, that the session in which they had been ordered was now closed, and that a new order must be made for them. Lord Suffolk arraigned not only that, but all our late expeditions, as deficient in wisdom, vigour, and promptitude, by which the skill and courage of our arms had been wasted, and our armies disgraced. There were other grounds on which he should think it his duty to call ministers to account: the refusal of ministers to negotiate; the unfortunate letter of lord Grenville, which would have disgraced a school-boy; and the violation of the treaty for the evacuation of Egypt. Lord Darnley having observed that it was the maxim of the Romans,

*Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos**,

said, that our ministers had inverted this maxim; theirs was,

Parcere superbis, et debellare subjectos.

Russia had been permitted, in the first instance, to insult us with impunity; but the moment a weaker power advanced a pretension, an ambassador was sent to negotiate at the cannon's mouth.—Lord Moira

* To spare the humble, and humble the proud.

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thought that his majesty's ministers were highly culpable for not having properly applied the large military force that was on foot. No man, he said, was more ready to join in doing justice to the extraordinary merits of our fleets, officers, and sailors: but he trusted that gallantry and enterprise were not more the characteristic of our naval officers than of the military, to which he belonged; though they had been placed, by the misconduct of ministry, in an invidious situation. That alone was a fit and necessary subject of inquiry, besides a number of other very important events in the management of the war. How came it, his lordship asked, that the war was commenced by this country in a confederacy with all the powers against France, and that we now found ourselves in the strange situation of having that very confederacy combined with France against us? What was become of Austria? How came it that Russia, our magnanimous ally, was now converted into our inveterate enemy? Lord Holland asserted, that the conduct of ministers to our different allies had been such as necessarily led to their defection one after another, and was the sole cause of the alarming combination against us.

The amendment was opposed, and the original motion for the address supported by the duke of Athol, lord Romney, the earl Spencer, lord Grenville, the earl of Mulgrave, and lord Eldon. Lord Spencer asked if the present was the proper time for withdrawing that confidence which had hitherto been reposed in his majesty's ministers, when the difficulties of their situation and of the country had increased? Was the commencement of the united parliament the proper moment to choose for such a measure? What were the motives urged for so doing? The failure of the last two years' expeditions. He should be very happy to meet an inquiry on those heads, if it were not that, at the present crisis, it would produce worse effects than could be compensated by any advantage that he could see likely to be derived from it. As to a disposition on the part of government to peace, he deprecated an inquiry on this point, as, in the event of a negotiation, it would be attended with disadvantages, and in the alternative of continuing the war, would produce no beneficial effects. Lord Grenville stated that his majesty, at the conclusion of the last session of parliament, had informed them that an embargo had been laid on the ships of his subjects in Russia, and his representations on the subject had failed of procuring redress. The house was not now called on to inquire what was the previous cause of the quarrel between England and Russia, because the latter was bound by previous treaty not to act in the manner in which she had acted with relation to British ships and merchandize, even in the event of hostilities with the two countries. The house was called on to say, whether it would maintain his majesty in his just rights? With respect to the coalition into which Denmark and Sweden had entered in 1780, the country was at that time in considerable difficulties. The government of this country professed a determination to abide by the practice settled by treaties with these powers: but all discussion of the principle of the neutral code was for a time suspended. It might, perhaps,

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haps, be asked, what would be the harm of now acquiescing in the demands of the northern confederacy? The harm would be this, that we should again have to discuss the point at a moment when we might be less able to do it with success than at present. The earl of Mulgrave, in reply to lord Moira, spoke of the opportunities afforded to the army of distinguishing themselves in our expeditions to the West Indies, and in the East, in the capture of Seringapatam. Lord Eldon, taking a review of the question, now agitated by the northern powers combined against this country, showed, from the law of nations, that the right of searching neutral vessels originated in the rights of nature, and that no convention, or treaty, could permanently destroy that right. The decision that had been given in the case of the Swedish convoy, he said, was founded on the strictest principles of the law of nations: and that decision, was a decision, not for this country only, but for all nations in our circumstances. He expatiated on the importance of asserting this right, as the foundation of our commerce, our wealth, and the great bulwark of both our military and naval glory. Such were the principal arguments made use of by the speakers on the opposite side of the question. There were two lords, who, without supporting the amendment, or positively opposing the original motion for an address, embraced the present opportunity of declaring their sentiments on the present critical state of affairs.—These were the earl of Caernarvon, and the earl of Fife. When lord Caernarvon considered, that we were become the objects of resentment, not indeed justly so, of many nations, he thought himself justified in calling for an inquiry; not with a view to impede the exertions of ministers, but because he saw no reason for plunging into war without inquiry. He understood that, on former occasions, we had surrendered some of those rights for which we were now contending. He did not pretend to be versed on the subject: but if we had done so, it was clear, that what we had said to one favoured nation, was to be considered as having been said to every nation; because it showed that such rights were not necessary to our safety. He concluded, by giving it as his opinion, that it would be more reasonable in the house to negative the address, and to confine itself to expressions of its loyalty, and of its determination to support his majesty in the exercise of its rights. To the observation modestly introduced by the earl of Caernarvon, on rights renounced by special convention not being necessary to our safety, and therefore not such as to be asserted by war, lord Grenville replied, that he was astonished at hearing noble lords, speaking in opposition to great legal authority, after avowing their ignorance on the subject. It was the first time he ever heard it mentioned, that a special agreement with one power was a renunciation of a right as to other powers.—Those who supposed this to be the case, might satisfy themselves by a reference to the instructions given by the American government to their ministers in France.—The earl of Fife was rather inclined to wish that a motion for inquiry should not now be made: but, if it should be brought forward, he must declare his

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his opinion in its favour. As the sentiments expressed on this occasion, by the earl of Fife, were the result of long, candid, and sensible observation, unwarped by factious prejudices, and unentangled with flourishes of rhetoric and subtleties of dispute, we shall present our readers with his lordship's speech, short and pithy, in his own words. "I have no desire to give offence to his majesty's ministers, nor to pay court to those who oppose them: nothing could be more improper at present than to debate, whether the war was just or unjust, necessary or not necessary; but I can most positively declare, that no war was ever worse conducted. My lords, I have read all the history of this country; I have seen and been intimate with all the different parties, from the death of Mr. Pelham to the present hour. In this horrid war our blood and treasure have been spent in the extravagant folly of secret expeditions; grievous and heavy taxes have been laid on the people, and wasted in expensive embassies, and subsidizing proud, treacherous, and useless foreign princes, who would have acted much better for themselves had you saved your money, and taken no concern with them. I do not condole with you on your present unfortunate situation in having no such friends; I only wish you had been in that situation in the beginning of this war. The noble lord who presides at the admiralty, in his speech, has, with ability, done justice to the navy: I sincerely wish our ill-spent money had been laid out on our fleets.

"All those, my lords, that ever heard me speak, or ever read a letter from me on the subject, will do me the justice to say, that my sentiments have all along been the same, and that this has hung upon my mind from the day the first battalion of the guards first marched from the parade for Holland. I lament the present scarcity; but, great as our demerits are, it comes not from the Almighty, but from the effects of this ill-conducted war, which I am ready to prove whenever this question is brought forward. What have we gained by our boasted conquests? If a proper regulation for commerce was made, I wish they were all sold, and the money arising laid out to pay the national debt, and to relieve the nation of those oppressive taxes which bear hard on the rich and poor, on their income, their industry, and, what is worse, their liberty; and till some of those are repealed, this nation cannot be called free."

On a division of the house, the amendment was rejected: 17 against 73. The address was then carried, without a division. Lord Walsingham was appointed chairman of committees. A new house of peers had been built on an enlarged, and otherwise improved plan. A committee was appointed for the purpose of assigning to the peers, according to their respective ranks, their seats in the new house.

In the house of commons, on the same day, February 2, 1801, the address was moved by

Sir William Watkins Wynne, who, following the topics touched on in his majesty's speech, congratulated the house on the happy consummation of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, and on the appearance of that happy disposition in the people, which was necessary to give due advantage to the

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the agency of the measure, and to bring on, with all possible celerity, the full development of those happy consequences, which its authors reasonably expected from it. As to the renewed claim of maritime rights in neutral nations, he said, as if it were not enough to abandon the common cause of order, good government, and the balance of Europe, the emperor of Russia had, in wanton violation of a clear and solemn treaty, and in contempt of the generally received law of nations, confiscated the property which was confided to the honour and integrity of himself and his subjects, and had even dared to send a number of British seamen into confinement and distant exile in the remotest parts of his vast and half-desolate dominions. By such outrages, that house, and every individual in these united kingdoms, must be warmly excited to second his sovereign and the executive government of his country, in opposing, repressing, avenging, and redressing, the wrongs which he had inflicted. How much better to meet the open enmity of the other northern powers, than to sacrifice, for the sake of their neutrality, acknowledged rights, for the loss of which, even their closest alliance could make no adequate compensation? The hostility of the powers of the north, by shutting up the ports of the Baltic against our shipping, and refusing us farther supplies of grain from that quarter, had thus, in part, interfered to hinder that diminution of the prices of bread and other provisions, which was actually to have been expected from the wise and beneficent measures of the last session of the British parliament, as well as from the uncommon mildness of the present season; yet the distresses of the poor had been considerably alleviated, and their alleviation had been greatly owing to the benevolent, cautious, and enlightened interposition of parliament. When he considered the strength and quantity of our shipping, the number, hardihood, and loyalty of our seamen, the victories which had perpetually crowned our naval exertions, the ports we possessed in all the seas *, the union and patriotic ardour of the whole people, the inferiority of the naval force of those powers who had leagued against us, the immense resources which our trade, manufactures, and agriculture, were still sufficient to furnish, and the probable dissension and weakness of an ill-assorted alliance, he was confident that the house would be unanimously disposed to offer their zealous support to his majesty's government, in whatever measures of government should be farther necessary, to bring these troubles to a happy termination. His majesty's gracious assurances of his earnest desire to bring about such a termination, whenever the temper of the enemy might permit, was entitled to their perfect confidence and their warmest thanks. Sir Watkin concluded with a motion for an address suitable to the speech from the throne. That motion was seconded, and ably supported, on much the same grounds, by

Mr. Cornwallis, who, in conclusion, expressed his confidence, that, whatever might be said of the previous state of the war, the house could not but unanimously agree as

* Sir Watkin should have excepted the Baltic.

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to the necessity of supporting his majesty against the hostilities of the powers of the north, the strength of our navy, the activity of our domestic industry, and the prosperity of our trade.

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Mr. Grey made a distinction between the differences that had arisen between this country and Sweden and Denmark, and of those that had arisen between this country and Russia. Though he could not acquit the emperor of Russia of the charges of violence and injustice, it did not follow that ministers were free from blame. The emperor accused them of having violated a convention, by which, as a reward for his co-operation against France, he was to have received the island of Malta. Did such a convention actually exist? The charge, though he was disposed to believe it to be groundless, yet furnished ground of inquiry. He could not help thinking, that, in the confederacy, some reciprocal stipulations of mutual benefit might have existed. As to the nature of the dispute between this country and the other northern powers, Denmark and Sweden, and Prussia too, though this power was not included in the speech from the throne, he not only expressed his doubts of the justice of our claim, with respect to neutral vessels, but also its importance. With regard to the union with Ireland, his sentiments remained unaltered. He was still persuaded, that the best way of consolidating a sincere and cordial connexion with that country, was an adherence to the principle of the settlement of 1782. Mr. Grey concluded a long speech, in which he went over all, and combated most of the sentiments expressed in the address, by moving an amendment to the same effect and in the same words, with that moved by lord Fitzwilliam in the house of peers. Mr. Grey's motion was seconded by Mr. Whitbread, and supported by Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Sheridan.

Dr. Lawrence said, that the present question was not so much whether the practice of the belligerent powers to search neutral bottoms for enemy's property was founded in right, as whether it was consistent with sound policy in the British government, circumstanced as England was, to insist on the right at this period. He professed himself decidedly against the rashness of ministers on the present occasion. Certainly, if the affairs of the nation could be improved, or the dangers which surrounded it be removed by a splendid speech, Mr. Pitt was completely competent to it. In this instance, however, either he should satisfy the house as to the necessity of increasing their dangers, or the house should refuse to sanction his proceedings. It was the policy of the military despot, who now wielded the power of France, to conciliate the northern powers. Should this confederation be driven to unite with him, how dangerous would the state of this country become! "Let us forbear for the present. In other times, less critical, forbearance has been the policy. It was the policy of the magnanimous queen Elizabeth, who claimed, and exercised the right of searching neutral vessels, of Charles II, and of the administration of 1780. The northern powers deny that there is any thing in the convention, recently signed at Petersburgh, contrary to existing treaties with England,

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land. What was the nature of the convention? It embraced three points: 1st, Free bottoms making free goods: 2d, The permission to search and detain contraband goods: 3d, The nature of blockade. On the two first points various decisions had been pronounced, highly calculated to provoke and irritate the northern powers, particularly some within the last three years, in the West Indies, which could not be vindicated. It was a little too much, on the mere signature of a convention for common protection, at once to commence hostilities against nations much injured by this country. Let us look to ourselves for that conduct which we demand from others.—We complained of the violent arrest of our vessels by Russia, and committed an act as violent and unjustifiable towards Sweden and Denmark. Russia, at the commencement of the war, resisted any commerce whatever with France, by any neutral state. We interfered, and moderated her pretensions. Let the same spirit of moderation restrain the rashness of ministers now." Such was the reasoning of Dr. Lawrence, dispassionate, moderate, and candid.—Mr. Tierney's reasoning on the same ground was tinctured with a degree of animosity, and personal allusion and reflection.—The country, he said, in conclusion of an animated speech, looked up to his majesty's ministers for inquiry; but they were obstinately unwilling to satisfy its inquiries, and utterly incapable of procuring an honourable peace. He asked the house to name the part in Europe that respected them, or the enemy that feared them? The only rational motive for carrying on the war longer was to procure a peace. Was it then to be accounted strange that he should ask, that the millions raised to defray its expenses, should be put in the hands of a person who knew how to expend them to advantage?—Mr. Sheridan, in allusion to the tranquillity and apparent satisfaction of the people, noticed, or perhaps we should say alledged, by the mover and seconder of the address, said, "Sir, I am more alarmed at this unnatural quiet, than I should be, if I heard complaints accompanied with even some tendency to disorder. You have gagged the people, and bound them hand and foot, and then you say, Look how quiet they are!—Is there any place but this, where a man may speak his sentiments freely? But, the question is put, is there any man capable of the meanness of making submissions to France? Yes, sir, his majesty's ministers, for they have done it. We have heard it asked, whether we could make peace with regicides, and whether a man could be found that would be the bearer of such a proposal? Sir, ministers have done it: they have done it three times, after as lofty boasts as any that have been made for them this day."

The amendment was opposed, and the original motion for an address supported by Mr. Pitt, the solicitor-general, and Mr. Dundas. Mr. Pitt observed, that there was but one new question before the house, that respecting our differences with the northern powers. Mr. Pitt recapitulated the reasoning of Mr. Grey on this subject. Though the honourable gentleman, he said, seemed disposed to entertain doubts on points, on which there was hardly any other man, he believed, to be found in this country, on which no

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other man could hesitate for a moment, yet there were other points on which his mind appeared to be free from doubt, and his opinion completely decided. If, after a full discussion of this subject, it should appear that the claim which this country had made, was founded on the clearest and most indisputable justice; if it should be proved that our greatness, nay our very existence as a nation, depended on our possessing and exercising the right of searching neutral vessels, the honourable gentleman was prepared seriously to declare in that house, that such were the circumstances in which we stood, that we ought, publicly and explicitly, to state to the world, that we were unequal to the contest. This, said Mr. Pitt, is the conduct which Mr. Grey advises us to pursue at once, without determining, without investigating, whether it be compatible with our safety. He really found much difficulty in reconciling this language to that sort of spirit, which the honourable gentleman had talked of in another part of his speech, in which he said, that he was far from wishing to make the country despond.—Mr. Grey, here said, that he had been misunderstood.—Mr. Pitt replied, that he was stating what the honourable gentleman had said, and that he should be happy to find that he did not mean what he said. Mr. Pitt, after other strictures on the speech of Mr. Grey, proceeded. "I believe," said he, "I may safely assert, that it never occurred to any one member of this house to increase the difficulties of this country, by starting a doubt on the question of right; and it will be a most singular circumstance, that the honourable gentleman and his friends should only have begun to doubt where our enemies were ready to begin to combat." There were two ways, Mr. Pitt observed, in which the present subject was to be considered. The first was, what had been the general law of nations thereon, independent of any particular treaties; the second, how far it was affected by any precise treaties with the particular powers who were the objects of the present dispute. With respect to the law of nations, the principle on which we were now acting had been universally admitted and acted upon, except in cases where it had been restrained and modified by particular treaties between different states. And here, he observed, that the honourable gentleman had fallen into the same error, which constituted the great fallacy in the reasoning of the advocates for the northern powers, namely, that every exception from the general law by a particular treaty, proves the law to be as it is stated in that particular treaty; whereas, the very circumstance of making an exception by treaty, proves what the general law of nations would be, if no particular treaty were made to modify or alter it. With regard to particular treaties with particular powers, Mr. Pitt showed, that, with every one of the three northern powers, with whom we were at present in dispute, independently of the law of nations, of our uniform practice, and of the opinions of our courts, we had the strict letter of engagements whereby they were bound to us; and that their present conduct to us was as much a violation of positive treaties with us, as it was of the law of nations. So much for the question of right, on which Mr. Grey entertained doubts. Mr. Pitt came now to the question of expedience, concerning

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which, he seemed to be in no doubt. This question, he said, was, whether we were to permit the navy of our enemy to be supplied and recruited? whether we were to suffer blockaded forts to be furnished with stores and provisions? whether we were to suffer neutral nations, by hoisting a flag on a sloop or a fishing-boat, to convey the treasures of South America to Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest or Toulon? Were these the propositions that gentlemen meant to contend for? They talked of the destruction of the naval power of France; but could it really be believed, that her marine would have been decreased to the degree that it now was reduced, if, during the whole of the war, the principle now contended for had not been acted on? If her commerce had not been destroyed, if the fraudulent system of neutrals had not been prevented, would not her navy have been in a very different situation from that in which it now was?

As to what had been said on other topics, of the censures which ought to be cast on ministers for the counsel they *had any share in giving* for the prosecution of the war, he had the consolation of knowing what these were likely to be, from a recollection of what they had repeatedly been. They would most probably be put in the same way, and would admit of being answered in the same way as they had already been answered, as often as they had been brought forward.

The solicitor-general observed, that the honourable mover of the amendment had told the house that they were in a situation of difficulty and danger, which required vigour, exertion, and promptitude; yet, that he proposed doubt, hesitation, and inquiry. He was really amazed, when he reflected on the origin and progress of those doubts, which now seemed to exist, respecting the question in dispute between this country and the nations of the north. Before the confederacy recently concluded between Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, was actually executed, no man in that house, he was fully certain, had the subject been brought into discussion, would have uttered a doubt upon it. The doubts of Mr. Grey, he apprehended, were not the effect of investigation or calm inquiry. They were offered merely as an argument against the address, and suggested by his fears; a species of reasoning that was calculated to produce indecision, to throw a damp on the spirit of the country, and to encourage the hopes of our enemies — The hesitation he recommended, would be a victory, to the coalesced powers, as it would give them time and opportunity to collect and invigorate the means necessary to maintain their unjust and extraordinary pretensions. His learned friend (Dr. Lawrence) seemed to him to have much mistaken the tenor and purport of the address. We must not, said the learned doctor, pledge ourselves to support his majesty in a system of warfare, into which there is, perhaps, no absolute necessity to enter; but the address required no such pledge: it merely stated the readiness of the house to cooperate with his majesty in defending our claims, should the northern powers persist in their plans of aggression. His honourable friend would not recommend a pusillanimous surrender of a right, so essential to our existence as a maritime state, from any consideration of circumstances.

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Never had a case occurred, in which, by act or treaty, we had abandoned the claim of searching neutral bottoms for enemies' property. By the existing treaties between this country and the states of Denmark and Sweden, it would be fraud in them to convey enemies' goods; but the convention which Denmark avowed to have signed, asserted that right: this, therefore, was a departure from treaty, and an act of hostility. The convention allowed, indeed, the right of search, and confiscation of what was called contraband goods, though the advocates of that convention contended against any search whatever; but the solicitor-general contended, that if we should consent to any modification of our rights, the next step of the powers engaged in that convention, in obedience to the advice of their philosophical advocates, would be to insist, that all kinds of property on board merchant ships, should be protected from detention, and free from search. The whole of that pretension would be most assuredly advanced, for the present distinction of contraband was artificial. There was no such distinction, correctly speaking. All articles designed for, and conducive to, the advantage of our enemy, were inadmissible to be freely conveyed, and therefore contraband. If preposterous distinctions between one kind of goods and another were once admitted, the next step would be, that we could not take our enemies' goods. It would be contended, that the intercourse of merchants ought not, on any account, to be interrupted. "Against whom, then," said the solicitor, "are we to make war? Why, against a metaphysical being called the state, as if the state were any thing but the aggregate of the people." We attack their property, in order to reduce the resources of the state, which derives from them all its vigour. And if it was allowed that we have a right to capture the enemy's property at all, why should that right be done away, and the property be protected, because it was enclosed in a piece of wood? On the interpretation of that principle, Grotius did not conceive it possible that there should arise any doubt. Dr. Lawrence had said, that, if the northern powers had entered into a confederacy against England, they had received much provocation. If such cases of grievance had been introduced into the inferior courts, the parties could have been redressed by an appeal to the proper tribunal. They had the security of the British character for a strictly upright and fair decision; but, whatever that decision might have been, no nation would be justified in arming, in consequence of the decree of an admiralty court, without previous application to the state by whom that court was appointed. As to the policy of our ministry in not directly resisting, but for a time giving way to the combination of 1780, we now felt the ill effects of that policy. A similar compromise of our rights would, perhaps, expose us to some still greater evil on a future day. Had the pretension of the armed neutrality been resisted then, we should not now be disturbed by the repetition of it; but he admitted, that the circumstances of the country in 1780 were different from what they are now.

With regard to the exemption of convoys, he considered this as an absurdity. The faith of a state might be pledged that no enemy's goods were

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were on board; but that could not be pledged. When a state granted passports, it could only take the affidavits of the parties. The captor, in his search, might find many articles not specified in those affidavits. The papers the captain must have on board, describing the goods on board, and the destination of the ship, might enable the captor to come at particulars, seldom communicated to the state which granted the passports, therefore a convoy ought to be no protection. As to plunging into war precipitately, deprecated by his learned friend, administration had not been forward to take hostile measures, not until an application to the northern courts had produced an explicit avowal of their purposes. So soon as we understood that a convention was signed, which we had every reason to think hostile to our rights and interests, we had put ourselves in a posture to be prepared against the consequences—consequences which were pointed at our maritime superiority and existence (long the favourite and avowed object of French ambition,) and, of course, against our national existence: against such consequences we had put ourselves in a posture to be prepared. We were only guarding ourselves against the determinations we had observed. The pretensions of the northern confederacy might not be pushed to the extent apprehended; if so, hostilities would not ensue: at all events, measures ought to be taken for security.

The solicitor-general having thus established the justice of our claims, and the necessity of asserting and maintaining them, thought it necessary, before he sat down, to make some observations on the general tone and tendency of the speech, by which the amendment was introduced. Among other strictures, he asked, whether we ought, deliberately, to lay plans for frustrating our own hopes? To labour to dishearten and disunite those on whose union and courage our safety wholly depended? What could gentlemen propose or promise to themselves, by holding out to view the most gloomy and exaggerated pictures of our situation? What could be their aim in this strange display and application of their eloquence? Could the reputation of being thought clever outweigh all regard to their stake in the state? Supposing that they should completely succeed in persuading the people to distrust their government, their strength, and their resources, and to admire and dread the enemy with whom we had to contend, what advance would they have made towards bettering our condition, towards increasing our strength, and improving our security? Were gentlemen afraid that we should be led, by a generous enthusiasm, to exert ourselves in the public cause beyond what might be perfectly consistent with our individual interests? Was that so much the bent and temper of mankind, that prudent philosophers thought it necessary to interpose their salutary admonitions, lest a disinterested public spirit should acquire too powerful an ascendant? Was it for that purpose that honourable gentlemen thought themselves called upon, in policy and in prudence, to endeavour to draw off the attention of a large portion of the people from the dangers that threatened their country, to the evils that threatened themselves? "I do not see," said the solicitor, "how, by depicting those

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evils in the gloomiest colours, we, in any way, contribute to their alleviation. I wish to God that all the upper classes of life would display the same sober fortitude that has characterized the lower orders of the community. They have real and serious evils to struggle with and to endure. There are those who are obliged to task their imaginations for subjects of complaint, which, if they would confess the honest truth, never broke in on one moment of their repose, or robbed them of one moment of their enjoyments. Yet, not contented with giving vent to their own mock lamentations, they are angry that those who really suffered should show any degree of patience under their sufferings, and should not be ready to break out into insurrection against that government which was exerting its utmost endeavours for their relief."—The important question of the principle of the northern confederacy, the great and leading question in the counsels and conduct of nations at this time, was agitated in this session, on several occasions, again and again. It was discussed with so much precision, perspicuity, solidity, and good sense, by Mr. Grant, on the motion for an amendment to the address, that we have judged it proper to give more room to his reasoning, than it is permitted by our limits to give to most speeches in parliament, because it will prevent the necessity of our entering again into the subsequent debates on that subject. On a division of the house, the amendment was rejected by 245 against 63. The original motion for an address was carried without a division, and having been carried through the usual stages of bills and resolutions, was presented to his majesty on the 4th of February.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IV.

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Progress of the War in Germany and Italy—and Termination.—The French under Moreau pass the Inn—and the Salza.—Passage of the Rhetian Alps by a Division of the French Army of the Grisons under General Macdonald.—Operations of the Gallo-Batavian Army under General Augereau.—Position of the Austrian Army after the French had crossed the Inn and the Salza.—The Command of the Austrian Army taken by the Archduke Charles.—The French within fifty Miles of Vienna.—Consternation of the Imperialists.—Armistice of Steyer.—Affairs of Italy.—Disputes about the Polesino.—Convention of Castiglione.—French Invasion of Tuscany.—Passage of the Mincio by the French—and of the Adige.—Armistice of Treviso.

THAT event which, to the eye of a Briton, appeared the most prominent at this time, in the shifting scene of European politics and war, and which, of all that passed without the British empire, was noticed first in his majesty's speech from the throne, we should now proceed to relate, if it were not necessary, in the first place, to conclude our narrative of the great affairs of 1800, in the south of Europe: by which the formation and the progress of the northern confederacy against the maritime claims of Britain were so much influenced.

In order to improve the advantage gained by the great victory at Hohenlinden, on the 3d of December, 1800, general Moreau, keeping his face towards the capital of the Austrian dominions, pushed on with the greatest rapidity to Saltzburgh: by the occupancy of which post, he would double in the Tyrol, cut off from the main army of the imperialists in Germany the corps employed in the valley of the Inn, from Kosteen, as far as the Engadine, menace the direct roads from Vienna to Italy, and, with the cooperation of the army under general Brune, if it should be victorious, of which no doubt was entertained, on the Adige and the Mincio, drive the Austrians into Hungary. In his route to Saltzburgh it was necessary to pass two rivers; which enabled the retreating Austrians to retard his march, and, in some degree, to weaken his force, by a vigorous resistance. These were the Inn and the Salza. The Inn, rising in the country of the Grisons, and passing through Tyrol and Bavaria, falls into the Danube near Passaw. The bed of this river is deep, its current rapid, and its right bank, from the Alps to its junction with the Danube, fortified by a chain of rocks. It was considered by the marshal Turenne as one of the strongest military barriers in Europe. The Salza, though neither so large nor quite so rapid as the

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the Inn, is yet a river of considerable magnitude. Saltzburgh is situated on its right bank, about 140 miles west by south-west of Vienna. The French passed both these rivers in different places. Obstacles which, to military skill, would have appeared to be almost insurmountable, were overcome, without any obstinate resistance, on the part of the panic-struck Austrians, by troops as confident of success as they were accustomed to conquer. The Inn was crossed, December 9, at Nieupeurein, between Rosenheim and Kuffstein, at Wasserburgh, and at Muhldorf: the Salza between Saltzburgh and Lauffen. On the intermediate ground between Lauffen and Saltzburgh, the greatest part of the Austrian army, on the 12th of December, was concentrated. A division under general Lecourbe was ordered to advance on the right bank of the Saal, and another under general Decaen by Lauffen, while a corps of reserve, under the generals Richepanse and Grouchy, was ready to support either Lecourbe or Decaen, as should be necessary. On the 13th of December, general Lecourbe passed the Saal, without much resistance, and made himself master of the village of Waal. General Decaen, having arrived in the neighbourhood of Lauffen, found the bridge there broken down, and the enemy defending the heights which command it. Three chasseurs threw themselves into the Salza, in spite of the extreme cold, and swam over for some boats on the opposite side, while some more advanced, keeping up a fire of musquetry, along the ruins of the bridge. About eighty men, having passed the river in the boats that had been collected, were sufficient to repulse a party of Austrians on the right bank, and to make 200 prisoners; such is the astonishing influence of a series of successes over a series of defeats! The commander-in-chief ordered general Grenier to advance with his two divisions to Lauffen, and the same orders were given to generals Grouchy and Richepanse. He ordered the pontoons to be carried to the same point, and a new bridge to be thrown over, while that which had been broken down by the enemy should be repaired. These operations took place in the night. Five hundred men passed over to the right bank of the river; and general Lecourbe, who commanded them, was continuing his route, when, in the morning of the 14th, the Austrians appeared in great force, with an intention to oppose it. General Lecourbe, sensible of his great inferiority in numbers, fell back, and contented himself with defending the road, and maintaining possession of the village of Waal. A sharp action took place: but Lecourbe maintained his position till two o'clock; when general Decaen, who had passed the river with his whole division, began to advance, keeping up a terrible fire of artillery on all that opposed him. This movement, which operated as a diversion in favour of general Lecourbe, likewise favoured the passage of the division under Richepanse, which now began to form on the right bank. In the night between the 14th and 15th, the Austrians effected their retreat with precipitation, and the French entered Saltzburgh at eight o'clock in the morning. On the same day, general Richepanse, with the left division of the French army, pursued the imperialists along the road to Lintz, and entered

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entered Newmark, the last post in Bavaria, on the frontier of the hereditary states of the emperor. The archduke John, whose head-quarters were by this time removed to Braunau, on the lower Inn, was, by this manœuvre, cut off from all communication with the Austrian commander, general Mollitor, in the Tyrol, who had a force about 25,000 strong, but who had no communication except with general Bellegarde. The Tyrol was now threatened on the north side by a division of the French army under Lecourbe, on the west by another under Mollitor, and on the south-west by Macdonald.

General Macdonald, commander-in-chief of the French army of the Grisons, at the head of a column, had passed the Rhetian Alps, by the defiles of the Splugen, and through Chiavenna, in the first weeks of December, in order to support the left wing of the Italian army, which was under the command of general Brune. The difficulties and dangers of crossing the mountains would have interrupted the passage at different times, had it not been for the intrepid perseverance of the general. He led in person the pioneers to tracts of the road, near the summit of the Splugen, which were filled up and totally defaced by the drifted snow. He himself set the example of working to open a path, on the 5th of December, about two leagues from the village of Splugen, which was effected. This foremost party had not advanced far when the path was again covered, and his grenadiers sinking in the snow, began to believe that it was impossible to proceed farther; for even all the poles that had been set up for marks were covered with snow, and snow was still falling. But the general, at the head of the pioneers, sounded himself the road, and animating all who were near him by his voice and example, conducted the troops through all the dangers of the Splugen, and, at last, on the 11th of December, gained the valley of the Adda, in the Valtelline, which opened a communication with general Brune. He was, at the same time, master of both banks of the upper Inn, and of the upper Engadine*; and thus communications were established among all these divisions.

In the mean time, the Gallo-Batavian army, under Augereau, whose right wing was to protect and co-operate with the left of Moreau's, gained some important advantages over the Austrians in Franconia. On the rupture of the armistice, the baron d'Albini, who commanded the troops of Mayence, stationed at Aschaffenburg, attacked, November 23, the Batavian infantry, which guarded the head of the bridge of Aschaffenburg; but, after three vigorous assaults, were driven back into the town. The Gallo-Batavian army, quitting its cantonments on the Nidda, the lower Main, and the Tobre, marched on to Wurtzburg and Swinfurth, where the imperialists had a corps of three or four thousand men. The town of Wurtzburg was invested by the Batavian division, under lieutenant-general Dumonceau, on the 28th. General Dumonceau, with a part

* The Engadine, or, as it is called by the natives, and in the neighbouring states, Engadina, is a country of the Grisons, extending along the banks of the river Inn, from its source to the Tyrolese, and is divided into the upper and the lower Engadine.

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of the division, was left to carry on the siege of the citadel. Augereau, having received intelligence from general Moreau, that the Austrians had assembled, to the number of 12, or 13,000, before Bamberg, at Burg-Eberach, came to a determination, with two divisions of his army, to give them battle, and drive them beyond the Rednitz. They occupied, besides the village, the two first heights that command Burg-Eberach. They were driven from the village and the first height, but made a resolute stand on the second. After the most obstinate resistance, they were forced also to yield this; but they retreated in good order. General Duhesme, on the 3d of December, took possession of Bamberg. The main army took a post behind the Rednitz, to cover the siege of the citadel of Wurtzburg. General Barbou was ordered to march different parties towards Nuremberg. Augereau, informed of the success of the army of the Rhine, withdrawing his right wing from the Rednitz, took possession of Furchem and Nuremberg, with an intention to wait there for farther advices from Moreau. The Gallo-Batavian army, stationed partly before Wurtzburg, and partly at Nuremberg, and Furchem, had, on its left, d'Albini with 2,000 men, in front the corps of Simbschen, 12,000 strong, and, in the same direction, a body of 15,000, under Klenau, posted towards Newmarck, and in Ratisbon. It was the object of the Austrians to cut off the communication between Augereau and Moreau, and, if possible, to turn the left of Moreau's army. From the 3d to the 17th, nothing passed but skirmishing between outposts; but, on the 18th, a bloody battle was fought between Nuremberg and Lauff. It lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till the close of the day. General Klenau headed an attack on the left of the Gallo-Batavians, commanded by general Barbou, and general Simbschen an attack on the left, under the orders of general Duhesme. The engagement was as fierce on both sides, as it was long continued. The assailants were forced to fall back; but the loss on both sides was supposed to be nearly equal. A hundred waggons were loaded with dead and wounded Austrians.

In this situation of affairs, the Austrian army of the Danube moved from Braunau, and, on the 16th of December, took an advantageous position behind the Traun. Its head-quarters were established at Straswalden, from whence they were transferred, on the 17th, to Skwanstadt, where the chief command of the army was taken by the archduke Charles, with full powers, which he had been long refused. That prince immediately ordered defensive dispositions; but, before he could finish them, the centre of the French army of the Rhine arrived at the Traun in five divisions, commanded severally by Legrand, Grandjeau, Richepanse, and Grouchy. A bloody engagement took place on the 18th, between the two armies, and soon became general. Richepanse, with the advanced guard, attacked the rear of the imperialists, in a strong position near Valbruk, and defeated them. The loss of the Austrians, in killed and wounded, was computed to be from 3 to 500; and 1000 were taken prisoners, 600 of which number were cavalry, with general Lopez their commander. The Austrians, on the 19th, interrupted their retreat, and endeavoured

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voured to make a stand on the heights of Lambach; but Richepanse again defeated their rearguard, drove them into the defiles of Lambach with great loss, and the imperial army retreated to Lintz, within ninety-two miles of Vienna. The French continued to advance, and, on the 20th, fixed their head-quarters at Wells. Moreau now formed his army into three columns, of which the right, under Lecourbe, made for the mountains south of Steyer on the Ens; the centre, commanded by Moreau himself, set out for Steyer; and the left, under Grenier, which had marched along the south banks of the Danube, and forced the Austrians to retreat from Lintz across the river, proceeded on the high road from Lintz towards Vienna. On the 24th, Richepanse, with the advanced guard of the centre column, entered Steyer, in which he found 17 pieces of cannon, and made 4000 prisoners. On the 25th, the French began to proceed onward to the next river, the Erlaph, and the Austrians to retire behind the Trasen, the last river of any note within fifty miles of Vienna. This great city was struck with consternation and terror; the greater in loyal minds, that it was easily perceived by no means to be general. As the French advanced, the countenances of the disaffected to government, who were neither few in number, nor yet altogether of the lower classes, brightened up with joy. They held frequent conversations with one another. They were at little pains to conceal their sentiments; and, in short, it was supposed, that had the French come to Vienna, they would have been joined by numbers of the inhabitants: such was the general aversion to the war, and such the progress of French intrigues and principles. The imperial family prepared to set out for Offen, escorted by a party of the lifeguards. The gallery of paintings, with the imperial treasury, other valuable articles, and the city treasury, were placed in waggons, and ready to be removed from the capital, when the archduke Charles arrived at Vienna, at ten in the morning of the 27th of December, with the consolatory intelligence of his having concluded at Steyer an armistice of thirty days with general Moreau *.

For the conclusion of this armistice, there were not wanting very cogent inducements on both sides, as is very fairly stated, in a letter from the general of division, Desolles, to the French minister at war, dated head-quarters, Steyer, the 26th of December, 1800. "The archduke Charles has proposed an armistice to the general-in-chief, at the same time announcing to him, that the emperor had sent a courier to Mr. Cobentzel, at Luneville, where a negotiation had been opened, in the end of September, with orders to sign a peace.

"The general in chief, considering that the line of the Traun and Ens was forced, that we had advanced a hundred leagues before the other armies, that the Austrian army in Italy was behind us, that, of course, Mr. de Bellegarde had two grand means from Saltzburgh and Inspruck

* The archduke made the proposal of an armistice to general Moreau, at his head-quarters at Steyer, by count Meerfield, on the 25th; at the same time, he sent the prince of Lichtenstein to Vienna, to represent the necessity of making peace.

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to send a detachment, which, joining itself to the troops left in Tyrol, might fall upon our rear, and cut off our communication with France, has thought it his duty to consent to a convention, which, procuring us great advantages, left us the means, at the same time, of waiting for the operations of the army of Italy, of which we have yet had no intelligence.

"The character of the archduke Charles, his well-known probity and honour, are sufficient pledges to us of the desire the emperor now feels to put an end to the war. To this he has, besides, been compelled by the deplorable state of his army, which having lost, in twenty days, sixty-six leagues of country, 25,000 prisoners, 12 or 15,000 in killed or wounded, 140 pieces of cannon, and immense magazines, is not, at present, and would not be for these three months, in a state to prevent our army from conquering all Austria, and dictating laws to its capital; but, to do this without danger, it was necessary that the army should have been master of the head of the defiles of Carinthia.

"The general-in-chief believed, besides, that to stop in the midst of the most brilliant victories was conformable to that character of moderation in which the chief consul wishes to make himself known to the whole of Europe. I have the honour to address to you a copy of the armistice. The emperor has determined to treat of peace, whatever may be the determination of his allies; and our line, as it approaches to the Danube and to the mountains of the Tyrol, and puts into our hands the stations of Ruffsteinshoer, Nitz, Braunau, and other stations, will afford us the means of renewing the war with the greatest advantages, but, above all, with the greatest security."

This armistice assigned to the French army of the Rhine a triangular portion of territory, whose base rested on Chiavenna and Wurtzburg, and whose point was between Leoben and Pachlarn on the Danube, within fifty-two English miles from Vienna. It comprehended the Gallo-Batavian army, as well as that of the Rhine. It was not to be for a less duration than thirty days; at the expiration of which time, hostilities were not to be resumed until a farther notice of fifteen days, to be dated from the hour in which the notification of the rupture should be made known; and the armistice was to be indefinitely prolonged until the notice of rupture. No corps or detachment, either of the French army of the Rhine, or of that of his imperial majesty in Germany, were to be sent to the respective armies in Italy, so long as there should be an armistice between the French and the imperial armies in that country. The general-in-chief of the army of the Rhine engaged to transmit, with the utmost dispatch, the present convention to the generals in chief of the Gallo-Batavian army, that of the Grisons, and that of Italy; with the most pressing invitation, particularly to the army of Italy, to conclude, on his part, a suspension of hostilities.

As soon as general Augereau was informed by Moreau of the new armistice, he sent to the Austrian generals Klenau and Simbschen, to confer on the settlement of the line of demarkation between the Gallo-Batavian army, and the Austrian corps in the upper Palatinate and Franconia. It was agreed that the river

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river Rednitz and the Maine should separate the two armies, as far as Lichtenfells, on the line of neutrality. In this line was comprehended, Forkheim, Bamberg, Bannach, Haffalstein, and Lichtenfells. The Gallo-Batavian was likewise to occupy the city and district of Nuremberg. The general-in-chief was to take up his head-quarters at Wurtzburg, where also he established his park of artillery. It now remains that we give some account of the affairs of Italy.

By the armistice concluded after the battle of Maringo, as stated in our last volume*, the French army was to occupy the country comprised between the Chiesa, the Oglio, and the Po: and the Austrians, besides certain territories, which were specified, on the left bank of the Po, were to occupy the city and citadel of Ferrara, on the right bank. They were also to occupy Tuscany and Ferrara. But the Austrians continued to keep possession not only of the town and citadel, but also of a large territory called the Polesino of Ferrara. At the same time that a dispute arose on this point of the Polesino of Ferrara, a general insurrection of the people, or, according to what had become a technical phrase in military tactics, a levy en masse, was encouraged, and going on in Tuscany. Hostilities were on the point of being renewed in Italy, when general Brune, informed of the preliminaries signed by count St. Julian, in which the emperor had engaged for disarming of the levy en masse, and of the arrival of count Cobentzel at Luneville, immediately took the earliest opportunity of informing general Bellegarde, that until he should receive farther orders from his government, he would suspend the motions of the military force under his command. A new convention was agreed to on the 20th of September, at Castiglione, by which general Brune consented to wait for an answer from Vienna, relative to the evacuation of the Ferrarese by the Austrians. There was no mention in the treaty of Castiglione of the disarming the levy en masse. But the French general alledged, that he considered it as a matter of course, and, independently of the preliminaries just mentioned, was no more than a natural return for the condescension shown in that treaty to the Austrians, respecting the Polesino of Ferrara. The levy en masse, the French believed, or pretended to believe, was paid by the English; and they observed that it was reinforced by a corps from Naples. The levy en masse was not in a state of great forwardness, nor, if it had been completely raised and equipped, could such a rabble of enervated Italians have been at all formidable to the troops of France. In truth, the French sought a pretext for an irruption into Tuscany; which they considered as a measure of precaution, in order to prevent, in case of a renewal of the war, the landing of the English in that quarter, of which they were apprehensive, and which was certainly intended. A general officer, with only a small escort, for security against robbers, was sent by general Dupont, in the name of the commander-in-chief, to general Sommariva, who commanded the troops

* Vol. XLII, History of Europe, p. 195.

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in Tuscany, with a request that he would disarm the levy en masse, or, as it was otherwise called, the national guard, and also disperse the brigands, or parties of robbers. He signified to Sommariva, that if the armed peasants did not return to their homes, by a certain day, he would enter Tuscany, in order to disarm, and punish them for the outrages which they daily committed on the territory occupied by the French army. The disarming, and the dispersion required, were, it has been said, we know not how truly, promised: but this business, if undertaken, was delayed and evaded. This being quickly perceived, lieutenant-general Dupont entered Florence on the 15th of October, with a great army, which he had concentrated on the left bank of the Po, and general Clement, on the 16th, entered Leghorn. The insurgents were early dispersed, and sent back to their several homes. General Sommariva, and the corps of Austrians who were in Tuscany, to the number of 2,500, were permitted to retire, through the midst of the French, to Ancona. The merchandise of the English found in Tuscany, particularly at Leghorn, though it had been permitted by the armistice of Maringo, to retain its neutrality, was, in open violation of public faith and the law of nations, confiscated for the benefit of the republic. But the English had taken care to avail themselves of their navigation: so that the French treasury was not much enriched by the plunder of the English merchants of Leghorn. A few days after the occupation of Leghorn by the French, the appearance of an English fleet before that port, having on board 12,000 troops, sufficiently explained both the unwillingness of general Sommariva to disarm the levy en masse and the motives of the French for making sudden irruption into Tuscany. About the same time also a ship arrived at Ancona, from Trieste, laden with several thousands of muskets for the use of the Tuscans.

The army of the Tuscan insurgents, according to the report of Dupont, amounted to 25,000. Among these, the brigands of Arezzo were particularly distinguished for their audacity. Their town was taken by assault, and a great number of the inhabitants put to the sword. They were the same, Dupont said, who dared to insult the army of Naples in the last campaign. "It was in that city," he says, "that the famous miracle of the holy Virgin was fabricated, that gave the signal of insurrection by the firing of a gun, which Mr. Windham, the British envoy to Tuscany, one of the principal artists in that ridiculous miracle, made her discharge upon the French. These impostures," he adds, "should not be suffered to arm this multitude of peasants and increase their force." Dupont, in another report to the general-in-chief, Le Brune, dated at head-quarters, Florence, October 19, 1800, says, "that the presence of the French in Tuscany* had been thought necessary by several partizans of the grand duke themselves, who felt that the safety and honour of the French army required

* It may be satisfactory to some of our readers to be informed, that, on the apprehension of the French penetrating into Tuscany, the collection of pictures belonging to the

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required the measures which he (general Brune) had ordered." He urged yet another argument for the irruption into Tuscany. It was justified even by a concern for the welfare of the people. "Besides," says he, "the extraordinary levies inspired a very lively fear for the tranquillity of the interior of Tuscany, for their pay was an enormous weight, which that state could not support." In short, it was evident, from the variety of topics from which the French attempted to justify the invasion of Tuscany, that there was not any one ground on which that violent step could be justified; and that they were willing to derive advantage from it, without occasioning a rupture of the armistice, so long as there was any prospect of peace on the terms to be dictated by France through negotiation. Conformably to these views, general Dupont, to what has been quoted from his report, which the French government took care to have published in their demi-official Journal, adds, "That he had observed the highest respect towards the Austrian troops: and that nothing had passed that could, in the slightest degree, affect the armistice. All the officers had acknowledged, in that procedure, that the occupation of Tuscany was a particular measure, which ought not to diminish the harmony that prevailed between the two armies." Whether the court of Vienna thought so or no, there did not appear any difference of opinion, from the movements of their armies, till the expiration of the truce of Hoinlinden. Skirmishes had taken place between advanced posts, but the campaign did not seriously begin till the 24th of December. The movements of Le Brune were directed by those of Moreau. He waited the arrival of Macdonald, with whom he was to co-operate.

It appears, at first, to have been the plan of the French to fall on the Austrians on the lake of Garda, and there to turn the lines of the Mincio. But general Le Brune, animated by the successes of Moreau, and acquainted, perhaps, with some encouraging circumstances respecting the state of the Austrian army, determined to attack them in front. On the 24th of December, the right wing of the French army, under lieutenant-general Dupont, recalled from Tuscany, received orders to march up the course of the Mincio, leaving a corps of observation at Goito, in order to make a feint of passing the river there. Orders were at the same time given for the disposition of the other divisions. Early on the 25th, a bridge was thrown over the Mincio, the passage effected, and the post occupied on the left bank, maintained by the French, against the most vigorous and repeated attacks of the Austrians, whose main force was drawn more and more to that quarter. Dupont, who had been recalled, with his troops, from Tuscany, had received orders, if he should find it expedient, to make a retreat; but the ardour of the French rendered this unnecessary.

the grand duke, with other valuable articles, being chiefly remains of antiquity, were packed up, and shipped on board of vessels on the Arno, to be sent, under convoy of an English ship of war, from Leghorn to Trieste, and from thence to Vienna. At this period, the heathen gods and sages seemed to be on their travels from the south to the north of Europe.

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They firmly kept their ground, repelling every attack, and they were supported by French troops, dispatched to their aid by the general-in-chief. In the course of that day, the French took 2,000 prisoners, and several standards. Next morning the passage of the river was carried by the main body at Montzanbano, situated between the lake of Garda and Mantua; but nearer to the former place than the latter. At five in the morning, 40 pieces of cannon were placed on batteries, on the right bank, in order to cover the construction of two bridges. At seven, six companies of carbiniers passed the Mincio, in boats, for the same end. At nine, one of the bridges was completed, and the advanced guard effected its passage. The Austrians were drawn up on the left bank, ready to receive them. An order, given by lieutenant-general Delmes for a general charge by the French infantry and cavalry, was immediately executed. It was effected without firing a single cannon. The French were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry and grape from the enemy against the front of all the columns: at the same time that they were strongly cannonaded in front from the heights of Salionza. But the Austrians soon gave way to an attack so impetuous, and fled with precipitation. All those who remained, were either killed or made prisoners. The flying Austrians were pursued to the heights of Vallegio. In the mean time, two brigades advanced to the left, to keep in check the forces which the enemy had under redoubts. Four pieces of light artillery were placed on a battery, near enough to counteract the fire from thence. The Austrians, after a brave resistance, were driven from their redoubts by the bayonet. Meanwhile, two French brigades, under the generals, Cassagne and Bisson, had taken a position towards the heights of Vallegio, where they were soon attacked by the reserve of the enemy, composed of the Hungarian grenadiers, to the number of 12,000. The French, reinforced by additional numbers, charged, and completely routed the Hungarians. They lost four pieces of cannon, one chest of ammunition, and about 2,000 prisoners. This movement carried a part of the advanced guard of the French towards Vallegio, where it had still to encounter a most obstinate resistance. Three times was the village taken and retaken. The Austrian commander, unwilling to incur farther danger, beat a retreat: "2,000 prisoners," says the French general of division, Oudinot, (from whose circumstantial accounts, transmitted in different dispatches to the minister at war, we extract these general results) "twenty-nine of whom were officers, 5 pieces of cannon, 2 howitzers, 900 muskets, and 80 horses, was the issue of this capitulation." In consequence of these actions, the centre of the army, under the command of general Souchet, the reserve under general Michaud, and the cavalry commanded by the general of division, Davoust, the second bridge being now also constructed, effected their passage, and took up proper positions on the left side of the Mincio. In the night, the enemy, who had remained masters of the castle of Vallegio, evacuated the place.

Next day, December 27, lieutenant-general Delmes, having entirely surrounded the redoubts of Salionza,

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Salionza, began to prepare for an assault, when the Austrians surrendered at discretion. Fourteen pieces of cannon, 1,000 prisoners, and two pair of colours, fell into the hands of the victors. "Twenty-eight pieces of cannon, two howitzers, with their ammunition; about 5,000 prisoners, among whom were 60 officers, and two standards, were the fruits reaped by the French on these two days." Among these fruits, general Oudinot, whether from a fine sentiment of humanity, or that he did not choose to make any estimate of the killed and wounded on both sides, does not reckon the number of Austrians slain. This, however, must have been great. By some journalists, French and English, who give the reports of the day, inflated with various passions, and unchastised by the hand of time, it amounted to not less than from six to 7,000.

The French, pursuing their advantages, proceeded to occupy, on their left, the heights of Castel-Nuovo, and on their right, took post between Legnago and Verona. They sent out detachments to invest Peschiera and blockade Mantua.

The main body of the Austrians had passed the Adige: but they had strengthened, with a numerous artillery, and some troops, an entrenched camp, which they had formed before the town of Verona, covering the great road from that place to Mantua. From the reports of a reconnoitring party, it appeared that great numbers of Austrian troops were drawn up at all points along the whole line of the Adige. On the evening of the 30th, the pontoons were sent from Volta and Monzanbano to Boussolingo, where it was determined that the passage of the river should be attempted next morning at daybreak. An attack was to be made in two points. The first was the place where it was really intended that the advanced guard should pass, and one division of the left, and two divisions of the centre, were accordingly stationed a mile above Boussolingo, at the sharp turning of the Adige. The second passage, which was only feigned, was to be attempted near Ghieri, by the troops composing the reserve. The right was to approach as near as possible to Verona, and to threaten the reserved camp. The cavalry were to act along with it in this false attack. The division under Boudet received orders to storm the Austrian post at Chiusa, to advance to the heights of Romada, and, proceeding from thence, to form a junction with the second division of the left, commanded by general Rochambeau, who had received orders to get possession of Riva and Torbole, and marching up the left bank of the lake of Garda, to occupy Mori, and to proceed afterwards towards Roveredo, when the army should have passed the Adige. The division of the infantry and cavalry in reserve, who, on the 31st had made only a feigned attack at Ghieri, received orders, between the night of that day and the 1st of January, 1801, to march with the greatest rapidity to Boussolingo, and there to pass the Adige. The right wing, commanded by general Dupont, received orders to take post at Boussolingo. These movements were executed on the morning of the 1st of January, in the course of which day the whole army, except-

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ing the divisions under Boudet and Rochambeau, were on the left bank of the Adige, on their march towards Verona. In the night between the 1st and 2d of January, that city was evacuated; but 1,500 Austrians were thrown into the two forts.

The division under Boudet, in taking possession of Chiusa, made 300 prisoners; and, by the reduction of Alla, 500. General Boudet pursued his route to Roveredo, of which he was master on the 3d of January, and where he was joined by Rochambeau, who had taken possession of Riva and Torboli, and concentrated his forces at Mori, according to his instructions.

The Austrians retreated from Verona by the way of Vicenza, and took a position to the left of Santo Bonifaccio, and the right of Montebello. A division of the French army, under general Mouncey, was charged with the blockade of the forts of Verona. A division, under Vatrin, took post at St. Lucia: the division of Boudet marched in the direction of Alla, as above noticed. The advanced guard, the centre, and the reserves of infantry and cavalry, advanced in pursuit of the enemy, on the way to Vicenza, following the summits of the mountains. The Austrians defended some positions not without firmness; but perceiving that they were in danger of being turned, they retreated, in good order, behind Montebello.—The French pursuing now an easy course of success, crossed the Brenta, took possession of Trent, and drove the Austrians from Bassano and Castel-Franco * to Salvaroza. The road at this last place was thickly strewn with the bodies of dead and wounded men. The French, in the course of eight days, had marched 130 miles in pursuit of the Austrians, who made little resistance, but fled before them. In this rapid career, besides the miserable men, who only hastened the approach of death, by endeavouring to fly from it, upwards of 3,000 Austrians were made prisoners. On the 12th of January, the respective positions of the armies, commanded by the generals Brune and Bellegarde, were these:

The left wing of general Brune's army, commanded by lieutenant-general Mouncey, had its foremost columns at Azalo, and by its posts was connected with the centre, under the orders of general Souchet.

The advanced guard was established at Salvaroza. At its right the division under Watrin was posted; and, on its left, the two divisions of the centre.

The corps of reserve was stationed behind Castel-Franco; the dragoons and the cavalry were also stationed in the environs of that place.

Over against the French, the Austrian army lay encamped on the plain of Salvaroza; and by their dispositions appeared to expect, and to prepare for an attack, as the French, on the other hand, were determined quickly to make it. In these circumstances, an Austrian colonel arrived at the French head-quarters, and proposed conditions of an armistice, which was concluded, on the 16th, at Treviso, capital of the Venetian province of Trevisano, within twenty miles of

* In the engagement at the post of Castel-Franco, which was vigorously disputed by the Austrians, the advanced guard was commanded by general Michaud, in the room of general Delmes, who was indisposed.

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Venice. The line of demarkation between the two armies was to be the Tagliamento, from its source in the mountains of Tyrol to where it falls into the Adriatic. The four fortresses of Peschiera, Porto Legnago, Ferrara, and Ancona, were to be given up to the French. The blockade of Mantua was to be continued; but, by a new armistice, concluded at Luneville on the 6th of February, the emperor, as a proof of sincerity, agreed to give up, besides the four fortresses just mentioned, that also of Mantua. For a particular account of the armistice of Treviso, as well as the treaty of peace to which it led, at Luneville, February 9, we refer our readers to the State Papers in this volume. The main object of both will be seen in the answer of Buonaparte to the proposal of peace made by the court of Vienna, which was highly dignified. "The left bank of the Rhine shall be the boundary of the French republic: she makes no pretension to the right bank. The interest of Europe does not permit the emperor to pass the Adige. The independence of the Helvetic and the Batavian republics shall be ensured and guarantied. Our victories add nothing to the pretensions of the French people. Austria ought not to expect from her defeats what she would not have obtained by her victories. Such are the invariable principles of the government. The welfare of France shall be, to restore tranquillity to Germany and Italy: her glory, to *deliver the continent from the avaricious and destructive genius* of England *."

As general Moreau, in the armistice of Steyer, had included the Gallo-Batavian army, so general Brune, in his stipulations with general Bellegarde, included that of the Grisons. General Macdonald, who was ambitious of following up his passage of the mountains by some splendid achievement on the other side, wrote an angry letter to general Brune, in which he said, "You had no right to stipulate for the army of the Grisons; the business of which was, only to favour the operations of the army of Italy, without giving you any right to command me:" but the dispute between the two generals was ended almost as soon as begun by the convention of Luneville, by which all the demands of the French were granted.

After the renewal of hostilities had called back the French troops from Tuscany, the strong aversion of the Italians was manifested in an insurrection of the Tuscan people, and also of the Piedmontese. Neapolitan troops marched for the support of the Tuscans; and the Piedmontese alone performed many actions of great courage and determined resolution for the recovery of their independence: but these insurrections were soon subdued by the overbearing force of the French arms. The French army of observation, under general Murat, 25,000 strong, crossed the Alps early in January, proceeded to Ancona, and forced the Neapolitans to evacuate Rome, and all the ecclesiastical states, as well as those of Tuscany, and was ready to march, through those states, to Naples. Italy and Germany were at the nod of

* In this concluding sentence, Buonaparte probably alludes to the *deliverance of Europe*, professed for some time to be the great object of the war by our government.

Buonaparte. These great countries, from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Lower Rhine, the French contemplated as one continued scene of victory, power, and triumph.—It was observed by Julius Cæsar, as well as by Hannibal, as a general maxim of war, that assailants possess more courage and force than those who act merely on the defensive. This maxim was verified in the present campaign between Austria and France in a very striking manner. The plans of the French were admirably arranged. There was a line as it were of armies, sustaining and cooperating with each other from the Rhine to the Po; from the Prussian neutrality to the centre of Italy; and bodies of reserve, stationed at different places, were ready to repair defeats and improve advantages. Yet, on the whole of this long line, they were fronted by the Austrians, whose posts, as well as those of the French, appear to have been chosen with perfect skill, and whose armies, as well as those of the French, might have been recruited with as brave and with stouter men, if there had been the same ardour and enthusiasm in the Austrian cause that called forth the energies of France. If offensive operations have their advantages, defensive operations have also theirs. The ardour of successful onsets often carries the victors rapidly forward beyond the line of prudence. Their force is weakened by dilatation. They are exposed to ambuscades. If they are separated into different parties, they are liable to be cut off in detail; or, if they keep together, they may be cut off from retreat, and reduced to famine. The ardour of generals Moreau and Brune, which appeared to precipitate them beyond the bounds of their usual prudence, undoubtedly presented to the enemy the most important advantages; nor can it be supposed that the Austrian commanders did not perceive it: but there prevailed in the imperial armies no small degree of both discouragement and discord. They were without both the spirit and the harmony that is inspired by the glow of a common passion. From a long train of disasters, they had lost that which is most essential to an army, confidence in themselves and their commanders. By the continued losses and defeats of the war, too, a great portion of the veteran troops was worn out, and, through a general despondency, the new levies in Hungary and Bohemia proceeded but slowly. The subsidies from England had not the influence either in raising new troops, or attaching the old to the continuance of the war that was expected.

But while all the continent of Italy crouched before the power of the French republic, a small garrison in the town and fortress of Porto-Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba, on the coast of Tuscany, defied their utmost efforts for its reduction, and bravely stood out till the war was concluded, by a peace between France and England. When the French troops entered Tuscany, in October, 1800, a number of English, who were at Leghorn, under the conduct of Mr. Isaac Grant, the English vice-consul at that port, took refuge in Porto-Ferrajo. At his instigation, the inhabitants formed the noble resolution of defending themselves against the republicans. The men took up arms, and even the women took an active part in the defence of the place. It received

ceived supplies, with 300 soldiers, for the most part artillerymen, from the English squadron, under sir J. B. Warren. Four hundred Corsicans, in the pay of the English government, with a number of Neapolitan deserters and others, also paid by England, added to the natives of Porto-Ferrajo, and the English, raised the garrison of that place to the number of 1,500 effective men. It was invested, on the land side, by a French army 5,000 strong. Batteries were raised, and the town and fortress bombarded. Attempts were made twice to storm it; but the assailants were repulsed with great loss. A sally was made by the besieged, led on by Mr. Grant, and the principal batteries of the French were destroyed. The besieging army was reinforced, new batteries were constructed, and the bombardment was ready to be recommenced, when, in the beginning of August, the inhabitants of Porto-Ferrajo were summoned to surrender, by the count of Ventura, the minister of their new sovereign, the king of Etruria, with a promise of amnesty *. The garrison sent for answer, that they acknowledged no authority but that of the grand duke of Tuscany. The bombardment was recommenced from new batteries of four mortars, which did great damage.

When sir J. B. Warren sailed from Leghorn, in the beginning of August, to watch the motions of the enemy at Toulon, and to act as circumstances might require on the coasts of either France or of Spain, he left a division of his squadron to cover Porto-Ferrajo. On the 14th of September the admiral returned. His force, together with the ships stationed before off the harbour of Porto-Ferrajo, amounted to seven ships of the line, three frigates, and two brigs, and carried troops destined for the relief of the brave garrison. The ships of war were prevented from entering the harbour by the enemy's batteries. The troops, to the number of 3,000, with a detachment of sailors, were landed at different points, as near Porto-Ferrajo as possible. At the same instant, the besieged made a sally, and got possession of the battery, which contributed principally to prevent the English squadron from entering the harbour. The English had advanced about a mile and a half from the beach, when the French general Martin, seizing a favourable opportunity, attacked them with the bayonet. An attack was at the same time made, by the adjutant-commandant, Sacklem, on the side of the city. The English, after an obstinate engagement, were forced to retreat, and make, as well as they could, to their vessels. The English frigates, taking advantage of the moment, when the detachment for Porto-Ferrajo became masters of the French battery, had entered the harbour; they were now under the necessity of retiring. One of them being dismasted, was towed off by a number of gun-boats.

Meanwhile an attack was also made by a party of the English, covered with three ships, on Marciana, which was equally unsuccessful. Marciana was garrisoned

* The eldest son of the duke of Parma, agreeably to the treaty of Luneville, was called to the throne of Tuscany, and on July 26th began to exercise the rights of sovereignty.

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principally by Polish troops. The English were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. On that day, above 800 English were killed, (drowned, in endeavouring, through rocks and precipices, to regain their boats) or wounded, and 200, including several officers, were made prisoners. In this attempt to relieve Porto-Ferrajo, and reduce the whole island of Elba, though unsuccessful, there was no deficiency of either courage or conduct. What could be done, was performed by admiral Warren, and our brave soldiers and sailors; and they were seconded by the gallant garrison, with the greatest judgment as well as alacrity.

The disasters of the 14th of September were, in some measure, compensated to the defenders of Porto-Ferrajo, by a more prosperous effort in November: when, previous to the confirmation of peace between France and England, they made a sally, as usual, under the command of Mr. Grant, and, after a bloody engagement, not only took the outer intrenchments of the French camp, but the posts of Madonna della Grazia. Of the island of Elba, eight miles long, and two broad, part belonged to the grand duke of Tuscany, and part to the King of the two Sicilies. The Tuscan part was ceded by the treaty of Luneville: for what belonged to Naples, his Sicilian majesty received Piombino, a principality of Tuscany. On the other side of Italy, the Turks were apprehensive of a descent on the Morea, or the coasts of Albania, by the French from Ancona, and other ports; and the French in Ancona, on the other hand, were apprehensive of an attack by the combined squadrons of the English and Turks. Three Turkish ships of the line were sent to cruise in the Adriatic seas; detachments were also sent occasionally into those parts from the fleet under lord Keith, to scour the Adriatic of pirates, and to watch the movements of the French on the side of Italy. All the ports in the Adriatic, containing French troops, were declared to be in a state of blockade; it was also proclaimed, that all vessels bound to those ports would be taken. Land forces, too, were stationed on the Turkish coasts on the Adriatic.—Great precautions of defence, on the other side, were used by the French: among others, a chain was thrown across the mouth of the harbour of Ancona. This was the head quarters of the French in Italy; but parties were stationed in other places of the ecclesiastical states, particularly in cantonments on the river Nera, which falls into, and opens a communication with, the course of the Tibur.

In the course of this summer great insurrections prevailed for some time in both Naples and Sardinia, the natural consequence of the diminished authority of government. A number of families of distinction retired from Naples to Rome: others went to Palermo. The malecontents were headed by a chief named Mammone, who advanced to the frontiers of the Roman territories, and appeared resolute to try his strength against any troops that might be sent against him. In Sardinia, a fellow of the name of Menmia, who could neither read nor write, was at the head of a great body of insurgents, conferred pretended honours and dignities on such of his followers as appeared most active and enterprising, levied money on the country,

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try, and set a price on the heads of those who were against him. The spirit of insurrection in those quarters was not broken, until the pacification between France and England recognised and confirmed an established order of affairs in Italy.

It is astonishing, and might well appear incredible, if it were not placed beyond all doubt by experience, that priests, women, and other domestics, in palaces, called courtiers, should have been able so often, through their influence with kings, to thwart the measures, and diminish the respect due to the highest degree of honour and military courage, skill, and success. The supreme rulers of states do not give way to the influence and insinuations of those around their persons, under the idea, that, in doing this, they hazard either the security or the honour of their crowns: but they are artfully led to believe, that both these are equally safe in the hands of certain favourites: and the usual jealousy that disposes sovereign princes, rather to check and pull down, than to honour and exalt such transcendent merit, as seems, in some measure, to eclipse the splendour of the throne, opens a way to the intrigues of the courtiers. Certain it is, that neither the virtue, nor military success and glory of prince Charles the *Hector* *, as the baron Thugut was the *Pitt*, of Austria, and whose plan it was to call back the French from Germany and Italy, by penetrating into the heart of France, were able to screen him from a malignant and too successful influence and opposition at court.

The great object of the empress was, to save Naples, through an amicable compromise: many of the best officers were neglected, and, in some instances, even dismissed from the army, because they were attached to the archduke Charles. The council of war, at the seat of government, whose measures had uniformly, and with very little exception, been followed by defeat and disaster, was generally detested and ridiculed by the army. On the whole, the nerves of the Austrian army were relaxed; the sentiments and wishes of the officers were discordant; and almost the only point on which there was a general una-

* As instances of many that might be mentioned of the humane and generous disposition of prince Charles, what follows, is worthy of being recorded. When he was on his way from Bohemia to take the command of the army of Germany, as he approached the scene of action, he fell in with numbers of wounded and dying, abandoned by their companions, on the road, for want of horses to draw the carriages in their retreat. The prince immediately ordered the horses to be unyoked from several pieces of cannon that were likewise retreating, saying, that the relief of these poor men was an object far nearer his heart than the preservation of a few pieces of cannon. When general Moreau heard of this benevolent trait, he ordered the cannon that had fallen into his hands to be restored to the Austrians, saying, that he would take no cannon that had been abandoned from such humane motives.

At Passaw there was a repository of clothes and provisions destined for the poor of that city. This magazine, on the retreat of the Austrians to the Trafen, fell into the hands of the French. The archduke immediately wrote to general Moreau, to acquaint him with its destination, and entreated him to spare it. The clothes and the provisions were distributed among the poor; and general Moreau wrote back to the prince, that he would never appropriate to his own use what had been destined for the relief of indigence.

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nimity in all ranks, was a desire that the war might be brought to a speedy conclusion. Such being the state of the Austrian army, and the Austrian people, the audacity of Moreau in advancing into the very heart of the Austrian dominions, instead of being charged with folly, may be thought to have been a conduct as well judged as it was daring.

By the treaty of Luneville, the feelings of the house of Austria were, no doubt, severely wounded. Deprived of the rich and noble inheritance of their Burgundian ancestors, and almost excluded from their long-loved Italy, they were isolated, in a great measure, from those points of contact, where they had so long and so often measured their strength with other powers, and on which they asserted their power, influence, and right to interfere, and be regarded with the highest degree of consideration in the great affairs of the finest part of Europe. Yet the wisest politicians were of opinion, that, in the compactness of empire, acquired by the accession of so much territory on the side of the Adriatic, in exchange for wider domains, but these disjointed, the Austrian family had gained, in stability and real strength, an ample compensation for what they had lost in extent of dominion. This opinion coincides with that of a great politician and profound scholar, who flourished in the end of the 17th, and beginning of the last century: the celebrated Fletcher of Saltoun. If his reasoning be just, it ought to be a consolation, not only to the friends of the house of Austria, but to all Europe, whose interest it is, that a government should be established in the vicinity of France, fitted to make a stand against its capricious sallies, and thereby to contribute to the general quiet and security of nations. The passage from Fletcher, to which we allude, may be quoted without much impropriety in this stage of the history of the Netherlands and the Austrian dominions and authority in Italy. "The violation of the ancient privileges of the Netherlands, by attempting to introduce an absolute form of government, and the Inquisition, was an extremely foolish measure, which, together with the cruelty of the duke of Alva, rendered the inhabitants of them most obstinate enemies; but the troops of Spain were at that time so excellent, that they would have easily surmounted this difficulty, notwithstanding the very strong situation of some of these provinces, and though the king had done nothing to redress their grievances, had it not been that Flanders lay at such a distance from Spain, that, as armies could not be transported thither without the greatest difficulty and expense, so that not only they, but frequently the advices by which they were to act, came not in time to answer the sudden emergencies that are always falling out in the course of a war, which the English and French, as being in the neighbourhood of these people, were able to foment with the utmost ease and expedition; and so blinded was this prince, that, as if Flanders had become the seat of his empire, he would needs from thence, and that, too, before the Flemings were reduced, make war upon France and England, as his successors have since done against the Palatinate. So gross an error not only occasioned a loss of seven of these provinces, and ruined his great designs in France and England, but reduced him to the greatest straits

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straits in all his other affairs: which the French, in these latter times, being aware of, have never failed to direct the chief weight of their wars against these provinces, which lie so near their capital, and to employ the bulk of their forces, on that side, to their own great advantage, and the perpetual loss of the Spaniards: nor at this day have they any other view in leaving a remnant of these provinces to the crown of Spain, but to keep their arms weak and unable to operate elsewhere, and so to increase the glory of the arms of France. Thus, the French having been defeated by the Germans, in the battles of Treves and Altenheim, we saw their monarch, early in the succeeding spring, march into Flanders, there to regain his lost reputation. And, at present, to render this province more expensive and pernicious to Spain, after having stript her of the more valuable part of the country, they leave her in possession of a number of large fortified towns, that require great garrisons to keep them. But, though the French should conquer all the rest of Flanders, they will have the like advantages in the state of Milan, where France can make war with much more ease than Spain; the passage for succours, both by land and sea, being nearer from Provence and Dauphiny than from that kingdom. And so, France, finding her account so greatly in it, will never fail to carry on her wars in these disjointed states, till Spain herself, when utterly exhausted by their ruin, and incapable of making a defence, be attacked in the last place. It was a most sagacious saying of a happy genius, that, by the addition of Flanders, and the Spanish states of Italy, the weight of Spain and the Indies became lighter. In our age, these states have almost totally destroyed this weight. And it had been for the interest of Spain, that Charles V had alienated the provinces of Flanders, by either annexing them to the empire, or making a present of them to any power who had been able to defend them against the French; that Philip, instead of retaining, by a most consuming war, the dominion of a part of these provinces, had granted them all their liberty; or that the present king had yielded the remnant of them to France, rather than still have retained them, to the greater advantage of the latter. So little do men see in their own affairs; and so great and innumerable miseries do nations suffer, merely from the want of solid reflection*." It would seem, that the ambitious policy of the French monarchs, respecting the provinces of Flanders and Milan, was very different from that of Buonaparte. Which of the opposite systems was the most judicious and solid, it remains for time to determine.

* See a Discourse concerning the affairs of Spain—Political Works of Andrew Fletcher, esq. of Saltoun.

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CHAP. V.

Political Views of Buonaparte, after a Pacification with Austria.—The Character now assumed by France.—Buonaparte cajoles Paul I.—and revives the Armed Neutrality of 1780 against Great Britain.—Convention on the Principles of that Confederation between France and America.—Ambassador sent to the United American States from Denmark.—Disputes between Sweden and Great Britain.—Capture and Condemnation of a Swedish Convoy.—A Swedish Vessel pressed into the Naval Service of England.—Complaints of this made by Spain and Holland.—Dignified Conduct on that Occasion of the King of Sweden.—Reflections on the Question concerning the Liberty of the Seas.—History of this Question.—Sweden and Denmark hostile to England.

THE chief consul of France, having made peace with Austria, was now at liberty to bend his undivided attention to England.—The leading features of his policy, with respect to this country, appear to have been these: to excite a confederacy, against this country, among all the maritime powers; to exclude her from all the ports of Europe; to attack, and, if necessary, to subdue her only remaining ally, Portugal; and exhaust her finances, and weary out the patience of the British nation, by the continued threats and alarms of invasion.

France, now in the ninth year of the war, assumed the character which England had taken at its commencement. The word, or, according to the new phraseology, the order of the day in France, was, "The liberty of the seas, and the pacification of Europe."

The chief consul was congratulated, of course, by all the constituted bodies, on the peace which he had so happily accomplished with Austria. In his answer to the legislative body, he said, "France will not reap all the blessings of peace, until she shall have a peace with England: but a sort of delirium has seized on that government, which now holds nothing sacred. Its conduct is unjust, not only towards the French people, but also towards all the powers of the continent: and when governments are not just, their authority is but short-lived. All the powers of the continent must force England to fall back into the track of moderation, of equity, and reason."

Buonaparte, ever since the failure of his attempt, after his elevation to the consulate, to negotiate a peace with England, continued, with increased earnestness, to represent to all maritime nations the overbearing haughtiness and insolence of this country. By his ministers and other

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other agents at the courts of Petersburgh, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Berlin, he insinuated how encouraging the present posture of Europe was for a revival of the armed neutrality of 1780, founded on the principle, that free and neutral bottoms make free and neutral goods, and how great the advantages of compelling the English to make peace on reasonable terms.

The desultory and frantic mind of the emperor, Paul, had been irritated, by various accidents, against the courts of both Vienna and London, but especially against the latter. Disputes had arisen, even to the height of action, between the Russians and Austrians, after the reduction of the Ex-Venetian isles, in 1799, at Ancona. The Austrians had not duly supported the Russians, in the campaign of that year, against France: and it appeared, not indeed without reason, that a neighbouring and rival empire was not actuated by the principles which had drawn the Russian potentate into the confederation against the French republic, but by views of individual aggrandizement. Whatever was the cause, certain it is, that the emperor of Russia had conceived great disgust at the emperor of Germany: insomuch, that when the latter announced his intention of sending an extraordinary ambassador to Petersburgh, to offer excuses for what had happened at Ancona, Paul refused to receive him: and, the more fully to give vent to his passion, he gave orders that no answer should be given to the notification from Francis. As to England, mutual accusations had taken place between the Russian and the English generals, after the unsuccessful and disastrous expedition, in 1799, to Holland. After the first ebullitions of the emperor's rage against his own officers, his jealousy and resentment was awakened against the English. The beginning resentment of Paul against the British nation, as well as the court of St. James's, was inflamed by the failure of his schemes in the Mediterranean.

The genius of the Russian government, amidst the caprices and singularities of individual characters, preserves, on the whole, the impulse and determination that was given to it by the Great Peter. It was his aim to have a firm footing in the Mediterranean, as well as on the Northern ocean and the Baltic. In pursuance of this general aim, Paul had been led, by a concurrence of circumstances, which need not to be here enumerated, to fix his eyes and heart on Malta. Though no absolute promise was made to that prince by the other allies; yet, it would appear, that some hopes had been held out to him, or, at least, that he was allowed, without being undeceived, to entertain a sanguine expectation of being presented with it*. A fleet, with troops,

* General sir Charles Stuart, in stating the reasons which induced him to resign the command of the British forces in the Mediterranean, wrote to Mr. Dundas, on the 2d of April, 1800, the following: "Although I have freely submitted these professional remarks to you on the difficulty of reducing Valette, by siege, I trust you will do me the justice to believe, that neither the circumstances I have stated, the reduction of the force first proposed, or the inferiority of the objects now in contemplation, comparatively with those originally designed (among which the chief is

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troops, had sailed from the Black Sea, in August, 1800, for the express purpose of taking possession of the place when it should surrender. No remonstrances were made when Paul assumed, ridiculously, the title of grand master of Malta: and when he pretended to make captain Home Popham a knight of that order, his right to do so was recognized in the London Gazette. When the original destination of that fleet was frustrated by the surrender of Malta, and its occupation by the English, it remained long at anchor in the canal of Constantinople, waiting for orders how to act. The resentment of the emperor was, in the first instance, as usual in such cases, wreaked on a weak party, presenting itself as a ready object for the gratification of his passion. He demanded from the grand seignior, the ally of England, a large sum, stipulated, he alledged, to be paid by the Turks for the maritime aid of the Russians. A sharp dispute arose on this subject. The Russian admiral refused to return to the Crimea till the money should be paid, and even threatened hostile measures against Constantinople. The Porte was obliged to yield to the menaces of the enraged czar of Muscovy. Nor is it by any means unimportant, however ludicrous, on the present head, to mention, that Paul was highly offended by the caricatures of his person and character, published in the streets of London; and which Buonaparte took special care to have transmitted to Petersburgh. On the irritable and irritated temper of the emperor, disgusted with Austria, and much more with England, but as prone to sentiments of gratitude and generosity as to those of resentment, Buonaparte operated with consummate address and complete success.

The world was not a little surprised at the arrival of an embassy in Paris from Paul I, not more than a year after his famous proclamation for restoring the throne of the Bourbons. This embassy consisted of the general baron de Sprengporten, an old Swedish refugee at the court of Russia, prince Joseph Dolgorowki, the count de Tissenhaveen, a captain in the Russian army, Mr. de Scheping, son of the grand mareshal of Courland, and other gentlemen. This stately company was met by general Clarke, at Brussels, and by him conducted to Paris on the 18th of December. The ostensible object of the embassy was, to treat for the release of the Russian prisoners

is known to have been the expulsion of the French from Egypt,) make me for one instant wish to relinquish the danger or honour of the undertaking: but the same point of honour, the good of this country, and, I may add, the humanity which gives rise to these feelings; *rendered it impossible for me to obey the particular instruction concerning the introduction of a Russian force into Malta.*" Mr. Dundas, having read this extract, said, "I cannot, on this occasion, avoid remarking, that whilst we are accused of acting with insincerity towards Russia, the circumstance which led to this resignation is a strong proof how anxious his majesty felt to offer to that power, though bound to it by no positive engagement whatever, a participation in the advantages of that conquest, in case Russia had remained faithful to her alliance, and to the bonds of amity then subsisting between her and this country."—*Parliamentary Register, House of Commons, March* 25, 1801. It is difficult to conceive, how the possession of Malta could have been shared, with any tolerable prospect of continued harmony, between the English and the Russians. But the present question is, whether Paul had any reason to look for either the whole or a share of it?

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that had fallen into the hands of the French, to the number of 7,000. For this body of Russians the British government had refused to exchange an equal number of French prisoners. The chief consul, in compliment to Paul, gave orders that all the Russian prisoners should be newly clothed and accoutred in the uniforms of their respective regiments, and restored freely without exchange or ransom. Each man was presented with a fusil of French manufacture.

The baron de Spengporten bore the title only of envoy. He was followed, in February, 1801, by an ambassador, accompanied by a retinue equally splendid. The envoy with his train was treated with very marked respect: but still greater marks of respect and reverence were in reserve for the ambassador. When it was made known in France, that an ambassador from Russia was on his way to Paris, his arrival was expected in that city with the utmost eagerness, and every preparation possible was made to gratify the vanity of Paul, in the person of his ambassador. This was the count Kalitcheff, a man of modest, unassuming, and courtly manners, who had before sustained the character of Russian ambassador at Berlin and other courts. The count must doubtless have been astonished to find himself treated, by so great and glorious a nation as the French, with a degree of magnificence and of adulation exceeding all the marks of honour and devotion that he had ever known to be paid to his own imperial master. On his entrance into Paris, he was saluted by a fire of all the cannon. A magnificent palace was appropriated to his residence, and he was entertained at the expense of the republic. He was honoured with a body-guard. It was artfully contrived that petitions should be presented to him from persons under the prosecution or the sentence of the law, imploring his interference in their behalf with the chief consul, and from others, soliciting favours. The protection of Kalitcheff was never extended to any one without effect: his applications to the consuls were never made in vain. But what was considered as the head and crown of all this climax of compliment to Paul, was, the affectation of granting, only through the intercession of the emperor of Russia, peace and independence to the king of Naples. The queen of Naples, judging rightly of the character of Paul, governed more by private humours and caprices, than by views of sound policy, or even of ambition, had gone to Petersburgh, in November, 1800, to persuade the emperor to continue the war, or if not, to continue, at least, his countenance to the royal family of Naples, and to exert his influence and authority for the safety of the kingdom. A lady in distress could not solicit in vain the protection of a knight errant, after so long a journey in suit of it. The emperor's zeal in the cause of the Neapolitans was increased.

The French government expressed a disposition to grant to the intercession of Paul, what they would have granted without it. General Murat, on the 24th of January, 1801, wrote from Florence, to general de Damas, commander of the Neapolitan troops, as follows: "It is almost a month, general, since the French ministry acquainted you that the interest which his majesty the emperor of Russia takes in the king of

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of Naples, had induced the first consul to bury in oblivion the innumerable injuries of all kinds, of which your government has been guilty towards the French people. After this opening towards a good understanding, we entertained the hope, that you would have remained a quiet spectator of a contest, in which you can be but of little consequence on one side or other. Yet the king of Naples, forgetting for the tenth time, the dictates of sound policy, and what was due to the generous conduct of the French government, dispatched his troops into Tuscany, where they came to be thrashed by general Miollis. But war is attended with so many calamities, that the French government studies all possible means of avoiding it. 1. Evacuate all the ecclesiastical states, and the castle of St. Angelo. 2. Make no farther claims of any benefits from the armistice of Treviso, in which you are not included, nor at all mentioned, or on the influence of a power which must no longer protect you. The only prince who has it now in his power to protect you, in consequence of the personal regard that is borne to him by the first consul, is, the emperor of all the Russias. Let it be the study, sir, of your government to merit a continuation of that prince's goodness; which cannot be done but by shutting all the ports of Sicily and Naples against the Navigation of the English, and laying an embargo on all the ships of that nation, which it is now high time to expel from all points of the continent."

But the grand point on which Buonaparte's intrigues with Paul turned, was Malta. Malta was to be Russia's whenever it could be wrested, by arms or negotiation, from the English. It is almost needless to mention, that, amidst so many acts of studied complaisance, orders were given by the French government for a cessation of all hostilities against Russia. On the 19th of January, 1801, the consuls issued a decree, by which, "All vessels of the republic, and all cruisers bearing the French flag, were forbidden to interrupt the ships of war, or the commerce of the emperor of all the Russias, or of his subjects; on the contrary, all French vessels were ordered to afford succour and aid to the ships of Russia.

Next to Russia, the power of most importance, in the formation of a confederation against England for the purpose just mentioned, was Prussia. Without the concurrence of the king of Prussia, the hostility of the northern powers could not be attended with any bad effects to us, very lasting. But it was in the power of the king of Prussia, who commanded so extensive a maritime coast, and the navigation of all the great rivers, from the Rhine to the Eider on the north of Germany, to render it truly formidable, and, at a time when Great Britain was hard pressed by scarcity of provisions and menaced with famine, peculiarly distressing. No means, therefore, were neglected by Buonaparte to strengthen the confederacy by the accession of the Prussian monarch. For the accomplishment of this important object, he sent his brother Lewis to Berlin; and a very happy opportunity occurred of intriguing for the same end, in the mission of the marquis de Lucchesini to Paris, to take care of the interests of Prussia,

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Prussia, during the negotiations at Luneville *, Lucchesini had for some time maintained an ascendant over the mind of his royal master. It was chiefly by his counsels that the affairs of Prussia were then directed.

It was not by secret intrigues only that Buonaparte set himself to rouse a general confederacy against England. He avowed this intention, with the reasons on which it was formed, before the whole world, in a message to the legislative body, the tribunate, and the conservative senate, February 13, respecting the treaty that had been recently made with Austria; and which, as his other messages and measures, was printed and published. "Why," says he, "is it, that this treaty is not a treaty of general pacification? This was the wish of France! This was the constant object of the efforts of its government. But all its efforts have been in vain. Europe knows all that the British ministry have done to prevent the success of the negotiations at Luneville. In vain did an agent, authorized by the government, declare to them, on the 9th of October, 1800, that France was ready to enter into a separate negotiation with them. Its declaration was answered only by a refusal, under the pretext that England could not abandon her ally. Since that period, and after that ally had consented to treat without England, this government seeks for other means of postponing peace, which is so necessary to the whole world. It violates a convention consecrated by humanity, and makes war on fishermen †. It advances pretensions

* It did not seem at all necessary to enter into any history of the negotiations at Luneville. The business transacted with the Austrians lay in a narrow compass, and was, in fact, for the most part, transacted at Paris. The emperor refused at first to conclude any treaty for peace, but in conjunction with his ally, Great Britain. After the battle of Hohinlinden, the progress of the French armies in the hereditary dominions, and the passage of the Mincio, and the Adige, by the army under general Brune, there was no longer room for negotiation. The emperor was at the mercy of Buonaparte. Besides, the negotiations, whether at Luneville or Paris, were not like those of Rastadt, in 1798, of a public, but of a secret nature. By the presence of count Cobentzel, for some time at Paris, instead of Luneville, the delays that must have arisen, from the necessity of an intermediate agent, were avoided. The Austrian negotiator was invested at once with the character of prime minister and plenipotentiary. And as it was Buonaparte and count Cobentzel that concluded the treaty of Campo Formio, they had considerable facilities in bringing the new arrangements to an issue. At Paris, there arrived, besides the Prussian minister, ambassadors from the duke of Bavaria, the margrave of Baden, the pope, and the duke of Parma. The count de Cobentzel, on the 7th of November, accompanied by Joseph Buonaparte, returned to Luneville, and again, after the armistice of Steyer, to Paris. The appearance of a negotiation at Luneville was not interrupted by the renewal of hostilities. Magnificent apartments were fitted up in the castle of Luneville for the Austrian and the French ministers. A telegraph, for corresponding with Paris, was erected on the top of the castle. The presence of so many diplomatic characters gave an air of mystery and importance to matters: there was, however, very little done but what was public enough, and of that there was, indeed, a great deal; a never-ceasing succession of public balls, dinners, and other entertainments. The politeness, mutual civilities, and magnificence, that prevailed, seemed a triumph over the reign of the committees of the conventional assembly and the directory.

† Orders had been given, January, 1800, to the English privateers to capture all French fishermen: but, as full liberty of fishing on their coasts to all nations was allowed

sions contrary to the dignity and the rights of all nations. All the commerce of Asia, and immense colonies, are no longer sufficient to satisfy its ambition. It is necessary that all the seas should be subjected to the exclusive sovereignty of England. It arms against Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, because Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, have, by treaties, mutually guarantied their sovereignty, their independence, and their flags. The powers of the north, unjustly attacked, have a right to rely on the assistance of France. The French government will, with them, avenge an injury common to all nations, without at any time forgetting, that it ought to contend only for peace and the happiness of the world." The same language was held by the tribunes. In all their harangues the chief burden of the song was, "*The liberty of the seas, and the repose of Europe:*" the glory of all which, it was always understood, would be principally due to the great nation.

Nor, in the great business of rousing a general confederacy against England, was the press neglected. Many pieces were

allowed by the French, these orders, on the 20th of May, were revoked. There appeared, however, to the British ministry, ground to believe that these fishermen were put into requisition and sent into Brest, to equip and arm the fleet, and that those who had been permitted to leave the prisons of this country, and return home, on the express condition of not serving in the navy, were also comprised in that requisition. Orders were therefore given, towards the end of January, 1801, that the orders which had been issued in January, 1800, should again be put in execution in every thing relating to fishermen and their vessels. And the commissioners charged with the service of transports, and the care of prisoners of war, were ordered to require, in the usual mode of communication, that all those discharged on their parole, should be obliged to return to this country, and to signify to them, as well as to the French government, that such of them as should neglect to obey these orders, should be treated with all the rigour of the laws of war, in case they should be made prisoners again in the service of the enemies of his majesty. This notice from the British government produced the recal of Mr. Otto, with the copy of a note from Talleyrand, by orders from the chief consul, which he (Mr. Otto), on his departure, was to address to the British government. The note stated, "That if, on one part, this act of the British government, contrary to all the usages of civilized nations, and to the common law which regulated them even in time of war, gave to the present war a character of fury and violence, on the other it was impossible for him not to acknowledge that the conduct of the English government respecting the point in question, tended to exasperate the two nations more, and to remove the period of peace to a still greater distance: that, in consequence, the undersigned could no longer remain in a country, where the government not only abjured all disposition for peace, but where the laws and usages of war were despised and violated. The undersigned had therefore orders to quit England, where his continuance was, in every respect, useless; and he was charged, at the same time, to declare that the French government, whose first wish had always been to contribute to the general pacification, and with whom it had always been to soften, as much as possible, the calamities of war, cannot think of rendering miserable fishermen the victims of the prolongation of hostilities; that it had ordered, on the contrary, that the French privateers or cruisers should continue to leave the fishery free and undisturbed." If the French government had fraudulently obtained the release of men from our prisons, as fishermen, who really were not such, our government had reason to complain. On the other hand, it could scarcely be supposed that the French fishermen should be exempted from being pressed, in order to be exempted from being captured. The class of fishermen supply hands for the British navy. The English ministry, on a due consideration of all circumstances, gave up the harsh measure complained of; and Mr. Otto remained in England.'

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published, to show not only that the overbearing power of this country at sea ought to be resisted, but that it might be resisted with success. "Fleets," says the Monitor (the French official paper), are not the decisive weapon that determines the conflicts between empire and empire. Let the European ports be shut against England: let her be every where refused the means of repairing the damages of the weather and the winds: let her no longer be contended against at sea with unequal force; but let her waste her strength in useless stations and impotent blockades. Then it will appear, that the success and prosperity which depend upon fleets and shipping never have been or can be durable. Seamen have, at all times, ultimately yielded to soldiers. Witness the fate of Alexandria, of Tyre, of Rhodes, of Venice, Genoa, Portugal, Spain, &c.* They have all recoiled before the pressure of battalions: and prove that territory and men constitute the true source and real wealth of a state."

That France had determined to oppose the maritime claims of England was signified to this country in a very courteous manner. About the middle of January, 1801, some valuable books, magnificently bound, were presented to the Royal Society of London from the National Institute of France. A letter of compliment accompanied this present, signed, *Buonaparte, president of the National Institute, and first consul of France.* And, on the letter, was a finely executed vignette, representing liberty sailing on the open ocean in a shell, with the following motto:

Liberte de mer.

The liberty of the seas was not only recognised by the professions of Buonaparte, but by his conduct. After a long course of dispute, not absolutely hostile, a treaty was concluded, September 30, 1800, between France and America, on the principle, that free ships make free goods, contraband excepted. Passports from any place from whence any vessel should have sailed, with certificates ascertaining the cargoes, were to be sufficient guarantees, on both sides, to merchant vessels, against all insults. It was agreed that the citizens of the two nations might navigate and trade, in perfect freedom and security, with their merchandise and ships in the country and ports of the enemies of either party, without encountering any obstacle or control; and not only pass directly from the ports and fortresses of that enemy, but, moreover, from any place belonging to an enemy into any other belonging to another enemy, whether subjected or not to the same jurisdiction, unless these fortresses should be actually besieged, blockaded, or invested. The articles forming contraband during war were understood to be these: gunpowder, saltpetre, petards, matches, balls, bullets, bombshells, pistols, halberts, cannons, harnesses, artillery of all sorts, and, in general, all kinds of arms and implements for the equipment of troops. These articles, whenever they should be found destined for an enemy's port, were

* The *et cetera* might have been filled up, and the sentence very properly concluded, with Holland: but this was delicate ground.

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to be declared contraband, and exposed to confiscation; but the ship with which they were freighted, as well as the rest of the cargo, was to be regarded as free, and in no manner vitiated by the contraband goods, whether these belonged to many, or to one and the same proprietor. It was stipulated, that all things on board should be reckoned free belonging to the citizens of one of the contracting parties, although the cargo or part of it should belong to the enemies of one or other, contraband goods always excepted.—If the ships of the citizens of either nation should be met on any coast, or on the high seas, by any ship of war or privateer of the other, to prevent all disorder, the ships of war and privateers were to keep out of cannon-shot, and send their boats to the merchant vessels they should meet. It was not to be lawful for two or three to go on board to ask for the passports and certificates concerning the property of the ship. It was expressly agreed, that the neutral should not be obliged to go on board the visiting vessel, there to produce his papers, or to give any information whatever.

These stipulations, with regard to the conduct to be held on the sea by the cruisers of the belligerent party to the traders of the neutral party, were not to be applicable but to ships sailing without convoy; and, in the case of ships under convoy, the intention of the parties being to pay all respect due to the protection of the flag carried by the ships of the nation, it was not to be lawful to visit them. The verbal declaration of the commandant of the escort, that the vessels under his convoy belong to the nation whose flag he carries, and that they have nothing contraband on board, was to be considered by the respective cruisers as fully sufficient: the two parties reciprocally engaging not to admit, under the protection of their convoys, any vessels carrying prohibited goods to an enemy's port. That the ship and cargo might be watched over with care, and for the prevention of waste, it was farther agreed, that the master, captain, or supercargo of the captured vessel, should not be removed from on board, either while the ship should be at sea, after having been taken, or during the proceedings which should take place against her, her cargo, or, any thing relating to her.

Various other cases were provided for by this treaty; and very great care was taken to secure both expedition and justice at the tribunals established for prize causes in the respective countries. The treaty is given at full length among the State Papers in our last volume; but it appeared proper to bring the particulars here extracted under the immediate view or recollection of our readers, because it is a model and exemplification of that maritime law, which the French government, in order that Britain might derive no advantage from its naval superiority, wished to prevail all over the world. They will serve to convey, in an easy manner, an idea of the objects contended for on either side, which were principally three. First, one party insisted that neutral nations should be allowed to carry on the coasting trade of the belligerent powers, and to sail freely for this purpose, from one port to another of the same country: this claim, maintained now by the French, the British government did not

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not admit. Secondly, France held it for a maxim, that free ships make free goods, with the exception of goods comprised under the description of contraband of war, and which have been just specified. Great Britain neither admitted that maxim, nor limited contraband goods to the articles there particularized, but considered as contraband various materials that formed naval and military stores. Thirdly, the French required that those ports only should be considered as blockaded, at the entrance of which the blockading ships were actually anchored, and that so near as to create, at all times, an evident danger to those ships which might attempt to enter. The English insisted, that blockades might be constituted by cruising squadrons, answering, in a naval war, to those real or virtual lines of circumvallation, which belong to a siege by land. These ideal lines on the sea, though not defended in every point by an equal force, they held sufficient to exclude all right of commerce with the towns so invested: it was by this system only, that many ports hostile to England, and particularly that of Brest, could be effectually blockaded.

The eagerness of the French government to exhibit to the world a proof and example of their maritime jurisprudence and moderation, was displayed by some sacrifices, on the part of France, to that object. By the treaty between Great Britain and America, of 1794, it was stipulated, that a free entrance should begranted into their respectiveports, with complete protection to the privateers and ships of war of the two countries, and the prizes taken from their enemies; and they engaged never to conclude a treaty, extending the same favour to any nation at war with either of the contracting parties. The treaty of 1778, having been annulled by the latter and now regarded as if it had never existed, they could not allow the same privileges to France, without violating their treaty with England. By the same treaty, the United States were prevented from acceding to the great principle of the new maritime system, viz. *that free ships make free goods*, without an exception in favour of the superior naval power of England. They admitted the right of search on the part of England. In return for such complaisance, certain advantages were accorded by the British government to the Americans, as will appear from the treaty. The French commissioners in their negotiations with the Americans, urged how hard it was that France, for the sake of establishing universally the rights of neutrality, and the law of nations, should be obliged to recognise and ratify, in favour of her rivals and enemies, proceedings so little expected on the part of the Americans, with whom she had so recently made a common cause against those very enemies, directed to the same object, for which France herself was now at war, the attainment of liberty and independence: but the diplomatic conferences were conducted throughout in the most amicable manner. The American ambassadors, during their residence at Paris, were treated with every possible mark of respect. The French negotiators laboured hard to renew the treaty of 1778, with certain modifications; but, when they found that this could not be done, they only expressed their regret that it should be impossible to remove the

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difficulties which had occurred.—Even before the treaty was brought to a conclusion, the French commissioners, by the authority of their government, declared, that, even in case of the present negotiations not terminating in a treaty, the American flag should, nevertheless, continue to be respected, and their vessels, in the French courts of law, be treated as those of a friendly nation. Orders were issued to the privateers to respect all neutral flags, among which those of the Americans were by far the most numerous, and American and other vessels were daily released, with damages against the owners of the privateers. Soon after the conclusion of this commercial treaty between the Americans and the French, an ambassador was sent, for the first time, to the United States from Denmark.

While the French government, by the show of a frank and equitable conduct towards all nations, endeavoured to conciliate universal confidence and attachment, the British cruisers continued occasionally to knock about them, and to seize the ships of neutrals, fraught, or suspected to be fraught, with military or naval stores to the enemies of Britain, as usual.

A fleet of Swedish merchantmen, carrying pitch, tar, hemp, deals, and iron, to several ports of France, was taken, January, 1798, sailing under convoy of a ship of war, and proceeded against for resistance of visitation and search by British cruisers. Sir William Scott, the judge in our admiralty court, after stating the law of nations, and that there did not exist any special circumstances in the case in hand, which ought, in any manner or degree, to affect the application of that general principle, which he held to be incontrovertible, observed, "That it was his business merely to decide, whether, in a court of the law of nations, a pretension could be legally maintained, which had for its purpose, neither more nor less, than to extinguish the right of maritime capture in war, and that by the direct use of hostile force on the part of a neutral state. It was high time that the legal merit of such a pretension should be disposed of one way or other. It had been for some few years past preparing in Europe, and it was extremely fit that it should be brought to the test of a judicial decision; for a worse state of things could not exist, than that of an undetermined conflict between the ancient law of nations, and a modern project of innovation, utterly inconsistent with it; and, in his apprehension, not more inconsistent with that, than with the amity of neighbouring states, and the personal safety of their respective subjects." The judge, then, having allowed such costs as seemed equitable, condemned the ships and cargoes, directing, at the same time, all private adventures to be restored; and he concluded in these words: "This is the substance of what I have to pronounce judicially in this case, after weighing, with the most anxious care, the several facts, and the learned arguments that have been applied to them. I deliver it to my country, and to foreign countries, with little diffidence in the rectitude of the judgment itself. I have still more satisfaction in feeling an entire confidence in the rectitude of the considerations under which it has been formed."

It is not common for men to bear with equanimity even the judg-

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judgments pronounced against them in the name of law, much less do they endure with patience lawless and violent aggression. The condemnation of the Swedish vessel as legal prize, by our court of admiralty, was less irritating to the pride and resentment of the Swedish king and government than an affair that happened afterwards to a Swedish vessel at a harbour of Spain. Two Spanish frigates, of 22 guns each, rode at single anchor in the Mole, or inner harbour of Barcelona. About the end of August, 1800, two English men of war, with a frigate, appeared off the port, and continued to blockade it till the 4th of September. On the afternoon of that day, the English frigate, together with a boat from one of the ships of the line, the Minotaur, boldly set out from the squadron to which they belonged, with an intent to attack them and carry them off out of the harbour. On their way, they fell in with a Swedish merchantman that was passing then under sail. To expedite their scheme, and keep their force more compact, they laid the Swede alongside, put a number of their men in the vessel, and took her in tow into the harbour*; but, before they approached close, the frigate and boat cast off from the Swede, and plyed on their own oars alongside the Spanish frigates, which they found so far from being in a state of warlike resistance, that, on board the largest, preparations were made for a grand ball and supper. The table was laid in grand style, and many of the principle people of Barcelona were momentarily expected on board. It is not improbable but they thought that the boats contained their guests, instead of so rude interrupters of their gala. The vessels were easily carried; but the assailants had a considerable distance to tow their prizes down the Mole, before they could pass Mount Joye. The pride of the Spaniards was the more hurt at this affair, that there was somewhat in it of the ludicrous. The officers of the two Spanish frigates had recourse to every shift to excuse their unwarlike conduct, and endeavoured to divert the resentment of the government of Madrid from themselves to the Swedish ship pressed into the service of the English.

As the war between Spain and Great Britain did not permit the Spanish minister to address a complaint on the affair of Barcelona directly to the court of London, he contented himself with denouncing the fact by a circular letter, dated at St. Ildefonso, September 17, 1800, to all the ambassadors of foreign powers then resident at Madrid, and with giving more particular information of it to the Swedish government, whom this event interested more than any other, exhorting him to demand from the British government a satisfactory reparation for the insult offered to his flag, and

* What compulsion was practised on the Swede we have not been able to learn. Perhaps he was passive and indifferent, except from an apprehension of blame from the Spaniards: perhaps he was induced to connive at the manœuvre by the promise of a reward. If he was really pressed into our service, in order to cover an act of hostility, it cannot, on any ground, be justified; and due satisfaction to Sweden would not have been a disgrace, but a credit to Britain. Such practices would banish all confidence from the intercourse of nations, and tend to shut every port of a belligerent power against a neutral flag.

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exemplary punishment on the officers who had dared to commit so criminal an offence. The representation that was made of that event by the Spaniards, founded, it was said, on a report by the Spanish consul at Barcelona, was, "That, on the 4th of September, 1800, in the afternoon, two English ships and a frigate forced captain Redbeard, of the Swedish brigantine, Hoffnung, after having examined his papers, and found them regular, to take on board English officers, and a considerable number of sailors, and to suffer himself to be towed, in the evening, by several English boats, as far as the road of Barcelona, and under the cannon of the batteries. That the English having compelled the said captain and his crew to be silent, by holding a pistol to his breast, took possession of the rudder, and, by means of the said brigantine and the boats which surrounded it, made an attack on two frigates under Spanish colours, which were there at anchor, and which having no reason to suspect that a neutral and friendly vessel could conceal enemies on board, and thus serve to favour a most treacherous attack, were, in a manner, surprised and forced to surrender."—The Swedish ministry, in a letter transmitted to the minister of his catholic majesty, and dated at Drollingholm, October 22, 1800, replied, in substance, "That his Swedish majesty was sorry that another instance had occurred of an insult offered to a neutral flag; but he hoped that, in due time, remonstrance would have its effect, and justice be obtained for such frequent outrages, both by the French and the English. Meanwhile, with the retort courteous, he called to the recollection of his catholic majesty, that such acts of violence very generally happened in Spanish ports, where no measures were taken to prevent them. In allusion to the trial and decision in our admiralty court, above mentioned, he observed, that Spain and all Europe were acquainted with the long process which Sweden had carried on in London on the subject of restoration, and that there could be no reason to expect that speedier justice would be done in a cause which required restitution to be made to an enemy. A note was likewise delivered to the Swedish king by the minister of the Batavian republic, urging his majesty to take speedy satisfaction for the affair of Barcelona. "As to you, sire," said the Dutch envoy, "Europe has its eyes on you, and expects, with impatience, the prompt satisfaction which is due to you. If the English government, deaf to the voice of honour, and to the representations of your majesty, do not make, *before the expiration of one year*, the reparation which is demanded, the Batavian government will find itself reduced to the harsh necessity of concerting with its allies the necessary means for securing its ports from any violence similar to that which has been exercised agains the Swedish flag." The note from which this is an extract, was published at Stockholm, November 30, 1800.—The world was not at a loss to what source to trace this extreme urgency and decisive tone of the Batavian republic.

To the Batavian note, the chancellor of the Swedish court answered by another, in which he thanked the Batavian government, in the name of his master, for the part which the former had taken respecting

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ing the insult offered to the Swedish flag. "With respect to the term of a year, pointed out for the purpose of obtaining a reparation from England, his majesty did not think himself by any means circumscribed in point of time. If unexpected obstacles should occur, to prevent the removal of the existing difficulties, he should not deem himself responsible for any abuse of the Swedish flag, which the belligerent powers might choose to employ by way of reprisals against England, any more than he did for the abuse of it, which Great Britain had committed against Spain. Spain and all Europe was acquainted with the long process carried on by Sweden in London, on the subject of restoration of captured ships, and there could be no reason to expect that speedier justice would be done in a cause which required reparation to be made to an enemy. It would be much to be lamented, should the injustice of a third power be able to break connexions, which several direct discussions, during the war, had not altered. Unfortunate events of this nature had frequently taken place, *and some as if they were peculiar to the Spanish ports**. The king of Sweden would demand of the court of London justice for Spain; but without answering for the consequence of this measure."—Though the king of Sweden, with great dignity, repelled the idea of being dictated to by the Spaniards and Hollanders, the event soon proved that he did not stand in need of their excitements to assert what he conceived to be due to his flag on any inviting opportunity; and such an opportunity, he at the same time knew, would by and by be presented by similar sentiments, passions, and designs, that had been growing up in different quarters, out of similar situations and circumstances, for years, and were now hastening to maturity.

The question concerning the liberty of the sea, like other questions in the law of nature and nations, has often been debated at great length, not only on political, but moral grounds, as if the rulers of this world were to be restrained by any other considerations, than those of expediency, policy, and interest. The contempt of justice, which sovereign states discover in their territorial transactions with each other, is universally considered as inveterate, and past all remedy. Yet, from the earnestness with which, not only civilians and other moralists, but politicians and statesmen, enter into elaborate discussions on the question of *mare liberum et mare clausum*†, it would seem that they still entertain hopes of persuading by moral and theological arguments, sovereign states and princes to sacrifice their interests to a sense of duty. No politician thinks it worth while to oppose ethics, or religion herself, to the partitioning plans of France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. If murmurs against violence and usurpation are heard for a time, they soon subside into a tacit acknowledgment of a right acquired by possession. Yet attempts are constantly made to convince the world, that it is immoral, in any great naval power, not to relinquish the advantages she derives

* In justification of this *retort courteous*, a particular and striking instance is mentioned.—See State Papers, last volume.

† The navigation of the ocean perfectly free, or restricted by certain limitations.

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derives from her maritime superiority in favour of her enemies. At land, rights are obtained by conquest; usurpations are legalized by time; property grows out of possession. Rivers, lakes, mountains, deserts, and other natural boundaries, define and ascertain, in the imaginations of men, a right of dominion in those who are able to bear rule in the enclosed regions. Because the main ocean is not intersected by natural barriers, and dotted with forts; but, like the air we breathe, one continuous expanse; it is imagined, that the law of force and occupancy, which does every thing on land, should do nothing at sea. But the law of *major vis*, if it be tolerated in the one case, ought to be equally tolerated in the other. The only difference is, that the fortified places—fortified whether by nature or art, that confer continental dominion, are of a fixed, whereas the fleets and navies of a great and preponderating maritime state, are of a moveable nature. In the present state of the world, which is in truth little better than a state of war, the conduct of governments cannot be squared, in every instance, by metaphysical accuracy: great indulgence must be, and indeed is, given to measures of state, in the mutual transactions of nations. Nor are there many among these that admit of so fair an apology, as the right of visiting and searching the vessels of neutral powers claimed and maintained by the English. It is however our business to view this subject not morally, but historically.

The right of examining and siezing neutral vessels, hostile to the interests of any maritime power, under certain equitable modifications, has been maintained by authors of different nations, Italian, Spanish, Portugueze, French, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, and English. That right was generally acknowledged from the earliest times of a regulated commerce in Europe, and exercised too by every maritime power, when it suited its interest to do so. Authors there were, indeed, who maintained the unlimited freedom of the seas; when the states to which they belonged, and under whose auspices they wrote, dreaded some superior maritime power, and sought to enjoy, under the shade of laws, what they could not command by their own strength. An instance of this we have had recently, in an elaborate treatise, by a Danish * professor, in the summer of 1800; written under the authority of the Danish government, and published at Copenhagen, with a view to prepare the way for a revival of the armed neutrality. In general, what was to be expected, in fact, took place. The weaker maritime powers contended for *mare liberum*: the stronger for *mare clausum*.

As England claimed, what she had always exercised, a right of visitation and search, so Spain, France, Holland, and other maritime states, constantly claimed the same right, whenever their interest required it, and they possessed power sufficient to enforce it. In a word, the rights claimed by England, in regard to neutral vessels, had been justified by the practice of

* Doctor Schlegal, professor of laws in the university, and assessor of the supreme court of judicature, Copenhagen.

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Europe, for centuries. They had been long recognized by the common acquiescence of all nations, when they were attacked by the doctrines of the famous armed neutrality of 1780: for an account of which, we refer our readers to our volume for that year *.

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Not many months had passed after the date of the maritime law promulgated by Russia, before Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, bound themselves, by treaty, not only to adopt her laws, as obligatory on themselves, but to assist in imposing them, by force, on all other powers, and, particularly, on this country. Ten years did not elapse, before the authors of that new system, which had been framed to last for ages, were themselves the first to violate it. In 1793, the empress of Russia proposed, and actually concluded a treaty with Great Britain, for cooperating in the late war with France. She expressly engaged to unite with his Britannic majesty "all her efforts to prevent other powers, not implicated in this war, from giving any protection whatsoever, directly or indirectly, in consequence of their neutrality, to the commerce or property of the French, on the sea, or in the ports of France; and, in execution of this treaty, she sent a fleet into the Baltic, and North Seas, with express orders to her admiral, to search all Danish merchant ships sailing under convoy." Thus, the empress of Russia, when at war with France, felt the justice, as well as the expediency, of resorting to the ancient system of public law. The same system was adopted by her successor, with redoubled ardour. So lately as the year 1799, the Russian emperor, Paul I, threatened the Danes with immediate hostilities, on account of their partiality to France, of which he stated one symptom to be, their supplying assistance and protection to the trade of France, under the neutral colours of the Danish flag; and if the emperor did not carry these threats into execution, with as much intemperate haste, as he did his menaces in other instances, it was owing solely to the amicable interference of Great Britain, which Denmark repeatedly acknowledged.

An article, similar to that in the Russian convention in 1793, was agreed to between Great Britain and Prussia, another party, as already observed, to the armed neutrality of 1780. The same was likewise agreed to by Spain, and engagements of similar import were entered into by Austria, as well as by Portugal and Naples. Denmark expressly renounced the principles of the league of 1780, both by her own edicts, and by a formal treaty. The rescript, published at Copenhagen, at the commencement of the present war, for pointing out to the Danish merchants the nature and limits of their neutral trade, instead of being founded on those principles, was in direct contradiction to them. The Danish were there expressly commanded not to attempt to carry in neutral ships any property of the belligerent nations. In the year 1794, a convention was signed between the courts of Sweden and Denmark, for the mutual preservation of their neutral commerce, during a war, in which almost every country in

* Being the XXIId of the Annual Register.

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Europe was then actually engaged. This treaty, being duly ratified, was by them communicated to the British government. In the second article, they declared their adherence to their respective treaties with all the different powers at war, without exception. And by the third, they bound themselves to each other, and to all Europe, that, in all matters not expressed in their existing treaties, they would not pretend to any other advantages than those which were founded on the universal law of nations, such as it was recognised, and respected, up to that moment, by all the powers, and all the sovereigns of Europe.

But the principles of the neutral confederacy of 1780, and a lurking ill will to this country, engendered by commercial envy and wounded pride, still rankled in the councils of both Sweden and Denmark. The difficulties which gathered more and more around Great Britain, forsaken by her allies, one after another, or, what is infinitely worse, obliged to forsake them, roused all those principles of indignation and resentment, with which these and other powers had been long actuated. The hostile dispositions of Sweden we have already seen exemplified in acts of assistance to our enemy. Similar dispositions were betrayed by similar acts, on the part of Denmark, between which power and Sweden there would appear to have been a secret understanding, if not a formal concert.

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CHAP. VI.

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Pacific State of Denmark, A. D. 1800. — *Origin of Differences between Denmark and Great Britain.—Danish ships captured by the English.—Resistance.—Capture of a Danish Frigate and Convoy.—The Difference between the Courts of London and Copenhagen, in consequence of this Incident, amicably hushed by a British Plenipotentiary, backed by a British Squadron in the Baltic, for a Time—but not finally settled.—Revival of the armed Neutrality of* 1780—*in which the Lead is taken by the Emperor of Russia—in Violation of recent Treaties.—An Embargo laid on all the English Shipping in the Ports of Russia, and their Masters and Crews marched into the Interior of Russia.—A Confederacy formed against the maritime Claims of Britain, by Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia.—Motives for this.—Prussian Troops enter the Bailiwick of Ritzebuttel.—The Danes seize Hamburgh.—Bloody Battle at Copenhagen.—Death of Paul I.—The Disputes between Great Britain and the northern Powers amicably settled.*

THE monarchy of Denmark and Norway had been at peace for nearly eighty years, with the exception of an incursion in 1790 into Sweden, which was terminated almost as soon as begun. A nation, which had so long enjoyed the repose and the blessings of peace, was naturally averse to war: yet, by a singular fate, the most peaceably inclined of all the confederation, now going on against Great Britain, was the first, the last, and the only power that was engaged in actual hostilities. Neither the absolute government under which they had lived so long, nor the sweets of so long a peace, had enervated their courage. They had not degenerated from the martial virtues of their ancestors. Such is the efficacy of climate, race, and a seafaring life, amidst the fluctuations of moral causes.

Many Danish ships had been brought into our ports, though it appeared, afterwards, that they contained no contraband commodities. This was a matter both vexatious, and attended with much loss. But the first difference of any consequence, since the armed neutrality of 1780, on the subject of the right of visitation by sea, arose in the month of December, 1799, in the vicinity of Gibraltar, between some English frigates, and a Danish frigate, named the Hauseneu, commanded by captain Van Dockum. The English commander sent on board the Dane, to demand from the captain his destination. The captain answered, that he was then going to Gibraltar. The English commander replied, that if he was going to stop at Gibraltar, he would not visit his convoy; but that, in case

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case he should not cast anchor there, the visit certainly would take place. Captain Van Dockum then informed the officer who had come on board, that, in such case, he would make resistance. On this the English captain made the signal to examine the convoy. The boat of the frigate, which was the Emerald, prepared to execute this order. Some musketry was fired down from the Danish frigate, and one of the English sailors was thereby wounded. This frigate also took possession of a boat of the English frigate, the Flora, and did not release it, till after the English captain had given captain Dockum to understand, that if he did not surrender it immediately, he should commence hostilities. The Danish frigate then repaired with its convoy to the bay of Gibraltar. There some discusssions took place between lord Keith, commander of the British forces in the Mediterranean, and captain Van Dockum, whom lord Keith thought proper to consider as personally responsible, and guilty of the injury done to a subject of his king. He thought it impossible, he said, that the captain could be authorized to act in such a manner by the instructions of his court. To clear up the business, the English admiral sent an officer to Van Dockum, requesting that he would show him these instructions, and explain their nature. The Dane refused to let the admiral see his instructions, alledging that he was forbid to do so; but he told the officer that their import was, not to permit visitation of his convoy, and that, in firing on the English boats, he only fulfilled his orders. The captain himself afterwards made like answer; and, on his word of honour, in conversation with lord Keith and the governor of Gibraltar; promising at the same time, to surrender himself before a judge, and to give notice of his appearance, on which promise, he was told that he might return on board: but having entered his boat, he sent a letter to the admiral, in which he refused to give the notice required. What had happened, was represented to the Danish ministry by Mr. Mery, the British envoy at Copenhagen, on the 10th of April, 1800, and a demand made, in the name of his government, for a disavowal, apology, and reparation. This affair, without any other reparation than a disavowal, was satisfactorily adjusted. As it was not the interest of Denmark to go to war, the resistance made to visitation, by captain Van Dockum, was a matter of surprise to many, and a subject of various conjecture. The Danes probably entertained an expectation, that Great Britain, amidst so many difficulties as those in which she was now involved, after experiencing a determination to resist, on the part of the neutrals, would relax her vigour and promptitude in enforcing her maritime claims, as she had done during the short existence of the armed neutrality, from 1780 to the peace of 1783. A similar expectation, from a like conduct, was probably entertained by the Swedes. The general surprise was still more excited, by an engagement which took place between a Danish frigate, the Freya, on the 25th of July, 1800, at the mouth of the channel, and no less than four English frigates, a brig, and a lugger. An officer from the foremost of the English frigates came on board the Freya, and desired to search the convoy.

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convoy. Captain Crab, commander of the Freya, replied, that without acting contrary to his instructions, he could not allow the convoy to be searched, but offered to lay all the ship's papers before the commander of the British ships: but the English officer persisted, in the name of the commodore, in his demand of searching the convoy, which was peremptorily refused.—About eight o'clock in the evening the commodore of the English squadron laid his ship alongside of the Freya, and repeated his demand, that the convoy should be searched without opposition. He was going to execute this measure, and to send for that purpose on board the merchantmen; but captain Crab assured him, as he had done before, that this proceeding was diametrically opposite to his instructions, and that the boats would be fired on. The English commodore, whose ship lay nearest abreast of the Freya, at the distance of about a fourth part of a cable's length, gave her a full broadside, which was instantly returned. Captain Crab, having sustained the unequal contest for some little time, struck his colours. The Freya had two men killed, and five wounded, and thirty shots in the hull; the English had five men killed, and several wounded. The Danish frigate, as well as convoy, was taken, by the English commodore, to the Downs. Captain Crab, by orders of the English admiral, who commanded in the Downs, was sent back on board the Freya to draw up a report of what had happened. Two English officers, and thirteen men, but these not armed, were placed on board the Freya.

As it was apprehended, that, in the present disposition of the northern powers, this incident might lead to a renewal of the armed neutrality, and an extension of the war, lord Whitworth, for the prevention of extremities, and for the reconciliation of differences, was sent with a special mission to the court of Denmark; and, that the representations with which he was charged might have the greater weight, he was supported by a squadron, under the command of vice-admiral Dickson, consisting of nine sail of the line, four bomb-ships, and five gun-vessels. This armament sailed from Yarmouth on the 9th of August, 1800, at seven in the morning; and reached the Skaw on the 15th. Sir Home Popham had been previously dispatched in a fast-sailing ship, the Romney, to advance as high as to the entrance of the Sound, to procure intelligence of the strength and position of the Danes, and for forwarding such dispatches as he might meet with from lord Whitworth. Four sail of Danish ships, of 74 guns, were moored, with springs on their cables, across the narrowest part of the Sound, extending from Cronberg Castle to the Swedish shore; and a frigate of 40 guns was moored so as to defend that flank of their line next the castle. On the 16th, at four o'clock in the morning, the whole of the British squadron had advanced as high as the Knolt; but the admiral's orders were not to enter it. As the masters and pilots had declared, that the Sound afforded no anchorage for the squadron, the admiral dispatched a letter to sir Home Popham, who, on account of a gale, had entered the Sound, desiring him to apprize lord Whitworth and the Danish commodore of his intentions to proceed to Elsineur.

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sineur, a situation chosen by the admiral for three reasons: first, to afford security and protection to the British trade in the Baltic; secondly, for safety to the squadron; and lastly, by his actual presence, to give weight to the negotiation lord Whitworth was charged with.—With these views, the squadron bore up on the 19th for Elsineur. At three in the afternoon, it anchored and rode in safety in the Sound, notwithstanding that the pilots had declared it to be impossible. Here the admiral stopped, in order to make his arrangements for passing the castle and the Danish squadron, in the event of hostilities on their part; but he had scarcely cast anchor, when he received a very polite letter from commodore Leekins, commander of the Danish ships, inviting him, in the name of his king, to come to Elsineur roads. Here he also received dispatches from lord Whitworth to the same effect. Directions were therefore given that evening, accompanied by an order of anchorage, for the ships to weigh separately on the succeeding morning, and, passing the fort and Danish line, to anchor above them, agreeably to the prescribed order. In the morning the admiral went on board the Romney, and, passing very near the castle, proceeded about twelve miles up, and anchored off Sophienburgh, where, on the day thereafter, he was met by lord Whitworth. A plan of cooperation was agreed on, in consequence of which, the Romney advanced to Copenhagen, and four bomb and two gun-vessels occupied the intermediate space between the ship and the squadron, for the purpose of communication, which, by means of a telegraph, established by sir Home Popham, was both rapid and correct. On the 22d, the Danish men of war, seeing themselves cut off, made a movement, anchored above the British squadron, and moored up and down the channel leading to Copenhagen. For this movement, they gave as a reason, that they had anchored on bad holding ground. The British admiral, therefore, pleading the same excuse, made a counter-movement, and placed his squadron in the same position with that of the Danes; but, from the numbers of the English, they were advanced a good way above them, and in a situation to cut them off as effectually as at first, without the fear of being annoyed by the fort. On the 24th, the Danish ships made another movement, which the English admiral intended in the evening to counteract, and weighed for that purpose; but they again got under sail, and ran higher up: and the next day they proceeded to Copenhagen, passed the Romney, and moored across the harbour.

In Denmark it is common during the harvest to permit the free men belonging to the army to assist in getting in the corn; but the whole of them were now called in to join their several regiments. Some regiments of cavalry, and other troops, were marched from Eckerford and Rensburg to Glucstadt on the Elbe, the capital of Danish Holstein. A great quantity of artillery and ammunition was sent to that place, and its fortifications were put into the best state of defence that time and circumstances admitted. Batteries were also erected on several places on the coast; and three floating batteries were, on the 23d, placed in the roads of Copenhagen. In these preparations

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preparations, and in repairing and strengthening the fortress of Cronberg, and the works around Cronberg, all the country was busily employed. But it was found, on inquiry, that the British armament was very formidable. That the British vessels, chosen for communication, were composed of bombs, placed also in a situation to bombard the city of Copenhagen, and that the squadron continued to advance, so as to be able to cover and protect them in the execution of that service. The Danish government, therefore, came into terms, and matters were amicably adjusted.

On the 29th, a convention was signed by lord Whitworth, the English plenipotentiary, and by count Bernstorf, the Danish minister; the substance of which was, "That the Danish frigate and convoy, carried into Deal, were to be repaired at the expense of Great Britain. The discussion respecting the right, asserted by the English, of visiting convoys, to be adjourned to a farther negotiation in London. Until this point should be decided, the Danish ships were to sail, under convoy, only in the Mediterranean, for the purpose of protection from the Barbary corsairs; and the Danish ships were to be liable to be searched, as heretofore."

The works of defence, begun by the Danes, on the approach of our squadron, were not discontinued, till brought to a completion, after its departure. For defraying the heavy expense of these, a tax was levied of two and a half per cent. on all commerce.

Though the dispute between Great Britain and Denmark was hushed for a time, it was not settled. Denmark did not distinctly abandon the principles of the armed neutrality. The cause of the difference that had taken place remained: and a future misunderstanding, from the very ticklish situation of Europe, particularly of the north, was apprehended. The Danes therefore continued to strengthen their naval force, which was already very considerable *.

The emperor Paul, whose animosity against England was still on the increase, being informed of the capture and detention of the Danish frigate with her convoy, laid an embargo on all English ships in his harbours. This, however, was taken off as soon as he learned that the dispute about the frigate was amicably adjusted. But his zealous endeavours to unite the other northern powers with himself, in confederacy against Great Britain, were continued. The same prince, who, in 1798, applauded our detention of the Swedish convoy, and who threatened Denmark with war, in 1799, for assisting the commerce of the French republic, not only joined, but took the most active part in a league among those very powers, for the purpose of assisting that common enemy, whom he had engaged to Britain, and to the world, to resist, to the utmost extent of his power. He recruited his armies as well as his navy. The movements of his troops towards the confines of Turkey in Europe, appeared to indicate some plan concerted between him and the chief

* The Danish fleet at this time consisted of two ships of 80 guns, ten of 74 guns, and six of 64 guns, besides frigates and smaller ships.

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consul, who had become his great idol*, for the purpose of intimidating the grand seignior into some concessions, as favourable to France as detrimental to England. The reason assigned by Paul, in the Petersburgh Gazette, of the 10th of September, 1800, for setting on foot a great army, on the side of the Baltic, and distributing it in certain stations, which were pointed out, was, "That several political circumstances induced his majesty, the emperor, to think that a rupture might ensue of the friendship between Russia and England."

The most active preparations for naval war were, at the same time, carried on in all the Russian ports.

It is the usual policy of princes and statesmen to conceal, as much as possible, their designs, till the moment of execution. Paul was neither guided in his conduct by policy, nor by common prudence and discretion. He gratified his resentments by an effusion of words, before it was in his power to express them by actions. The annunciation of his intention to quarrel with England was followed up, in the end of October, with a declaration, published in the Petersburgh Gazette, of his determination to revive the armed neutrality. He stated that, on mounting his throne, he found his states involved in a war, provoked by a great nation, which had fallen into dissolution; that, conceiving the coalition to be a mere measure of preservation, this motive had induced him to join it; that he did not, at that time, think it necessary to adopt the system of an armed neutrality at sea, for the protection of commerce, not doubting, but that the sincerity of his allies, and their reciprocal interests, would be sufficient to secure the flag of the northern powers from insult. But that, being disappointed in his expectation by the perfidious enterprises of a great power, which had sought to enchain the liberty of the seas, by capturing Danish convoys; the independence of the maritime powers of the north appeared to him to be openly menaced: he, consequently, considered it as a measure of necessity to have recourse to an armed neutrality; the success of which was acknowledged in the time of the American war."

The rupture with England, which Paul had predicted as not improbable, was announced, together with the immediate cause that led to it, by the publication of an official note sent to the foreign ministers at the Russian court, in the Petersburgh Gazette, of the 7th of November, 1800: "Whereas, his imperial majesty had learned that the island of Malta, lately in the possession of the French, had been surrendered to the English troops; but, as it yet was uncertain whether the agreement entered into on the 30th of December, 1798, would be fulfilled, according to which, that island was to be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which his majesty the emperor of all the Russias was grand master;

* As the great idol of his father was Frederick the Great of Prussia. A letter from general Pahlin, November, 1800, states, that when he had the honour to dine with Paul, his imperial majesty said, that he would give as a toast, the greatest man in Europe. On which he immediately drank Buonaparte, exclaiming, "Huzza! vivat Buonaparte!"

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master; his imperial majesty, being determined to defend his rights, had been pleased to command, that an embargo should be laid on all English ships in the ports of his empire, till the abovementioned convention should be fulfilled.

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By this time, the Russian envoy, Lisakwitch, had received orders from his court to quit England, and to proceed to Copenhagen, where he was appointed ambassador.

In consequence of the emperor's orders, not only an embargo was laid on near 300 British ships in the ports of Petersburgh, Riga, Revel, and Cronstadt, but the crews, with their commanders, were taken out of the vessels, and dispersed into the interior parts of the country, to distances, from a hundred to a thousand miles, in bodies often of twelve men each, into prison. On shore, all British property was sequestered; seals were placed on all warehouses containing English goods; and the owners were obliged to enter into recognizances to take inventories of their effects and report the same to the government. When the embargo on the English ships took place, at Narva, on the 5th of November, the crews of two of the vessels, indignant at such arbitrary proceedings, on the arrival of a military force, to put them under arrest, making resistance, with pistols and cutlasses, weighed anchor; and made off. The emperor, enraged at this, ordered the remainder of the ships in that harbour to be burnt. In the same Gazette, November 21, that stated this mutiny, as it was called, and the condemnation of the ship, the emperor renewed his declaration, that the embargo should not be taken off till the island of Malta should be given up to Russia, agreeably, as he said, to the convention of December, 1798.

The preponderating power of the Russian empire, in the north, must, at all times, have great influence in the measures of Sweden and Denmark. The authority of the emperor Paul, combined with the maritime interests, or, as was contended, rights of these kingdoms, and the irritated pride of the Swedish and Danish courts, formed a confederacy of Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, against the maritime claims of England: to which Prussia acceded, though under the strongest protestations that this was considered, by the court of Berlin, merely as a measure of prevention, and that it by no means intended any thing hostile against Great Britain.

The king of Sweden, high spirited, young, and of a resolute temper, was not only early brought over to a coalition with Paul, but took a very active part in extending it. For this purpose, he visited the courts of both Petersburgh and Copenhagen. In the mean time, naval preparations were carried on in his ports and arsenals. Denmark did not join the confederacy without hesitation. Never was the navigation of Denmark more extensive than at this period, or its trade more flourishing. The merchandises of Europe, and both the Indies, poured into its ports. The Danish merchants, in the capital, and other ports, had amassed a degree of wealth, hitherto unknown in that country. A state of affairs so prosperous, it was unwilling to exchange for a war with England; the certainty of which, should it join the coalition, it had every rea-

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son to apprehend, from what had happened in the Sound, towards the end of August. While Denmark hesitated, the Russian emperor threatened her with the severest marks of his displeasure if she should persist in her prudent plan of neutrality. Sweden too solicited the accession of Denmark to the northern league, in a tone which appeared rather dictatorial. For some time, the arrogance of the solicitations of both the Russian and Swedish courts destroyed their effect. For some time, it has been said, the court of Denmark felt greater resentment against its northern neighbours, than at that power against which they were endeavouring to arm it. But the right of visitation at sea, claimed by England, was every day more and more vigorously asserted. The situation of Denmark, between two such powers, in hostility to each other, as Russia and Great Britain, was truly arduous.

In this situation, Denmark, sensible of the necessity of connecting herself with some great power, by which she might be protected, equally from the insolence of the one, and the predominancy of the naval power and pretensions of the other, formed connexions, and yielded to the direction of the court of Berlin. The influence and authority of the king of Prussia, in Germany, in which so valuable a part of the Danish king's dominions, Holstein, Sleswick, and the Cimbrian Chereonesus itself, was anciently considered as situated, had become nearly equal to those of Austria. The interests and the security of the north of Germany were generally provided for by connexions with the court of Berlin, as those of the south were by similar connexions with that of Vienna. And during the war, continued between Austria and France beyond the year 1794, the king of Prussia was at the head of what was called an army of demarcation; supported at the common expense, for maintaining the neutrality of the north of Germany: of which, in fact, he seemed to be emperor, and to exercise over the secondary and subordinate powers, something like the authority of a sovereign lord over a feudal vassal. The policy of the court of Berlin was distinguished by an union of prudence with vigour: and there was a strong affinity of habits and manners between the Danes and Prussians. It was therefore natural for the Danes to seek a connexion with Prussia, and it was as natural for the Prussian monarch to accept and cultivate their friendship and alliance, as those of the Swedes. By a good understanding and alliance with Denmark and Sweden, which, as well as Denmark, was to a certain extent a German power, the Prussian monarch would extend and confirm his authority both in and on the northern parts of Germany; and, by acceding to the northern league, he would be able to balance the ascendency of Russia, and to moderate that character of excess and violence, which the personal character of Paul, to the detriment of all his neighbours, might, without such an antagonist and moderating power, introduce into the armed neutrality. Besides all this, Prussia had become herself no inconsiderable maritime power: and to augment and extend this had long been one of the main objects of those political combinations and plans,

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plans, in which the genius of the court of Berlin was so fertile. To maintain the freedom of the seas, therefore, was, and likely to become every day more and more, the interest of Prussia; though certainly its commerce had not yet attained to such a pitch, as to place it on a level with its projects of continental ambition, if the maintenance or extension of both had been inconsistent.

These considerations, however, though obvious, were not, perhaps, the true motives that influenced, at this crisis, the court of Berlin. To penetrate into the secret workings of the understanding and movements of the heart, that are the original springs of great affairs, is not in the power of the annalist who keeps so nearly pace with time; seldom of the future historian. It is possible that the Prussian monarch may have been less actuated by the considerations just stated, than by some secret intrigues with Buonaparte, respecting indemnities, or a secret jealousy and aversion to Austria, and of course to England, her great ally. Whatever were his secret motives, an opportunity soon offered of carrying his plan into execution.

In the beginning of October, 1800, a Prussian vessel, belonging to Emden, laden with naval stores, and bound for the Texel, was taken by an English frigate and carried into Cruxhaven, a port belonging to Hamburgh. His Prussian majesty remonstrated on this to the senate in strong and severe language, and directed the duke of Brunswick, as general of the army of neutrality, to march a body of two thousand troops to take possession of the village of Cruxhaven, and of the town and bailiwick of Ritzebuttel, within which bailiwick Cruxhaven is situated. The senate, after entreating that the courts of London and Berlin would settle this affair without involving the government of Hamburgh, purchased the vessel from the English captain, and delivered her to the Prussian commander. But the march of the Prussians was continued. Lord Carysfort, the British minister at Berlin, did not fail to represent, that the march of the Prussians against Cruxhaven, the cause being now removed, ought to be countermanded. Count Hogwitz, the Prussian minister, replied, that his Prussian majesty, in the character of chief for preserving the neutral line of demarcation, had found it necessary to occupy the port of Cruxhaven, in order to watch over the interests and security of those countries within its boundaries. But that this occupation would not disturb the good harmony that subsisted between the courts of Berlin and London, and that neither commerce nor a free communication would be interrupted by it.

The declaration of the Prussian commandant, Wedell, on his entering Ritzebuttel, was, "That the temporary occupation of that bailiwick and the village of Cruxhaven, by the troops under his command, had been occasioned by a misunderstanding which had happened with respect to a Prussian ship. Though, after several fruitless requests and amicable attempts had been made, that misunderstanding was now happily done away, yet, as the marching of troops, rendered necessary by the inefficacy of these, in the beginning, had once been ordered, and already commenced, his majesty had deemed it expedient

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to let it be continued, for the purpose of occupying the bailiwick of Ritzebuttel, to prevent similar events, and henceforth to watch himself over the maintenance of the neutrality of that place, so important for all states situated within the line of demarcation. This was the sole object of the arrival of the troops intrusted to his command. As their commanding officer, he would be particularly solicitous in maintaining public tranquillity and security, especially with respect to relations of neutrality; and in vigorously protecting the civil branches of the Hamburgh government of that place, as well as other inhabitants and strangers arriving there, with all their rights, legal relations, affairs, business, and property, wherever it might be requisite: but principally commerce and navigation, which should not, in the least, be injured or restrained, but, on the contrary, better secured and preserved, in their tranquil and undisturbed course; without, however, making the least alteration in the constitution and public measures of the place: on the other hand, every person was required to behave in a peaceable manner to the king's troops under his command; otherwise, he would have to ascribe to himself the disagreeable consequences, which would inevitably arise from a contrary behaviour." This piece was dated at the bailiwick of Ritzebuttel, November 24, 1800.

The king of Prussia was now universally regarded as a party in that confederation, which, it was well known, was going on among the northern powers. The mouths of the Elbe, the Vistula, the Weser, and the Ems, lay within the precincts of those territories of whose neutrality he was the principal guardian. And these inlets gave him an opportunity of cooperating with the other confederates, as effectually as if Prussia had ranked among the first maritime powers. It was in the power of Prussia to exclude the merchandise of England from those ports, and to cut off the supplies of grain, which, in Great Britain, at a season of great scarcity, were eagerly expected.

The court of Berlin, joining a plausible pretext, and an imposing attitude, to a cautious conduct, served at once as a model, an excuse, and a shield to Denmark. While she prepared for hostilities, she professed the most amicable dispositions towards England. She entertained some hopes that, under the protection of a Prussian alliance, she might escape the attacks of England, whose interest it so greatly was, to keep on fair terms with Prussia. Nor could the court of St. James's be surprised or blame her, if she joined a coalition supported on the one hand by the king of Prussia, and, on the other, by the emperor of Russia.

The northern confederacy without the accession of Prussia was not complete. With the good will, or even neutrality of Prussia, Great Britain might defy the intrigues of Buonaparte, and brave the utmost rage of Paul, though seconded by so hardy and brave a country as Sweden. The accession of Prussia, involving of necessity that of Denmark, completed the chain, for excluding the English from the continent, from Petersburgh and Stockholm to the strait of Gibraltar. After the march of the Prussian troops to Cruxhaven, and the Prussian manifesto,

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festo, on that occasion, the northern confederacy was soon formally concluded and declared to the world. It was signed on the 16th of December, 1800, by Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, and on the 19th by Prussia, as an acceding party. The principles of the northern confederacy had been before recognized in a treaty between Prussia and America. It was nearly the same with the armed neutrality of 1780, and the treaty between France and America already noticed; but somewhat more favourable to belligerent powers at sea, and less to neutrals. It was required that the captain and half the crew should be the subjects of the state to which the neutral ship should belong*. When the king of Sweden, under the name of count Haga, was at Petersburgh, for the purpose of concerting with Paul the measures to be pursued in the armed neutrality, the emperor conferred on him the cross of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, or, of Malta. In consequence of these hostile measures exhibited in the north, the British government, on the 14th of January, 1801, ordered a seizure, not only, in the way of retaliation, on Russian ships, but on all vessels belonging to any of the confederate powers, at that time in any of the ports of Great Britain, those of Prussia excepted. And letters of marque were granted for the purpose of capturing a great variety of richly laden single vessels, as well as fleets, which were known to be working their way to the Baltic. A great number of vessels belonging to the nothern powers, but mostly to the Danes and Swedes, were stopped in our ports, and many taken at sea. Of 450 Swedish ships that were abroad, it was estimated that 200 were either seized at sea, or detained in English harbours.

On the day after that on which the order was issued, for laying an embargo on the northern ships, January 15, a note was presented by lord Grenville to the Danish and Swedish ambassadors, at London, respecting the embargo that had been laid on the Danish and Swedish vessels. The substance and import of it was, "that his Britannic majesty, being informed of the reestablishment of the armed neutrality of 1800 and 1801, and of the naval preparations in the Baltic, had determined immediately to adopt the most effectual measures for repelling the attack he had already experienced, and to oppose the effects of the confederacy armed against him. An embargo had been laid on all the Danish and Swedish ships in the ports belonging to his majesty. But, in the execution of this measure, his majesty would take care, that no violent or severe proceedings should be exercised, on the part of his majesty, towards innocent individuals. His majesty was still animated by the most anxious desire that the circumstances which had rendered these steps necessary might cease, and that he might be enabled to return to those relations with the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen, which existed between them, till that mutual good understanding was interrupted by the present attempts to renew former pretensions." To this note the Danish ambassador, count Jarlsberg,

* See convention between Sweden and Russia for the reestablishment of an armed neutrality. State Papers, vol. xlii.

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replied, "that with respect to the principles of the northern powers, concerning the sacred rights of neutrality, they had not been abandoned. Russia, in her belligerent quality, had only suspended the application, and Denmark and Sweden had, by their convention of the 17th of March, 1794, declared, in the face of all Europe, that their system of protection, in favour of innocent commerce, was invariable. Hence it followed, that his Danish majesty now only renewed ties which had not ceased to exist." The baron, therefore, protested against proceedings of so hostile a nature.

The Swedish envoy, baron Ernsward, said, that, "as the dispute between the Russian and English courts related to the island of Malta, and the declaration of the Danish court referred to the convention of 1780, he could see no just reason, why the Swedish court, which had given no just cause of complaint to the English, should be attacked in so hostile a manner before any answer had been given to the insinuations contained in a note from the English to the Swedish ministry, at Stockholm, 31st of December *. In conformity to orders from his master, he protested formally against the embargo laid on the Swedish ships, and all loss or damage that might be thereby occasioned. He demanded, in the most forcible terms, that, in pursuance of the treaty of 1661, the embargo might be taken off, the continuance of which could no otherwise be considered than as a designed and premeditated declaration of war on the part of England, as well by the detention of the convoy, as in respect to the affair of Barcelona." When lord Grenville's notification was received at Stockholm, all Swedish ships were immediately stopped from going to England, and an embargo was laid on all English ships in the Swedish harbours. After some farther civil remonstrations on both sides, the Swedish minister quitted England.

If Sweden and Denmark could have been detached from their connexions with Russia by any amicable means short of relinquishing the maritime claims of Britain, the court of St. James's would doubtless have come to an amicable adjustment. But, even from these claims it seemed disposed, in some measure, to recede in favour of Prussia, for the sake of peace with a monarch, who had it so much in his power, not only to distress Great Britain, but to annoy the sovereign of this kingdom, by attacking the electorate of Hanover. Lord Carysfort, the English ambassador at Berlin, in repeated notes, represented the violent proceedings of Paul, and the unjust and hostile designs of the northern powers in general, with many expressions of confidence, that, notwithstanding various reports and appearances, his Prussian majesty had not entered into the confederacy, to support by force principles in common with other powers, whose hostile views against his Britannic majesty had been openly proved. The last of these notes, dated at Berlin, January 27, 1801, concluded with the

* Notes nearly of the same date had been sent to both the Swedish and Danish ministry, demanding a frank and satisfactory explanation of the negotiations that had been carried on at St. Petersburgh.

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expression of a firm reliance, that "whatever sentiments the Prussian government might entertain, in regard to the new principles of the armed neutrality themselves, it was too just, and knew too well what sovereigns owed to their people, and to one another, to favour for a moment the design to employ force in order to induce his Britannic majesty to acknowledge a code, which the latter deemed inconsistent with the honour and security of his crown." Lord Carysfort received, in answer, from the Prussian minister count Hogwitz, a note, bearing date, 12th of February. It stated, among other particulars, "that his Prussian majesty could not see, without the utmost grief and concern, the violent and hasty measures to which the court of London had proceeded against the northern naval powers; the negotiation that had been lately carried on among whom was founded on justice and moderation; as the communication of a copy of the convention to such of the belligerent powers as had the justice and patience to wait for it would fully prove.—The British government had, in the present, more than in any former wars, usurped the sovereignty of the seas; and, by arbitrarily framing a naval code, which it would be difficult to unite with the true principles of the law of nations, it exercised over the other friendly and neutral powers an usurped jurisdiction, the legality of which it maintained, and which it considered as an imprescriptible right, sanctioned by all the other tribunals of Europe. The sovereigns had never conceded to England the privilege of calling their subjects before its tribunals, and of subjecting them to its laws, in cases where the abuse of power had got the better of equity, and which were but too frequent. The neutral powers had always had the precaution of addressing to it the most energetic proclamations and protests; but experience had ever proved their reclamations fruitless. And it was not surprising that, after so many repeated acts of oppression, they had resolved to find a remedy against it, and for that purpose to establish a well-arranged convention, which fixed their rights, and placed them on a proper level, even with the powers at war. The naval alliance, in the manner in which it had just been consolidated, was intended to lead to that salutary end: and the king hesitated not to declare to his Britannic majesty, that he had again found in it his own principles, that he was fully convinced of its necessity and utility, and that he had formally acceded to the convention, which had been concluded on the 16th of December, last year, between the courts of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. His majesty was, therefore, among the number of the contracting parties, and had bound himself, in that quality, not only to take a direct share in all the events which interested the cause of the neutral powers, but also, in virtue of his engagements, to maintain that connexion by such powerful *measures as the impulse of circumstances might require*. Unpleasant as the extremes might be to which England had proceeded, yet his majesty, doubted not the possibility of a speedy return to conciliating and peaceable dispositions, and he relied on the sentiments of equity, which, on former occasions, he had had the advantage of meeting with in

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in his Britannic majesty. It was only by revoking, and entirely taking off the embargo, that affairs could be brought to their former situation. While those measures existed, which had been resorted to from a common principle, and against an alliance which could no longer be shaken, the hostile resolution which would be the consequence, would be the necessary result of the treaty, and the Prussian minister was authorized to declare to the minister of his Britannic majesty, "that the king, while he expressed his concern at events of which he had not been the cause, would sacredly fulfil the engagements which had been prescribed to him by treaties." From this note it was evident that Great Britain had nothing to expect from the neutrality of Prussia. Among the measures, which the *impulse of circumstances* required, were the two which the British government had greatly apprehended: the exclusion of the English commerce from the great rivers of Prussia, and the invasion of Hanover. A declaration was issued, on the 30th of March, by the king of Prussia, to the royal and electoral college of Hanover, in which, after an enumeration of events, which, he alleged, sufficiently proved that the court of London had no inclination to desist from her inadmissible demands, and accept the proposed means of amicable conciliation, he said, that he was "compelled, in conformity to the obligations he had contracted, to take the most efficacious measures in support of the convention attacked, and to retaliate for the hostile proceedings against it. For this purpose, he would not only shut the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, but likewise take possession of the states belonging to his majesty the king of England, as elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, situated in Germany. The king of Prussia accordingly demanded, and expected from the electoral college of privy counsellors at Hanover, that they would submit to this disposition without delay or reply; and that they would voluntarily obey the orders which should be given, relative to the occupation of the electorate by the Prussian troops, and likewise relative to the electoral countries. What his Prussian majesty principally demanded, was, that the Hanoverian corps, which had hitherto occupied part of the northern line of demarcation, should be disarmed and disbanded, with a proportional part of the other troops. He also required, that the generals and other officers should engage, in writing, not to serve against his majesty the king of Prussia; but, on the contrary, to follow strictly his orders, until the present affair should be brought to a conclusion. For the troops that should continue to be embodied, he appointed particular stations. All the other places were to be delivered up to the Prussian troops. The Prussian troops to be subsisted at the expense of the electoral territory, commencing from the end of the month of April. In case of a voluntary submission, his majesty was disposed, and ready to promise solemnly, not only to the nobility, but to the burgesses and all the inhabitants of the electorate, the complete enjoyment of tranquillity, and the security of their property; but, on the contrary, should the government and the general officers attempt to impede the execution of the measures taken, and

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and oppose the entrance of the Prussian troops, his majesty would be obliged, though against his inclination, to revoke his promises, and to treat the electoral states in a hostile manner."—To these conditions, by a convention, concluded on the 3d of April, 1801, the regency of Hanover consented, only expressing their hopes that the number of Prussian troops would be diminished, as much as possible, to ease the country and the inhabitants. The Prussian troops entered the territory of Hanover, and were posted chiefly on the banks of the Elbe and the Weser. An embargo was laid on the British shipping; but a number of vessels that had taken on board their cargoes of grain were suffered to depart, and sail for England.—The firmness and the moderation of the Prussian king formed a striking contrast with the capricious rage of his ally the emperor of Russia. Never was war carried on, by any power, with greater dignity, civility, and decorum.

About the same time, a body of Danish troops, to the number of 15 000, under the command of prince Charles, landgrave of Hesse, a field-marshal in the Danish service, and father-in-law to the prince royal of Denmark, there called the crown prince, took possession of Hamburgh, in order, as was declared, by a notification published at the exchange of Hamburgh, April 3, to stop the British navigation and trade on the Elbe. An embargo had already, on the 29th of March, been laid on the British ships at Copenhagen, and the other ports of Denmark.

When the intentions of prince Charles of Hesse were announced to the senate of Hamburgh, March 28, it sent deputies, on the 29th, to his highness, at Penneberg, a town of Holstein, about fifteen English miles from Hamburgh, to make the strongest representations against a measure so violent and unexpected. The prince, without hesitation, declared his intention to summon the city to surrender to his troops next morning, and even to use force in case of resistance. At the same time, the deputies received the most satisfactory assurances that no fears ought to be entertained for the independence of the city of Hamburgh, or the property of individuals; and farther, that his highness would be satisfied with the possession of the gates and walls, without requiring any troops to be quartered in the city. The senate assembled in the night, unanimously resolved, that it was better to yield to force than to expose the city to greater force, in consequence of any resistance. On the morning of the 23d, the gate, called the Millenthor, and a part of the fortifications, were immediately given up to a corps of Danish troops, and without the least interruption of the public tranquillity. The British consul, at Hamburgh, considering the critical situation of affairs, had given repeated information and advice to the captains of British vessels in the Elbe to accelerate their departure. Some took the warning: others, not easily believing that any thing seriously hostile was to be apprehended from the Danes or Prussians, were not in haste, and were detained accordingly.

The English ministry, in such pressing circumstances, naturally had recourse to a mode of conduct, of the same nature with that which had been attended, at least, with partial and temporary success, about six

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six months before. This was to send negotiators for peace to Copenhagen, backed by a strong fleet in the Cattegate. A fleet, consisting of 18 ships of the line, 4 frigates, and a number of bomb and gun-boats, amounting, in all, to 52 sail, and having on board several regiments of marines and of riflemen, sailed from Yarmouth, on the 12th of March, for the Baltic *.—Meanwhile, the most active preparations for war were continued and hastened in the ports of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. The young king of Sweden was perpetually in motion. In the course of a tour to inspect the state of defence, and to animate by his presence the armaments on the coasts of his dominions, he had a conference with the prince of Denmark. A plan of action was concerted. The great object was to guard the passage of the Sound. Besides the forts of Helsingborg and Cronenberg, which were garrisoned each with two regiments, batteries were erected on both the Swedish and Danish sides of the pass, on every point where it was possible for them to bear on the English ships. Batteries also were erected on the island of Amack, and on Sproe in the Belt. The naval batteries of the port of Copenhagen and the citadel were in a complete state of defence. Artillerymen were stationed in all the batteries to fire, if necessary, with red-hot shot. The Danish coast was occupied with troops at proper stations. For bearing a part in this measure, the light infantry in garrison, in the citadel of Copenhagen, were detached till farther orders. On the side of the Elbe, the preparations were equally vigorous. Nine gun-boats, well armed, were stationed on that river, a little below the Danish harbour of Altona, which could bring to, and search almost every vessel going up and down. Preparations were made for an encampment of 20,000 Danish soldiers between Altona and Gluckstadt; and all the regiments in the dutchies of Sleswick and Holstein had likewise orders to march at six hours' notice. In the midst of these military preparations, Mr. Vansittart arrived from the court of London, in a frigate, with a flag of truce, at Elsineur, on the 20th of March, with dispatches for the British minister at Copenhagen, Mr. Drummond. Mr. Vansittart had the powers of a plenipotentiary extraordinary. The ultimatum presented by these ministers to the Danish government, required that Denmark should secede from the northern alliance; that a free passage through the Sound should be granted to the English fleet; and that the Danish ships should no longer sail with convoy. Certain advantages are said to have been held out to the Danes, in order to bring them over to these conditions: but what these were we know not; nor, indeed, whether they were at all offered. The terms offered by the court of London being rejected, Mr. Drummond and Mr. Vansittart received passports to return home. The connexion between the Danes and English was so intimate, and the war between the two nations so unnatural, that the English who

* The Invincible, of 74 guns, soon after sailing, struck on the ridge of sand, fourteen miles from Winterton, and was so much damaged, that she sunk soon after in deep water. Admiral Totty, who was on board, with a few officers, 19 marines, and 164 seamen, were saved. All the rest of the marines and seamen perished.

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resided at Copenhagen, and who were required immediately to leave Denmark, with Mr. Drummond and Mr. Vansittart, refused; and some of them even said, that they would remain in Denmark, whatever should be the consequence. Only the English consul, and some other persons, who had particular reasons, went on board an English frigate lying at Elsineur, on the 22d of March, and set sail for the English fleet then lying at Anholt, an island in the Cattegate, eight miles from the coast of Jutland, and ten from Zealand. The rest, who chose, at all hazards, to stay behind, not only received permission from the Danish government to remain, but were generously permitted to choose the place where they would reside, and were promised, from the laws, full protection and security. The English fleet, in the night between the 22d and 23d, sailed from Anholt to Gilleleve, on the northern coast of Zealand*, and there anchored. It will now be proper to give as exact a statement as we have been able to obtain of the confederated navies.

The Danish navy consisted of 23 ships of the line, one or two of which were unfit for service, and most of them in bad order. They had 14 frigates and cutter-brigs, from 20 to 40 guns, 17 gun-boats, of 24 guns each, together with guard-ships. The fleet, however, was not adequately manned.

Sweden had 18 ships of the line, 14 frigates, sloops, and other vessels of war, and 74 galleys and flat-bottomed boats, besides gun-boats.—The Swedish fleet was supposed to be better manned than either that of Denmark or Russia.

The whole navy of Russia consisted of 82 sail of the line, besides near 40 frigates, exclusive of galleys and other small craft. Several ships of the line, however, were unfit for service. Of the force now stated, there were at Cronstadt, Revel, Petersburgh, and Archangel, 47 sail of the line. The whole of the Russian fleet was badly manned and officered. Notwithstanding that Russia produces all kinds of naval stores, the ships were but ill equipped. To remedy the want of officers, an academy had been instituted at Cronstadt, where 360 young noblemen and gentlemen were instructed in all the sciences suitable to their profession, and from whence they were promoted to the navy.

This aggregate of naval force, on hostile shores, and narrow and dangerous seas, with all its defects, would have been highly formidable even to the British navy, if it could have acted in unity and concert. But maritime confederacies are still more subject to disunion and distraction than confederacies at land; and Great Britain possessed, as the event proved, the same advantage over the northern confederation, that France enjoyed over the coalition of the greatest part of Europe.

The British admiral, sir Hyde Parker, desirous to know whether the Danes intended to oppose his passage of the Sound, sent a note, dated the London, in the Cattegate, 27th of March, as follows, to the governor of Cronenberg

* An island of Denmark, 700 miles in circumference, in which Denmark is situated.

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nenberg Castle:—"From the hostile transactions of the court of Denmark, and sending away his Britannic majesty's charge d'affaires, the commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet is anxious to know what the determination of the Danish court is, and whether the commanding officer of Cronenberg Castle has received orders to fire on the British fleet as they pass into the Sound, as he must deem the firing of the first gun a declaration of war on the part of Denmark." The governor, Heer Stricker, replied, "I have the honour to inform your excellency, that his majesty the king of Denmark did not send away the charge d'affaires, but that, on his own demand, he obtained a passport. As a soldier, I cannot meddle with politics; but I am not at liberty to suffer a fleet, whose intention is not yet known, to approach the guns of the castle, which I have the honour to command. In case your excellency should think proper to make any proposals to the king of Denmark, I wish to be informed thereof, before the fleet approaches nearer to the castle." To this note from the governor of Cronenberg, the British admiral sent back another to his excellency. "Finding the intentions of the court of Denmark to be hostile against his Britannic majesty, he regarded his excellency's answer as a declaration of war, and, therefore, agreeably to his instructions, could no longer refrain from hostilities, however reluctant it might be to his feelings; but, at the same time, the admiral would be ready to attend to any proposals of the court of Denmark, for restoring the former amity and friendship, which had for so many years subsisted between the two courts."

On the 30th of March, the wind having come to the northward, the British fleet passed the Sound, and anchored about five or six miles from the island of Huin. It was fired on from the castle of Cronenberg, which it bombarded in return.—There was no firing from the Swedish coast; which enabled our ships to pass at a greater distance from Cronenberg. There was very little damage done either by the firing of the castle, or by our bombardment. The passage of the strait took up nearly four hours. The admiral, together with the vice-admiral lord Nelson and rear-admiral Graves, reconnoitred the formidable line of ships, radeaus, pontoons, galleys, fire-ships, and gun-boats, stationed in the road of Copenhagen. They were flanked and supported by batteries on the two islands called the Crowns, the largest of which batteries was mounted with from fifty to seventy pieces of cannon. These were again commanded by two ships of 70 guns, and a large frigate in the inner road of Copenhagen; and two 64-gun ships, without masts, were moored on the flat, on the starboard side of the entrance into the arsenal. The day after, the wind being southerly, the admirals again examined their position, and came to the resolution of attacking the Danes from the southward.

Lord Nelson having offered his services for conducting the attack, after having examined and buoyed the outer channel of the middle ground, proceeded with twelve ships of the line, all the frigates, bombs, fire-ships, and all the small vessels, and, on the same evening of the 1st of April, anchored off Draco Point, to make his disposition for the attack, and wait for the wind to the southward.

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southward. It was agreed on, between the admiral and vice-admiral, that the ships remaining with the admiral should weigh at the same moment his lordship did, and menace the Crown batteries, and four Danish ships of the line that lay at the entrance of the arsenal; as also to cover our disabled ships as they should come out of the action.

The prospect opened to the British fleet on entering the Sound was fitted to excite a variety of emotions, mixing or succeeding each other, of the liveliest and most affecting nature. A splendid theatre appeared for war and victory: but the face of nature, and the recollection of a common interest, a common religion, and a common origin and character with the nations on the shores of the Baltic, could not but impress every intelligent and feeling mind with sentiments of regret; and, in the midst of all the apparatus, and almost in the very throat of war, tend, in some sort and degree, to harmonize the mind to peace and concord. Nothing in the northern parts of Europe, or of Asia, presents a prospect equal to the channel of the Sound: which has Denmark on the right, and the islands of Saltholm and Amack, with part of Zealand, and the capital of the kingdom, Copenhagen, nearly in front. —On the coast of Denmark appears a continued succession of rich plains, woods, meadows, superb mansions, neat villas, pleasant gardens, adorned with all the embellishments of art: while the Swedish shore exhibits corn-lands, pastures, a mountainous and picturesque coast. The island of Nuen, celebrated for the observatory of Tycho Brahe, arrests the attention of the passing voyager. To the eye, looking back from thence, the fortresses of Elsineur, Cronenberg, and Helsingburg, seem to unite, and to bound on the north a vast lake; but soon as he advances, he discovers the sea, and the whole extent of the plain of Copenhagen, its port filled with vessels, and its cultivated environs. On the side next the sea, this city presents itself in all its magnificence. It is perceived at the distance of several miles. The gothic towers with which it abounds, and which, from a distance, have a majestic appearance, engage and fix the attention of the spectator, by the height of their spires, as well as by the variety of the ornaments with which they are decorated. The number of inhabitants exceeds eighty thousand. It contains the principal fortress of the country; the fleet; the marine arsenals; the only university in Denmark; several academies; a superb library; a veterinary school; a school for cadets in the sea and land service; a museum containing a great variety of rare and curious objects; a number of fine edifices, statues, and monuments, of every kind. The streets are, for the most part, broad and well paved. There are excellent footways, as in London; and every where the signs of comfort, wealth, and magnificence. The garrison, in time of peace, consists of six regiments of infantry, the foot-guard, the horse-guard, a corps of artillery, a corps of marines, and a squadron of hussars, amounting, in the whole, to about 10,000 men: to which may be added, the city militia, the chief officers of which are appointed by the king, and rank among the officers of the army. The fortress of Frederickstadt, supported on one side by the batteries of one of the arsenals,

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arsenals, defends the entrance of the harbour, where there is besides another battery, and where, in case of necessity, a number of flat-bottomed boats and floating-batteries may be stationed, as, in fact, they were at the present juncture. Such was the city, the capital of a congenial and long friendly nation, that was now pointed out as an object of attack to the British navy.

In the morning of April 2, lord Nelson made the signal for the squadron to weigh, and to engage the Danish line, consisting of six sail of the line, eleven floating batteries, from twenty-six 24-pounders to eighteen 18-pounders, and one bomb-ship, besides schooner gun-vessels. These were supported by the Crown islands, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, and some batteries, as above noticed, on the island of Amack. The bomb-ship and schooner gun-vessels made their escape. The other seventeen sail, being the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown islands, after a battle of four hours, were sunk, burnt, or taken.

From the very intricate navigation, two of our ships, the Bellona and Russell, unfortunately grounded; but, although not in the situation assigned them, in such a place as enabled them to be of great service. The Agamemnon could not weather the shoal of the middle, and was unavoidably obliged to anchor. These accidents prevented the extension of our line by the three ships just mentioned, which lord Nelson was confident would have silenced the Crown islands, with the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth, and prevented a heavy loss of men in the Defiance and Monarch*, and which unhappily threw the gallant and good captain Riou under a very heavy fire. The consequence was, the death of captain Riou, and many brave officers and men in the frigates and sloops. The bombs were directed and took their stations in breast of the Elephant, in which the vice-admiral had hoisted his flag, and threw some shells into the arsenal. Captain Rose, who volunteered his services to direct the gun-brigs, did every thing that was possible to get them forward, but the current was too forcible for them to be of service during the action. The boats of those ships of the line which were not ordered on the attack, afforded the squadron engaged every assistance. The Desirée took her station in raking the southernmost Danish ship, and performed the greatest service. The action began at five minutes past ten. The van was led by captain George Murray of the Edgar, who set a noble example of intrepidity, which was followed by every captain, officer, and man, in the navy. The loss, in such a battle, was naturally very heavy. The total amount of the killed and wounded was stated at 943. Among the killed, besides captain Riou, was captain Moss, of the Monarch: among the wounded, sir Thomas B. Thompson, of the Bellona, who lost his leg. Lord Nelson, from whose report of the action to sir H. Parker we have extracted these particulars, bestowed the warmest and most liberal praise on all concerned; and on none more than on those officers and men whose utmost exertions had proved inef-

* See State Papers.

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fectual. We now proceed to take notice of some other particulars respecting the engagement, not mentioned by lord Nelson.

The carnage on board the Danish ships was excessive. It was calculated, by the commander-in-chief, Oliver Fisher, at 1800. The vessels were crowded with men, and, from some singular neglect, probably originating in the idea of the wounded being so near the city that they could be immediately accommodated there, there was not, on board their block ships, a single surgeon. When our people boarded them, they found hundreds bleeding to death. As soon as the fire of the Danish line had slackened, and lord Nelson perceived that the ships and batteries of the enemy were in his power, he went to his cabin, and wrote a letter to the prince royal, representing the expediency of allowing a flag of truce to pass, and stating, that, if this was denied, he should be under the necessity of destroying the floating batteries, now in his power, while it would be impossible to save those brave men by whom they were defended. This note was addressed "To the brothers of Englishmen, the Danes." When, in consequence of this representation, he received permission to land, and went on shore to adjust terms of conciliation, he was received by the brave and generous Danes with the loudest acclamations, and treated by the accomplished prince of Denmark with every mark of respect*. The immediate consequence of their conference was an armistice, which soon led to an amicable convention†. The dreadful engagement heard, seen, and felt on the Danish shore, wound up the feelings of all ranks to the highest pitch of sensibility: but all individual hopes and fears seemed to be lost in a general blaze of patriotic ardour. From the crown prince, whose cool intrepidity and judgment were gloriously displayed in the sight of his people and of Europe, to the humblest citizen, one heroic mind and purpose seemed to animate and unite the whole. Never had the Danish valour, in the brightest periods of their history, shone out with more distinguished lustre. The daring pirates of the ninth and tenth centuries did not exhibit greater intrepidity and prowess in invading, than their descendants of the nineteenth century did in resisting an invasion from England. If the recollection of a common origin, a similarity of manners, and long habits of commercial and social intercourse, tend to impress on the two nations a conviction that they are fitted and destined to be good friends to each other, the ever-memorable battle of Copenhagen, not more glorious to the one party than the other, ought to be a long memento, that they are not less fitted to be mutually dreadful and destruc-

* The proposal of a truce by lord Nelson was ascribed by some, not to humanity, but to a military stratagem. Three of our line of battle ships, the Bellona, Russel, and Agamemnon, as before noticed, lay aground, exposed to the tremendous fire of the Crown batteries. It was in order to save these ships, it was said, that lord Nelson went into his cabin, and sent on shore a flag of truce. If this was his motive, the greatest degree of admiration is due to that coolness, and readiness of invention, by which he devised means for extricating the ships from such imminent danger.

† See State Papers.

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tive enemies. Lord Nelson told the crown prince's aid-de-camp, colonel Lundholm, who waited on him respecting the proffered flag of truce, that "the French fought bravely, but that they could not have stood an hour, the fight which the Danes maintained for four. I have been in 105 engagements," said he, "in the course of my life, but that of to-day was the most terrible of all." Admiral sir Hyde Parker, in his dispatches to the admiralty, said, "Were it possible for me to add any thing to the well earned renown of lord Nelson, it would be by asserting that his exertions, great as they have heretofore been, never were carried to a higher pitch of zeal for his country's service."

The Swedish fleet at Carlscrona, left that port the 31st of March, but was prevented from joining the Danes by contrary winds. Surmises were current, that the Swedish government was more eager to incite the Danes than to take themselves a share in actual hostilities. But they were wholly groundless.

On the 22d of March the Danish and Swedish isles in the West Indies were reduced by a squadron under admiral Duckworth.

The proposals made by lord Nelson, in the conference with the prince of Denmark, are said to have been these. 1st, That Denmark should recede from its alliance with Russia. 2d, That the English should be permitted to repair their ships in the Danish docks. 3d, That the wounded on board the English fleet should be taken care of in Danish hospitals. The last of these conditions was readily granted: the others rejected. An armistice, however, was agreed to, and prolonged from day to day. A notice of six hours, in case of an intention of renewing hostilities on either side, was to be given previously to the termination of the armistice. What passed in different conversations between the Danish prince and the English vice-admiral has not been yet disclosed. But whatever were the points that impeded a pacification on the part of Denmark, they were given up in consequence of intelligence, that the emperor of Russia, Paul I, was found dead in his bed, on the night that followed the 22d of March. This sudden and important event was joyful to all, the French government excepted, and surprising to few! For more than a year past Paul had exhibited multiplied symptoms of insanity, as has been probably remarked by the readers of our annual narratives. In this the predominant ingredient was generally anger and rage. When dispatches were presented to him from the British government, containing terms of conciliation, he returned them unopened, after piercing them in many places with a penknife. In a review of some troops in front of his palace, an officer was thrown from his horse and dislocated his arm. The brutal emperor, instead of showing any signs of compassion, kicked the officer, as he lay on the ground, with his foot. Yet his madness, though still somewhat tinctured with violence, was sometimes mixed with a degree of whimsical humour. In private conversation with a nobleman of his court, without any provocation or preliminary, he gave him a hearty slap in the face, adding, "*This salutation with my hand Paul,*" alluding to one of the epistles from Paul the apostle. A few days before the young king of Sweden, who had gone to concert

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cert the measures of the armed neutrality, left Petersburgh, the emperor gave a tournament, a diversion of which he was very fond, and in which he performed personally as a combatant. In the evening, while the glass was in circulation, with Russian briskness, a dispatch was received from Buonaparte, together with several caricatures, said to be published in England, in which Paul was represented as a lunatic. The conversation turned on the military successes of his new French friends, the projects formed by the northern confederacy to humble the pride of England, and the invincible prowess which the emperor had displayed all day long in the tournament. His majesty, fired with the spirit of chivalry, immediately resolved to send a defiance to all the potentates of Europe. The court gazette of St. Petersburgh, December 30, 1800, contained the following: "It is said that his majesty, the emperor, seeing that the powers of Europe cannot agree, and wishing to terminate a war which has raged eleven years, intends to propose a place, where he will invite all other potentates, to fight with them in barriers closed up: for which purpose they are to bring with them their most enlightened ministers and most skilful generals, as squires, umpires, and heralds; such as Thugut, Pitt, and Bernstorff. He himself intends to have with him count Vander Pahlin and count Kutusoff. It is not known whether this rumour is to be depended upon: meanwhile it does not seem to be altogether without foundation, as it bears the mark of what has often been imputed to him."

In the most arbitrary governments, the stability of power depends on public opinion. When all personal respect for even an Asiatic despot is gone, the combinations and intrigues of courtiers, easily breaking through the feeble barrier of courtly splendour, which shines most at a distance, seldom fail to produce a revolution of government. The connexion between a personal contempt for the sovereign and a revolution of government, is still more necessary in a country where commerce, the progress of knowledge, and ideas of liberty, have both disposed and enabled numerous bodies of men to trace the connexion between their own interests and the conduct of the sovereign. But most of all is revolution to be apprehended from folly and madness in the court, in such a country as Russia, in which the succession to the crown has been so irregular, and in which revolutions have been so frequent—certain it is that, from the date of the challenge, ideas and expectations of some revolution became familiar in the minds and conversations of men of all nations: but among none more than among the Russians. The court gave out that the emperor was cut off by a stroke of apoplexy: the world believed that his death was the effect of a conspiracy. This question we leave to future historians. It is a question, indeed, that belongs rather to the memoirs of a particular court, than to the political history of Europe. It is with the effects of the death of Paul, not with the chain of circumstances that involved it, that an annalist is principally concerned.

The new emperor, Alexander, proclaimed on the day succeeding the night of his father's death, declared

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clared for the laws and system of his august grandmother. It was among the first acts of his reign, to give orders that the British sailors and masters, who had been taken from the several British ships, in a state of sequestration, and sent to various towns throughout the Russian dominions, should be set at liberty and carefully conducted to the several ports from whence they were taken. All prohibitions against the exportation of corn were removed: and the exportation of all kinds of grain was permitted. Peace and good understanding were reestablished between the courts of London and Petersburgh, and all disputes between Great Britain and the northern powers were amicably adjusted. By this settlement the northern powers obtained two material points: first, a limitation of the right of search; and secondly, a diminution of articles deemed contraband of war*. While the negotiation was going on, we had a fleet in the Baltic of 25 sail of the line, and nearly 45 frigates, sloops, bombs, and gun-vessels. The chief division of the fleet, under lord Nelson and admiral Graves, lay in Kioge-bay; and another, under admiral Totty, off Bornholm. Captain Murray, with a small squadron, was off Dantzic; and lord H. Poulett cruized with a few ships off Rostock. The Danish troops evacuated Hamburgh: the free navigation of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems, was restored; and the court of Berlin gave assurances that, after certain arrangements should be made for the quiet of Germany, the Prussian troops should evacuate Bremen and Hanover.

The termination of hostilities between Great Britain and Denmark was attended with some pleasing and affecting circumstances, such as might be expected in a reconciliation of friends. The honourable colonel Stuart, who commanded the military on board our fleet, and whose gallantry was greatly praised by lord Nelson, after an armistice was agreed on, brought over a letter from the prince of Denmark to our good king, his uncle. When the embargo, that had been laid on the Danish ships in the British ports, was, in consequence of the pacification, taken off, the expense of both laying it on and taking it off was defrayed out of the English treasury. This mild and liberal proceeding gave general satisfaction not only to the government and people of Denmark, but also to the people of England.

* See State Papers, p. 212.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VII.

Difficult and alarming Situation of England.—Indisposition of the King.—Change of Ministry.—Ostensible Ground of Mr. Pitt's Resignation.—Catholic Emancipation.—Policy of the old Administration in the Mode of their Retirement.—Purity and Firmness of his Majesty's Mind.—Motion by Lord Darnley in the House of Lords for an Inquiry into Part of the Conduct of his Majesty's Ministers.—Debates thereon.—Motion postponed.—Motion by the Earl of Radnor for a Call of the House—negatived.—In the House of Commons a new Speaker chosen in the Room of Mr. Addington—now Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Animated Conversation respecting the Changes in the Administration.—State of Parties.—Characters of Parties—and of their Leaders.

THOUGH the difficulties and dangers, that encompassed Great Britain, from the commencement of the war, had been very great, the situation of this country, in the three first months of 1801, had become critical and alarming almost beyond any former example. Repeated efforts to circumscribe, had only served to extend the power of France. The south and west of Europe, subdued by the arms, or crouching under the power of that mighty state, was detached from all cooperation in the war with England, or dragged into the stream of hostility against her. The northern powers, envious of our commercial and naval greatness, and instigated by the intrigues of Buonaparte, revived claims inconsistent with both; and were prepared to maintain them by armies and armaments. At a time when the British nation, hard pressed by scarcity, and threatened with famine, looked for a supply of grain to the ports of the Weser, the Elbe, and the Baltic, these ports were shut against her. To crown the series of calamities, the executive council of the king was in the act of dissolution, and that at a time when a severe indisposition rendered it impossible for the retiring ministers to return, into the hands of their sovereign, the badges of their office.

One concession after another, on the part of the British government, during the whole course of the present reign, had abundantly secured to the Irish catholics their civil and religious rights; and admitted them, too, into as great a participation of political power, as was thought compatible with the tranquillity of the state, and even with solemn and religious engagement. They were only excluded from sitting in parliament, and from holding about thirty public offices. The men of property

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perty among the catholics were not, in general, discontented with their condition: though the great mass of that body, labouring under many real grievances, totally unconnected with the question of religion, were turbulent and prone to innovation. This disposition was fostered by ambitious and factious men, who aimed, by a dexterous management of this engine, to force themselves into the first offices of public trust and emolument. Men of the fairest characters, as well as first fortunes, were seduced, by an agitation that was neither founded on any just complaint, nor yet, in reality, formidable, to give their voice and influence for what they called a complete catholic emancipation, even before the union of Ireland with Great Britain. As near nineteen parts in twenty of the property in Ireland was in the hands of protestants, there was no evil, they reasoned, to be apprehended from the complete emancipation of the catholics, in as much as representation was to be governed by property. But it was said, on the other side, that if this computation of comparative property was near the truth, and the computation of the comparative number of five or six catholics to one protestant was also near the truth; when eighteen or nineteen in twenty, reckoning catholics and protestants, as to number, possessed little more than one part in twenty, as to property, and both parties were admitted to equal rights of office and administration, where was the man bold enough to undertake for the tranquillity of either the church or the state?

The British minister, aware of this danger, did not encourage the claims of the catholics, or, perhaps, it might be equally accurate to say, the claims made for the catholics, while Ireland should possess a separate and independent legislature. The danger of granting all to the catholics would, no doubt, be diminished, when the representatives of Ireland should be blended with British lords and commons. And Mr. Pitt gave the Irish catholics assurances, or, at least, every reason to expect, that a complete participation in all manner of political privileges and power would be granted to the Irish catholics, after the union, not as a matter of right, but of grace and favour, on the part of Great Britain. It is evident, however, that Mr. Pitt, in the execution of that design, must have had remaining difficulties to encounter. His plan would interfere with the toleration act, the bill of rights, the act of settlement, and even with the union between England and Scotland. The minister said, to the protestants, that the extension of all political power and privileges to the Irish catholics, would be so guarded and qualified, that all difficulties on those heads would be removed, and all differences composed. In what manner this was to be done he did not explain.

But there was yet another difficulty, which the minister, when he pledged the faith of government for catholic emancipation, did not foresee, and it proved insuperable. When he advised that measure, he either did not recollect the king's coronation oath, by which he had bound himself to "maintain the protestant religion, established by law," or did not hold it to be insurmountable. Yet, on the terms of this oath, the first king of the house of Hanover mounted the British throne;

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throne: and, under the same obligation, the sovereign now reigning possesses it.

His majesty's feelings did not accord with those of his minister. Firm in what he held to be his duty, and faithful to what he understood to be the spirit of his oath, he planted himself before the barrier of the constitution; and having conscientiously taken his post, determined to maintain it. And, certainly, it will readily be admitted, that the interpretation of him who takes an oath, not the reasonings of those who talk about it, must and ought to govern the conscience of the taker. The catholic question was the last that was discussed in the cabinet, previous to the king's illness.

Mr. Pitt determined to resign his offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and gave out, that his inability to propose his catholic regulations, as a *minister*, was the sole cause of his resignation. A paper, circulated in his name throughout Ireland, and which he did not, when called upon in the house of commons, disavow, contained this remarkable passage, "The catholic body will prudently consider their prospects as arising from *the persons who now espouse their interests*, and compare them with those which they could look to *from any other quarter*. They may, with confidence, rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. They may be assured, that *Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favour*, (though he could not concur in a *hopeless* attempt to force it now,) and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects." This paper became, naturally enough, a subject of much animadversion. Never, it was said, did the servants of the crown, in quitting the service of the king, so basely betray their master. What must be the feelings of his majesty, on looking back over that period of public affairs, which illness had concealed from his view, to find that he was held forth by the man whom he had long considered as most worthy of his confidence, to the Irish catholics, as the principal enemy of their claims? What must he think of the fidelity of that servant, who represented that master, who was, constitutionally, the source of grace and favour, as the obstacle to liberality and kindness? and who directed the hope of the subject from the crown to its dismissed minister? The communication of Mr. Pitt to the catholics, it was said, was as disrespectful to parliament, and to the country at large, as it was to the person of the sovereign. It, in fact, solicited the suffrages and the support of the Irish catholics to Mr. Pitt and his friends, as the only persons in the nation, who could carry their cause. It excluded every ground of hope, but *from that quarter*. It was not from the benignity of the king, it was not from the wisdom of parliament, it was not from the candour and justice of the people of England, that the Irish catholics had any thing to hope. Their prospects of success depended solely on the new elevation to power of Mr. Pitt and his party. But Mr. Pitt cannot concur in a hopeless attempt to *force the catholic cause now*. What was the meaning of this? When would the attempt cease to be hopeless?

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not while the same cause remained that rendered it hopeless at present: the same purity in the royal breast, the same reverence for an oath, and regard for the constitution in church and state. There was an indecency in the language held by Mr. Pitt, that was generally noticed. Such were the remarks that were generally made on Mr. Pitt's manifesto to the Irish catholics.

The catholic question certainly furnished the minister with no unplausible excuse for retiring from office, for a time, and he dexterously endeavoured to make the grounds of his resignation the means of his restoration to power. He hoped still to retain the confidence of the catholics, and that, having so emphatically proved his sincerity, they would rely upon him for choosing the proper time for urging their claims with effect. Very few, if any, believed either that the motive assigned for the resignation of the minister was the true one, or that he laid his account with being long out of power: his resignation, of which, indeed, was very generally considered to be, in a great measure, only nominal. It was now quite apparent, that the country was plunged into a situation of difficulty and distress, from which nothing but a speedy peace could relieve it. It was scarcely possible that Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville could enter into a negotiation for peace with Buonaparte, either consistently with their own pride, of which, indeed, particularly lord Grenville, they were in the habit of boasting, or with any reasonable prospect of success. The minister, therefore, it was understood, availed himself of the first loop-hole that presented itself, for making a temporary retreat.

In the mean time, an administration, formed of grateful and pliant friends, would be submissive to his will, and even desirous of his advice. Though the principal actor had now withdrawn behind the curtain, he would still play the part of a prompter, and those whom he had substituted in his stead would speak and act as he directed. But whatever were in reality the minister's views, with respect to the retention, or the return to power, it was almost universally held to be clear, that the event of his resignation could not have been produced by the question of catholic emancipation. They were bound, it was said, to those who had approved of their conduct, and by their own honour, not to desert, voluntarily, the public service, at a time of such extreme and imminent danger, and at a time when any supposed difficulties with the catholics did not press them. The promise given, or insinuated, was not claimed. No degree of disquietude appeared on the subject.

That the old administration expected, by and by, to be reestablished, was rendered credible, in the public opinion, by the circumstance, that Mr. Dundas* also resigned his numerous offices. The other members of the cabinet, who went out of office with Mr. Pitt, were the earl

* Mr. Dundas was generally, though by no means with perfect justice, considered as the RÆDERER of Great Britain. This Ræderer, it is generally known, is a French lawyer, a man of great ability, versatility, and address, and ever willing to lend his aid, as in fact he did, to every constitution and every government in France, from the constituent assembly to the reign of Buonaparte.

Spencer,

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Spencer, lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham; other inferior arrangements took place soon after. An event, so important as that of the retirement of these ministers, at such a crisis, naturally demanded the attention of parliament. In the house of peers, on February 10, the order of the day being read for taking into consideration a motion by lord Darnley, for an inquiry into part of the conduct of his majesty's ministers,

The earl of Carlisle entreated the noble lord not to press the discussion of his motion at the present moment. Not only, in his opinion, might such a discussion appear premature; but, what came more home to his feelings, it might be deemed ungenerous and unmanly, to bring forward any charge against the conduct of ministers, while they were placed in a situation, in which it might be embarrassing to them to enter on their defence. Many of them, it was supposed, were retiring from office: and the grounds on which their withdrawing was accounted for, added considerably to the dangers and difficulties to which the interests and safety of the empire were exposed. He more particularly alluded to the question of the emancipation of the Irish Roman catholics, for which the faith of government had, in some degree, been pledged. However he might lament the decision that had taken place on that very delicate subject, he wished that any discussion of it might be abstained from, for the present. In what he had said, to dissuade the noble lord from persisting in his motion, he was very far, indeed, from being influenced by any desire to give his countenance and support to the new administration that was about to be formed. The present most alarming situation of the empire called for the ablest heads and hands to direct and administer its affairs: and could any expectation be rationally entertained of effecting our salvation, by the exertion of such a rickety administration as that which was now supposed to be undertaking the helm of state? Hitherto, a hope, at least, was held out by the late administration, that something would be done in favour of the catholics of Ireland. To that the national honour had been pledged: and, if that hope was now to be suddenly extinguished, what could be expected to ensue, but all the horrors and mischiefs to which men could be instigated by complete despair?

Lord Grenville conjured their lordships neither to yield to causeless despondence, nor to agitate questions, on which they were not yet in a situation to form a proper judgment, and the premature discussion of which must be productive of infinite mischief. Opportunities would yet occur, when these subjects might be canvassed with safety. It was painful, he said, to speak of himself; but this was a duty to which he was called, both by a due regard to his own character, and by a becoming respect to their lordships. Some time ago, lord Spencer, lord Chatham, and himself, together with several of his majesty's servants, in the house of commons, thought it expedient that the benefits of the union should be rendered as great and as extensive as possible, by the removal of certain disabilities under which a great portion of the inhabitants of Ireland now laboured. Imagining that this measure could be effectual

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effectual only by coming from the executive government, they proposed it to those who directed his majesty's councils. It was not deemed eligible, and they were unable to prevail. Their opinion of its policy remaining unaltered; and still thinking that that measure, and that alone, could establish the tranquillity and prosperity of the empire on a permanent basis, they considered themselves as bound to retire. Accordingly, they tendered to his majesty the resignation of their several employments, and he was graciously pleased to dispense with their services. Thus, he said, they only held their offices till their successors were appointed. The period, during which he and his colleagues had been in office, had been critical beyond example; and the country had been threatened with greater dangers than any to which it had been before exposed. The constitution, however, was still entire, and the nation continued to be independent and powerful, while many of those around it had been stripped of every thing that was valuable, and reduced to the most abject servitude. It was his consolation, as well as that of all his colleagues, to reflect how much their services had contributed to the escape which this country had made from the evils that threatened it. It was their consolation to know that the same vigorous line of conduct would still be pursued. Though they had retired from office, no change of measures would take place: but the system which had already proved so salutary would still be acted upon by their successors; and to whom, while they continued to act in a firm, resolute, and manly manner, they were determined to give their steady support. Lord Spencer most cordially and completely acquiesced in the declarations and assurances that had been given by his noble friend lord Grenville. The earl of Chatham was absent through indisposition. The earl of Darnley was encouraged to persist in his motion by the earl of Fife, who, speaking of the change of ministers, said, that, "If it was a trick, nothing could have been so wickedly advised: and, if real, nothing more ludicrous." He had seen too much of inquiries both in that and the other house of parliament, to augur a great deal from that which was now proposed: but much would be gained, if they could prevent in future the waste of the public treasure on fruitless expeditions, extravagant embassies, and subsidies to foreign princes. But lord Romney and the earl of Moira having joined in the earnest recommendation and entreaty that had been made by the earl of Carlisle, the earl of Darnley was induced to postpone his motion to Friday, the 20th of March: for which day their lordships were ordered to be summoned.

The earl of Radnor now rose, and, having observed, that, at the present awful crisis, the house could not be too fully attended when the noble earl's motion should be brought forward, moved, "That the house be called over on Friday the 20th. A short debate ensued, in which there was an interesting digression to what was uppermost in every mind—the alleged ground on which the leading members of administration had given up their offices. Lord Grenville hoped that his noble friend would not persist in a motion, calculated to create alarm and

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and dismay throughout the country. Lord Mulgrave expressed his earnest and anxious wishes to the same effect; since the motion tended to throw an air of greater solemnity on the occasion than it required. The earl of Clare deprecated the idea of a call, as well as a premature discussion of a subject which had been more than once alluded to, and which was of so extremely delicate a nature, and, at the same time, of such magnitude, that it ought not even to have been alluded to before it came regularly under consideration. Before that delicate subject should be brought under discussion, he would advise noble lords to take advantage of the union that had recently taken place, and make use of the opportunity it presented, of enabling them to make themselves well informed of the nature and character of Ireland, with which they seemed to be, as yet, but slightly acquainted. A greater heap of combustibles than Ireland consisted of, could not be found. Catholic emancipation, in that country, had already been found to mean rebellion. In fact, ninety-nine Roman catholics out of a hundred did not care a single jot about that which was the real point in question. But there were many who understood emancipation to mean the abolition of tithes, and a more equal division of property. The Irish peasants, for instance, conceived that when emancipation should be granted, every one of them was to have his tithes taken off, and to have an allotment of ten acres of land. In short, so various were their opinions on that great question, and so violent their passions, that he could not but deprecate the premature diffusion of loose insinuations on the subject among them, and thus rashly and inconsiderately light up a flame, which nothing but deluges of blood could possibly extinguish. Lord Radnor's motion was also opposed by the earl of Westmorland, the duke of Athol, and lord Borringdon. It was, on the other hand, strenuously supported by the earl of Moira, and very zealously by lord Holland. Lord Moira returned his warmest thanks to the noble earl, Radnor, for persisting in his motion for a call of the house. It was essentially necessary, and must tend to convince the people, that that house was not unmindful of their affairs: but that they were determined to do their duty, and look in the face the danger that threatened the country. On the question being put, the motion was rejected. Contents, 23—Not contents, 54.

On the same day, February 10th, in the house of commons, the contents of a letter from Mr. Addington, the speaker, were communicated to the house, by the principal clerk, Mr. Leg. In that letter, Mr. Addington made a tender of his resignation of the office of their speaker, with the reason of that resignation; which was his majesty's declared intention of appointing him to a public situation incompatible with that which he had the honour to hold in the house of commons. "He was unable to express those sentiments of respect, gratitude, and regret, with which he was inspired. He was sustained, however, by the consideration, that, on this occasion, he was actuated by the same principle of public duty which had ever influenced his conduct, and from which he boasted he should never deviate." On this, Mr. Pitt arose for

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for the purpose of saying, that he had his majesty's command to inform the house, that it was his majesty's pleasure, that they should proceed, in due time, to the election of another speaker: and that time might be had for consideration, moved an adjournment of the house till to-morrow, which was agreed to. Sir William Pulteney, who seconded the motion for an adjournment, rose for the purpose of expressing his regret at the loss the house would sustain in the honourable gentleman, who had so long and so ably presided in their chair. The eulogium pronounced by this respectable baronet, on Mr. Addington, united pointedness and energy with the simplicity of truth. "I cannot avoid saying, that the conduct of our late speaker has been such as must have procured him many distinguished friends in this house, and I am persuaded not one enemy." Sir William proceeded to make some reflections of importance, and suited to the occasion. He expressed his hope, that, whoever might succeed the late ministry, that house would direct their whole attention to the situation of the country; and that every gentleman would exert himself in the first instance to bring the state out of its present danger. In conclusion, he said, "I have a right to say something: I am now old, and have seen many changes, without a change of principle: I wish to see that kind of change which I never have seen yet; a change, in which persons of all descriptions shall act from no other motive than the good of the public, without having any view to their own personal interests." Throughout the whole of this speech, he was listened to with eager attention, and repeated expressions of applause.

February 11. The house proceeded to the election of a speaker. The choice fell on the attorney-general, sir John Mitford. He was proposed by lord Hawkesbury; and his lordship's motion was seconded and supported by Mr. J. H. Browne, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Martin, and others.

February 16. Colonel Fullarton rose for the purpose of moving a vote of thanks to the right honourable Henry Addington, for his faithful and impartial attention to the important duties of his office, whilst speaker of that house. The motion expressed, in the strongest terms, the approbation, respect, and gratitude of the house to Mr. Addington, for the proofs which he had uniformly given of attachment to the constitution, the steadiness with which he had maintained the dignity and privileges of that house, and the ability, integrity, and unremitting attention to parliamentary business, which had marked the whole of his conduct, during the whole of the period for which he filled the chair of the house of commons. It was seconded by the honourable Robert Grenville, and carried *nemine contradicente*. The order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee of supply was then read; but, on the motion for the speaker leaving the chair, Mr. Harrison rose to oppose it. At the moment, he said, when the house was called upon to pass a vote for so large a sum as twenty-eight millions, there was no ostensible person at the head of affairs, on whom responsibility could be fixed, for its use and application. It was now evident that Mr. Pitt was no *longer in his former* official situation.

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situation. It was proper to know who were the persons that were to direct the energies of the country. Whether they were likely to employ the money intrusted to them on objects of true national utility, or waste it in idle and fruitless expeditions? Whether they were resolved to pursue the same wild ambition which had disgusted every power, and rendered the whole world hostile to us? By granting the supplies, under the present circumstances, when ministers were on the eve of retiring from office, the new men, by whom they were to be succeeded, might say, that they were under no responsibility, as these supplies were voted under a different administration. It would, therefore, he thought, be a strange dereliction of their duty, if they suffered the motion, under such circumstances, to pass; but if the house should be of a different opinion, and the measure be adopted, at least they must allow consistency to the late administration: for their last act, on their dismissal, would be as truly unconstitutional as the first act of their admission; and it might be truly said, that their entry and their exit were both equally marked by a wound to the consequence of that house and the constitution of the country. — Mr. Pitt, in reply to Mr. Harrison, spoke at considerable length. He observed, that, when there arises a change among his majesty's ministers, it must be left to his majesty to determine when the new arrangements should be formed; and it was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, for the house to assume any right of determination on a subject of that kind. The estimates now produced had already, from circumstances unnecessary at present to be mentioned, been delayed; and, if any farther delay now took place, it would be impossible to carry into effect those measures which former votes of the house had sanctioned. He felt it his duty farther to state, that, if such a delay now took place, it would be impossible for him to *retire from the office he had held* till these votes should be passed *. Without now detailing circumstances, it was sufficient to say, that when he had formed his resolution to retire, he had, at the same time, conceived it to be his duty not to resign his office, till he had taken an opportunity to fix the supplies for the year, and to explain that plan which he had in contemplation for the public service. But the proposed delay had been defended on the principle, that, at this moment, there were no persons publicly responsible for the measures of government, and that ministers might screen themselves from inquiry, by pretences of particular plans having been formed by a previous administration, and that, therefore, they were not to be loaded with responsibility. In answer to this argument, Mr. Pitt observed, that though the present ministers were to retire from their official situations, he was convinced that they would never be far out of the way, when any inquiry was proposed to be instituted into their conduct. For himself, though he had resigned his official station, he should ever be ready to attend in his place, when any part of his per-

* The reader accustomed to the contemplation of grammar, will no doubt observe, that the present state of ministers was such as not to be provided for in the common analogies and construction of the English language. It might, however, have possibly been expressed by aorists and other tenses in Greek.

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sonal conduct came to be considered, or when any question involving the interests of the nation came to be discussed. As to the supposition, that the new ministers would be under no responsibility, because the supplies had been voted before they entered on office, it was founded on misapprehension, since responsibility must be necessarily vested in those under whose administration these supplies were expended. Mr. Harrison had farther endeavoured to support his objections to the motion, by considerations drawn from the character of those who were to enter on power. With regard to this argument, Mr. Pitt said, that, though his majesty, at this time, had considered it to be necessary to make choice of men whose principles were directly opposite to those of his *present* ministers, though these men had come into power with the professed resolution of withdrawing their support from all those measures which six-sevenths of the house, and nine-tenths of the nation, had supported, as necessary to the security of the empire — though they had been in this situation; as an independent member of parliament, he should have felt it his duty to be silent, and not to have made one effort to withhold the supplies. But, what was the language which had been held by the honourable gentleman, in support of the necessity of delay? He had called upon these very six-sevenths, and these nine-tenths, to withhold the supplies, not because the measures they had supported were to be abandoned, but because the same measures were to be vigorously pursued. The objection was, besides, founded on principles unprecedented in the history of this country. According to the constitution, his majesty had the sole right of nominating the ministers, and the house had no right to form any resolution till their conduct came to be considered, and judged of by the acts of their administration.—There was no call for the interference of the house, either from a change of measures, or of men. The measures likely to be pursued, and to which the retiring ministers would still give their firm support, were those which the house had repeatedly sanctioned by their votes. Of the men, it was perhaps incompetent for them to speak, because, who the greater part of them were, could not yet be known, except by general rumour. —One individual, however, was known. He had already filled one situation, of great eminence and importance, with the most distinguished ability; and this was the best ground of hope, and the surest augur of his services in another exalted situation.—On the whole, Mr. Pitt was of opinion, that, in refusing to go into a committee for the purpose of considering of the necessary supplies, the house would be questioning the propriety of all that they had formerly decided, questioning all that was the best ground of sanguine expectation, and questioning the exercise of the clearest prerogative of the crown. He concluded, by expressing his conviction, that the house would accede to the motion for the speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. Dundas, after observing that it had been said, that the administration of the country could not be in worse hands than it was in now, reasoned thus: if so, as the means of carrying on the measures of government had been intrusted to that administration, it was strange, upon that

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that reason, to suppose, that similar means should be withheld from their successors. That no such proposition would be acceded to, he relied on the wisdom and good sense of the house, who, he was convinced, would not be dissuaded by such arguments from now doing their duty in voting the necessary supplies, especially as they must be sensible that an inquiry might hereafter be instituted into the conduct of his majesty's retiring ministers, if such an inquiry should be deemed proper and necessary.

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Mr. Harrison's opposition to going into a committee of supplies, was supported by Mr. Western, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Dent, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Nicholls, and Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Western considered the new set of ministers as creatures raised from inferior situations, under the former ministry, into public notice, merely by the patronage of Mr. Pitt; and who entered on office with the avowed resolution of supporting the same system which had reduced the country to its present distress. Mr. Whitbread spoke with great candour and moderation. It was not his intention by any means to intrench on the right of the crown, in the appointment of ministers. The house, however, had a right, if they disapproved of the measures of those appointed, to refuse the supplies. Let the house, then, see who were the persons by whom these supplies were to be expended. Let them hear the new minister, in his place, state what his views and principles were, and then let them decide whether he was worthy of their support. He professed his unwillingness to speak, at present, of the catholic emancipation, reserving what he had to offer till the question should come to be regularly discussed. He did not consider the new set of ministers as likely to be at all inferior to the *former*, who were *about to retire*. In point of talents, general economy, and regard to the rights of the people, he conceived that no men could act worse, while there was a chance that they might do better. At all events, he viewed the dissolution of the right honourable gentleman's administration with pleasure, and thought that it held out a faint prospect of the return of better times.—Mr. Dent lamented the want of unanimity in the house at this difficult period. He had given a right honourable gentleman his confidence. That gentleman had quitted his office, at an awful time, without explanation as to the causes. He waited for an explanation. An explanation was necessary of this sudden desertion of his office, when united wisdom and vigour were necessary to save the state from ruin.—Mr. Hobhouse, after enumerating many of the pernicious consequences, and condemning every principal feature of the late administration, assigned, as his reasons for supporting the opposition to their going, at present, into a committee of supplies, that the successor to the late chancellor of the exchequer, to whom the expenditure of such large supplies was to be intrusted, would shortly be in his place, and that no mischief, nor even inconvenience could arise from the delay.—Mr. Nicholls asserted, that, after reducing the country to a state of famine and bankruptcy; after having, by their arrogant and impolitic conduct, raised against us a confederacy of all the states of Europe, ministers retired from office, suggesting reasons

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sons for their conduct, which, while they were calculated to acquire popularity for themselves, must necessarily render their sovereign odious to a large portion of his subjects.—Mr. Pitt here called Mr. Nicholls to order, and contended that the honourable gentleman had no right to introduce the name of the sovereign into the debate, much less on an averment wholly destitute of foundation.—Mr. Nicholls said, that he introduced the name of the sovereign by no means disrespectfully, but merely as it was connected with the conduct of ministers. The conduct of the right honourable gentleman gave him deep alarm; and the house owed it to the king, to themselves, and to the country, seriously to pause before they granted the supplies, without having some satisfactory declaration from ministers respecting the manner in which they were to be applied. He was ready to acknowledge that it was the undisputed prerogative of his majesty to name what ministers he thought proper; and, for his part, he was ready to place his confidence in the man named and appointed as minister by his majesty, until, by his declarations and acts, that man should show himself unworthy of the confidence of the house: but if it was the prerogative of his majesty to name his ministers, it was the duty of the house to inquire into their intentions, before they proceeded to vote the supplies. The house were told that the new administration were to persevere in the system of their predecessors. To what extent was that system to be carried? Was the country to have no peace until the old government of France was restored?

Mr. Pitt thought it unnecessary, at the present moment, to enter into any explanation respecting the cause of his retiring, as that matter might be the subject of future discussion. He now rose merely to say, that the insinuations thrown out by Mr. Nicholls were more than unfounded. That honourable gentleman had been pleased to suppose that he had given a pledge, a *specific pledge*, for the conduct of the new administration. He must, in the first place, deny having given any such pledge; and, in the second place, he must beg leave to say, that no fair and candid man could have so interpreted his expressions. Neither had he ever said, that the new administration was never to make peace until the ancient government of France was restored. The ministers, who were about to retire, had never made such a declaration: on the contrary, they had uniformly disclaimed any such intention.

Mr. Sheridan observed that the right honourable gentleman had rather squeamishly, in his opinion, denied his having ever given any pledge* for the public conduct of his successors; whilst, in another place, a noble secretary was con-

* The part that Mr. Pitt had to act on this occasion is an instance of the difficulty a minister has to encounter, when he has at once to conform with a popular government, and to consult the interest of the country. Had he believed, or suspected, that the intentions of Mr. Addington were more pacific than his own, would it have been prudent to declare to the enemy, that the vigorous efforts of the war would suffer the smallest relaxation? Mr. Pitt, though he spoke of what was likely (and this he was called on by different members to do) could not give a pledge: if his expectation was called a pledge, he was forced to take shelter in the distinction between a pledge and a specific pledge.

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gratulating his hearers, that a similar share of virtue and talents would be uniformly directed to the same objects. But this would not be the case. When the two right honourable gentlemen, Messrs. Pitt and Dundas, and a noble earl (Spencer) in another place, should be removed, there would certainly be a great defalcation from the vigour and abilities of the cabinet. The reasoning on this occasion was of a most singular description. When the crew of a ship was preparing for action, it was usual, he knew, to clear the decks, by throwing overboard the lumber. But he never heard of such a manœuvre as that of throwing their great guns overboard. It was not usual, he believed, when a ship was to be boarded, for the great cannonades on the quarter deck, loaded with grape shot, to be sent to the sea, rather than pointed at the enemy. Mr. Sheridan, after more of this play, and other observations, said, that if the conduct of the new ministers was to be the most perfect contrast, in every point, to that of their predecessors, then, indeed, might they aspire to, as most certainly they would enjoy, the undoubted confidence and esteem of the nation. But, while more than a doubt was entertained of their principles and opinions, where was the great inconvenience of withholding the supplies for a few days, when these principles and opinions might be more clearly understood?

Mr. Pitt, who, during Mr. Sheridan's speech, was musing, it would seem, on the charge that had been made against ministers, rose for the purpose of explanation, and said, that when he took the liberty of stating, that the insinuations thrown out by an honourable gentleman, that night, were unfounded, his idea was, that he had not suggested any rumours injurious to his sovereign. In saying this, however, he did not mean to say, that the ground assigned, by rumour, was not the ground of his resignation; muchless did he decline any explanation: though it was a doctrine somewhat new, that a man could not, consistently with his duty, resign a high and responsible situation without giving all the reasons which had determined him to do so. He should rather leave it, he said, to posterity to judge of his conduct. Still he had no objection to state the fact; which he did in these words: "I, and some of my colleagues, did feel it an incumbent duty upon us to propose a measure, on the part of government, which, under the circumstances of the union so happily effected between the two countries, we thought of great public importance, and necessary to complete the benefits likely to result from that measure: we felt this opinion so strongly, that when we met with circumstances which rendered it impossible for us to propose it as a measure of government, we felt it equally inconsistent with our duty and our honour any longer to remain a part of that government. I beg to have it understood to be a measure, which, if I had remained in government, I must have proposed. What my conduct will be, in a different situation, must be regulated by a mature and impartial review of all the circumstances of the case."

Mr. Buxton thought that, from the well known character of the new chancellor of the exchequer, there was every reason to anticipate a favourable reception to his administration.

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nistration. He thought it contrary to all probability, that he who had, by his ability and assiduity, gained universal confidence in his former station, should, in a new situation, adopt such principles, or pursue such measures, as would forfeit the support of the house.

Colonel Addington was unwilling to dwell at any length on the merits of his right honourable relation. But, from the opinion which the house entertained of his merits in another capacity, it was not, perhaps, too much to expect, that his future conduct would at least not be much exposed to censure. One simple request he would now make, the justice of which he was persuaded would be readily admitted. The request was, that his right honourable relation might not be prejudged: but that, till proofs to the contrary were produced, an expectation might be entertained that he would act in such a manner as to ensure the continuation of that favour, which he had already so liberally experienced.

This short address, by colonel Addington, conciliatory, modest, plain, and sensible, was well adapted to the subject on which it was made.

By the very unexpected change of ministry, the houses of parliament, and, to a certain extent, the nation at large, was broken up into a variety of new parties, by various opinions and various interests; but principally into the three following:

First, a very considerable party, though not so considerable as it had been, who had always set their face against the present war, and who were more afraid of the growing influence of the crown, than of French fraternization and insurrections among the people. At the head of this party was Mr. Fox.

Secondly, the authors and abettors of the war, who, after all that the nation had suffered, were in reality less desirous of peace, than fearful lest an intercourse should be reestablished between this country and France, which might favour the introduction of democratical principles. But such an intercourse, it was generally suspected, was not the only evil of which they were apprehensive. In the continuance of the war, the honour, as well as interest, of numbers was involved. Even perpetual war was less dreaded than the humiliation (after such a scene of delusion, disappointment, and disregard to the warnings of their opponents) of making peace. It is needless to say, that at the head of this was Mr. Pitt.

The third party consisted of men who wished to put an end to the war on any reasonable terms, who could endure to see France employed in retrieving her commerce and manufactures, and becoming once again a great commercial rival to Great Britain, rather than that she should be compelled, by the necessity of continued military exertion, to maintain and still extend her power and influence farther and farther all around her; and who were of opinion that sincerity of intention and sound judgment, without any wonderful powers of eloquence, would suffice for all the purpose of negotiation, or any measure of a wise and virtuous government. Of this party there was no head. It was composed chiefly of recruits from both the other parties. The centre of their union, or rallying point, was probably that party, already noticed in

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in a former volume *, who considered public credit as the great bond of national intercourse, as well as the grand cement and support of individual nations. This they regarded as a vast organization, which one country could not violate without violating the whole system. They expressed their wishes that the world, for the good of the whole, should not, for the sake of any temporary advantage of one nation over another, relapse into barbarism, but advance in general and simultaneous civilization. They professed a disposition to maintain, not only good faith to neighbouring nations, but sincere good will; and to maintain and act upon all those liberal ideas, which gave so much plausibility and popularity in the world to the first and purest declarations of the constituent assembly of France, before the revolution was contaminated by the imprisonment of the king, and all the concomitant and subsequent horrors. These sentiments were diffused by the press, throughout France and other parts of Europe; and, as it was well enough known that they proceeded from some individuals belonging to the small band above mentioned, must have produced in some degree similar sentiments of peace and harmony. These then were the three leading parties to whose principles and conduct, in the present conjuncture, every eye was turned, and who shared, in different portions, the favour and confidence of the nation.

In the first mentioned party there was a great portion of all that is most respectable for rank and property in England, and also a proportionable share of ability and of eloquence. There is a degree of rascally suspicion among the low people, that disposes them to believe every one like themselves, that excludes all belief in generous professions, and even all idea of lofty and liberal ambition, and ascribes everything to some sordid and selfish motive, if such a motive can possibly be thought of. So strong, among the lower orders, is this propensity, that they consider superior capacity as nearly synonimous with fraudulent dexterity. For many years, though even the very vices of Mr. Fox gave the lie to their hypothesis, they imagined that the grand purpose to which he applied the superior vigour of his mind was, to overreach all with whom he might have any dealings, and to practise on the follies and weaknesses of men for the promotion of some selfish end or interest. *"Od rotten, Charley is as deep as Garrick:"* meaning nothing less, than that both Fox and Garrick were sly and shrewd sharpers. The elevation and purity of Mr. Fox's mind was not, for years, understood even by those who in rank and education were much above the vulgar. Some suspicions were entertained that he might be induced, by private views, to sacrifice even great public interests. His unrivalled talents were universally acknowledged: but there still lurked, in many breasts, somewhat of a suspicion, that his political firmness and integrity were not inflexible. The sensibility of his heart, the unassuming affability, and the sublime simplicity of his manners, the steadiness and warmth of his friendships, and the general consistency of his political conduct, which even the heavy

* See vol. xl, anno 1798.

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weight of his India bill did not counterbalance, in the process of time, though that not very short, produced an almost universal conviction that Fox was not only endowed with the most brilliant parts, but also a great, an honest, and good man. Every one who has been in the habits of attending to the sentiments of the populace, respecting things and persons, for five-and-twenty years back, will readily recognise the turn of popular and plebeian opinion in favour of Mr. Fox. While, on the other hand, his great political rival, for obvious reasons, had fallen greatly, and was indeed sunk very low in popular esteem and affection.

He had a taste for art, as well as a capacity for science. Of literature, in which he had made wonderful proficiency, amidst so early, manifold, and continued avocations, he was an excellent judge, and, if circumstances had admitted, would have been at once a judicious and munificent patron.

It was not Mr. Fox's splendid speeches in parliament, his quick perception, his demonstrative and mathematical reasoning, that had become at length the principal object of respect and admiration, but his just views of the nature and conduct proper to be observed by Britain in the war on the continent; his advice and warnings on that subject, all of them most completely fulfilled; the modes he proposed, by which the great evils that happened would have been prevented: these facts, easily to be comprehended, easily to be remembered, and impossible to be rejected from remembrance, by any act of volition *, stamp the character of Mr. Fox with the most sound political wisdom. His comprehensive views, and his inventive talents, finding new resources in new circumstances and combinations, beyond all doubt, pointed him out as the fittest man in Britain to contend with Buonaparte, if hostile; while the frankness and sincerity of his disposition rendered him the fittest to negotiate with him, if desirous of peace. So thought many more than what is commonly called his party. But many were afraid, without reason, that he would concede too much. And no prospect was entertained, on account of resistance apprehended in a quarter improper to be mentioned, that his appointment to the first place in administration could be easily or soon effected.

The second party in the state comprehended, also, great talents, great dignity and wealth, and by far greater numbers. The leaders of this party having divided, we shall speak only of those who resigned the principal offices; the remainder amalgamated for the present with the third party. Mr. Windham, secretary at war, was a man of a philosophical turn, an elegant scholar, and a polite gentleman: conversant with business, but never forgetting the Muses, whom he adored, and by whom in return he was beloved. He had, on many subjects, a singular cast of thinking, not an unusual concomitant of original genius. He was, not a little, an enthusiast: and in all his enthusiasm, he was both eloquent and ingenious. His great *Rosinante* was French jacobinism; which he saw

* See Mr. Fox's Letter to the Electors of Westminster, with Observations by Robert Adair, Esq., M. P. — Debrett.

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at every turn, and heard in every breeze. He was decided, open, and avowed in all his conduct; and in all his conduct, as far as his intention was concerned, consistent; though his subtle mind, habituated to abstraction, made sometimes such nice and even whimsical distinctions, that a person, unacquainted with the natural probity of his mind, might have mistaken him for a Jesuit. He had conceived as great a reverence for Mr. Burke, as ever an ancient Greek did for Pythagoras. He had imbibed the very spirit, and, in a good measure too, the very manner of Mr. Burke. He wrapped himself up, as it were, in his mantle, after his exit from the theatre of this world, as Elisha did in that of Elijah, when he was translated to heaven.

The earl Spencer, first lord of the admiralty, was by no means deficient in the easy and becoming eloquence of an accomplished gentleman: but, had his eloquence been less, it would have sufficed to explain and justify his conduct and his actions. For these indeed spoke for themselves. Lord Spencer supported administration, not by words, but by deeds.

Lord Grenville, secretary of state for foreign affairs, was a man of good natural parts, cultivated by assiduous study, and strengthened by early application to business. In the duties of his office he was distinct, constant, and assiduous; in public speaking, manly, nervous, perspicuous, and bold even to somewhat assuming, unmannerly, and arrogant. This tone, so little engaging, was not likely to be attended with any mischief in an assembly where every emotion of liking or disliking is so usually hushed under the views of private interest. But, in one well known instance, it excited, in the breasts of many sober and dispassionate men, an alarm of mischief being raised by it in a foreign country. He spoke much of himself, and of the virtues and talents of his colleagues. He was in the habit of doing the honours, as it were, of ministry to themselves. His accumulation of places was noticed to his disadvantage. He was supposed to be as fond of the emoluments, as he was proud of the pomp of office. In short, lord Grenville went through his public duty well: but not in the most gracious and acceptable manner.

Mr. Dundas, treasurer of the navy, president of the East India board of control, secretary of state for the home department, &c. &c. was not less rapacious of places than lord Grenville: but what he gained, not in every instance without application and even hard labour, he spent freely. From a convivial and social disposition, as much probably as from any principles of Christianity, he was "*ready to distribute, and willing to communicate;*" yet it is by no means intended to insinuate, that he was an enemy to religion. It is not, we apprehend, generally known, on this side the Tweed, that Mr. Dundas was, in some sort or degree, a clergyman. In the church or kirk of Scotland there is a sacred order, known by the name of presbyters or elders. It would be difficult to communicate any exact or tolerable idea of the nature of their function, by any thing analogous in the church of England, if it be not pretty near the truth to say, that the Scottish elder holds a kind of middle station between a churchwarden and a parochial priest. His voice, as well as active interference in all that relates to the external order

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and discipline of the church, assimilate him to the former; his office or duty to exhort and admonish the Christian brethren to visit, and pray with and for the sick, and to exhibit in his life and manners a pattern of religion to the latter. In the different ecclesiastical courts, the elder sits and votes with the other presbyters, in all matters that come before them, even those of orthodoxy or heterodoxy, and all manner of ecclesiastical doctrine, as well as discipline, not excepted. The character of a Scottish elder bears no distant analogy to a laic brother in a Roman catholic monastery, or to a Mahometan devotee or marabout.

Into this clerical order of elders Mr. Dundas was initiated by due ordination, before he had well attained to his majority. At that period, he was not wholly inattentive, it is said, to the duties of his function: but, as he advanced in life, he confined his attention and attendance to kirk courts, and particularly to the general assembly of the church, which forms the legislative or presiding body of the kirk of Scotland, consisting of the inferior jurisdiction of synods, presbyteries, and kirk sessions. The general assembly, not unlike our house of commons, forms the best theatre and school for the practice of popular eloquence in Scotland. In this school, Mr. Dundas, being an elder, exercised and improved his talents for speaking in a popular assembly: while, at the same time, having been admitted a member of the faculty of advocates, he exercised the more confined, technical, and close reasoning of the bar.

Mr. Dundas's family had been for a whole century eminent practitioners in the Scottish law, and for nearly the last fifty years at the head of it.

Before the union, and the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions in 1748, the great Scottish families, united together by various ties, governed Scotland. The government was carried on in the name, and by the authority of the state; but the authority of the state would have been inefficient, without the intervention of the great and leading families. After the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions, the grand principle of their union or concert was dissolved, and the court of London was the general centre of resort for the solicitation of preferment and favour. English ideas of liberty, and free and bold adventure, were gradually introduced. A prosperous and glorious war, in which the Scotch, through the magnanimous policy of the great earl of Chatham, had their full share, was followed by a general effort in Scotland, in arts, sciences, and all manner of enterprise. In such times and circumstances, Mr. Dundas received the bias of education: and all his views ultimately centred in England.

All the title deeds of the landed property in Scotland are deposited in a public register at Edinburgh; which forms the certainty and the value of what, in that part of the island, is called heritable security. This circumstance, together with an extensive practice of the law in a narrow country, gives the most eminent lawyers many opportunities of gaining an insight into the affairs of the first classes in Scotland; and by knowing their circumstances, to know also their hopes and fears, their wants and wishes, and, in a word, their predominant and ruling pursuits and passions. There was no

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no family, or succession of lawyers in one family, that enjoyed this advantage in so great a degree as that of Arniston, which is the family of Dundas. The Scotch nobility and gentry, whose wealth was not always equal to their taste for show and parade, and their spirit of adventure often outran their income: and as their estates were, for the most part, entailed, and could not be sold, they were put in sequestration during the life of the incumbents, under the powerof trustees, for the behoof of the creditors. Now there were none appointed trustees, in capital concerns, so commonly as the lords presidents of the court of session, and others of the family of the Dundasses.

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Mr. Henry Dundas was well qualified, by nature, to improve those advantages which were thrown in his way by fortune. He had a natural shrewdness and manly sense, his external form was advantageous; he was social, convivial, jocular, (though his humour was none of the most refined kind,) and a potent drinker. The house of Arniston, which, besides places and profits of law, possessed a good estate, was always famous for a very hearty hospitality. Both there and at many other places, Mr. Dundas had many opportunities of meeting and bringing together many persons of the first distinction and consequence, composing differences, forming alliances, and, in short, insinuating himself into the privy councils of a very great portion of Scotland.

In the mean time, having been commissioned at an early period of life to parliament, his vigorous application to business, and his faculty for speaking in public, brought him more and more into notice, with different administrations; to whom he did not scruple to lend his aid, but without ever forfeiting his honour, or violating his leading political principles. He was not hampered by any party principles, other than that he leaned much more, like all lawyers, particularly Scottish lawyers, to the prerogatives of the crown than the privileges of the people. The grand cement among men, he considered to be interest. As he himself was ever ready to bear a part in any administration, on this ground, so he naturally conceived that others would be influenced by similar motives. His system of corruption he was at no manner of pains to conceal or to palliate. But even his enemies, who spoke of him, though without much personal ill will, as a *barefaced dog*, were obliged to confess, that, in his impudence, there was a species of candour, and, in his corruption, a kind of honesty. His style of speaking was manly, and, what we consider as very great merit, perfectly unaffected. His countryman, Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards lord Loughborough and the earl of Rosslyn, laboured, with great success, to divest himself of the Scottish dialect and accent; but still the effort it cost him was often perceptible. Mr. Dundas considered not *how*, but merely *what* he should express; nor was the uncouth phraseology, that he now and then made use of, the less forcible, that it sometimes obliged his English hearers to call up their attention, and set their mind to work, in order to comprehend his meaning. In short, he made a free and bold use of language, English or Scotch, and spoke

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on without interruption, or hesitation, through thick and thin *. It is of more importance to give the character of his manner of arguing or reasoning. From a clearness of conception, there followed in his speeches, even those that could be no other than extemporary, a clearness of arrangement. He quickly perceived the vulnerable parts of the reasonings of his opponents, and there he made, and persevered in his attack. On his own ground, where strongest, he made his stand, without leaving it to follow his adversary into many windings and subterfuges.

The services rendered by Mr. Dundas were neither few nor unimportant: of these, we have already had occasion to take notice in the course of this work. His Indian administration has been generally approved. It must be confessed, however, that the extension of our conquests, in the East, is inconsistent with good faith, and tends to sow the seeds of resentment, and to form confederations, that may be formidable. If the assets of the company be increased, their debts and difficulties are also increased: and new and expensive enterprises may be undertaken before these be greatly reduced, if the present spirit of war and subjugation be not changed for a system of greater moderation, prudence, economy, and permanent security. Mr. Dundas was not only fair, liberal, and generous, as above noticed, in the intercourses of private life, but in his conduct as a minister, towards different classes of men: as the Scottish emigrants; the Scottish clergy; that glorious and important class, on whom our security so much depends, the seamen, and their relations; the French refugees and foreigners in the service of government, and other classes, besides individuals without number. Of letters, except the *letter* of the law, he neither was, nor pretended to be, a patron, admirer, or great judge. His genius, habits, and pursuits, were wholly turned to business and politics. Never did the Muses curtsie so low to power, as when the university of St. Andrews chose for their chancellor Mr. Henry Dundas. But if their conduct in this be entitled, on account of its prudence, to approbation, it was a censure on the imprudence of that of their predecessors, (of whom not a few are known and admired in the world of literature and science,)

* The Scottish speakers, who feel themselves cramped, by the dread of being caught in the use of their own dialect, doubtless, labour under a prodigious disadvantage. The manly and successful example of Mr. Dundas, should break their chains. We may take the present opportunity of observing, on the subject of style and language in general, that much mischief is done by the voluminous systems of critics and professors of rhetoric. No writer or speaker should labour to imitate any other. Every man's style should be as different as his voice, face, and manner. It should be now rough, now smooth, now low, now lofty, according to his subject and conceptions: in a word, it should accord with the variety of nature. Let it only be grammatical, and free from affectation. Were this compendious system of rhetoric duly regarded, there would be a greater and more interesting variety in our new books of entertainment; and the conceptions of philosophical inquirers would be exhibited with greater force and precision. But, though Mr. Dundas's disregard to phraseology and elocution, in his parliamentary exhibitions, is to be excused, if not applauded, the egregious slovenliness of his writings, ungrammatical sometimes even to the degree of being almost unintelligible, cannot be too severely censured.

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who, on the death of their chancellor, William duke of Cumberland, in 1770, elected, as his successor, Thomas earl of Kinnoull, *after* he had retired from an important and honourable political life; for no better reason, than that he was an eminent patron and pattern of religion, and private, as well as public, virtue; that he inherited all that love and respect for learning, which distinguished his father, one of the most accomplished noblemen in the court of George II, and his maternal grandfather, the illustrious Robert earl of Oxford; and that he was the worthy representative of one of the noblest races in Europe.

The influence of Mr. Dundas, in Scotland, of the natural history of which, as it were, a sketch has just been given, was more and more increased, by the opportunities he had of serving his countrymen, by means of his public offices. And there was an action and reaction, between his influence in his native country, and his importance in and to the British government. It seemed not improper, to say so much of a Scottish advocate, who attained to a greater height of power in his native country, than had ever been possessed by the dukes of Argyle.

The honourable Mr. William Pitt had been trained up from a child, by his father, the first earl of Chatham, as Mr. Fox also had been by his father, lord Holland, to qualify himself, by all proper talents, and habits of study, reasoning, and speaking, and to look forward to some future opportunity of shining as an orator and legislator. Lord Holland and lord Chatham had been rival statesmen; their sons were destined to be also rivals: and, what was thought to be another remarkable coincidence, the eldest sons of these illustrious characters, Mr. Stephen Fox and the present lord Chatham, though neither stupid nor wrong-headed, (particularly Stephen Fox, who is said to have been a man of wit and humour,) were inert and slothful: but their second sons, quick, sprightly, and active. It was a maxim, inculcated by the earl of Chatham, on his favourite son, that merit, triumphing over every temporary obstruction, would in time find its just level; and that whoever was in reality the best qualified for any office, would, sooner or later, obtain it. Mr. Pitt, after a course of education at home, at Eton, and at Cambridge, during the whole of which his proficiency was greatly distinguished amongst his associates, applied himself to the study of the law, and was called to the bar, where he made some appearances that did him the highest honour, and formed a presage of the elevation, to which he might have attained, had he chosen to abide by that profession. It was fortunate for not a few of his fellow scholars, or students, that he was an excellent scholar; for the recollection of scenes where he received great and just applause, and of associates, who knew and respected his genius, were ever afterwards dear to his remembrance. Had he been a dunce, (for it is possible, that a dunce at school, might have risen to

* There was not any individual who took so active a part, and had so large a share in preparing and carrying through, the great and important jurisdiction bill, in 1748, as the earl of Kinnoull, then lord viscount Dupplin.

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a high and important political situation) he would not have been fond of associating, in a state of exaltation, with young men, who knew and laughed at him in a state of contempt. It is greatly to the credit, and forms a most honourable trait in the character of Mr. Pitt, that he brought a number of his school and college companions, and friends, into situations, both highly respectable and comfortable. And it is also very honourable, for those fortunate young gentlemen, that they acquired and preserved the friendship of such a man as Mr. Pitt. As to this last circumstance, indeed, the merit was not great. For, it is confirmed by uniform experience, that the friendships contracted by strong minds are as lasting as those entered into by fools are fluctuating and capricious. Mr. Pitt had not been long at the bar, when he was sent to parliament by the university of Cambridge. His very first speech answered the expectations that had been formed of him, though these were extravagant. Soon after this, an unusual jarring of political faction and personal animosity, invested so promising and popular a youth, (for he then stood on very popular ground,) and the son of lord Chatham, with the offices of chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury. His popularity was at that period so great, that a declaration of his, which, from any other person of his standing, would have given the highest disgust, was applauded by many as a just claim of consequence due to merit.

His father, lord Chatham, had confidently predicted, that, "if the British parliament should not, before the close of the eighteenth century, be reformed by itself, or, in other words, within, it would be reformed without." Mr. Pitt, conformably to this prediction, declared loudly, at first, for a reformation of parliament: but after he had become prime minister, he found sufficient occupation in other objects.

After the termination of a war, expensive beyond all past example, the attention of the minister was naturally called to regulations respecting finance, commerce, and general industry and improvement. The public mind was occupied some time by an effort to settle a commercial intercourse with Ireland; a commercial treaty concluded with France; a bill for regulating the affairs of India; and a variety of other designs: but, above all, by setting apart a million sterling, annually, for the gradual reduction of the national debt. A spirit of innovation, insurrection, and wild uproar, afterwards known by the barbarous appellation of *Jacobinism*, had been brewing in France, ever since the return of the French army from the American war, in 1784, and in 1789 it broke out in a general explosion. The spirit of liberty was now too generally allied with that of insubordination: and Mr. Pitt could plead, as he did plead, in excuse for not bringing forward any plan for parliamentary reform, that to agitate the public mind in such circumstances, might be followed by the most calamitous consequences. But during the first years of his administration, the tranquillity of France had not been disturbed: nor did the opponents of Mr. Pitt give him credit for the sagacity of foreseeing, as a consequence of the American revolution,

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so sudden and great a revolution in that great country. They remarked, that amidst a variety of measures, there was not a word of what appeared from his speeches, on his entry into the house of commons, to have been nearest his heart. Time elapsed, but no conjuncture was found auspicious to the introduction of that great measure into parliament. The times, indeed, became every day less and less so. Mr. Pitt had a good excuse for putting off, if not altogether evading, a parliamentary reform at last, but not at first: so that the versatility of his conduct, with regard to that point, must, in the judgment of the most candid, hang as a millstone about his neck; just as that of Mr. Fox, respecting India, must ever hang as a millstone about his. Of the propriety, or impropriety, of a parliamentary reform, we say nothing. Perhaps it might have been hazarded among so temperate a people as the English, in 1784 or 1787, and perhaps not; but there did not appear at that period to be any reason for Mr. Pitt's dereliction of the project.

If young men who undertake the conduct of great affairs want the advantage of experience, that disadvantage is not unusually, in some measure, compensated by ardent zeal and application, and by a decided, bold, and ingenuous conduct, which gains confidence, conciliates affection, and sometimes confounds the policy of old and more artful politicians. Such was the character of John, duke of Argyle, who was colonel of a regiment during the war in Flanders, and at the head of affairs in Scotland at the time of the union, when he was no more than twenty-two years of age. Mr. Pitt was indefatigable in application, and wholly superior to the influence of youthful pleasures; but his character was soon discovered to be that of a wary, cautious, and artful, rather than that of an open and frank politician. The genius of youth was principally seen in the loftiness of his pretensions, and a degree of haughtiness in his manner. He declared, on his first setting out in life, that he never would accept of any subordinate station in government.

Mr. Pitt possessed a ready command of language, and all the modes and subtleties of reasoning. He was copious even to the brink of verbosity. The style of his eloquence was chiefly characterized by what rhetoricians call *amplification*. He viewed the arguments of his adversaries as with the magnifying power of a microscope; considered their principles and projects under a great variety of bearings or relations, and marked where they led to absurdity and mischief. On the other hand, in setting off his own measures, he displayed all their benefits, even the most remote, and in all his declamations was careful to observe the order of a climax. It was characteristical of his public speaking, that he made many personal reflections, and that he was not unfortunate in sarcasm. He was, for the greater part of his ministry, even till the folly of our entering or persevering so long in the war with the French had become apparent to all but enthusiasts, popular; nevertheless, he rather overrated, as is indeed very natural to man, the extent of his popularity. It was his continual boast, as well as that of his cousin, lord Grenville, that they possessed the confidence of nine-tenths of the nation. His popularity

larity derived, no doubt, great support, from the circumstance that he could not be charged with the least tincture of avarice, or any thing mean, sordid, or luxurious. It was greatly to his honour, that his keenest adversaries and enemies could not fix on any other ground of personal reproach in all their squibs and stictures, than that he, as well as Dundas, and some others of their party, were somewhat prone to unbend their cares over a hearty but not unsocial and stupifying glass of wine; which might be well excused, if it was not, instead of being a vice, in statesmen rather a virtue.

In an age so luxurious and corrupt, and in which all great affairs were transacted on so vast and complicated a scale, he was led naturally enough, though most unfortunately, to give the preference to *gold above steel*, and to consider the art of raising the supplies as the grand and almost only qualification of a great minister. His leading principle was to counterbalance and weigh down the accidents of fortune, by a perseverance founded on sources of finance, superior to any that could be commanded by internal adversaries or foreign enemies.

The great glory of Mr. Pitt's administration was rested by his friends, and with justice, on his financial abilities and plans, the union with Ireland, and the previous suppression of the Irish rebellion. If the only object had been to consult the interest of the nation in the long run, it would have been better policy to have laid out the annual million in such improvements as should have been thought most conducive to the increase of the national wealth and population. This increase on the one hand, with the rapid decrease in the value of money on the other, would have alleviated the public debt more and more, until, at last, it would have scarcely been felt. Indeed the national debt would have somewhat been sufficiently lightened, by the depreciation of money alone; but the minister in such critical times was under the necessity, by all means, of supporting public credit, on which our government and national existence solely depended. Commissioners were appointed for buying stock FOR THE PUBLIC from THE PUBLIC. This was, in one view, a political juggle or sophism. It was robbing Peter to pay Paul: taking from one hand to give to the other; with this difference, that there was an expense attending both the collection and distribution of the annual million: but, as it served to support public credit, this establishment of a sinking fund, for the reduction of the national debt, as well as the redemption of the land-tax, must be considered as good policy.

With regard to the great business of the war with the French republic, it would have been more fortunate, and perhaps not, if we had cultivated the friendship of the federalists, to which Brissot was very well inclined; but the plea of defending our allies the Dutch, and of checking encroachments, and the violation of treaties, was at least plausible. Something also was due to humanity, suffering so deeply in the persons of the royal and so many other families in France. What would the opponents of the British administration have said, if Mr. Pitt, from a cold and cautious selfishness, had avoided to tender to Louis XVI, or his friends, the smallest assistance? The stage of the war in which, in our judgment,

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judgment, the conduct of Mr. Pitt became weak and liable to censure, was 1794, when it became sufficiently evident, that individual aggrandizement, not the safety of the French monarchy, was the great object of the greatest of our allies. The fragility of confederacies was proverbial. The first symptoms of this might have been alarming. The end of restoring the monarchy, under certain limitations, was good: the means of attaining it, inadequate. Several struggles were carried on in the name of the monarchy, against the republic, but not one general and continued plan, free from all private views, and directed to the attainment of one object. The desultory efforts of the allies served only to discover the loyalists, and point them out to destruction. That this would be the case, after the desertion of Prussia and the conduct of the imperialists at Valenciennes, might have been foreseen. Our allies on the continent would have done more for repressing the power of the republic, if they had been left to themselves. The conduct of the British government, in stirring up a second coalition, was as impolitic in design as unfortunate in the issue. Opportunities of making peace, more favourable than that juncture at which peace was made, were neglected.

From this character and estimate of the retiring ministers, we may be enabled to appreciate the reasonings for and against the change of ministry. Granting that the old ministers were superior to the new in eloquence, and supposing, not granting, that they were also superior in abilities, yet superior eloquence and superior abilities were a mischief rather than a blessing, if they were unhappily directed.—Much of Mr. Pitt's eloquence and financial abilities might have been spared, if the war had either been shunned, or sooner terminated. It is better to choose the right path, than to show the greatest activity and address in extrication from a wrong one. We have had different occasions to remark, that the ambition and the honour paid to oratory in the British parliament has grown to the height of puerility; and we have ventured to predict, that long-winded speeches will by and by be in as great disesteem as they are now in vogue. Plain speaking is sufficient for all the purposes of plain dealing. In proportion as measures are good, they are independent of oratory. Orators were banished by the wisest of the ancients from their ideal republics. Truth, in proportion as it is simple and certain, and eloquence, in proportion as it flows from the heart, appear in a few bold lines of light and shade, and culminate into the aculeated brevity of antithesis. Neither Mr. Addington, nor those who supported him, were deficient in that kind of eloquence, which was necessary to explain and defend upright and plain measures. Chance, not either the virtue or the good sense of the nation, formed a ministry, that did not force their way into power by the engine of party, nor talk themselves into consequence by parliamentary rhapsodies, but, dutifully standing forth, at the call of their sovereign, at a moment of great danger, appealed to their integrity as their only shield, and to the purity of their intentions as their only motive. Mr. Addington exchanged the speaker's chair, one of the most respectable stations in the state, and which

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which he had filled with comfort, dignity, and the highest reputation, for one full of trouble and difficulty, but in which he might be instrumental in averting many evils, and bringing about many blessings to the nation.

It had become the custom for political management, and great talents for public speaking, to take the lead in public affairs. A ministry was now offered to the united kingdoms, in which integrity and plain good sense were to take the lead, and call into their wake the eloquence and the ability of all who chose to support a system of government framed on such principles. There was no reason certainly to be shy of accepting and supporting a minister, whose abilities, though not supposed to be transcendent, were allowed to be respectable, and whose probity and honour were distinguished.

Upright intentions preclude many of those embarrassments, in which men of the first-rate talents are sometimes involved by high passions and self-confidence. Moral rectitude coincides, in its conclusions, with the profoundest political calculations.--*The law of the Lord is perfect, making wise the simple.* If the imperial parliament and the British nation be duly convinced of this maxim, what was the work of fortune, may be crowned with a high degree of national prosperity and comfort. It is time now to return from this digression to the committee of supplies, where the change of ministry was so warmly agitated.

Immediately after Mr. Pitt had declared the grounds of his resignation, as above stated, the motion for going into a committee was put, and agreed to without a division. Supplies for the naval, military, and other service, each head, as usual, being specified, were voted for ten lunar months. For the sea service, there was granted a force of 135,000 men, for ten months, including 39,000 marines. The secretary at war presented to the committee a brief account of all descriptions of troops in the whole empire. The number of regular forces, cavalry and infantry, amounted to 193,187 men. The number of militia, both British and Irish, was 78,046. Of fencibles, both British and Irish, 31,415: so that the whole force in the empire, in these three descriptions of troops, exclusive of the volunteer corps, amounted to 302,648 men. The expense of maintaining this force would be 12,940,889*l.* The expense of the two countries, being distinguished, would stand thus: for Great Britain 9,617,033*l.*; for Ireland 3,323,856*l.*: making together the sum he had before stated.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VIII.

Committee of Supplies.—National Estimates.—Ways and Means.—New Taxes.—Summary Review of the State of Great Britain, with respect to the Public Revenue and Expenditure at the Commencement of 1801—*And of the general Safety and Prosperity of the Nation.*

THE house of commons having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, on February 18, 1801; Mr. Pitt, appearing for the last time in the character of chancellor of the exchequer, produced, as he said was now his duty, the charges for the current year, and the ways and means by which those expenses were to be defrayed. The order he observed, in this complicated business, was, first to particularize the expenses for which provision was to be made by the two countries, in the proportion settled by the late measure of the union: and, in the next place, those charges which belonged, exclusively, to each kingdom.

The charges of the navy amounted this year to 15,800,000*l.*; which was an advance of 2,000,000*l.* beyond those of the last year. This, he observed, was a general charge, a proportion of which was to be paid by Ireland. The army charges, this year, were 9,617,000*l.*: those of the last year, 8,820,000*l.* The account would then stand thus:

Army charges for 1801	£9,617,000
Extraordinaries for do.	2,500,000
Establishment for Ireland	3,785,000
Total military charges	£15,902,000

The expenses of the ordnance establishment for the present year, would amount to 1,639,000*l.*, being an access of a few thousands beyond those of the former year. Those for Ireland amounted to 299,000*l.*; making a total of 2,757,000*l.*

He had also to propose a vote of credit, for this country, of 800,000*l.* and 500,000*l.* for Ireland; which, he trusted, would be sufficient for every emergency; particularly as, in the present state of Europe, we were prevented from sending our subsidies to foreign powers. The several sums which he had enumerated, and which belonged conjointly to both countries, amounted to 35,587,000*l.*: of this sum, England was to pay, by agreement, 15-17ths, and Ireland 2-17ths.

As to deficiencies, the first he should notice was, in the income-tax, which had been taken at seven millions, but which could not be expected to produce, in either year, more than six millions. The discount on the late loan amounted to 400,000*l.* The deficiency in the malt-duty was 400,000*l.* In the assessment of 1798, and the income-tax of 1799, 1,350,000*l.* The deficiency in the produce of the consolidated fund, as calculated to April,

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April, 1801, amounted to no less than 1,750,000*l.* It was his determination to provide for every deficiency, and to fund the largest possible quantity of exchequer-bills, so as to leave nothing afloat. To make good these deficiencies, and to fund those exchequer-bills, would require a sum of 6,610,000*l.*, which, added to 35,587,000*l.* of charges to be paid by Great Britain, would give a total of 42,197,000*l.* to be divided between the two countries, thus: Great Britain, for its 15-17ths of its joint expense, and those charges which belonged to her, would have to defray, in round numbers, 37,870,000*l.*; and the charge falling on Ireland, would be 4,324,000*l.*

Mr. Pitt, having stated all the sums requisite for the supplies of the year, and the proportions in which they were to be borne by the two countries, submitted to the committee the

WAYS AND MEANS.

These he showed would stand thus:

Taxes on sugar, malt, and tobacco . .	£2,750,000
Lottery	300,000
Income-duty, deducting the interest with which it stands charged	4,260,000
Duty upon exports and imports	1,250,000
Surplus of the consolidated fund . . .	3,300,000
To be provided by Ireland	4,324,000
Sum not issued for subsidies	500,000
Surplus of grants . .	60,000
	£16,744,000

There remained then a sum of 25,500,000*l.* to be raised by way of loan. There was a rivalship between two great parties which should take the loan. They had taken it without premium or bonus, except the discount on prompt payment. The terms were 125 consols, valued at 70*l.* 15*s.*—50-15 reduced, value 29*l.* 5*s.*—for every 100*l.*

The first tax proposed, for paying the interest of the loan, was an additional duty on tea above 2*s.* 6*d.* per pound, of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, which he calculated would produce the sum of 300,000*l.*

The next tax was on the article of paper, the present duty on which he proposed to double: providing an exception, however, in favour of paper-hangings, and glazed paper, used in particular manufactures, and allowing a discount, to the full amount of the duty, on all paper used in the publication of diurnal prints. The produce of this tax he estimated at 130,000*l.*

He proposed that the drawback on the exportation of calicoes be taken off, and that the present duty of twopence-halfpenny per yard, be advanced to threepence-halfpenny, which would amount to 155,000*l.*, making the total of the excise 586,000*l.*

On the tax on timber, staves, and deals, he proposed an increase of one-third, which increase he estimated at 95,000*l.*

The export trade of pepper, the whole of which was, in fact, in our hands, he also considered as a proper article of taxation.

On all exports of every kind he proposed a tax of sixpence per pound, which, he calculated, would produce 104,000*l.*; and on all articles consumed at home a duty of threepence in the pound, which he estimated

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estimated at 15,000*l.* This increase of the imports or exports, and home consumption, might be expected to make up, together, the sum of 119,000*l.* An addition of twenty-pence per cwt. on sugar, he expected to produce 166,000*l.* A duty on raisins would produce 10,000*l.*; and a duty on lead 120,000*l.*

The next tax Mr. Pitt proposed was an additional duty on horses of every description, not excepting even those employed in agriculture: though that on the latter would only be to a small amount. On every horse employed in agriculture, he proposed an additional duty of 4*s.* for each, which would produce the sum of 136,000*l.* On pleasure-horses, where only one was kept, an additional duty of 10*s.* for each, which would produce the sum of 170,000*l.*: making the whole produce of the additional tax on horses, 306,000*l.*

An increase of one-half of the existing stamp-duty on all bills and notes, he estimated at 112,000*l.* To double the present duty on all policies of insurance in shipping transactions, would produce 145,000*l.*—On all deeds of conveyance of property, which bore, at present, a tax of 10*s.* per skin, he proposed to place an additional duty uf 3*s.* per skin, which would produce 93,000*l.* Total amount of additional stamp-duties, 350,000*l.* The next and the last subject of taxation to which Mr. Pitt called the attention of the house was one, he observed, in which the revenue was raised in a way the most satisfactory, and the most consistent with the interests of the people: for it was only a duty on that which individuals found more convenience in, than could be obtained by any other mode they could adopt; and for which they paid, in proportion to the expense of any other convenience, very little indeed. By paying to the public, in the article alluded to, individuals paid infinitely less than they would be obliged to pay, if they were to take the thing upon themselves. The duty he meant was that on the postage of letters. Various regulations respecting distances, cross-road posts, packets to Ireland, foreign letters, and enclosures in foreign letters, it was estimated would produce a revenue of 80,000*l.* With respect to the penny-post, Mr. Pitt proposed that the present rate should be doubled: that is, that instead of a penny, every letter should, in future, be charged twopence. The produce of this additional penny was estimated at 17,000*l.* The whole produce, to be drawn from the new post-office regulations, he estimated at 150,000*l.*

RECAPITULATION.

Excise	£586,000
Customs	402,000
Horses	306,000
Stamps	350,000
Post-office regulations	150,000
Tot. amt of new taxes	£1,794,000

And the sum to be provided as interest of the loan, 1,785,000*l.* or thereabouts.

Mr. Pitt having described the flourishing state and favourable prospect of the finances, asked what had been the permanent effect of our antecedent permanent revenue? and what even now, after much disadvantage, which was clearly to be attributed to the seasons, which they all knew to have been so unfavourable? The amount of our

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permanent taxes exceeded, on the 5th of January last, that of January, 1800. January, 1801, might be called the æra of our prosperity as well as trial. At this period, our imports and exports were more than they were in the year 1791. If we looked at the state of the debt, we had abundant consolation: for, struggling, as we had been, with difficulties, and increasing a debt, which we could not have avoided, yet, by a rigid and scrupulous adherence to the system long since adopted for the discharge of that debt, according to the engagement we had entered into with ourselves, in the year 1786, we had paid off no less a sum than 52,000,000*l.* of the capital of our debt: a sum which, but for that engagement, and our scrupulous adherence to it, would have been now a burthen to the people of this country. The total amount of our sinking fund was 5,000,000*l.* annually. Of the burthens imposed on us by this unexampled war, more than one-half had been employed, not in supporting ourselves, under engagements entered into by ourselves, but to pay the debts contracted by our ancestors. In former times, the course was, to make comparisons of the revenue of a year of war with that of a year of peace, by way of showing how productive some years of war had been; but now the climax was not that of going from a year of war to a year of peace, to show the flourishing state of our commerce and revenue: the course must be that of comparing one year with another; for the war had been attended with a constant increase of our commerce and revenue: so that we were distinguished by our prosperity, commerce, and naval superiority, above all the other nations of the world. And it was singular, but not more singular than true, that very year, though we had suffered so much, and that recently, from unfavourable seasons, the present year, 1800-1801, was the proudest that the country had ever known with respect to its commerce. It might well be matter of wonder to some, though it was not, that, in spite of all the alarms, lamentations, and momentary despondency, which had been so industriously pressed on the minds of the people, from circumstances too well calculated to have that effect, this country should be the only one in Europe, that had, in this great struggle, the memory of which would be dear to the world, preserved the full benefit of a constitution, which was adapted to support the public liberty and private happiness of a people, who had shown their affection for a sovereign, that had, at all times, shown for them the feelings of a father. A people which had shown a vigour and a firmness, worthy of being guided by the wisdom of such a parliament. Such was the view, exhibited by Mr. Pitt, of the state of the public, at the close of his own administration.

The several resolutions towards granting a supply to his majesty were agreed to, and, in the form of bills, through the usual stages, passed into laws. In the course of the different reports and readings of the respective bills, strong objections were made to several of them, as being too oppressive to the poor, and even middling ranks of society, or bearing too hard on different pursuits of industry. It was easier to point out their pressure, than to remove it by any substitutes; yet, in a few

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a few instances, some amendments to certain bills, for the relief of certain classes, were proposed and adopted. On the motion of Mr. Rose, an amendment was made in the resolution respecting the tax on paper; as the new duty would materially affect the interests of the proprietors of newspapers, who, by former acts, were prevented from raising the price of their papers above sixpence: to the discount they already received, in the purchase of stamps, there was allowed an additional discount of four and a half per cent., which would leave them on nearly the same footing on which they stood before the new tax on paper was imposed. Hackney coach-horses were exempted from the new duty; and an exemption was also made in favour of farmers employing only two horses; and of whose farms the annual rent did not exceed 30*l.* It has already been observed, that the sum borrowed by Great Britain, for the service of 1801, was 25,500,000*l.*; but it was necessary, for the service of Ireland, to borrow about 2,500,000*l.* for which, of course, Ireland was to provide a sum for the payment of the interest: so that the whole loan, contracted by the government of the united kingdom, was 28,000,000*l.* In the bill for this loan, there was a clause, inserted in the committee, authorizing the commissioners of the treasury in Ireland to set apart certain sums for the repayment of that part of the loan, which was made for defraying the charges of the establishment of Ireland.

Mr. Abbot, in the house of commons, February 12, observed, that, in consequence of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, it would be necessary to enact many laws, with reference to those which were already in force, with regard to Ireland. He therefore moved, that an humble address might be presented to his majesty, praying that he would direct a copy of the statutes of Ireland to be laid before the house, which motion was agreed to. On the 21st of February, he observed, that the public finances of Ireland should be submitted to investigation in the same manner as those of this country, in order that the state of the finance of the empire at large might clearly appear before the house. For this purpose, he had framed several motions, classed under different heads, and made as specific as the nature of the subjects appeared to him to require: of which the substance was, to show the income, the expenditure, the trade, the debts, the arrears, the balances in the hands of the public accountants of Ireland, and the price current of exports and imports: all these articles, for the year ending on the 5th of January, 1801, as far as the accounts could be made up or estimated. Motions for the papers necessary for the investigation of all these subjects were made and agreed to. Thus the revenue and expenditure of Ireland were brought, like those of England and Scotland, under the eye and control of the imperial parliament. To the usual committees, one was added, to take into consideration what additional orders, and what other regulations it might be proper to make relative to the proceedings of the house of commons, in consequence of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, and to report the same, with their opinion thereon, from time to time, to the house.

On the 12th of March, the commons went into a committee on the

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annual Irish duties: when several resolutions for continuing those duties were agreed to. On the 20th of the same month, Mr. Corry, acting as chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland, stated to the house, being in a committee of supply, the sums necessary for the civil service of Ireland. Those for the military department had already been stated. Relying on the confidence of the committee, he should think it unnecessary to enter into details of the particulars for which the sums were required, unless the committee expressed its pleasure that he should do so. It was, however, necessary for him, at present, to state, that, on account of the circumstances of the times, and the dearness of provisions, the grants to those public charities, which had always been the objects of the bounty of the parliament of Ireland, and which, he trusted, the imperial parliament would still continue, were necessarily increased, because the children in the public schools, and the patients in the hospitals, must be fed and taken care of. He then moved a series of resolutions, for the grant of various sums for various purposes; all of which, without opposition or hesitation, were agreed to*.

* As these resolutions are of a nature to illustrate the state of Ireland and the views of the Irish parliament, at the period of the union, it may be acceptable to the English reader, if we here subjoin them.

	English.	Irish.
For the Foundling Hospital	£13,846 3 1	£15,000 0 0
Marine Society	1,846 3 1	2,000 0 0
Hibernian Society for Soldiers' Children	3,655 7 9	3,960 0 0
Westmorland Lock Hospital	6,153 13 10	6,699 0 0
Roman Catholic Seminary	7,384 12 4	8,000 0 0
Society for discountenancing Vice	276 18 6	300 0 0
Female Orphan House	461 10 9	500 0 0
House of Industry	15,594 9 3	16,894 0 0
Pratique Dublin Port	966 18 7½	1,047 10 2
Apprehending Offenders	2,307 13 10	2,500 0 0
Civil Buildings	29,538 9 3	32,000 0 0
Criminal Prosecutions	23,076 18 6	25,000 0 0
Printing the Statutes of Ireland	3,477 2 4	3,766 17 6
Printing Gazette	6,485 10 9	7,026 0 0
Treasury Incidents	1,846 3 1	2,000 0 0
For working the Wicklow Gold Mines	923 1 6	1,000 0 0
For the Battle-axe Guards	683 1 6	740 0 0
For Heralds' new Cloathing	1,002 9 3	1,086 0 0
Offices for Records	5,538 9 5	6,000 0 0
For Stationary, &c. for Dublin Castle and the Public Offices	18,166 11 10	19,680 9 4
To the Accountant General	313 16 11	340 0 0
To Deputy Accountant General	221 10 9	240 0 0
To Paymaster of Corn Bounties	738 9 3	800 0 0
To the Examinator of Corn Bounties	184 12 4	200 0 0
To the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports	184 12 4	200 0 0
To the First Clerk to ditto	129 4 7	140 0 0
To the Examinator of Excise	129 4 7	140 0 0
The Linen Bounties	19,938 9 3	21,600 0 0
First Fruits	4,615 7 8	5,000 0 0
Dublin Society	5 076 18 6	5,500 0 0
Paving	9,230 15 5	10,000 0 0
Wide Streets	4,153 16 11	4,500 0 0
Irish Treasury Bills	. . . .	522,200 0 0

On

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On April 1, the house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means for Ireland, Mr. Corry, before he entered into a statement of the charges upon Ireland, thought it proper to say a few words about the finances of that country. The principle of the union, which was so much for the interest of both countries, was a principle of complete and entire union of the government of both countries. That principle, as far as it respected the governments, had been carried into full effect. It was no longer an union of the two crowns: it was an union of the sovereignty. But, owing to some circumstances subsisting antecedently to the union, it became necessary, *for a short time*, to administer the finances of the two countries, in a separate manner, and not in that perfect unity, which it was the object of that great measure to which he had alluded, to effect. As, therefore, *at present*, the finances of the two countries were separate, it would be necessary for him to state them in two points of view; both as they affected Ireland separately, and in conjunction with Great Britain. As to the separate charges, the first of these was the interest of the national debt, which formed the great article of the separate charge upon Ireland, as the military expense formed almost the whole of her joint charge. With respect to the national debt of Ireland, it would appear, to ears accustomed to the hundreds of millions of this country, to amount only to a small sum. It was at present no more than 36,000,000*l.* It was, however, a burthen of great importance to that country, and had increased most rapidly during the present war. The proportion of the debt of Ireland, at the commencement of the war, was to the debt at present, in the proportion of 1 to 14. Her debt, at that period, was, to that of England, as 1 to 100, now the proportion of the debt of Ireland was, to that of England, as 1 to 10. But, a large part of the debt of Ireland was in 5 per cents. And, if this debt was reduced to 3 per cents. in which a great part of the debt of England consisted, then its proportion would be as 1 to 8 to the permanent debt of England. The interest of the debt of Ireland was 1,696,000*l.* The next article of the separate charge of Ireland, was the sum of 622,000*l.* for the compensation for boroughs, which was all that it was thought desirable to raise in one year. The next item was 100,000*l.* for the improvement of inland navigation. These three sums, together, made something more than 2,400,000*l.*; which formed the separate charge that was to be provided by Ireland.

With respect to the separate proportion of the joint charge which Ireland was to bear, a very large part of it, viz. 4,150,000*l.* was for the military expenses. The other part of the joint charge, which was for civil purposes, amounted to above 600,000*l.* making together something more than 4,700,000*l.* exclusive of 300,000*l.* for the vote of credit. This, added to the sum which he had stated as necessary for the separate charge of Ireland, would make the whole amount of the supplies necessary to be provided by Ireland, for the present year, above 7,000,000.

Mr. Corry now stated the ways and means by which he proposed to cover this charge. It was customary in the parliament of Ireland, previous to the union, to grant the supplies from the 25th of March in one

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year, to the 25th of March in the next year. Last year the same plan was adhered to, and the supplies were granted to the usual period, and provision was made accordingly. But, in consequence of the act of union, the joint charges between the two countries commenced from the 1st of January, 1801, and consequently the supplies from that period to the 25th of March, must be thrown into the joint estimate. It would, therefore, be necessary to disappropriate the balances remaining in the treasury of Ireland for the period he had mentioned, in order to make them applicable to the current service of the present year. The amount of the balances in the treasury of Ireland, on the 1st of January, 1801, amounted to 1,697,000*l.* besides 800,000*l.* the balance of the loans. In addition to those, were to be taken into consideration the revenues of the country, which consisted of the same leading articles as those of Great Britain, viz. in port-duties, or, in other words, in customs, which, in Ireland, were termed port-duties; in the inland duties; in the assessed taxes; and in the revenue arising from the post-office. The income arising from the port-duties, amounted to about 2,500,000*l.*; from stamps, about 150,000*l.*; and from the post office, only about 20,000*l.* after defraying the charge of collection. In estimating the revenues of the current year, he should form his calculation upon the three quarters of the year up to Christmas last; they amounted then to 1,800,000*l.* consequently he should take their whole produce at 2,400,000*l.* He begged leave here to remark, that, in the revenue received in the three quarters upon which he was calculating, there was not included any produce of the duty upon malt. The reason of this must be obvious to the committee; the distress of the country was so great, that it became necessary to stop the making of malt. It is true, that it was permitted for a short time in the month of October; but, those who knew the mode in which the amount of these duties was returned, must know that the officer did not make his return until a month after it was collected, and that a month's time was given for its payment; consequently, the duties which arose, during the short period that it was allowed to make malt, did not come into the treasury until after Christmas, and consequently did not come within the three quarters upon which he had estimated. He would take the produce of this duty at 200,000*l.* which would make the revenue amount to about 2,600,000*l.* It had been usual, in Ireland, to have one or two lotteries in the course of the year; and, as he saw no objection to it, he should propose one for the present year, the produce of which he should take at 150,000*l.* The sums applicable to the service of the present year would then be 5,247,000*l.*

Balance in the treasury	£1,697,000
Balance of the two loans	800,000
Estimated revenue .	2,600,000
Lottery	150,000
Making altogether	£5,247,000

From this sum there was to be a deduction of 230,000*l.* for the loyalists; which had not yet been paid, and which it was necessary to pay, as soon as possible, in order to enable those unfortunate persons to rebuild their houses, and to restore the industry of the country. There was

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also a sum of 70,000*l.* to be deducted, paid by Ireland to her forces in the garrisons of Great Britain; which would leave the sum remaining applicable to the service of the year 4,947,000*l.* There was another sum which he had to mention, though it did not form a part of the charge or expenditure of the present year; and that was about half a million of exchequer-bills, or treasury-bills, as they were called in Ireland, because they were calculated in the debt which he had stated, and provided for in the interest. They were, therefore, no charge upon the public this year; except, as they were issued at five per cent. It was also to be observed, that, as long as they remained exchequer-bills, there was not the expense of one per cent. for the sinking fund, which would be necessary as soon as they were funded; but, with the exception of this sum, which did not amount to above 10,000*l.*, they constituted no part of the charge of the present year. The ways and means being therefore unequal to the supply of the year, it became necessary to borrow the sum of 2,500,000*l.* The committee would thus perceive the manner in which he proposed to cover the supplies of the year.

He should now proceed to state the new taxes; and, in this part of the subject, he should occupy as little of the time of the committee as possible. The sum necessary to be provided, as the interest and charge of the debt, (including the one per cent. for the sinking fund,) would amount to 188,000*l.*; but, in providing the taxes, it would be necessary to take into consideration three other items. In consequence of the union, there were to be no duties upon the exports and imports from either country; and, in the arrangement of the duties, there would be a deficiency on the part of Ireland of 60,000*l.*, and that sum it would be necessary to make up. There was another small sum which he had to mention, and in which he hoped the committee would concur with him in opinion. It was with respect to a tax upon absentees, which was very small in its amount, not exceeding 8,000*l.*; but, as gentlemen were now bound in duty to attend a certain part of the year in this country, it would be absurd to make them liable to a tax, for that which they did in discharge of their duty. It was, therefore, intended to abandon that tax. Another article, by which the revenue of Ireland would be diminished, was the duty on hops, which it was necessary to reduce to the same amount that it was in this country. This would create a deficiency of 75,000*l.* All these sums together would make the sum necessary to be provided for by the taxes, 263,000*l.*

In selecting the new taxes, it was natural for him to look to those of this country, and to rely upon the great experience and authority of the right honourable gentleman by whom they were proposed. It was, besides, desirable, that the taxes should be upon the same articles, if not to the same amount, in the two countries, unless there was some local reason which rendered it improper. These articles were, sugar, tea, the post-office, stamps, policies of insurance, coals, and spirits. As to the article of coals, there was heretofore a duty in this country on coals going to Ireland, of about 10*d.* per ton, producing a revenue of about 17,000*l.* a year. This duty, in consequence of the union, could not now be collected in England; but it was intended to

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collect in Ireland the same duty which had been formerly collected in England; and if the coal trader in Ireland should attempt to make this a pretext to raise the price of the article, it would be impossible for him to avoid detection, and that disgrace which would belong to such dishonesty. He therefore proposed a duty on coals of 10*d.* a ton, which would produce the same sum in that country, that the duty produced in this country, while it existed. Mr. Corry predicted many benefits from the union between Great Britain and Ireland, and concluded with moving his resolutions respecting the new taxes, which were agreed to.

Mr. chancellor Addington rose, and said, that it fell to his lot to propose a lottery in aid of the ways and means for raising the supplies of the year; the profit of which, to the public, would amount to 261,250*l.* A resolution to this purpose was agreed to. April 24, the house having gone into a committee of supply, Mr. Addington presented estimates of supplies for the plantation and other service. The public supplies for those services had been voted for three months up to June next; and a supply for the remaining half year was all that was now to be granted. The accounts, he said, would be found to be nearly the same, as those of the last session, with the exception only of certain grants, about which there would be no difference of opinion. A reduction, however, would be found in the amount of the secret service. In the year 1800, the sum allowed for that service was 159,000*l.* For this year, there was reason to think that no more would be required than 50,000*l.* of which 35,000*l.* had been voted in the late short session. All, therefore, that he now asked, on that head, was 15,000*l.* Thus one of the first appearances of Mr. Addington, in the character of chancellor of the exchequer, presaged a disposition to economy. The resolutions he proposed were agreed to.—On the 20th of May, he brought forward, as had been customary for several years back, a kind of second budget, for the purpose of providing a sum by taxes on printed goods and pepper, which taxes he proposed, for reasons he briefly stated, to abandon. The duty on printed goods, had been taken, by the right honourable gentleman who proposed to the house the ways and means for raising the supplies of the year, at 140,000*l.*: that on pepper for exportation, at 92,000*l.*: making together the sum of 232,000*l.* The articles, by new taxes, on which he proposed to make up for that deficiency, were

An additional tax on probates of wills, where the property left amounts to 600*l.* or upwards, increasing gradually as far as property of 100,000*l.* calculated at . .	£.120,000
Additional duty on deeds of 2*s.* in addition to 3*s.* imposed in the present session	62,000
Additional duty on ale licences of 10*s.* 6*d.* . .	32,000
Sixpence per pack addition on cards, and 2*s.* 6*d.* per pair on dice, with some regulations to prevent the evasion of those duties	20,000
	£.234,000

Resolutions for adopting these, instead of the taxes before proposed, were agreed to.

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CHAP. IX.

Order observed in our Accounts of the Proceedings in Parliament.—Measures for the internal Security and Peace of the Empire.—Martial Law in Ireland.—The Nature, Extent, and lurking Remains of Rebellion in Ireland.—Select Committee of the House of Commons, for inquiring into the State of Ireland and the Conduct of certain disaffected Persons in Great Britain.—Report from this Committee taken into Consideration.—Revival of Acts for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and preventing seditious and tumultuous Meetings.—Apology for entering so fully into the Speeches of the Irish Members.—Select Committee of the House of Lords for inquiring into the State of Ireland, and other Purposes.—Report of the same.—Reflections thereon.—A Bill of Indemnity for Ireland.

THAT we may be guided in our account of parliamentary proceedings, on so vast a variety of subjects, by some mothod more satisfactory than the arbitrary, abrupt, and, we may say, senseless order of mere time, our plan is, to arrange those proceedings, as far as this may be done easily, into general heads or classes, among which the principal are such as relate to finance, the grand spring of government; to external and internal defence; and to national improvements, civil and political, economical and moral. The poet, who, captivating our imagination, carries us rapidly along with him in his flights of fancy, and lays us down now at Thebes, and now at Athens, is an object of grateful admiration. The mere reporter of debates, as they occur, does, from stupidity, what in the poet is the work of lively and sublime genius: so generally true it is, that "extremes meet!" But such a plodder, in his transitions violent and disgusting, is very far from either receiving or deserving our thanks. It is not pleasing to be dragged, as through rocks and cataracts, by transitions that do the utmost violence to the imagination. Such a register may be consulted as a dictionary, but not read as a book of entertainment and instruction.

Having already given some account of the proceedings of parliament, respecting finance, a due naval and military force for external defence, and also for preservation from the attacks of that dreadful foe, famine, whether to be considered as an enemy, domestic or foreign, or both, we now proceed to notice the measures of precaution that the legislature thought it proper to adopt for the internal security and peace of the empire: among the principal of which was a bill for continuing the execution of martial law in Ireland. In the house of commons, March

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March 12, lord Castlereagh moved, "That the act for the suppression of rebellion in Ireland should be read: which was understood to be done with a view to its continuance. The motion was opposed by Mr. Sheridan, who considered the whole of the question to be: whether, having every prospect that the recovery of his majesty might enable them to proceed in a constitutional manner, and that they might have a regular communication from the throne, advised by responsible ministers, they ought to proceed without such communication, and without such responsibility? To justify such a measure, he said, would require a very strong case to be made out; and unless such a case should be made out, he must consider the bill as one of the most indecorous, unconstitutional, and violent propositions ever made in that house. He therefore moved that the house should adjourn.

Lord Castlereagh said, that that was not the first question in which the parliament of Great Britain had been called on to take measures, with regard to one part of the kingdom, which had not been applicable to that part called England. After the union of England and Scotland it was necessary to pass laws for Scotland, of unusual severity, and unconstitutional in their nature. He alluded to the laws for disarming the Highlanders; which laws were passed by a parliament strenuous in the support of the rights of the subject. Lord Castlereagh, therefore, only called on the house to do that for Ireland, which, on a former occasion, it had done for Scotland. Without a continuance of the same system of prudence and precaution, with regard to Ireland, that country would be placed in a most unfortunate predicament. He had always entertained a firm conviction, that neither the constitution, nor the liberties of Ireland, could be preserved, but by the measures adopted for the suppression of rebellion. The house would see in what a situation Ireland would be placed, if parliament, from any scruples, should withhold its sanction to a measure, on which its safety and existence depended. It would have the effect of instilling into the government such apprehensions, that it would be impossible for those to whom it was intrusted, to discharge their duties to the public in the manner they had hitherto done, under the idea that the local parliament would always give them the means of acting with vigour. As to waiting for a communication from his majesty, the habeas corpus suspension act had been frequently renewed, without either any communication from the crown, or inquiry by a committee, and merely on the idea that the circumstances of the country remained the same as when it first passed. The suspension of the habeas corpus in Ireland, in 1799, was without any communication. It was, no doubt, in the power of parliament to go into an inquiry, if they thought this necessary; but where there were grounds for the house to proceed without inquiry, it had never been usual, nor was it necessary to chain it down to the suspension of its proceedings, till an inquiry had taken place. His wish was to propose that this bill should only be continued for a limited time, namely, for three months, in order that parliament might have time to go into an inquiry. Lord Castlereagh having

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having clearly shown, that, on the present question, there was no necessity for either a communication from the throne, or an inquiry by parliament, proceeded to state the reasons that appeared to him to be conclusive, for the measure to be proposed. From an examination of facts and circumstances, respecting the origin, progress, and termination of open rebellion, and the actual state of Ireland, in which there was still a secret rebellion; he showed that nothing but the exercise of martial law could give free course to justice, and save the country. Though jacobinism had been put down in the field, it yet continued to afflict the land in a manner not less destructive to the jurisprudence of the country, but more difficult to be attacked by the king's forces in the field. The whole nature of the remaining disturbances, in Ireland, was directed first against the properties and persons of the well-affected; and, secondly, against the course of justice. The house would therefore be sensible, that unless those persons, who were engaged in acts of rebellion, could be brought summarily to trial, the friends of government would be subjected to certain destruction.

Lord Castlereagh did not expect that rebellion would altogether cease to exist, during the war. He knew that the spirit of rebellion had too many friends in every part of the empire; but he did not, at present, propose to extend the rebellion act beyond three months. There was a measure, which lord Castlereagh took the liberty of proposing, as subsidiary to this. There were persons in custody in Ireland, under the suspension of the habeas corpus act. His lordship wished to leave them in the hands of the civil power. And, for that purpose, he would propose, that the act for suspending the habeas corpus be continued, for the same period as that for the suppression of rebellion.

The continuation of the rebellion act was opposed, and Mr. Sheridan's motion for an adjournment, supported by sir Lawrence Parsons, Mr. Grey, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Bouverie, and Dr. Lawrence. Mr. Sheridan's motion, on the other hand, was opposed, and lord Castlereagh's supported by the honourable Mr. Dennis Browne, sir George Hill, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Western, Mr. Canning, Mr. French, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. J. C. Beresford, Mr. R. Martin, Mr. Ogle, Mr. Macnaughton, Mr. Somers Cox, Mr. Ogle, and Mr. Lee.

Sir Lawrence Parsons considered the measure brought forward by lord Castlereagh as wholly unnecessary. Were not the courts of law open, at this time, to try rebels? During the two last years, assizes had been regularly held throughout Ireland, twice a year, without a single exception. He defied the noble lord to bring one instance of its being otherwise. He was astonished to hear that juries could not discharge their duty. In what county had that happened? He knew of no complaint on that topic, but that juries were sometimes too prompt to condemn. He had a respect for the army, and he knew that, in their proper stations, they graced their professions. But he would not choose to take officers from the horse-guards, to supercede the legal judges of the land. He asked Mr. Pitt, if he, when he was a barrister, would have trusted the case

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case of any of his clients, to be decided by a colonel of the horse-guards? Courts martial could not ascertain the difference between innocence and guilt. They had no principles on which to decide, but were, in their decisions, creatures of mere caprice and accident. If it were so easy to decide on such questions; if there were no such thing as the science of evidence and law, why had we judges? Why one law for England and another for Ireland? It was not pretended that this act helped, in any way, to take the rebels. No: they were in custody; and the pretence was, that no jury would try them. He desired to know of an instance of a jury not being found to try rebels? No one had ever occurred, though it had sometimes happened, that juries were sometimes too prompt to do their duty in such cases.—Judges of the law should not be sent to administer justice steadily and severely, but to administer justice. They would then be feared and loved. Courts martial might be feared, but never could be loved. Sir Lawrence called the attention of the house to the opinion of a great lawyer, on the means of calming the minds of the Irish. He spoke of sir John Davies, the best present that England ever sent to Ireland. He was the attorney-general of James I, and he wished that every attorney-general of our day had as much respect for the constitution as that great lawyer. He was sent to Ireland after a rebellion, and he gives an account of the proceedings to quiet the minds of the people. The rebels having been put down, by the king's arms, the administration of justice was restored. The judges went the circuits; and most sweet and welcome, says sir John Davies, was this course to the common people; and so happy and effectual was this policy, that in six circuits, held in five years, there was a less number of criminals, than in one circuit in England. Sir Lawrence recommended this example to the house. Arbitrary measures never civilized men. If they could have done so, Morocco would have been civilized and happy long since. The present measure was in the spirit of a quack. It might heal the sore, but not correct the habit. He recommended to the house, to grace its first act towards Ireland, by rescuing that country from military tyrants. Mr. Grey, too, contended, that the act proposed, was a suspension of all law, and a violation of the constitution, without necessity. So also did Mr. Whitbread. This position they rested chiefly on the evidence that had just been given by the honourable baronet, who had just delivered his sentiments on the question before the house. Mr. Grey asked why it had not been necessary to use martial law against the Whiteboys? Mr. Bouverie did not contend whether martial law was necessary in Ireland or not; all he should insist on was, that it was not proposed in regular shape and form. Doctor Lawrence asked, why, with 100,000 men in Ireland, the number of officers constituting a court martial, was limited to three, when, even in Wales, five were required? Immediately after the rebellion, he observed, there was, indeed, a murmur, a general dismay, arising from various causes, into which he would not then enter, as well as from jacobinical principles; but the moment

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ment it burst out, it vanished. The danger was not such now, as rendered the present measure necessary. He should applaud a vigorous government, under strict responsibility in dangerous times; but a system of the kind now creeping in, and, as it were, begging the question, he should always oppose.

The necessity of martial law was strenuously maintained by all the gentlemen from Ireland, sir Lawrence Parsons alone excepted.—Mr. Dennis Browne referred to the report of the secret committee, and the confessions of the traitors; and affirmed, that had it not been for martial law, they should not now see an Irish member in that house. He declared, that jurors and witnesses had been murdered by the rebels, for acting on trials. He would mention a fact, that would show the state of the country.—Many persons, who were loyal and well disposed, had subscribed to support the traitors in prison. And when he asked how they could do so improper an act? they declared that they were compelled to subscribe to protect themselves and families from the partisans of the traitors. Sir George Hill contended that palliatives were unfit for Ireland. The instance of sir John Davies, quoted by the honourable baronet, was not applicable to the present state of Ireland. The mode of conduct then pursued was adopted long after a rebellion subdued; but the present measure, in the midst of rebellion still existing. Sir George corroborated the statements of Mr. Dennis Browne, as to the danger of jurors and witnesses. Mr. Pitt paid many compliments to the talents of lord Castlereagh, and his extensive knowledge of the true interests of the British empire. He had given proof to-night, that there were among us, talents of the first rate; which talents, *whether in or out of office**, would always be ready for exertion, as occasion might require, against the most bitter enemy of human happiness, that ever yet appeared in this world of jacobinism. The crime of rebellion did not depend on five or six, or fifty thousand men assembled together. "If," said he, "there be a systematic plan formed for the destruction of a country, and there be a concert of men, whether three, or five, or any other number, to accomplish that end, whether by burglary, or robbery, or plunder, or any species of criminality whatever, or in furtherance of that plan, to deter the peaceable and loyal part of the community from being true to their allegiance, for the purpose of executing, with more facility, their martial law, as a system, either of terror, or any other course, to rob triumphantly, or take away by stealth, whether it be the 'pestilence that walketh in darkness, or the sword that wasteth at noon day,' if its character be rebellion, rebellion be it called. If its effect be to defeat the purposes of civil process, whether by the dagger of the assassin, or with the parade, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war, it is still rebellion; whether flagitious, bold, and open, or sly, insinuating, and crafty; whether with much or little bloodshed, may be points that may constitute a difference in the degree: but which is most detestable, is a thing not worth debating."

* These words roused attention, and were made the subject of several comments.

On the whole, as the measure proposed was approved by a great multitude of the people of Ireland, of the peaceable classes; as that system of military power was not intended to overwhelm the civil power, but to protect it from being overwhelmed, he was inclined to hope that the house would adopt it.

Mr. Western thought that martial law was necessary in the present state of Ireland. He hoped and trusted, that the members from that country would be considered as so many witnesses who would not misrepresent it.

Mr. Whitbread had called on the house to recollect that it was for the first time engaged in deliberation on the affairs of Ireland, since the incorporation of its legislature with that of this country, and to be cautious of beginning with a measure so vigorous as this.

Mr. Canning, on the other hand, called on the house to recollect well before they repealed what the individual parliament of Ireland had done for its safety; and to be cautious, lest, in speculating on the interests of Ireland, they should betray their own.

Mr. Trench observed, that, if the rebellion bill was suffered to expire, the offenders now in custody would be set at large; and that, though it should be renewed in the course of a few days, after such expiration, irremediable mischief might be done in the interval. The courts of law were, indeed, open, as had been stated by the honourable baronet; but then, he contended, that juries dared not to do their duty, and that witnesses were afraid to come forward. Sir Lawrence had called for instances: they were melancholy and notorious. He knew one case, in which the conduct of a jury was so flagrant, that the judge ordered their names to be posted up for public reprobation.

Mr. Taylor insisted that the laws neither were nor could be executed in Ireland.

Mr. Fitzgerald said, that the common law of England, which required no eulogium, was founded on the principle, that every witness would tell the truth, and the judge and jury do what was right. Such was, in fact, their conduct: and why? because they found they did so with safety, in the face of their country, without any danger to their lives or fortune; but, by the ingeniousness of the men who conducted the rebellion in Ireland, for many of them were lawyers, that which should be the life, was turned to the destruction of the constitution. The vicinage, which was originally for the protection of the juror, had become the source of his ruin.

Mr. Beresford, as a proof of the impartial conduct of courts-martial, observed, that the rebels of Wexford had desired to be tried by these, and not by the civil law. The juries dared not give honest verdicts. A jury, at the assizes of Tyrone, told the judge that they would find a man guilty, who had been tried by them for a capital offence, on the clearest evidence, if he would agree to inflict a less punishment than death; but the judge not complying, they brought in a verdict of acquittal. Instances of this kind were numerous; and the state of the country was now exactly the same as when the facts to which he alluded took place. In fact, such was the persecution carried on against those who sought to maintain

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tain the law, and carry it into effect, that a person, suspected of giving information to government, had been followed from Ireland, and murdered in London.

Mr. Ogle perfectly coincided with lord Castlereagh in his account of the state of Ireland. He wished the rebellion in Wexford had not been mentioned. However, as it had been adverted to, he would state its system and principles. It was, to put every loyal man, and every protestant to death. It was, to pull down church and state, and, in concert with France, to build a papal hierarchy in their place; and to effect the separation of Ireland from England. The priests were their generals, and inspired them with every abomination. One assemblage of 185, protestant men, women, and children, were burned in a barn; 500 were massacred on Vinegar-hill; and, the day before Wexford was relieved, a great number were slaughtered on the bridge of that place. Many of them were his friends, and his heart bled for them. But the honourable baronet had said, that all was quiet now. He wished the honourable baronet would take a ride through the county of Wexford and see. Perhaps the honourable baronet, after the speech he had made that night, might do so in safety: but he was certain that he, himself, could not. So far was the country from being quiet, that not even the mails could travel in security. They were constantly attacked: and that, not merely for the purpose of robbery, but murder. Nothing but martial law could save Ireland. The rebels, at that moment, did not hesitate to say, that they counted on a French invasion, and that they were ready to cooperate with it.

Mr. Macnaughton observed, that, when sir John Davies wrote his account of Ireland, there was no such thing as jacobinism in Ireland. Without martial law, the perpetrators of the most enormous crimes in the disturbed counties of Antrim, Wexford, Wicklow, and Tyrone, could not be punished.

Mr. Somers Cox said, that he had resided a short time in Ireland after the rebellion, and was fully convinced, from his experience, during that visit, that if the state of the country was the same now, as then, it was impossible that there could be any order or security, without martial law.

Mr. Martin observed, that it was evident from the statements of both sides of the house, that there did not exist any tribunals to which rebels could be properly brought, except courts martial, or other tribunals similarly constituted. Mr. Toler, now chief justice of the common pleas, when attorney-general, assured him, that such was the avidity of a jury for condemnation, that, in one morning, they convicted thirty persons, whom he was obliged to recommend to mercy. The rebel, himself, therefore, he should think, would exclaim against a tribunal where he had such little chance of lenity. A tribunal of the kind, now proposed to be continued, was only a commission to take evidence, and its sentence was afterwards revised by the lord lieutenant. Mr. Martin deprecated the introduction of the catholics into a debate, at a time when their claim was not before the house. It had been stated that the priests were the generals, and that the

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the rebellion was a catholic rebellion. Mr. Martin, on the contrary, contended that it was a protestant rebellion, and that the principal leaders, in the disturbed counties, were all protestants.

Mr. Ogle, in explanation, said, that he did not allude to the body of catholics, but merely to the nature and state of the rebellion in one particular county.

Mr. Lee contended that Ireland was not in a state to be governed only by a jury. Of that state, he would not make assertions, but give proofs. He referred to the journals of the Irish house of commons, now in that house. In them would be found an act for making the information of a witness, murdered before trial, evidence to go to a jury. This was a measure rendered necessary by the frequency of cases, where men were murdered to prevent their giving evidence against rebels. He also referred them to the act, by which a number of persons conspiring to murder, were held equally criminal as if they had carried their intention into effect. There was also another act to which he would refer the house: for the restraints laid by the Irish parliament were progressive, and it was only as increasing severity that it was exercised. The act alluded to, was that by which a man, found from home between sun-set and sun-rise, and not giving a satisfactory account of himself, might be sent, by the magistrates, to serve in the navy or army. This was rendered necessary by the mode in which rebellion covered the land. The mode was this: ten men met at night, and swore each other to swear to their cause ten men more. Each of these ten was sworn to swear a like number, and so on: so that such a system might be soon diffused over any country, however populous or extensive. It was impossible, therefore, for the Irish parliament to have proceeded more mildly or gently than it had done under such circumstances. The rebellion of Ireland was different from every other of which history furnished an example. It was a rebellion on the principle of the Agrarian law, superinduced upon poverty: in which every man was taught that he had an interest, and that, in the event of its success, he must get wealth and property. So far was this principle carried, that these nocturnal rebels often met and divided the spoil before the battle was fought. There was one instance, in which, after having parcelled out the estate of a very rich gentleman, they quarrelled about the mansion house. Mr. Lee then proceeded to vindicate the forms and proceeding of courts martial. A lawyer, he said, always presided, at least since the rebellion, for during the rebellion no lawyer was to be had, and took care that due regard should be had to the rules of evidence. The measure of martial law was not brought forward by the executive government: but the property of the country demanded it. In fact, the lord-lieutenant was almost stormed before he yielded to the solicitations of the country gentlemen. He entreated gentlemen, if they wanted a subject on which to exercise their great abilities, not to make a stalking horse of Ireland: not to draw that poor country in as a postscript to their measures. Loyalty did not superabound, at any time, in that part

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part of the united kingdom; but still less now, when twenty-eight peers, and a hundred of its first commoners, were drawn away from it. He trusted, therefore, that even the gentlemen who opposed the measure proposed, would not drive the house to a division.

Mr. Horne Tooke thought it would not be impossible to reconcile both sides of the house. He believed martial force was necessary for Ireland: but there was a great difference between martial force, and martial law. There were only four counties stated to be in rebellion, or likely to be so. Now it was the custom of this country, when any part was disturbed, and that a fair trial could not be had there, to bring the delinquents to trial in the sound parts, where the juries were unprejudiced, and the witnesses protected. The motion of adjournment was negatived, and lord Castlereagh's motion agreed to without a division. Lord Castlereagh then brought up the bill, which was read a first time.

It was not to be wondered at, that English gentlemen, but little acquainted with the real state of Ireland, and in the habits of canvassing and questioning the measures of government, should set themselves against the farther continuance of martial law in Ireland. But it was matter of astonishment, and this was strongly expressed by several of the Irish members, that any gentleman from Ireland should come forward with so decided an opposition to a measure which every one must feel to be necessary.

That a gentleman of such intelligence, probity, and patriotism, as sir Lawrence Parsons should maintain so singular and hazardous an opinion, in opposition to the consentient voice of all his brethren from Ireland, in the house of commons, may be considered as a curious proof how much even men of talents and virtue may be governed, in particular cases, by their prejudices, and how apt men are to mistake their own circle of acquaintance, united generally by a sympathy of sentiments, for the nation at large, and the wide world. The same question, concerning the necessity of continuing Ireland under the authority of martial law, was farther discussed in the other stages of this bill, and also those of the other, closely connected therewith, namely, "A bill for continuing for a time to be limited, the suspension of the habeas corpus act, in Ireland." Leave having been given to bring in this bill into the house of commons, on the 13th of March, it was read for the first time on the 16th.

On this occasion the order of the day being read, sir John Parnell, after declaring that nothing could be farther from his intentions than to embarrass the measures of government; yet could not suffer the bill to be again read, without some remarks. It could not be denied that there existed, in the present state of Ireland, the most pressing necessity for continuing that country under the authority of martial law. In some counties the disorder was open and apparent; in others, the tranquillity that prevailed was suspicious and uncertain. In none could it be trusted, that the mischiefs which had preceded the rebellion would not be renewed, as soon as the evil intentioned should find

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find themselves free from all restraint but that of the trial by jury. But why should even martial law be administered in Ireland, in a manner so much more arbitrary than that in which it was exercised in the ordinary discipline of the British navy? Arbitrary punishment and restraint necessarily tended to perpetuate the very evils against which they might be employed as a temporary safeguard. He should be glad to see the present bill rendered as little exceptionable as might be, before it should be offered for a third reading.

Sir Lawrence Parsons contended, still, that in order to justify the continuance of martial law in Ireland, it should have been demonstrated to the house, beyond the possibility of contradiction, that the trial by jury was utterly unequal to the ordinary protection of the lives and properties of the people, as well as to the support of the just authority of the government. But Ireland, he said, was not at all in that state of intestine war which could alone justify such a measure as was proposed to them. He described the careless tranquillity that prevailed in his county, and, as he had been informed, in other counties, and among others, lord Castlereagh's county, as the noble lord himself could testify. As the noble lord and his friends had not made out so strong a case, as was necessary for the adoption of martial law, he would give his hearty negative against the second reading of the bill before them.

Mr. W. B. Ponsonby did apprehend that Ireland was in a considerable state of discontent: but not that there was any immediate danger. It therefore appeared to him, on a comprehensive view of all circumstances, to be the wisest policy that this country could adopt, to treat the people of Ireland like the people of England.

Mr. M. A. Taylor, on the second reading of the Irish martial law bill, as well as on the motion for the second reading of the suspension of habeas, then before the house, said that the martial law bill granted a power of inflicting torture; that instances of torture had been frequent under the administration of both lord Camden and that of lord Cornwallis, and that he intended to move an amendment for abolishing that power.

Lord Castlereagh, in reply to Mr. Taylor, and for his information, not from any personal disrespect, said, that such a charge was wholly and absolutely unfounded. Many cruelties had indeed arisen out of the warfare which took place between the rebels and the loyal subjects of his majesty; the justification of which had been rested on the principle of self defence. But, as an argument in favour of the bill now before the house, he would observe, that, from the moment it had passed in Ireland, that species of individual violence had subsided. The present bill was therefore calculated to prevent such cruel acts from being repeated by individuals, from an apprehension of their own preservation. For, by this, individuals were satisfied that they had protection under the authority of government; and therefore that there was no necessity for them to take their protection into their own hands, which they would do, and which they would be driven to do, unless government were armed with this kind of authority. For the rebels had

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had a systematic and regulated plan of procedure. It was an organized conspiracy, not only against the state itself, but also against the person and property of every individual who adhered to government. If gentlemen wanted instances of the organization of the rebellion, he would refer them to places in which courts martial were sitting, not of his majesty's forces, but of the rebels in their own camp, in which they proceeded to try those whom they called traitors, that is, those who did not adhere to them; and those they did not only condemn, but also executed. This they did by removing from their station in the night, to which they returned again before day-light. No civil power could take these practices into consideration, because any evidence that should be given, would be the unsupported evidence of an accomplice, on which it was not the practice of courts of justice to convict. Such attempts to enforce justice, and procure tranquillity, would only have exposed the lives of his majesty's subjects; and, therefore, under this complication of evils, it had been deemed advisable to pass this bill, in order, not to overturn, but to protect the municipal law. By the experience of the county of Wexford they had seen, that, although general tranquillity had been restored in Ireland, the principles and the feelings of rebellious spirits there remained the same: for they had sworn a hatred to the government, and an attachment to the enemy, whom they would assist whenever they had an opportunity of so doing. And there was nothing that they were not confident of counteracting, but the energy of the bill before the house: a bill which terrified the rebellious, and encouraged the loyal. It was recommended to administration to show, and hold out to the people of Ireland, a good government: he hoped they would have no other. But to abandon the cause of the loyal, and give encouragement to the rebellious, was no part of good government. If the bill was unnecessary, then it was not a measure of protection, but of oppression. But, if the government of Ireland stood as he had stated it, and if the circumstances of the country were such as he had stated them, this would be a measure of ample protection to the loyal of that country, and would so be regarded by them; and it would operate not only against the enemy within, but the enemy without.

Colonel Jackson, in support of the bill, observed, that when the enemy landed, hardly any of the inhabitants of that part of Ireland where they made their descent, were supposed to have any wishes in their favour; but it was surprising to see how many had taken the oath of rebellion, when the matter came to be examined.

Colonel Martin ascribed the present general tranquillity in Ireland to the operation of martial law. If a greater degree of disturbance had prevailed since the enactment of the law, it might have afforded an argument against the bill: but the effects it had produced were its best eulogium. As to the charge of putting persons to torture, for the purpose of extorting confessions, it should be remembered, that the first act of the present chief governor was, to give out, in general orders, that no torture should be inflicted. Torture was forbidden by the law

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of Ireland; and if there was nothing in the existing law, or the proposed bill, for that purpose, he asked whether the honourable gentleman's (Mr. Taylor's) argument against the bill was pertinent?

Mr. Courtenay, after bestowing great praise on the lenity, wisdom, and moderation of marquis Townshend, under whose government the first ray of liberty had dawned on Ireland, in the passing of the octennial bill, observed, that it had been acknowledged by most gentlemen from that country, who had spoken on the present delicate question, that there was now but one court-martial in Ireland. If that was the case, could there be any real necessity for a law so absolute, tyrannical, and oppressive, as that now proposed?

Colonel Longfield argued the necessity of the measure, from the recent circumstances of a witness against a rebel having been waylaid and wounded, and the mail-coach having been lately robbed by an armed band of ruffians within a few miles of Carlow. These ruffians were, to the full, as well armed as his majesty's troops, and could not be put down by the civil power. In his opinion, Ireland was now in a worse state than it was in June, 1798.

Mr. Dawson, who represented a great and populous county of Ireland, had no personal knowledge of any circumstances which made this bill necessary; but he gave gentlemen credit for sincerity who declared, on their knowledge, that it was necessary, and, therefore, he should not oppose this bill.

Mr. Alexander expressed his surprise, that analogies of law should be pressed into this debate, when the question related to the foulest, the most dangerous, and the widest-spread conspiracy, that had ever existed in any civilized country. A certain number of mischievous men had seduced the great mass of the population of Ireland; and the conspiracy, he must say, had been fostered by men of property and talents. Its extent and importance were proved by the reliance and aid given to it by the French republic. It was such a conspiracy, as the intrinsic force of the country could not have withstood. He had, himself, seen 60,000 pikes sent from the metropolis to the insurgents; and, if these had been distributed, there were no more than 5000 yeomanry to withstand the attack.—Against this mass of pikes, there was certainly no reasoning. They wanted separation from England, a French connexion, and an equal division of land. In his opinion, the rebellion still existed in all its extent, though not in all its force. If the rebels were encouraged by the failure of the present bill, the danger could not be removed by any after-measures. There was no treating with *Irish jacobins*. "If," said he, "we do not rule them, they will rule and exterminate us."

Mr. Western admitted that all was quiet in his part of the country; but, from his knowledge of the south of Ireland, which he had repeatedly visited in a military capacity, he was convinced that this bill was absolutely necessary. It had, for its object, to prevent atrocities, many of which he had witnessed, and the mere recital of which should cause every man of feeling to shudder.

Sir F. Burdett said, that when he heard that discontent prevailed,

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not in particular parts only, but almost in every part of Ireland, he thought himself justified in inferring that this general discontent must have a general cause, and that cause he looked upon to be oppression. For his part, he was disposed to adopt the distinction made by an honourable friend of his on a former occasion, and to recommend a recourse, not to *martial law*, but to *martial force*. "Why not attend," said he, "to the lesson given us by that great and extraordinary man, who, by his wisdom and lenity, consolidated the French republic? He has shown us in La Vendée what are the effects of justice and mercy. To that house he would recommend the same course."

Lord de Blaquiere rose to give his most decided support to the present measure, which he considered as essential to the security of Ireland; and to which it would have been fortunate for Ireland, if recourse had been had sooner. An honourable baronet had declared his opinion, that there should be but one law respecting the subject in question for both countries. Now, before the same law could be applicable to both countries, it would be necessary either to create a rebellion in England, or to put down that which existed in Ireland. Other gentlemen had declared, that there were no courts-martial sitting in Ireland, and that jurors and witnesses would discharge their duty without danger; but he could state, not one, but fifty instances of persons being murdered for having faithfully performed their duty as jurors or witnesses. It should be recollected, that persons could be tried by courts of law only twice a year, as there were only two circuits; but the safety of Ireland required that such offenders, as Ireland was infected with, should be speedily brought to justice. As to the tranquillity supposed to exist in Ireland, he could only say, that, in July last, they burnt his house to the ground. He supposed they intended it as a compliment to him, for it was on his birth-day. He stated other instances of disturbance and insurrection. His lordship concluded with declaring, that, if a few of those gentlemen, who persisted in stating Ireland to be in a tranquil state, would promise to go over to Ireland, and reside in any part he should mention, he would vote with them against the bill.

The question being now loudly called for, the bill was read a second time without a division. On the 20th of March, it was read a third time and passed.—We now return to the other bill, which had the same object in view, and which, in its progress through the two houses of parliament, was collateral.

March 18. The house of commons went into a committee on the Irish martial-law bill.

Lord Castlereagh briefly stated, that, though he was perfectly satisfied that no court-martial had ever sat in Ireland, which was composed of so small a number as three, and though he was persuaded that it would be more expedient that this, as well as all other particular regulations, should be settled by the lord-lieutenant, responsible as he was for the manner in which he employed the power vested in him by the bill, he was willing to accede to an amendment, for the sake of satisfying any scruples which might exist in the minds of gentlemen on the subject. For this purpose, he proposed, "That the number necessary

to constitute a court-martial, sitting under the terms of this act, should be increased to seven, and that two-thirds* of this number should, in all cases, be necessary to sanction the execution of the sentences of courts-martial."

Mr. Grey said, that the amendment of the noble lord was good so far as it went; but that it did not go far enough. Only at Botany Bay, and on the coast of Africa, was so small a number as five officers competent, under the mutiny bill, for the British army to form a court-martial. Nothing less should satisfy him than the placing of the constitution of the Irish courts-martial, under this bill, on the same condition, as to numbers, with the courts-martial in the British army. He objected to the age of nineteen, too, at which, under that bill, an officer might legally have a voice in a court-martial. It had been, at a former period, in the progress of the bill, strenuously insisted, that torture or punishment to extort confession was in no wise authorized by the acts, which it was intended to continue. But those acts, and even this bill, certainly did grant to the commander-in-chief, power to execute martial law, independently of the authority of courts-martial. What was this but to punish without trial, and without inquiry? To inflict punishment, which might even have its end in extorting confession? Mr. Grey concluded, with moving three amendments, conformably to the tenor of his speech.

Mr. Grey's amendments were supported by Dr. Lawrence and Mr. Trench; and that respecting maturity of age, by Mr. Dawson. They were opposed by Mr. Yorke, secretary-at-war, sir John Mitford, the speaker, sir Edward Law, the attorney-general, Mr. Dawson, with the exception just stated, general Loftus, lord de Blaquiere, Mr. Ogle, Mr. Dennis Browne, and colonel Martin.

Mr. Dennis Browne observed, that much of what had been said on this subject was the result of gentlemen's judging of things from what they had felt in this country; but he begged leave to say, that, without local knowledge, it was impossible to judge of it correctly. The seeds of rebellion were often hidden under a tranquil appearance of things. At one place, which he could name, in Ireland, and, indeed, it was in the county in which he resided, the people appeared to be as quiet as they were in England; and, on the Saturday following, there appeared to be 20,000 men ready to join the French. There was a great meeting of people assembled, for the purpose of lowering the rents of the farms they occupied, and there was a meeting of landlords to take the subject into consideration. They agreed to offer some conciliatory measures; and, while they were employed in coming to such an agreement, the insurgents and incendiaries burnt their houses. After this, the farmers, in great numbers, refused to act as jurymen at the courts of justice, saying, that, as most of their property was moveable, they should lose it all, if they took any part against the rebels.—On this bill it had been argued, as if it were intended to make martial law generally superior to the common law, and that it had been supported on this ground; but no such thing had ever been maintained, or

* What forms two-thirds of seven men? His lordship must have meant four, or a majority.

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thought of by the advocates for this measure. It was not martial law but rebellion, that put down the common law in Ireland, and, by martial law, the common law was restored.—The amendments proposed by Mr. Grey were negatived by great majorities.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that, as the bill now stood, there was no limitation of punishment; and, therefore, that punishments unknown to the law of this land, and even shocking to humanity and civilization, might be inflicted under its authority. Under these impressions, he proposed a clause, for the purpose of providing, "That nothing in this act should extend, or be construed to extend, to empower any court, to be held under its authority, to inflict any punishment that was not now provided, either by the common or statute law, and now recognised in the ordinary procedure of the courts of justice."

Lord Castlereagh said, that there never was any thing done under the authority of the act, of which the bill before the house was only a continuance, which was not known to the laws of the realm: nor could any punishment be inflicted, under this bill, of a severer nature than was already known to the law; and, therefore, the objections of the honourable gentleman were not applicable to the present subject.

This reply did not satisfy either Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Grey, or Mr. Michael Taylor.—They contended that tortures had been practised, and that, by the present bill, military punishments might be inflicted; but they could not consent that the people of Ireland should be subjected to any punishment, but such as might be inflicted on conviction of the same offences by the ordinary courts of justice, according to the municipal or statute law. The clause proposed was, on the other side, strenuously opposed by Mr. Claudius Beresford, the solicitor-general, Mr. Dawson, the attorney-general, the secretary-at-war, and lord Loftus.

Mr. Beresford said, that the hearts of gentlemen might bleed for the people of Ireland, and lament the severities which had been exercised on them; but they could not feel more on this subject than those had done who saw and felt the necessity of inflicting them: and did they know as well, and had they felt as much, the calamities and the sufferings to which the gentlemen of Ireland were subjected, in the course of the rebellion, as he and many others, they would spare some of their compassion for the people on whom it was found necessary to inflict these severities, and bestow it on those gentlemen whose lives had been endangered, who had been threatened with assassination, and whose property had been plundered and destroyed. That punishments had been inflicted in many cases, for the purpose of extorting confessions from those who were suspected of concealing arms, he would not, and it would be unmanly in him to deny. He would acknowledge, that many country gentlemen, whose lives and property were threatened, and who perhaps had reason to apprehend that they might be assassinated in the ensuing night, had inflicted such severities, in order to discover the private deposits of arms, and thus to prevent the designs, which they knew to be harboured against them. This, however, was not authorized by government; but he could ven-

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ture to assert, that, in such circumstances as those gentlemen were placed in, their conduct was perfectly justified.

The solicitor-general said, that, upon the same principle on which it was alleged to be necessary to add the clause proposed to the bill before them, it would be necessary to add a similar clause to every act or bill, empowering the infliction of a discretionary punishment: for the words, "by death or otherwise," on which the supposed necessity of the clause was founded, could signify only "by death, or any other punishment lighter than death," not any other punishment unknown to the law.

The attorney-general said, that all the debate, which had taken place on this clause, was merely combating phantoms, and fighting with shadows.—The clause was negatived by 84 against 8.

The bill then passed through the committee without farther amendment. Two days thereafter, the bill was read the third time, passed, and carried up to the house of lords; where, on the third reading, March 23, it was opposed by the earl Fitzwilliam, lord Carnarvon, the earl of Moira, lord Holland, and lord King; but supported by the earl of Westmoreland, the earl of Clare, lord viscount Limerick, lord Carleton, the earl of Kinnoull, the archbishop of Cashell, the earl of Darnley, the earl of Radnor, and the marquis of Downshire.

Lord Fitzwilliam thought that it would have been but fair in ministers to have produced some official documents, with respect to the state of Ireland, which might justify them in the continuance of martial law in that country. Could a stronger measure have been proposed, had the country been in a state of actual rebellion? But it was now nearly two years and a half since the rebellion had been suppressed. Was there any interruption to the regular administration of justice? Were there any statements to the house, on the part of the judges of Ireland, that they could not do their duty?

The earl of Moira said, that, in a vast variety of cases, recourse had been had to torture, in order to compel persons to criminate their neighbours; and, in these cases, the application of the torture was continued, not for half a minute only, but for whole hours, and that at stated times. On confessions so obtained, was it possible to form an accurate and wholesome judgment? The state of Ireland, as it had been described by the noble and learned lord in that house, was a melancholy one, indeed: but what was it that had reduced it to so miserable a situation? Were the inhabitants of Ireland so different from those of Great Britain, so abhorrent of civilization, and prone to barbarism, as, though governed so long by the same laws, to be still placed so widely asunder in character and improvement? To this he should answer, by calling to their lordships' recollection an observation of Plato's, "That there never existed any thing like a general insurrection or sedition in a country, that did not prove the existence of misgovernment." He concluded, by representing the bill as unnecessary, because it was competent for the lord-lieutenant to enforce martial law where it appeared to be necessary, and afterwards to call for an indemnity.

Lord Holland said, that Ireland was now a part of this country, and that

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that the house was bound to distribute law to it, as it would more immediately at home. As to the evidence on which the bill was grounded, it was evidence of three years' standing; the reports of the Irish parliament on what happened three years ago: to make such matter evidence of a rebellion existing now, was just the same in principle, as to call the attention of the house to the rebellion in Scotland in 1745.

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Lord Carnarvon refused his assent thata law, by which the most valuable privileges of the British constitution were suspended, should pass as a matter of course, and unless a communication should be received from the crown, recommending its repeal. It was obvious, that if its principle were once adopted, the law might be made perpetual. There had not been any sufficient proofs adduced of the necessity of the measure, that it was the object of the bill to establish. He admitted the mildness and humanity of the present lord-lieutenant; but this was no argument in favour of the bill. If it were possible to be assured of the virtue of those who governed states, arbitrary governments would, in many cases, be the most favourable to happiness. But, in a government which professed to be free, it was inconsistent to defend any measure on the ground of confidence.

Lord King conceived that the number tried and convicted before courts-martial in Ireland, and executed there, was an argument against, rather than for the bill. Considering, at the same time, that the inefficacy of the former bills, obnoxious and repugnant as they were to every notion of British freedom, had been acknowledged by all the noble lords from Ireland to have been proved, he must object to the passing the bill.

The earl of Westmoreland said that the house was merely called upon to continue a bill, which must, *prima facie*, be supposed to have received the approbation of the king and council of Ireland: with which strong recommendation in its favour, he should rather think, that nothing but a recommendation from the crown, should induce their lordships to reject it.

The earl of Clare, in an argumentative, clear, eloquent, and convincing speech, showed from authentic documents, that such was the unfortunate, the melancholy, and degraded state of Ireland, that she must either fly to a military government, or submit to an unprincipled, a savage, and a ferocious democracy. The rebellion in Ireland did not proceed from mistaken loyalty, religious zeal, or party difference. All principle had been corrupted; every laudable feeling had been extirpated from the mind; and nothing prevailed but domestic treason, bloody murder, and cowardly assassination. To disturb the administration of justice, had been, and continued to be, the principal object of the conspirators. The plan of giving every criminal a list of the jurors and witnesses before the day of trial was quite impracticable: nine-tenths of jurors and witnesses would be murdered before the day appointed. Lord Clare drew a picture of the state of Ireland, at which humanity shudders. It was filled up with all that is brutal in savage, and all that is corrupt and detestable in civilized life. Where the contagion was the strongest, it was impossible to know. The county of Limerick, in which he resided, was almost the only one

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which remained quiet during the rebellion. Yet a dangerous insurrection, afterwards, suddenly broke out in this: and it was begun by an atrocious murder committed under his own roof. One of his servants was put to death, with circumstances the most shocking to humanity, merely because he was an Englishman. And, to show the extreme barbarism at which the Irish people had arrived, the principal assassin was a man who had been his servant, and his father's servant upwards of thirty years, and had been uniformly treated by both with the utmost possible kindness. The wretch had stolen arms from his house, and distributed them among the rebels. When he was led to execution, he confessed to the priest who attended him, that a list of twenty had been made out, whom it was resolved to murder, and that his master was one of the number. He, lord Clare, was the only person who gave employment and bread to the poor in the neighbourhood, and without him, they must have been reduced to the greatest wretchedness. He mentioned this, to show that they were not animated by any thing resembling a rational motive, but were incited merely by a thirst of blood. If the noble earl Fitzwilliam (to whom lord Clare by his look addressed himself all along) could find time to visit his estates in the county of Wicklow, he would see that these representations were not exaggerated. He would there behold nothing but traces of desolation, and signs of the renewal of horrors. With the deepest regret he saw such things, and spoke of them. Happy would he be to see his country restored to order. If he could go to his bed-chamber, without going as to an armoury, and could close his eyes without apprehensions of having his throat cut before morning, or seeing his wife and children butchered before him. He should be inexpressibly happy, when he could once more go out unarmed: for it was a curious fact, that when he was in Ireland, his servant brought him his arms, as regularly as he brought him his hat. To think of repressing this spirit by coaxing, concessions, and indulgence, was absurd. Acts of that kind, though well meant, had already had a mischievous tendency. The rebels had a system of laws the most severe, and the most promptly executed. This was far more efficient than the civil code, and could only be met and counteracted by martial law. If the bill under consideration were not renewed, scenes would be exhibited in Ireland, to which there had been nothing similar since the year 1641.

Lord Limerick supported the propriety of the measure proposed, though he deeply lamented the dire necessity that compelled the legislature to adopt it. Lord Carleton observed that the bill had not been originally adopted, or continued, without a full persuasion of its necessity: and he had reason to think this necessity not less at present; for, according to the latest accounts, Ireland was less tranquil, at that moment, than it had been a year ago. The bill was introduced into the other house of parliament by the express approbation of the present lord-lieutenant, whose integrity none had ever dared to dispute; whose feelings of humanity all allowed; and who would not recommend a measure which added so much to his responsibility, without a conviction of its necessity. This recommendation he brought forward

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forward in aid of the facts which had been adduced in support of the measure; and concluded by giving his decided vote for the motion.

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The earl of Kinnoull referred to the measure which it had been thought necessary to adopt, by a whig administration, in the disarming the Highlanders of Scotland after the rebellion in 1745. His lordship contended that, as that measure had been productive of no bad consequences, but, on the contrary, had been the means of giving the fullest effect to the blessings of the constitution, so he trusted, that the measure proposed, though in the meantime violent, would be the means of restoring peace and happiness to Ireland. Lord Grenville contended, that it sufficiently appeared from the reports of the Irish parliament, that the rebellion was of such a nature, that though the rebellious army was destroyed in the field, the principles on which it had been formed, had been infused into the spirit of the people long before that rebellion appeared in the field, and that their influence would be necessarily protracted, long after the strength of the rebellion had appeared to be broken. The archbishop of Cashell, as an incontestible proof of the present measures being still necessary, stated the trials under it to have been, in the last two years, not fewer than two hundred; those even within the last two months to the number of sixty; and the condemnations out of these sixty, not fewer than thirty-four. Not a noble lord then hearing him, could affirm, *on his honour*, that civil justice would have its due course, if the courts were not under the protection of martial law. The only thing, he could regret, in regard to the bill, was, its not extending the power of martial law till the probable commencement of the next session of parliament.

The earl of Darnley said, that the house had, that day, heard such strong evidence, or satisfactory information, delivered by persons, who, from their long residence and professional course of practice in Ireland, must have a far better acquaintance with that part of his majesty's dominions than he could pretend to, that he was fully convinced that the necessity for the bill's passing was imperious and paramount. The earl of Radnor owned that he disliked the bill: but, after what he had heard from noble and learned lords, he was convinced that the bill was necessary, and would give it his support. He thought it necessary, at the same time, to take that opportunity of declaring, that if it should be found expedient to bring in another bill of the same kind, in the course of the present session of parliament, he should not be contented to vote for that bill, unless those noble and learned lords should come prepared with authentic documents, of more recent and satisfactory authority, than the reports of committees of the houses of lords and commons of the Irish parliament four years ago.

The marquis of Downshire closed the debate by giving his testimony and concurrence to what had been stated concerning the situation of Ireland, and the urgent necessity for immediately passing the bill: so fully convinced was he, from his own personal knowledge, of the present alarming condition of several counties in Ireland, which he had quitted only three weeks, that he wished he had possessed a villa in the county of Wicklow, in which case

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case, he would have invited six of the noble lords, or of the gentlemen of the other house, who had opposed the bill, to accompany him to that villa, where they would receive such indubitable evidence of the quiet and security of person and property in that country, that, before twenty-four hours had passed over their heads, they would be eager to be conducted back again to this happier part of the united kingdom. — On a division of the house, the motion for the third reading of the bill was carried by 90 against 7. The bill was then read and passed. The habeas corpus suspension bill for Ireland was also read a third time, and passed. The period fixed, for the continuance of both, was for three months, from the 25th of March.

April 2. A select committee was chosen, by ballot, in the house of commons, in consequence of a communication from his majesty, whose health was now happily restored, for inquiring into the state of Ireland, and the conduct of certain disaffected persons in Great Britain. The first report from this committee, presented by Mr. Pelham, secretary of state for the home department, was taken into consideration April 14. Mr. Pelham trusted that the house would give credit to the committee for having done their duty, and suggested such measures for their adoption, as to their judgment appeared necessary, from the proofs laid before them. Such was the urgency of the occasion, that, without waiting to go through the whole of the documents laid before them, they thought it necessary to direct him, as their chairman, to make a special report of the first part of their proceedings. From the report of the secret committee of the Irish parliament, 1798, the plot was developed on which the rebellion in that country was founded. And it afterwards appeared, from the report of 1799, that a committee was sitting in Hamburgh, composed of persons who were concerned in the rebellious plots of both countries, who had fled from justice, and whose object it was to suggest, in concert with their accomplices in Great Britain and Ireland, new plots of insurrection, and facilitate a correspondence with the enemy. The measures which his majesty's ministers, supported by the wisdom of parliament, then adopted, frustrated these designs. But it was apparent that the expiration of those severe, though salutary laws, had again induced the agents of sedition to resume their projects. They were again sedulously employed in the most insidious endeavours to agitate the minds of the common people, and take advantage of the pressure of the times, to stimulate them to outrage, to oppressions, and rapine. He therefore moved for leave to bring in a bill "to revive the acts of the king, for suspending, for a time to be limited, the habeas corpus, and for preventing seditious and tumultuous meetings." This motion was opposed by Mr. A. Taylor, Mr. Curwen, sir F. Burdett, Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Horne Tooke. Mr. Taylor considered the bill as calculated only to detain still longer in confinement, persons who had already been two years incascerated, and refused every application for trial. The bill was unnecessary; for, if ministers had proof of any man's guilt, they had it now in their power to arrest and imprison without the sanction of any bill. Averse

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as he was to the suspension of the habeas corpus bill, he was still more averse to that purporting to be for the prevention of seditious meetings; because it invested magistrates with powers, not only to prevent or disperse seditious meetings, but also meetings of the most legal and constitutional nature. Mr. Curwen thought the measure unnecessary. Sir F. Burdett considered the report of the secret committee as the justification of a vote of credit, on the blood of the people of Ireland. But the plea of necessity was resorted to; once admit that plea, and there was an end of all political and moral justice and national character. He could neither admit the plea nor the evidence of its existence. Mr. Grey asked what must be the nature of a conspiracy that had nothing to depend upon but the exertions of about twenty persons, who were, at last, liberated on the suspension of the habeas corpus act, without ever having been brought to trial? For the crime of treason, the law was sufficient. For the lesser offence, of giving cause for suspicion, the measure proposed was not necessary. At any rate, it had not been stated, that any detriment could accrue from allowing the house a little more time. If, in the present circumstances, there existed a necessity for the measure proposed, when, Mr. Sheridan put the question, would the people of this country be suffered to enjoy their constitution? When the late ministry were hard pressed, they hatched plots, and found their best ally in a plot-bag. It was a strengthening plaster to a weak-backed administration. When three-fourths of the industry of the country subsisted on charity, did the poor hungry populace strike a blow? what outrage had they committed to warrant the suspension of the habeas corpus act? It was the conduct of his majesty's dismissed ministers that had brought the country to ruin; and now they acted towards his majesty's present ministers on the principle of reciprocity, "Claw me, and I'll claw you." Mr. Pitt had counselled the present ministers not to follow the counsels of the opposition, but his own: they did so: and hence their mutual complacency and praise. The proposed bill, gave his majesty's ministers a power to look round Great Britain, and lodge any man they thought proper in Cold Bath Fields' prison. Great vaunting had been in that house, and many congratulations had taken place, on the contempt entertained by the people for jacobinism. And yet the house was now called upon to suppress what it was so lately told did not exist in the country. He could not but consider the present measure as a pretext to make the suspension permanent; because nothing in those times demanded it.

Mr. Horne Tooke said, that the power now vested in the hands of ministry, did not proceed from such a bill as the present alone; almost the whole of the constitution was gone; and therefore more danger was likely to arise from trusting them with the suspension of the habeas corpus. The freedom of the constitution, and the safety of the country, depended on the separate distribution of the various functions of government among distinct bodies. But now this distribution was done away, and all the powers, both legislative, judicial, and executive, were united in one hand, namely, that of the

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the minister of the crown; nor was this all. The ministers of the crown had, to their other powers, added even the functions of jailors, and subjected men to rigorous confinement without any charge. The present measure had been represented as a temporary measure. It was seven years, however, since the measure had been first introduced. And a measure of that continuance, and which was now to be renewed, could not be called temporary. Nor was it possible that a treasonable and dangerous conspiracy could last so long in any country.

Mr. Pelham's motion was supported by Mr. Addington, the chancellor of the exchequer, the solicitor general, Mr. Percival, Mr. Martin, and the attorney-general. Mr. Addington did once believe, that the remnant of dissatisfaction was so small, that those measures, which were adopted by former parliaments, would not have been necessary, at that period: but he now felt their necessity: not because the spirit of disaffection had increased, but that the spirit on which disaffection operated had increased. That spirit of malignity, which sought the ruin of all subsisting systems of order, derived strength from public calamity. Disaffected persons had been busily endeavouring to turn the distresses of the people, arising from the high price of provisions, into a discontent toward the state, by which they were protected.—Were the poor to be conciliated by telling them, that they had borne with admirable patience the difficulties and distresses which had fallen to their lot, but that now the legislature would leave them to the plots and contrivances of those who had been endeavouring to work their ruin?

Mr. Percival was not surprised that the arguments contained in the report of the committee had not produced any effect on the minds of the gentlemen on the other side of the house, and particularly on that of sir Francis Burdett. They contemplated every thing through so thick a mist of prejudice, that it was hardly possible that gentlemen on the side of ministry could coincide with them in their opinion. He did not mean to insinuate that gentlemen in that house were actuated by the same views as those out of it: but certainly the opinions given in the house had been productive of considerable mischief. He would appeal to sir Francis Burdett, whether, if any of his friends were, by a report which he believed to be true, marked out for speedy assassination, he should think it necessary that evidence should be brought of a specific attempt, before he detained the suspected?

Mr. Martin considered the report of the Irish parliament as sufficient evidence of the existence of a conspiracy in England.

The attorney-general, convinced as he was, that, when conspiracies of the most dangerous sort were aiming at the destruction of every thing that was dear and valuable to the country, and when the most licentious systems of French policy were in action, ministers would have been guilty of accelerating the ruin of the country, if they had not proposed the measure before them.

The bill was read, for the first time, without a division. A motion that the bill be now read a second time, on a division of the house, was carried

carried by 190 votes against 34, and passed. The blank for time was filled up with "During the continuance of the war, and for one month after the signing of a definitive treaty of peace." The sedition bill to be continued for the same time, also passed: and both were carried up to the lords for their concurrence.

The bill for the suspension of habeas corpus, on the second reading, was opposed by the earl of Moira, on the old ground, that no communication had been made concerning it from the throne, and that no sufficient documents had been laid before the house of its necessity. Ministers had merely laid papers on the table without any message, thus avoiding all responsibility with regard to the measure to be brought forward, and shifting it from themselves to the committee. He could not take loose statements as a sufficient ground for the suspension of the habeas corpus act. Lord Holland reasoned to the same effect. If such general statements were to justify the house in adopting measures of this nature, he wished to know how far this principle was to be carried? The bill was defended by lord Boringdon, the earl of Westmoreland, lord Hobart, and lord Grenville. Lord Westmoreland described the bill now under consideration as a measure of protection to the loyal, and of prevention and forbearance to the evil minded. Lord Grenville observed, that the degree of proof required by noble lords, was incompatible with the very object of a committee of secrecy, which was instituted for the very purpose of guarding against giving public information of the sources from whence the evidence and intelligence were derived; which would counteract the end for which such committee was appointed.—The bill was read a third time and passed.

House of lords, April 16. A secret committee, consisting of eleven, was chosen by ballot, for taking into consideration the report of the secret committee of the house of commons, and for the purpose of investigating papers and documents respecting the proceedings of certain seditious persons in Great Britain and Ireland. The report of this committee was presented to the house, April 27. From this report it appeared, that when the act for preventing seditious meetings had expired, the most stirring members of the London Corresponding Society, drew together, at first cautiously, and in small parties, changing frequently their place of meeting. Various plans were formed for resuming and carrying on, with more security, their former practices. Among other devices, it was resolved to assume the name and appearance of a benefit society. In this society many members of the former society were engaged. Others of the former society formed a secret society, which, after it had attained a proper maturity, was announced to the benefit society, that had been established about three weeks, and become numerous, by two persons in the character of delegates from a society of emancipation, and desiring to know whether the pretended benefit society would connect itself with their society. The proposal was favourably received, and a meeting appointed, at which they should be furnished with the instructions of the

the plan of that society. The instructions were to this effect—The members to be admitted by a test, or declaration on oath, to be sworn on the Bible, when it could be produced; but it was observed, that since Paine's Age of Reason, it was looked on as a mark of incivism to keep a Bible. The persons intrusted to swear others, or, in the phrase of the society, to initiate them, were termed *conductors*. They received a written appointment, with a printed instruction, and printed declaration. Ten initiated were allotted to each conductor, who was to make a report of them at stated times, to another officer, called a *superintendant*, appointed over every ten conductors. To each superintendant a messenger was assigned, by whom he was to communicate with the EXECUTIVE, the names and number of which executive were to be known only to themselves, or perhaps to the messengers: but they were supposed to be persons of superior consequence. Signs were instituted by which the members might know each other: but it did not distinctly appear whether all the initiated, or only the conductors, were intrusted with the knowledge of the signs. The plan thus explained was fully approved, and the benefit society agreed to form, together with this, one indivisible society, under the name of United Britons. This association appeared to the committee to have taken place about the middle of March, 1801. In their general meetings they were somewhat reserved on the subject of religion, for fear of frightening away persons who had some respect for religion: which, the committee observed, had happily been the case, and contributed to the detection of their schemes. It appeared that one of the principal objects of their leaders had been to work upon all persons whose religious opinions differed from those of the establishment: for which purpose the general executive had recommended it in the strongest manner to their followers, to mix as much as possible with such persons, and, by concealing their own sentiments, which were averse to all religion, and seemingly adopting those of the persons with whom they should communicate, to gain proselytes to their political designs, and thus to promote the execution of their determined purpose to overthrow the constitution. In the confidential meetings of the initiated, however, they endeavoured to turn the people against religion, in order to overthrow the state through the church, observing that, if there were no church, there would be no king. Among the most frequent subjects treated in those confidential meetings of the initiated, were plans of insurrection to be excited on pretext of the high price of provisions, but directed to the subversion of government, and the means for procuring arms of the most dangerous species. The members were directed to frequent clubs where workmen and soldiers resorted; to appear there unconnected, and to hold opposite sides on the questions they were instructed to raise. Their purposes were of a more sanguinary complexion than the ordinary mischiefs of a mob. For the committee had received particular information of the time and place, and of some persons attending the meeting within a very recent period, when a plan of assassinating certain members of parliament in their own houses, formed

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formed with no inconsiderable degree of contrivance, was proposed, and seemed to meet with the general acquiescence of the company, that it would be meritorious.

It had also appeared to the committee, that societies of a similar formation with this, since the period when it had become generally known that the act for preventing seditious meetings had expired, had been formed in various parts of the country, and, after the expiration of the act for suspending the habeas corpus, had assumed a bold and daring aspect. Besides these places, where the operations of such societies had been known only to the vigilant attention of the magistrates, and kept down by their prudence and firmness, a very dangerous conspiracy of a similar nature had manifested itself in some parts of the country, which, from all its forms and habits, afforded the strongest presumption of a mutual intercourse between those conspirators and the United Britons. The only apparent difference was, that the meeting in the country, being chiefly connected with manufacturers, was obliged to assume a more apparent concern for their interest in regard to the dearness of living, and ostensibly aimed at the reduction of the price of provisions, or the increase of the price of labour: whereas the society of United Britons, in London, did not hesitate to profess their wish to frustrate every plan for the relief of the poor; the high price of provisions being most favourable to their object of exciting insurrection. It was beyond all doubt that there still existed, in the dominions of the king's enemies, at least two established committees of traitors to the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, actively employed in carrying on correspondence by their agents, with the leaders of the societies, abetting them in the most atrocious circumstances of the crimes they were meditating; and encouraging them by holding out hopes of invasion. Many of the united Irish, who, either from the lenity of the Irish government, or their own apprehension of its just severity, had taken refuge there, by all the means they had been used to practise, stimulated and inflamed the members of those meetings to a higher pitch of extravagance, and rendered it more necessary to subject them to that control, which, in its former exercise, had been as useful to themselves, as it had been salutary to the state. For it was remarkable that no act of restriction could be more truly preventive, than the statute in question had proved to be; there having seldom occurred an occasion for enforcing the act during its continuance. It was, therefore, the decided and unanimous opinion of the committee, that the bill now referred to their consideration should be passed into a law.

If we considered it as our business, in this part of the present narrative, merely to set forth the debates in parliament, or the eloquence or reasoning on which the decision of the principal questions turned, we might have spared our readers and ourselves a large portion of the detail into which we have followed committees and individuals, concerning the state of Ireland. But in the circumstantial and picturesque descriptions, and the anecdotes into which both committees and individual members of parliament were induced to enter, a more lively and just view of the state

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state of Ireland, at the period described, is exhibited, than could well be expected from the pen of any individual journalist. And we have not neglected to record that variety of curious and interesting facts, which came out in the parliamentary proceedings of the present year, as a valuable supplement to our former narratives of the affairs of Ireland. The report of the committee of lords, of which the substance has been just given, appears extremely curious on two accounts. 1. We find a number of political projectors and leaders, whose grand aim is to overthrow the state by overthrowing sentiments of morality and religion, binding themselves to secrecy and mutual fidelity by the *solemnity of an oath.* 2. The most prominent feature, the most striking and uniform characteristic in the history of conspiracies, of all ages and countries, is their failure of success. Though the conspirators be but few in number, known to each other, confident in mutual attachment, men of honour, and who have given proofs of honour and the most determined courage; yet, some change or other in circumstances, health, humour, hope, or fear, is almost always sure to derange the best concerted plans of conspiration, of great and eventful issue, even where they are neither watched nor suspected. That multitudes of the lowest orders of the people, unknown to one another, under no restraints of honour or a regard to character, but subject to all the weaknesses and apprehensions of human nature in its basest condition, should count with confidence on mutual fidelity, and prompt and timely cooperation in the moment of danger, is a pitch of folly to which the blindness and precipitation of the vulgar never before arrived, and to which they would never have reached, unless they had been mingled with a mass of pretensions to superior wisdom *. Though such a conspiracy could never have been crowned with ultimate success, yet its explosions, here and there, and at different times, would have involved, together with the ruin of the conspirators themselves, that of thousands of others. Therefore the vigilance and precaution of government was wise and merciful. On the other hand, the inquiries and the strong protests that were made, in both houses of parliament, against any suspension of habeas corpus, or extension of military law, on grounds either light or uncertain, merit equal praise: and are also matter of congratulation to British subjects.

On the order of the day for the third reading of the sedition bill, April 28, it was objected to by the duke of Bedford, as an unnecessary violation of the British constitution. It was supported by the earl of Westmoreland as both salutary and indispensable; read the third time; and passed without a division. The Irish martial law bill, on the same principles, and evidence brought forward by the secret committees, was continued to the 25th of March, 1802. A bill was also passed for indemnifying all persons concerned in securing, imprisoning, and detaining individuals under the suspension of the habeas corpus act,

* For the copious reports of the commons, on this subject, see State Papers in this volume.

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since the 1st of February, 1793. This bill met with great opposition in both houses, as calculated to screen misconduct, by *an expost facto* law. And very warm altercations took place about an alleged juggle between the late and present ministers. Various petitions were presented against the bill, in the course of its progress, from persons complaining of injuries and cruelties. On a motion, by the duke of Bedford, June 12, a list was produced of all the persons who had been taken into custody on a charge of sedition or treason, together with the length of time, and the names of the places inwhich they had been confined. A bill of indemnity was also passed for Ireland. This bill was not confined to the apprehending and detaining of persons on the charge of treasonable practices, but extended to all acts done for the preservation of the public peace.

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CHAP. X.

Bounties on the Importation of Grain. — Improvement of Commons — and Waste Lands. — Cultivation of Potatoes. — Inquiry into the Salt Duties, and the Means for remedying the Inconveniences arising from thence. — Repeal of Brown Bread Act. — Relief of Insolvent Debtors. — Law for preventing the Arrest of Aliens in Great Britain for Debts contracted in France previous to the Revolution. — Clergymen declared incapable of being Members of the House of Commons. — Poor Housekeepers relieved from Poors Rate. — Censorial Functions of Parliament. — Rewards. — Motions for Inquiries tending to Disgrace and Punishment. — India Budgets for two Years preceding the 25th of March, 1801. *— Mr. Dundas's Plan for the Government of India.*

FROM measures relating to the internal security and tranquillity of the kingdom, we proceed, according to our plan, to those of general economy, whether for the correction of abuses and errors, or the improvement of advantages. Bounties were continued on the importation of corn. A bill was brought into parliament, and passed into a law, for extending the powers of a former act, of the 13th of his present majesty, for the improvement of commons, and cultivation of waste lands. Mr. Charles Dundas, who introduced the bill, recommended to the attention of the house a letter from sir Joseph Banks to lord Carrington. It was formerly believed that land under cultivation wouldnotcontinue to produce crops, unless allowed to rest occasionally: and the corresponding system was still practised by many respectable farmers. But the best informed and most intelligent cultivators, it was stated in the letter from sir Joseph, had long ago given up that unthrifty management, and in light soils especially, it was universally allowed, that arable land, would continue in an uninpaired state, if not in a progressive course of improvement, provided that it regularly received from the cultivator, the whole of the manure produced upon it. This information sir Joseph received from a practical farmer, to whom he gave all the credit of the discovery *, from which it certainly followed as a corollary, that potatoes might be planted on common lands, instead of letting them lie fallow, with great advantage to the occu-

* As to the discovery, it was a discovery to few only but philosophers. Nevertheless, to call it up to recollection, and to make the proper inference, was well timed and laudable.

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pier as well as the public. A bill was introduced by sir William Pulteney, for encouraging the growth of potatoes. This bill did not interfere with the other bill for encouraging the growth of potatoes in common fields. The object of sir William's bill was, the improvement of a great deal of unproductive land, by raising potatoes in autumn: which article would prove of particular service, at a time before the new corn could be threshed out, and brought to market. Reports were made, from time to time, from committees of both houses, for considering, and making reports on the high price of provisions, and resolutions formed thereon for inclosure, and other bills. In consequence of a report from that committee, founded on another from the board of agriculture, a bill was brought into the house of commons, by Mr. Ryder, March 2, for granting 28,000*l.* to be laid out in premiums for encouraging the cultivation of potatoes. The wisdom or expediency of this measure was much questioned.

Mr. Buxton contended that the present high price of potatoes was a sufficient bounty of itself. All bounties were, in his opinion, injurious. It was best to allow that crop to be cultivated, which would prove most profitable. It was unwise to propose a bounty on one particular article of food, to the prejudice of the growth of corn in general.

Mr. Horne Tooke, after apologizing for talking on agricultural subjects, made some observations, to which we here give a place, as they appear to merit, and loudly demand the public attention. The premium now proposed, he said, could do nothing but mischief. Besides the injustice of making the landholder pay the premium out of his own estate, misery must extend to the whole country, unless the whole scheme of keeping down the price of provisions should be changed. It was in vain to struggle against necessity. The legislature could not keep down the price of provisions, unless it kept down the national debt. Prices had risen, and would inevitably continue to rise. It had been asked, how the cottager might be made happy? The cottager would be made happy by raising every thing in proportion to the price of provisions: his labour among the rest. Labour had risen, and it must rise higher. "The price of labour must go up: up it must go, do what you will, you must suffer labour to be raised with the price of provisions. To the few who deserve assistance, let assistance be given. The landed gentleman does not suffer; he can raise his rents. The revenue does not suffer; that must be provided. Where then will the storm fall? on the public creditor. He lends the public 100*l.* for which he is paid 3*l.* 10*s.* interest. That may be, 100 quartern loaves, or 40, or 20; according to the price. He is therefore the person who suffers by the rise in the price of provisions: not that the money he receives, as the interest of his capital, is less; but that the quantity of goods he receives for his money is less, and still less, and less: while the taxes are rising more and more. If the new administration means to go on like the last, they have an interest in proposing premiums. They may otherwise be fearful of not having money lent them. I am sure it would

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would be better for the country, if no man would lend them a groat. Let them take three-fourths of a man's interest on property, and take off the taxes. If you do not reduce the national debt, the public creditor, instead of one hundred and twenty loaves for his 100*l.* will, by and by, have only two or three."

A bill was brought in, providing for the inclosure and improvement of certain uncultivated lands in England and Wales, particularly bogs and marshy grounds, without special application to parliament. A committee was appointed, for inquiring into the law relating to the duty on salt, and into the means of remedying the inconveniences arising therefrom. This measure met with universal applause. By the brown-bread bill, passed at the end of the last session of parliament, it had been conceived that a considerable saving would have been made in the use of wheat; but owing to the general partiality of the people of this country for the fine sort of bread, it was found that the fine sort of wheat could not be manufactured according to provisions of the act; and, likewise, that the inferior sorts of wheat, of this country's growth, were in danger of being thrown out of the market, while the finer sort proportionally rose in price. It also appeared, that the price of the coarser wheat was diminished but little, while that of the quartern loaf was not more reduced than six or seven farthings. It had also been supposed, that a much larger quantity of bread could have been manufactured from a sack of coarse than of fine flour; but, in this, the committee was disappointed. For these reasons, the act made in the last session of parliament, to prevent the manufacturing of bread from fine flour was repealed.

This session, a bill which had been for many years in contemplation, and under discussion, was passed, for the relief of insolvent, not fraudulent debtors, on the condition of the *cessio bonorum*, as in Scotland and Holland, and other countries.

The humanity and justice of the country were also displayed in a bill, which was carried without opposition into a law, for preventing the arrest of aliens in Great Britain for debts contracted in France previous to the revolution. Many of the respectable emigrants from France were unable to pay the debts they had contracted, on account of having lost all their property by the revolution; and, what rendered the justice, as well as the necessity of protecting such persons, the bonds belonging to the original creditors had been bought up at a very small price, and many of them obtained in a fraudulent manner. In this protecting bill were comprehended persons, who, though they had been born in any part of his majesty dominions, had passed over before the age of fifteen years, and constantly resided in the dominions of his most Christian majesty. The great patron and promoter of this bill, as of the English insolvent debtors' bill, was the earl of Moira.

In consequence of the enforcement of an act of Henry VIII, for commanding the residence of the clergy in their respective parishes, that body of men were subjected to innumerable vexations. The prosecutions and personal hardships to which they were exposed, proceeded solely from purposes of extortion. All actions, which were, or might

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might be commenced against, for the recovery of informations on that statute, were therefore suspended till the 25th of March, 1802; and this new act might be pled in bar of such actions. To counterbalance, in some measure, this act of favour, the clergy were declared, not only by the house of commons, but by the whole legislature, ineligible to represent the people in parliament. A select committee of the house of commons was, April 14, appointed to examine the journals of that house, and records of parliament, for precedents, respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the house, and to report the same to the house from time to time.

May 4. The earl Temple moved the order of the day for the house to take into consideration the report of the select committee appointed to inquire into the eligibility of John Horne Tooke, esq., being a person in holy oders, to a seat in that house. The minutes of the evidence taken at the bar being read over by the clerk, lord Temple, in a long and elaborate speech, endeavoured to show, that, in the whole course of the English history, from the time of Edward I to the present moment, the clergy had never been acknowledged by that house, or the constitution of the realm, as representatives of the commonalty of Great Britain; that, at different periods, the clergy we e taxed by the commons, and that at all times they were so to a certain extent; that the principle, that the clergy were not eligible to the commons house of parliament, was *broadly* established; that the uncertain and disputed right of taxation, which the clergy gave up in 1644, was fully and amply made up to them, by giving them, in its place, the right of voting for those whom they should choose to represent them in parliament. He therefore contended, that the member for Old Sarum could not come amongst them as a clergyman; nor yet as a layman, because a layman he could not be. He concluded, with moving, that the speaker do issue his warrant to the clerk of the crown, to make out a new writ for the election of a burgess to serve in the present parliament for the borough of Old Sarum, in the room of the reverend J. H. Tooke, who being at the time of his election in priest's orders, was incapable of sitting in that house.

Mr. Addington felt some embarrassment on the subject, from the manner in which the noble lord had proposed it. He wished that his lordship had solicited the attention of the house, and asked it to form an opinion on the abstract question of the eligibility of clergymen to seats in that house. Thinking this a case of great magnitude, he declared a readiness to move for leave to bring in a bill to remove doubts on the eligibility of persons in holy orders to take seats in that house, unless some members better qualified should undertake the task. He entered into the history and merits of the question, which he treated with perspicuity and ability, on the ground of both precedent and principle. The object of the bill would be, to declare persons in holy orders ineligible to sit in the house of commons in future; but not, by a retrospective power, in the nature of an *expost facto* law, to annul the past election of Mr. J. H. Tooke, or any other member of that house. On a motion by Mr. Addington,

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leave was granted to bring in the bill on the 6th of May. It was a bill partly declaratory and partly enacting. It occupied the house of commons a long time, and gave occasion to many learned and animated debates in both houses.—Several amendments were proposed, but negatived; and the bill was passed, through the usual forms and stages, into a law.—During the progress of the bill, Mr. H. Tooke did not fail to exercise his well-known talents for shrewd reasoning, wit, ridicule, and pointed satire. When notice was given of the bill, Mr. Tooke, in the course of a learned, argumentative, spirited, and humourous speech, said, "I have been told, that I have a voice in the convocation. It is above forty years since I took orders, and I never once was summoned to the convocation. Clergymen are ineligible, as they have the care of souls. Sir, I have no soul to take care of but my own. They ought to stay at home, and exercise the duties of hospitality: I have no residence, and no funds given me for this purpose. Were I a Jew, sir, a Jesuit, a Mahomedan, a Pagan, a Presbyterian, a Quaker, there could not be the least objection to me. In spreading the doctrines, and administering the rites of these various religions and sects, there is nothing corrupting; but connexion with the established church, it seems, leaves a foul and indelible stain. Sir, there is something in this a little too hard of digestion. The door, however, is not absolutely debarred against me. There is an unfortunate clergyman, who has lately been guilty of adultery, and the cry has been loud, that he should be deposed. Were he really deposed, sir, I suppose there can be no doubt, that, being no longer in orders, he would be eligible to a seat in this house. To say that an adulterer is disqualified to be a member of parliament, might be productive of consequences somewhat serious. It is maintained, that though a clergyman be excommunicated, his character is only gone. He goes to the devil; but he does not become one of the profane laity. If gentlemen had consulted the seventy-second canon, they would have found, that, if a clergyman should pretend to exorcise any one, if he should not keep the fasts, if he should preach in the fields, and if he should do, and if he should not do, various other things, he should, for the first offence, be suspended; for the second, excommunicated; and, for the third, *deposed*. Had I then attempted to exorcise myself or others, or had I followed the example of some of the advocates of *vital Christianity*, I should have been deposed long ago, and should now be allowed quietly to take my seat; but because, like a good subject, I chose to withdraw, without stating my reasons, and thus exciting scandal, I am for ever ineligible. What, if I had been tainted with infidelity, and tried to make proselytes? I should then be as competent to sit here as any member present. This reminds me of an occurrence which took place in this city a few years ago. A poor girl, in very indigent circumstances, and quite destitute, went to a director of the Magdalen hospital, and applied to be taken in. 'Why,' said he, 'it is true there is now a vacancy, and I have no objection to admit you; but first let me hear something of your history:—Who seduced you? Where have

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have you lived since?'—'Seduced me, sir!' exclaimed the girl; 'I am as innocent as the child unborn.'—'You won't do for us, then,' replied the governor; 'if you wish for admittance here, you must go and qualify.' "

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In the course of this session, a bill, introduced into the house of commons by lord William Russell, was passed into a law, for enabling justices, in quarter-sessions, to relieve poor housekeepers from the payment of the poor's rates.

There appeared the same spirit of caution and reluctance, which had been manifested for several years back, to the passing of divorce bills; but several divorces were granted, the cases being very flagrant.

Under the head of political economy, and general correction and improvement, we may arrange the proceedings of parliament, respecting the measures and the conduct of the servants of the crown. Of these, some tended to the encouragement of merit by honour and reward; others to the discouragement of demerit, by motions for inquiries, tending to punishment, at least to censure.

The thanks of the house of commons, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, April 16, after a very suitable and elegant speech, were voted, *nemine contradicente*, "to admiral sir Hyde Parker, for the able and judicious disposition made by him of the force under his command, by which the Danish ships of war, forming the line of defence of the harbour of Copenhagen, were taken or destroyed, on the 2d day of April, 1801."—It was resolved, also, *nemine contradicente*, "that the thanks of that house be given to vice-admiral lord Nelson, knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, rear-admiral Graves, and colonel Stewart, commanding his majesty's 49th regiment of foot, and a corps of riflemen, and to the several captains and officers of the fleet, under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker, for their bravery and gallant conduct, on the said most glorious occasion; and that admiral sir Hyde Parker do signify the same to them."—Resolved farther, *nemine contradicente*, "That the house of commons did highly approve and acknowledge the services of the seamen, marines, and soldiers, on board the ships under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker, in the late glorious victory over the Danish fleet and batteries, which formed the line of defence at the entrance of the harbour of Copenhagen; and that the captains of the several ships do signify the same to the respective crews, and do thank them for their gallant behaviour: and it was ordered that Mr. Speaker do signify the said resolutions to admiral sir Hyde Parker," Orders were also given for monuments to be erected, at the public expense, in the cathedral church, St. Paul's, London, to the memory of captain James Robert Mosse, and captain Edward Riou, who fell gloriously in the engagement of April 2, 1801. A liberal pension was conferred by his majesty on captain sir Thomas B. Thompson; admiral Graves was invested with the order of the Bath; and a new step in the peerage given to lord Nelson.

These expressions of the public gratitude and admiration gave respect to an action of which we have already given some account. What follows, refers to a battle equally glorious

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glorious in its nature, and important in its consequences, and which happened, too, very nearly about the same time in Egypt, where the British general died, like Epaminondes, or our own general Wolf, in the arms of victory.

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The chancellor of the exchequer, on the 20th of May, delivered to the house of commons a message from the crown, stating, that "His majesty having taken into his royal consideration the eminent and signal merits of the late right honourable general sir Ralph Abercromby, knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, during a long life spent in the service of his country, and terminated by a glorious death, had thought proper, in testimony of regard to the memory of that distinguished officer, to confer on his relict, lady Abercromby, the dignity of a barony of Great Britain, by the title of baroness Abercromby, of Aboukir, with remainder to the heirs male of the body of the said sir ralph Abercromby; and being farther desirous of granting to lady Abercromby, and the two next succeeding heirs male of the body of sir Ralph Abercromby, to whom the title of baron Abercromby shall descend, a nett annuity of 2000*l.* per annum, recommended it to his faithful commons to consider of a proper method of enabling his majesty to grant such annuity, and of extending, securing, and settling the same, in such manner as might be thought most effectual for the benefit of the family of the said sir Ralph Abercromby."—On the day thereafter, Mr. Addington moved, 1. That the sum of 2000*l.* be granted out of the consolidated fund to his majesty, for the purposes mentioned in his majesty's gracious message. 2. To fill up the blank for the date of its commencement, with the words, 24th of March, 1801: being satisfied that it would be the wish of every one that it should take place from the day on which the country was deprived of the services of that gallant officer.—These resolutions were agreed to *nemine contradicente*. It was also agreed, that a monument should be erected to sir Ralph Abercromby, at the public expense in Westminster Abbey.

The honours that followed the gallant actions of Aboukir and the Sound, seemed to infuse a tincture of respectability into the general mass of the new nobility.

The censorial powers of the legislature were exercised, on the other hand, in motions of a very different tendency from that of those just noticed.

February 10. A motion was made in the house of commons, by Mr. Sturt, for an inquiry into the expedition against Ferrol, of which some account has been given in our last volume.

Sir James Murray Pulteney vindicated his conduct in that expedition, on the principle that the enemy were in too great strength for him to hazard an attempt for its reduction, either by blockade or attack, especially as other objects were in view besides the reduction of Ferrol. Sir James's conduct was, in truth, not only prudent, but magnanimous. The motion for inquiry was negatived by 144 against 75.

House of lords, March 20th, Lord Darnley had repeatedly given notice of a motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation. He now alluded to the manner and circumstances in which it had been delayed. It was during the indisposition of the king,

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king, now happily removed. Whatever difference of opinion might prevail on political subjects, lord Darnley was confident that all were unanimous, in admiring the character of the sovereign, and returning thanks to heaven, that he was still preserved, to set them an example of every virtue. The other grounds, on which he had deferred his motion, were of a different kind. He had yielded to the solicitations of ministers, and of their lordships; but he saw no reason, why the motion might not be immediately instituted. A change had taken place in his majesty's councils: but the objects of his motion were such, that the complete formation of the new ministry was not necessary to the discussion of it. Besides, he could not persuade himself that there was any difference between the five: their persons were different, but their principles and views the same. The principal actor had withdrawn behind the curtain; but he now played the part of prompter, and those whom he had substituted in his stead, spoke and acted as he directed. The grounds of the motion he was about to make, were principally three: the conduct of the war; the state of our finances; and our relations with foreign powers. On each of these subjects his lordship expatiated; and arraigned the conduct of his majesty's ministers severely. A strict scrutiny, he said, must be made into the past, or the future would resemble it. He concluded, with moving, "That the house do now resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the state of the nation." The motion was supported by lord Holland, the earl of Carlisle, the earl of Fife, the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Moira, the earl of Carnarvon, the earl Fitzwilliam, the marquis of Lansdown, the marquis of Buckingham, lord Eldon, and the duke of Bedford. Lord Eldon said, that the late ministers had acted, just as if a general should, in a day of battle, get into his post-chaise, and drive off. The motion, on the other hand, was opposed by the duke of Montrose, the earl of Westmoreland, lord Grenville, earl Campden, the lord chancellor, lord Auckland, and lord Hobart. On a division of the house, the motion was negatived by 107 voices against 25.

A motion to the same effect was made in the house of commons, March 25, by Mr. Grey. It was seconded by Mr. Whitbread, and supported by the earl Temple, sir William Young, and Mr. Fox. It was opposed by Mr. Ellison, Mr. May, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Addington, and, above all, in a very long speech, by Mr. Dundas, in which he set himself principally to show, that in the present war, Great Britain had been governed by just principles, and that the war, compared with any other period of war in the annals of our history, had been the most successful and glorious. Mr. Fox having repelled some sneers of Mr. Pitt, who spoke of him as a *new member*, and of the concessions he had, while himself a minister, made to the empress of Russia in 1782, turned to the long speech of Mr. Dundas, and followed him, step by step, through the whole. Of Mr. Dundas's defence of the war, he gave the following abridged account; "Amsterdam had been taken, if sir Ralph Abercromby had landed on the 16th instead of the 27th of August. Sir Charles Stuart's disli-

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dislike to the Russians, protracted sir Ralph's departure for the Mediterranean. Ten thousand Irish militia were to come to England, and ten thousand English to go to Ireland. Some of their troops wanted their new coats. Some their arms. One expedition sailed on the 8th of April, took shelter on the 13th, and re-sailed on the 24th. It was designed to assist the Austrians, but the Austrians would not be assisted. There was no plan or concert between the two courts. An account current with the seven years war. Took more ships than lord Chatham, and more islands. St. Domingo was unhealthy, and rather expensive; but it was a good market. This war has opened worlds of new markets. Returns, even to a man, of the new-raised corps at Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Portugal; and the total of your force, with a most comfortable exactness. The history of England, from 1755 to 1762. From Severn Droog to the Havannah. In a word," said Mr. Fox, "such a series of insulting puerilities as no house of parliament was ever before entertained with, under the name of a defence,"

Mr. chancellor of the exchequer, Addington, said, that he might possibly incur the imputation of presumption, in rising immediately after the honourable gentleman who spoke last. He had thought it incumbent on him, in the former part of the debate, to give way to those gentlemen, against whose conduct the motion seemed to be particularly directed. After a modest apology for accepting the office he now filled, he stated, and reasoned on the ground of the maritime right asserted by this country; and, having referred to the exceptions created by existing treaties, he concluded this topic, by declaring it to be his decided opinion, that the principle for which we were contending, was vital and fundamental: that it could neither be abandoned nor compromised. But he declared it to be his utmost wish, that it should be exercised temperately, though firmly, and with as little vexation as possible to the interests and feelings of all the maritime states. On the subject of peace and war, it had been asked, how it was possible, that the restoration of peace could be expected from those who had rejoiced at the failure of the negotiation at Lisle. He would only say, that he had never expressed any such sentiment; and he could truly aver, that he had never entertained it. The question must be one of terms, and of terms only. And, without calling in question the sincerity of the French government, he was sure that he should meet the sentiments of the house, in stating, that it would justly be discredited, by the advancement of any claims that might be inconsistent with the security and honour of this country. For his colleagues and himself, he asked for no confidence but what was strictly constitutional. For himself, he declared that he would occupy no party ground, but that he would throw himself entirely upon that house, and on the country. On a division of the house, Mr. Grey's motion was rejected by 291 against 105.

June 2. A motion was made in the house of commons, by Mr. F. Jones, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to communicate

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municate to his faithful commons, by whose advice, instructions, dated 15th December, 1799, were given to the commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, enjoining him not to consent, on any account, to the returning of the French army from Egypt to France, or to their capitulation in any other manner, than, jointly, to allied powers employed against them; or upon any other terms, than that of giving up their arms, and surrendering as prisoners of war, to the allied powers so employed; and on no account, to consent to the return of the French army in Egypt, to France, or to their capitulations: by which instructions, his faithful commons humbly conceived that the grand object of peace had been postponed, and the seat of the present calamitous, unfortunate, and expensive war, had been transferred to the very distant coast of Egypt, where there had already been a prodigious expenditure of English treasure, and English blood; and that at a time when the hostile preparations in the ports of France, threatened an invasion of these realms; and when our good and old ally, Portugal, was about to sink under the dominion of the French republic, in consequence of that army, which might have defended Portugal, being detached to Egypt; and, moreover, when the dangerous question of the searching neutral ships, had raised up a new Baltic war; when Prussia had seized on the electorate of Hanover, and its treasures: and all these unfortunate and alarming circumstances, grown out of the breach of the convention of El-Arish; and, furthermore, that by the issuing these said instructions, a dreadful consequence might arise to our Indian empire, and that it might fall into irretrievable ruin; and its fall might crush the credit and destroy the revenue of this country, whereby, at the present alarming crisis of the destinies of the world, the laws of humanity, and the laws of nations, had been grossly violated, his majesty's government degraded, and the policy, character, and faith of this renowned empire, rendered contemptible in the eyes of Europe." We have not thought it necessary to follow Mr. Jones in all his motions respecting the convention of El-Arish; it is, however, proper to observe, that this was the fifth time of his bringing it forward, that the reader may understand the meaning and force of what was said, on the present occasion, by

Lord Hawkesbury. The arguments, he said, of the honourable gentleman, had been so often answered, that he would not now enter into any reasoning on the subject, and thereby delay the house from the consideration of important business. But Mr. Windham called to Mr. Jones's recollection, the principal of those arguments by which his allegations of a breach of faith to our allies, and the impolicy of not permitting the French to evacuate Egypt, had been combated. He supposed that by allies, the honourable gentleman meant the Turks. But he should recollect, that we had other allies; namely, the Austrians. And, what would they have said, if, when they were contending against the French, in Italy, with forces so equally balanced, that the contest was at last decided by a battle, or rather

rather the fraction of a battle, for three-fourths of the battle was in favour of the Austrians. What would they have said, if, when matters were so nearly balanced, we had suffered 15,000, or more, of the best troops of France, to have been thrown into the scale against them? It had been stated, that the French would have been landed in France, not in Italy. But that would have made a difference of only three weeks; they certainly would have been marched into Italy. By adhering to the convention of El-Arish, after intelligence had been received, that it had been sanctioned by sir Sidney Smith, we had shown the world that we preferred a strict adherence to our public faith, to any advantages, however great, which we might have gained by a violation of it. Mr. Windham proceeded to estimate the mighty advantages that we had gained by the series of engagements, particularly that of March 21, near Alexandria, in point of reputation. "Notwithstanding the courage and bravery formerly displayed by the British troops, in the expedition to Holland, in operations both offensive and defensive, yet the circumstances of the war did certainly throw a kind of shade over our army. The glory of our navy was so great, that every other service was overlooked. All our attention was engaged on one side, and we were, as it were, lame of one leg. It was under these circumstances that the events in Egypt occurred. Whole wars might pass over without affording an opportunity of fairly measuring our strength with the enemy. But in Egypt the very scene seemed to be chosen for a fair trial of strength. The two armies seemed to be, as it were, retired from the world. They were both left without any other resource than what they could draw from their own courage and discipline. They had no allies to share the merit of victory, or bear the disgrace of defeat: their motto seemed to be, '*Væ victi*,' and all they asked, was, a clear stage and no favour. Who were those that we had conquered? not Greeks or Copts, not Batavians or Cisalpines, but the tried, the chosen, the best troops of France. If the French should, in deed, invade us, would our atchievements in Egypt have no effect in inspiring the people of England with confidence, and throwing a damp upon the enemy?" This was, indeed, a great and animating subject, and it was treated, by Mr. Windham, with suitable eloquence. After a variety of other considerations, in the same epic, but not inflated style, with the passage just quoted, tending to do justice to the military character of the country, he said, "that this was a subject upon which our children and grandchildren would dwell with pride. They would talk of Egypt and of Abercromby with as much exultation as Englishmen had been accustomed, till these degenerate days, to speak of Cressy and of Agincourt." With respect to the question now before the house, he felt no anxiety. Every argument that had been repeatedly advanced, had been repeatedly answered; and, therefore, he should not trespass any longer on the attention of the house. Mr. Windham was followed, on the same side, by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Ellison, and sir George Dallas.

Mr.

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Mr. Jones's motion, on the other hand, was supported by Mr. Grey and Mr. Robson. It was negatived by 138 voices against 22.

It now only remains, on the subject of parliamentary proceedings, that we give a summary account of what has been tacked, for several years back, as a kind of postscript to the affairs of the British parliament: Mr. Dundas's budget, or statement of the affairs of India.—According to Mr. Dundas's statement of accounts, 23d of July, 1800, the situation of the company, notwithstanding a heavy and expensive war in India, was now better by 969,000*l.* than had been predicted by the estimate of last budget, brought forward on the 28th of March: from which it had appeared that the nett improvement in the company's affairs, since the budget of 1799, was 4,108,527*l.* And as peace was restored in that quarter, he had no doubt but India would experience a long and increasing prosperity. From a general statement of the company's affairs, he represented that they were bettered in the 13 years, from 1786 to 1799, in the amount of 11,852,000*l.* But Mr. Hussey insisted, that it signified nothing what he or any body else said of the affairs of the company: for they had stated these affairs themselves. And from their statement, it appeared, that, on the affairs at home, the company, comparing the statement now, with the statement 20 years ago, were, instead of being better, six millions worse.

Mr. Dundas said, that this was making no allowance at all for the increase of the wealth of the company in dead stock in India: for warehouses, for shipping, for forts, and above all to territorial revenues, which would amount to many millions sterling.

That the dead stock and territorial revenue of the company, in India, were very much enlarged, Mr. Hussey was very ready to allow. But he would say this, and it was his duty to the public to say it, that if the company were to break up to-morrow, and to convert all they had into cash, both in India and Europe, and then to make a dividend to the first adventurer, instead of having enough to pay, he believed there would be many millions deficient. He spoke on a comparison of twenty years on their home account, and their own account of affairs: from which it appears there were six millions minus. A long string of resolutions, however, was agreed to (for how could the propositions they contained be refuted) tending to show that the company's affairs were in the highest degree prosperous. Such was the view, exhibited by Mr. Dundas, of our India concerns in 1800.

House of commons, June 12, 1801.—The house having resolved itself into a committee on the affairs of India, Mr. Dundas rose and spoke at great length of the British affairs in India, particularly as they were connected with finance, and of his own conduct during the 17 years that he had been at the head of the board of control, and exhibited particular and general views of the revenues and charges of our different India establishments for 1800, and the expectations that were reasonably to be formed.

The result of the whole was, that the company's concerns, in the course

course of the year of account now before the committee, 1800-1801, had improved to the amount of 90,465*l.*

To enter more particularly into the India budget, could not afford matter either of amusement or useful information to the generality of our readers. Nor would gentlemen, who are interested in those statements, thank us for a fuller account; unless indeed we were to sacrifice fifty pages of our space for the admission of the whole. We might plead another excuse: which is, that the statements of this, as well of the preceding, and some other years, have been falsified in several instances, as will appear in our next volume, by subsequent accounts. It is by no means intended to insinuate that Mr. Dundas did not fairly exhibit his accounts, according to his own belief and the best of his information. If any one wishes for minute and authentic accounts of all that relates to Mr. Dundas's administration of Indian affairs, he will naturally have recourse to the journals of the house of commons, or to the annual volumes of the parliamentary debates.

But, though we avoid, in a summary history of Europe, long details of debts, investments, assets, charges, revenues, surplusses, deficits, interests, sales, loans, customs, farms, goods sold and unsold, &c. &c. it will neither be tedious nor uninteresting, to give a view of the grand and leading features of Mr. Dundas's plan for the improvement of the British affairs in India; on which he built the most sanguine expectations.

First, An arrangement abroad, so that a full million from the surplus of the revenues should, at the commencement of the execution of the plan, be applicable to the purpose of investments.

Secondly, That the investments from India and China should amount, at prime cost, to four millions annually, in equal proportions.

Thirdly, That during the first four years from that time, the company should avail themselves of the power they already had, under the act, for augmenting their capital stock to the extent of six millions, at the rate of half a million annually, which, it was supposed, would realize one million sterling.

Fourthly, That the additional money, so raised, should be applied exclusively to the liquidation of the present Indian debt at interest, either by increasing remittances in bullion or exports to India, to that amount, or by defraying additional bills drawn from India for the same purpose.

Fifthly, That the extinction of that debt, now calculated to amount to fourteen millions sterling, should be carried on, at the rate of one million annually, till the part of it termed the decennial loan should become payable, which was expected to take place on or about the year 1807-8: and that the sum then payable on account of Indian debt, which was stated at 3,500,000*l.* should be discharged in that year: on which suppositions, the debts at interest abroad, would then be reduced to 4,500,000*l.*: at which amount it might be thought expedient to keep them stationary. The gradual reduction of the debt would add to the surplus of the revenues, by the diminution of the interest.

interest. And, in the year 1808-9, the sum of two millions sterling might be applied to the investments. The application of the surplus, thus increasing from year to year, would, of course, lessen the demand of India on the home treasury: so that a balance of costs could not fail of increasing to an immense amount.

May these predictions be verified by experience! and not undergo the too common fate of the great plans of political economy, founded on the most favourable views, and the hypothesis of peace, prudence, and an active zeal for the common good!

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CHAP. XI.

Discussions concerning a free Trade between Great Britain and India.—Motion in the House of Commons, relative to this, by Sir William Pulteney.—Discussions and Debates thereon in the India House.—History, or Origin, of the Question.—Difference of Opinion between the East India House and the Board of Control.—Letter from Mr. Dundas to the Court of Directors, containing his Opinion and Advice respecting the Mode of carrying on the Trade between Great Britain and India—Taken into Consideration by a Committee of the Court of Directors.—Report of that Committee.—Consequent Resolutions.—Second Letter to the Court of Directors from Mr. Dundas.—Letter to the Directors on the Subject of free Trade from the Governor-General of British India, the Marquis of Wellesley—Taken into Consideration by a Committee of the Court of Directors.—Report of that Committee.—Motion in the India House for the Production of printed Papers respecting a free Trade with India.—Debates thereon.—Motion negatived.—Sir William Pulteney's Motion in the House of Commons carried.—Prorogation of Parliament.

ON the same day that Mr. Dundas produced his statements, respecting the affairs of British India, sir William Pulteney called the attention of the house to a subject which appeared to him to be of the highest importance, as affecting the commercial and maritime interests of this country. His intention was, to move for the production of a number of papers respecting the trade between India and Europe, printed by order of the directors, which he conceived to be necessary to put the house in possession of certain facts respecting the trade between Great Britain and India. The object he had in view, was not, in any degree, to interfere with the monopoly which parliament had granted to the East India company. There was, however, a surplus trade, beyond what the company had the means of carrying on, and great benefit would result to India, and the manufactures of this country, if that surplus trade were allowed to be imported into this country in India-built ships. But, before we proceed to give an account of what passed on this subject in the house of commons, it will be proper, as the question of a free trade with India is of vast moment, both commercial and political, and likely to draw more and more the public attention, to take some notice of the previous discussions respecting it in the India house; and, first of all, of the history, or origin, of that question. The profits arising from the

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the regular commerce of the company are extremely small, seldom amounting to more than seventy or eighty thousand pounds a year more than common interest for the joint stock employed in that trade. At the same time, the advantages arising from contracts for building ships, furnishing stores, and from patronage of one sort or another, are immense. This patronage, necessarily, is in the hands of the stockholders, either as directors, or voters in a general court. It was from this cause, that the violent contests about the old shipping interest, which have been so earnestly discussed since 1785, originated. One party contended for the continued employment of the old builders of ships, at their own prices. The other maintained, that the company ought to avail itself of competition, and contract, where they could make a contract at the cheapest rate. Though low prices and competition wear a popular and plausible aspect, the old shipping interest were not deficient in combating the arguments of the party who recommended the employment of the cheapest ships, by arguments, not so popular, but not, indeed, less plausible. In answer to the publications of Mr. Anthony Burgh and others, whom, to save circumlocution, they styled *projectors*, they published a pamphlet*, in 1886, stating, among a variety of considerations favourable to their cause, "that under the old system, the affairs of the East India company had taken root, grown up, and flourished greatly: that in all innovations, the remote and unforeseen consequences are usually of infinitely more consequence than the attainment of their immediate object, and that consequences of the most dangerous nature might possibly arise out of the proposed change in the system of the company's shipping. But that such consequences would arise in part, was more than probable. The projectors would, in the construction of their vessels, study cheapness; whereas, that of their present ships were subject to strict regulation in their construction, and inspection when constructed. The merchandise of the company, would neither be so safe in vessels furnished by the projectors, nor in the hands of unknown, and, probably, in many instances, necessitous adventurers employed by the projectors, as captains and officers. The great and wealthy body of ship owners, gave a consolidation, strength, and permanency to the general affairs of the company, and their fine ships were many of them so framed, and more were offered to be constructed, on such a plan, as not only to defend themselves against attacks, in case of war, but even, occasionally, to add to the strength of the British navy. An enlargement in the size of the ships to be built in future, would enable the owners to make a reduction in the freight. Every thing possible should be done in this way. But, on the whole, for the sake of the national interests, as well as those of the company, care should be taken to unite with present economy, permanent security. In the present management of the company, there was an unity, harmony, and even splendour, that had an imposing air on the minds of the

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natives; an opposite system would lead to disunion, distraction, endless adventure, and finally to colonization.

In the frequent discussions, that took place on this subject in the India house, the question was always carried by vast majorities in favour of the old ship owners.—The same interest prevented the employment of ships built in India, and, as much as possible, all encroachments on the monopoly of the company, by what have been termed free traders. Mr. Dundas and the board of control uniformly differed in opinion from the majority of the India house; but, as it was not the business of that board to interfere directly in matters of commerce, Mr. Dundas contented himself with giving his opinion, with the reasons on which it was founded. In a letter to the chairman of the directors, dated Somerset Place, April 2, 1800, on the subject of private trade and India-built shipping, he declared his satisfaction as to the propriety of continuing a monopoly of the trade with India, in the hands of the East India company. "If the trade were laid open, the advantages expected to arise from thence, were, at best, very problematical, and would certainly be very precarious and short-lived; but the question was not to be treated merely as commercial. The same principles which proved the necessity of the present form and mode of Indian government, evinced the necessity of the monopoly of trade. By the commercial capital of the company at home, acting in connexion with the public revenues under their administration abroad, they had naturally aided and administered to the wants of each other; and the result had been the fortunate achievement of those *brilliant events, on the success of which the existence of the government, the territorial wealth, and the trade of India depended* *.

On the subject of freights, he was of opinion, that this ought not to be the exclusive object of the company's attention, and that the same kind of ships, built under the same inspection and regulations, should continue to be employed as those hitherto employed; and that a freight, fully adequate to secure that advantage, ought not to be churlishly withheld. As to the company's monopoly, that it was a monopoly attended with these two material circumstances: 1st, That the exportable produce of India exceeded what, at present, the capital of the company was capable of embracing. 2d, That the monopoly of the East India company did not rest on principles of colonial exclusion; but, if the trade carried on by the company be, of necessity, limited by their capital, what was to become of the surplus trade? Was it to be left exclusively to foreign nations? or so modified in the exercise of it, as to open that surplus market to the capital of British subjects? From a consideration of all circumstances, Mr. Dundas drew the conclusion, that the surplus produce of India, beyond what the appropriated capital of the company could bring home, should be considered as the means of transferring the fortunes of servants in India to Great Britain; and that the

* From those brilliant events, in the judgment of others, at this time, a very different result was to be apprehended.

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commerce should be managed there, either by the parties themselves interested in it, or by their agents, acting under the licence, and subject to the control and regulations of the East India company.

With regard to the policy and beneficial tendency of that measure, Mr. Dundas referred the directors to the unanimous opinion of all their ablest servants in India, who had, from time to time, and in the most explicit terms, pointed out to the directors the expediency of that indulgence, both with a just attention to the interests of their servants in India, and with a view to make Great Britain the great emporium of the trade of Asia. This measure would not diminish the company's shipping a single ton: for the company ought, and would send out, if the measure were not adopted, just as much of the regular British-built India shipping, as should be necessary to bring home the whole of their investment, and no more. He also observed, on this head, that those interested in the regular shipping of the East India company, would do well to consider the benefits they already enjoyed, in place of endeavouring to cramp and check the just pretensions of others. They should also recollect, that it had always been considered as a very problematical question, how far, consistently with national honour, so much of the ship timber of this country ought to be appropriated to its commercial concerns, in the manner practised by the builders of India shipping. We had a national resource in India, which ought to lead to the very reverse of any invidious or unjust discouragement being given to the ship-building of India. To inquire how far it would be right to hold our Indian possessions, on principles of colonial monopoly, would be to enter on a discussion foreign to the question in hand. It was sufficient to observe, that, in point of fact, it was thought expedient, for the interests of the empire at large, that our East India possessions should not be regulated on the principles of colonial exclusion; and, therefore, that no part of the subjects of Great Britain could be permitted to set up a separate interest of their own against that general policy.

In contending for the indulgence proposed to the British subjects resident in India, he was contending for a material national interest, which was this: that their fortunes, capitals created in India, should be transferred from that country to this, in a manner most beneficial for themselves, and the kingdom at large, in place of being transferred through the medium of commerce by foreigners, and thereby adding to the navigation and capital of other countries. There was not a single circumstance, in which this was applicable to the case of merchants in this country. The only effect of giving such an indulgence to merchants resident in this country, would be, a temptation to withdraw a part of the capital of the country from a more profitable trade, and more beneficial application of it, in order to divert it to another trade, less profitable to themselves, and less beneficial to the public. Without a single reason, either of private justice, or public policy, it would be introducing a rival capital into India against the remittance trade of the East India company, and in competition likewise with those individuals, whose capital, by the pro-

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posed indulgence, it was wished to transfer to Great Britain.

With regard to agents, provided they were licensed by the company, and subjected themselves to the regulations, which the company might see cause to establish for the conduct of the agents of India, he saw no reason why those agents might not be permitted to exercise their agency for the behoof of their constituents, and even of foreigners, in any of the territories of India. It was clearly beneficial for the interests of India, that foreigners should rather employ British agents, residing under the protection of the company in India, than that those foreign nations should establish, in any part of India, agents of their own. In the former case, they would be under the control of the company, and bound to adhere to such rules as the company might think proper to lay down for the conduct of agency; but there could not exist any such control or restraint over the agents of the other description.—As to the agents to be employed at home, in the management of the private trade of individuals from India, and taking care of their interests in the cargoes of the returning ships, he did not see the use of any interference on the part of the company. The great interest to be attended to on their part, was, that there should be no goods from India, that were not deposited in the company's warehouses; and that the goods so imported, should be exposed at the company's sales, agreeably to the rules prescribed for that purpose.

Mr. Dundas's letter, of which we have here given the substance, was submitted to the consideration of a committee of nine of the directors: Mr. Inglis, Mr. Scott, sir Francis Baring, Mr. Lushington, Mr. Robarts, Mr. Bosanquet, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Parry; who, January 27, 1801, made their report, extending to the length of a full printed sheet, of such a type and page as that now before the reader. In that report, the committee took a comprehensive view of the nature, the grounds, and the consequences of the enlargement of trade, which had been contended for, of the extent to which it might be safe and expedient to carry it, and of the limits to which, not merely the rights of the company, but, with more commanding energy, the interests of the empire required to be prescribed to it. The report being read, and unanimously approved by the court of directors, on the 4th of February they came to sundry resolutions to the number of fifteen.

Of these resolutions, the first, second, third, fourth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, entirely accorded with Mr. Dundas's opinions, as he declared in a letter to the chairman, 21st March, 1801. It is only of the remaining resolutions, therefore, that it may be proper briefly to state the import. The fifth resolution bore, that the company, as far as consisted with the necessary course of their own affairs, political and commercial, had given effect to the regulations established by the legislature in 1793, though at a considerable expense to themselves; and that all allegations of the growth of the foreign trade with India, by means of any misapplication or evasion of those regulations, on the part of the company, were unfounded. The sixth, that the clandestine trade had not, of late years, increased, but diminished; and that the amount of

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of the clandestine trade of Bengal could not, on an average of four years, ending with 1798-9, reasonably be estimated to have exceeded twenty-five lacks of rupees per annum. The seventh, that hence, as well as from a variety of other evidence, it might be safely concluded, that any increase which had taken place in the course of the war, in the trade of foreigners with our settlements, was the increase of a trade carried on, *bona fide*, for their own account, and, in a great degree, with specie, which they imported to India, and with which they paid for the goods they exported: a trade which ought, in sound policy, to be permitted. The eighth, that the trade carried on with Europe, from the Indian settlements of our enemies, the French, Dutch, and Spaniards, which was said to have greatly increased through the late mismanagement of the company, flourished, long before the present times, in a greater degree than it does now; that it could not have been depressed by any means within the company's power, and that it would not be a wise policy, under the notion of bringing that trade to our ports, to nourish, as we thus should, the source from whence it proceeded. With regard to these resolutions, Mr. Dundas only paused in giving his opinion, from not having before him the particular documents and materials on which they were founded.

The thirteenth resolution contained the principles and details of the measure on which the court of directors were disposed to act with the government or nation. They agreed in opinion with Mr. Dundas, as to the expediency of affording to British residents, who might choose to convey their property to Europe in goods, whatever means, in addition to those already subsisting, might be fairly sufficient to induce them to consign those goods immediately to the mother country. For bringing the whole trade, formed by that aggregate capital, as well as by the consignments of European manufactures, directly to the port of London, they made several propositions: among which the principal were, that, in addition to the quantity of three thousand tons of shipping, now annually allotted to the exports of individuals from India, four or five thousand tons more, or as much as might be wanted, should be assigned, and that the shipping thus annually employed, should be wholly applied to the private traders, and sail from India directly for the port of London, at fixed periods, within the fair-weather season. That all commodities, of the produce of the continent, or of the British territories in India, should be permitted to be laden on those ships, excepting only piece-goods, raw silk, and saltpetre, which should not be laden, except by special licence from the company, or their servants abroad. That the goods exported on private account, from India, should be brought to the company's warehouses in London, and thence to their sales, in the regular order, subject to the charge of three per cent. now allowed to the company, for lading, warehousing, and selling private goods.—That the ships to be employed in that service should be built for the purpose by the company, and should be of the description best calculated for the proposed trade. The rate of freight to be the same with that of the ships chartered for the year

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current to the company. That when the private goods provided for exportation from India should not serve to fill all the ships sent out for them, the company should put gross goods into those ships on their own account. That if, at any time, the tonnage provided by the company for private exports should not be sufficient for all the goods prepared for exportation, it should be allowable for the governments abroad, on the part of the company, to freight Indian ships for the conveyance of such goods as could not be otherwise accommodated; and, finally, that no person should be admitted to embark in this trade, who should not be licensed by the company to reside in India.

Mr. Dundas, in his letter of the 21st of March, already quoted, admitted, "That if the basis on which this resolution proceeded were admitted to be good, the details seemed to be aptly devised for the due execution of the principle; but, on this point, he differed in opinion from the directors. He was still an advocate for the admission of private and India-built ships into the commerce between that country and Great Britain. It was his intention to have entered, in his letter, at large into the subject; but since he had begun to write, he had received, and carefully perused, a letter of the 30th of September, 1800, recently transmitted to the court of directors from the governor-general of India; and, as that letter had, with clearness and perspicuity, ably detailed and demonstrated (meaning the propriety of) those opinions which he had, from time to time taken the liberty of laying before the court of directors, on the subject of Indian trade, he should consider it as an unnecessary waste of time, if he were to trouble the directors with a repetition of the topics therein stated."—On the fourteenth and fifteenth resolutions, Mr. Dundas did not make any observations. In the former, the committee expressed, in strong terms, their conviction, that the proposals that had been brought forward by certain descriptions of men for the admission of their ships into the trade and navigation between India and Europe, would involve principles and effects dangerous to the interests both of the company and nation. In the latter, they stated that the fourteen preceding resolutions would be justified by documents, some of them before them, others but lately arrived from India, and not yet perused, they supposed, by Mr. Dundas, with whom they proposed to have a full discussion of the subject.

The marquis of Wellesley's letter, to which Mr. Dundas referred, detailed the particular circumstances that rendered it expedient and necessary to admit private traders into a participation of the East India commerce. Proprietors of ships, and freighters in India, had considered it to be for their mutual advantage, that they should be left to make their arrangemeets with each other. Both parties were equally averse to the intervention of the company's agency. On the 5th of October, 1798, was published, in an advertisement, a plan, by which the proprietors of ships were enabled to make a more perfect assortment of the cargoes, to load their ships in the most advantageous and expeditious manner, to dispatch them at the most favourable periods of the season, and to prevent the loss, which, under the plan adopted in conformity

conformity to the orders of the directors, 25th of May, 1798, the proprietors of ships sustained, by unavoidable delays in the adjustment of accounts, and in the payment of the freight by the company in England. The advantages attending the governor-general's plan, are enumerated. He had entertained a confident expectation, that he should have received, at an early period of the season, the sanction of the court for reverting to the plan of October, 1798, or for adopting some arrangement equally calculated to facilitate and encourage the private trade between India and England. But he had been disappointed in his expectations of receiving an early and seasonable notification of their final commands: so that, at the usual season for exportation from the port of Calcutta to Europe, the deficiency of the tonnage provided by the company and expected from Europe, reduced him to the absolute necessity of providing a large proportion of Indian tonnage for the service of 1800-1, in order to secure the conveyance of the heavy articles of the company's investment, and to fulfil their legal obligations.

But this plan of the governor-general's was not intended by him merely to answer a temporary exigency. It was his opinion that it should be rendered permanent. From the quantity of private tonnage now in the port of Calcutta, from the state of perfection to which the art of ship building had already attained in Bengal, promising a still more rapid progress, and supported by abundant and increasing supplies of timber, it was certain, that that port would always be able to furnish tonnage, to whatever extent required, for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private British merchants of Bengal. The wise policy, the just pretensions, and the increasing commercial resources and political power of Great Britain in India, claimed for her subjects, the largest attainable share in the valuable and extensive commerce of such articles of Indian produce and manufacture, as were necessarily excluded from the company's investment. If the extension of indulgences to the British merchants necessarily involved the admission of numerous British merchants into India, the company's government could always, with less difficulty, control the operations of the British, than those of foreign agents: while the dangers to be apprehended from the views and designs of foreigners of every description, would be greater than any that could possibly arise from an increased resort of British subjects, under such limitations and restraints as the wisdom of the directors might frame, and the vigilance of their governments in India be enabled to enforce. The rapid growth of the foreign trade, during the last season; the number of foreign ships actually in the ports of Calcutta; the alacrity, enterprise, and skill of the foreign agents now assiduously employed in providing cargoes, and the necessary inaction and languor of the British private trade, embarrassed by the restraints of the existing law, created in the mind of lord Wellesley a serious apprehension, that any farther delay in the decision of that momentous question, might occasion evils, of which the remedy might become hereafter considerably difficult, if not absolutely impracticable.

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Under these impressions, the governor-general, reverting to the plan of October, 1798, published in an advertisement above noticed, republished it on the 19th of September, 1800, at Fort William, and ordered the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay to publish corresponding advertisements, at those presidencies, with such modifications as local circumstances might render indispensably necessary. It would rest with the honourable court whether the plan contained in that advertisement should be rendered permanent.

The committee appointed to take Mr. Dundas's second letter into consideration, objected to the systematic establishment of any class of private ships, in the commerce and navigation between Great Britain and India, on the same grounds, on which they had disapproved it, as formerly proposed by Mr. Dundas. But the governor-general's plan, they observed, was wider in its extent, and involved still more dangerous consequences than that of the president of the board of control. It had been hitherto held, that the legitimate and only considerable object, in enlarging the private trade, ought to be the remittance of the fortunes of British residents. Mr. Dundas, in his letter of the 21st of March, fully acceded to this doctrine. But, the governor-general, they observed, on the other hand, distinctly asserted, in one of the 76 paragraphs into which his letter was divided, "That if the capital of the merchants in India, and the remittance of the fortunes of individuals, should not supply funds sufficient for the conduct of the whole private export trade from India to Europe, no dangerous consequence could result from applying to this branch of commerce, capital drawn directly from the British empire to Europe." If the committee could not accede to the principle of Mr. Dundas's plan, much less could they accede to that of the marquis of Wellesley's. The genius of the India commerce, according to his plan, must progressively tend, more and more, towards an unrestrained, and colonial system.

With the same views that influenced sir William Pulteney in the house of commons, Mr. Henchman, in a general court of proprietors of India stock, May 28th, in consequence of a letter subscribed by forty-three proprietors, moved the following resolution, "That this court is highly sensible of the very great importance of the general trade between India and Europe to the political and commercial interest of Great Britain, as well as of the East India company; that they lament the wide difference of the opinions entertained on the subject by the court of directors on one side, and the late president of the board of commissioners, and the governor-general of India on the other. And anxious that the measures finally to be adopted may be formed on the fullest information and maturest deliberation, and thinking that it may essentially conduce to that desirable end, if the court were assisted by the wisdom and experience of the late governors-general, they recommend to the court of directors to transmit a copy of the printed papers to marquis Cornwallis, earl Macartney, lord Teignmouth, sir John Macpherson, and Warren Hastings, esq., with a request that they will severally favour the company with a communication of their advice and opinion on

on the subject of them." This motion was seconded by Mr. Impey, and supported by Mr. Scott, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Peter Moore, and Mr. Prinsep. Mr. Twining moved an amendment, the purport of which was, "That this court do confirm the unanimous resolutions of the court of directors on the 4th of February last; and that the court of directors do, without delay, act on the principles detailed in those resolutions." This amendment was seconded by Mr. Chisholm, and supported by Mr. Inglis, an American merchant, sir Stephen Lushington, sir Francis Baring, Mr. Jones Adair, Mr. R. Thornton, Mr. Durant, sir Hugh Inglis, and Mr. Bosanquet. It was observed, by different speakers on the side of the amendment, and even by Mr. D. Scott, though on that of the original motion, that of the forty-three proprietors who had called the meeting of the court, many of them were concerned in the private trade to and from India, and consequently that their opinions could not have the same weight as those of impartial and disinterested persons. But this objection was treated lightly, as foreign to the merits of the question. A summary statement of the advantages to be derived from a free trade with India, may be given in the words of Mr. Peter Moore, in the present debate. "The forty-three proprietors," he said, "came forward, on the part of the mercantile interests of England with this petition to the court. The vast empire acquired in India, yields abundantly more products of mercantile enterprise, than the company choose to avail themselves of. Allow us to try our skill, and employ our industry in such articles as you reject, at present allowed to foreigners, our rivals or enemies. Licence us in this abandoned commerce, subordinate to your authority, regulations, and controlling jurisdiction. We will implicitly conform to them, pay all your dues, and the duties of the state. This indulgence will fill the docks of England with shipping, the warehouses of the company with goods, and replenish their exhausted coffers with money. It will convert your spare rooms into an opulent custom-house; prove a most valuable nursery for seamen; improve the legal income; and unite us amongst ourselves in thus prosperously conducting those portions of eastern commerce, lost to our nation, but of which our enemies and rivals feel the full value." It was contended, on the other side, that, by the measure proposed, a door would be opened to various innovations and dangers, some of which, though not the whole, might be anticipated, and which would ultimately involve the colonization of India. India, Mr. Chisholm observed, was a country rich in soil, genial in climate, extremely populous, unrivalled in manufactures of the most valuable kind, cultivated to an uncommon degree by its natives, who were perfectly civilized, enlightened, and religious. Did not every man see, that, if colonization in India were not rigidly guarded against, it would take a much shorter time to enable India to assert her independance than it cost America? Mr. Henchman's motion, on a division of the court, was negatived by 133 votes against 80. A ballot, on the amendment, was demanded in the name of nine proprietors. On Friday, June 5th, the

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the ballot took place: when Mr. Henchman's motion was finally lost.

A different fate attended sir William Pulteney's motion in the house of commons; which, though opposed by sir Francis Baring and Mr. Thornton, was carried without a division.

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Sir Francis Baring said, that the tendency of this motion, and those with which it would be probably followed up, would be, to make that storm burst, which had been forming for some time, over the heads of the East India company.

Mr. Dundas, after many professions of regard, and anxious concern for the stability and prosperity of the East India company, said, among various other remarks, that the trade of this country was getting too great for its shipping; that the timber in Great Britain was failing; and that he should be very glad if persons in India could be prevailed on to transmit their wealth to this country in the shape of ships. He hoped that he should live to see the time when the ports of England would be filled with ships of war built in India, a country where there are immense forests of every kind of timber, and which would be utterly useless if not so employed.

While the legislature manifested a disposition to favour a free trade between this country and India, the proceedings of the court of directors, in the course of the summer, indicated a resolution, on their part, to maintain, with the greatest strictness, the exclusive rights of the company.

The parliament was prorogued by commission on the 2d of July.

As this was the first session of the imperial parliament, a very considerable degree of curiosity had been excited concerning the influence that the introduction of so many Irish members might have on the course of affairs, and general complexion of parliament. The business of parliament, as our readers must have perceived, was very much increased. A great accession of ability and eloquence was made to the common stock. There did not appear, as in truth there was not the smallest reason, any symptoms of national suspicion, jealousy, or animosity. The Irish members were not inattentive to the interests of their native country, nor yet to those of Great Britain, and the general prosperity and security of the empire. The British members were actuated by a similar spirit. The minds of the legislators, British and Irish, were prepared for a coalescence by long habits of reciprocal interest, intercourse, and affection. It was a union, but not a union of strangers. All business was transacted with temper, moderation, and candour.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XII.

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Extended Sphere of the European Republic.—War in Egypt.—Situation of the French Army there at the Departure of Buonaparte, and the Succession, in the Command, of General Kleber.—Treaty at El-Arish for the Evacuation of Egypt.—Policy of Kleber, who seeks Occasion of Quarrel with the Turks.—Refusal of the British Government to Sanction the Treaty of El-Arish.—Renewal of Hostilities.—Battle at Heliopolis.—Insurrection in Cairo.—Dreadful Outrages of the Insurgents on the French and other Europeans.—Opposite Influence of the Mahomedan Religion, as rightly interpreted, and as understood by the Vulgar.—Plan of Nuzuff-Bashaw, the chief Commander of the Turkish Forces.—The French Army recalled from different Quarters to quell the Insurrection.—Bombardment of Cairo.—Various Attempts and Encounters.—Enthusiastic Zeal, Courage, and Activity of the Mussulmen.—Military Skill and Bravery of the French—and Intrigues with the different Tribes of the Mahomedans.—Capitulation signed by the military Chiefs, but rejected by the Ringleaders of the Inhabitants of Cairo.—Correspondence and Negotiation between General Kleber and Murad-Bey.—The Contagion of Insurrection spread from Cairo to other Parts of Egypt.—The Insurrections in those Parts subdued.—Artifices of the Leaders to keep up the Spirits of the Insurgents of Cairo.—Boulac taken by Storm.—An unlimited Pardon proclaimed to all the Inhabitants.—A general Attack on Cairo, which surrenders on Capitulation.—The Turkish Army evacuating Cairo, returns to Syria.

THE sphere of the European republic, formed by the affinities of religion and manners, social, commercial, and literary intercourse, and by a wise and just regard and attention to the balance of political power, was now, by the course of events, more extended than it ever had been at any former period. Russia had never so much influence on the south of Europe. The Turks never before found their interests so deeply concerned in the transactions of the western states of Christendom. Even the states of Barbary were drawn more than ever into the vortex of European politics. Malta, Egypt, Syria, and the shores of Asia Minor, were virtually transported into Europe. The attention of this quarter of the world was divided, for a time, between the German ocean, with the Baltic sea on the one hand, and the bottom of the Mediterranean and the Arabian gulph on the other; and the great object, which, next to the northern confederacy, attracted the public mind, was the expedition under sir Ralph Abercromby to Egypt. Of

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Of the departure of Buonaparte from Egypt, the succession of Kleber in the command of the French army there, the convention of El-Arish, the non-fulfilment of that treaty, a consequent engagement, in which the Turks were defeated, and the death of Kleber by assassination, we have taken a bird's-eye prospect in our last volume. The narrative of events, from the departure of Buonaparte, we now resume, on a scale more particular.

The difficulties that environed the new commander-in-chief were of the most complicated and trying nature. The soldiers were discontented, the generals were divided, the whole army was in a state of the greatest perplexity. The privations of the army do not appear to have been great: but their sufferings from the climate, and frequent alerts from the Mamalukes and Arabs, were very considerable. A longing desire too of returning to France, a passion incident to the French, was very generally prevalent. As to the officers, there was a party who considered the colonization and retention of Egypt, after the communication was cut off with France, by the naval victory of Aboukir, as a hopeless and extravagant project. They were divided into colonists and anti-colonists.

In this arduous situation, general Kleber was bound by the instructions of his predecessors, to pursue, in many respects, a policy, than which nothing could be more humiliating to a generous officer. Stifling, however, his particular feelings, he soothed and animated the troops, and assiduously endeavoured to pursue the path that had been marked out to him, though frequently opposed both to his judgment and reflection.

The negotiation had been attempted with the Porte, through the medium of the Effendi, by Buonaparte; and many circumstances conspired to render the prosecution of it, on the part of Kleber, advisable. The vizir was advancing from Damascus, at the head of a numerous army; England was already active, and Russia in motion against the French: the greater portion of whom, had long been disgusted with the climate, and were now farther dispirited by the abandonment of their general, and the accounts they had begun to receive of the misfortunes of the republic.

Under these circumstances, and ignorant of the success of Buonaparte, Kleber was induced to accede to a treaty for the evacuation of Egypt, which was concluded at El-Arish, January 24, 1800. Whatever praise may be due to the exertions of sir Sidney Smith, and much is certainly due, the consequences resulting from the measure furnish sufficient cause for regret, that any consideration should have induced him to exceed the powers intrusted to him by government. One radical defect is also observable in the treaty of El-Arish, and is rendered remarkable by the skill otherwise displayed by sir Sidney Smith, throughout the negotiation. There was no hold on the French; nothing by which they could be compelled to observe and fulfil their engagements. It is, indeed, probable, that this circumstance was not unobserved by Kleber, who acted with the deepest policy, and who, waiting events, was anxious to keep himself in a situation either to break

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break or confirm the conditions of the convention. Even before the arrival of those instructions from the English government, which annulled the treaty of El-Arish, the French commander was endeavouring to find an occasion of quarrel with the Turks, in complaining that the supplies they had engaged to furnish for the subsistence of the French troops did not arrive; and declaring, at the same time, that he would assert his right by force of arms: though the article by which the French were to give in a statement of their wants, had not yet been delivered to the Turks. Such was the language held by Kleber, on the 25th of February, while the terms on which only the French were to be permitted to evacuate Egypt, were not communicated to him till the 16th of March! Merely to gain time for the concentration of his forces before Cairo, Kleber now proposed a conference to the Ottoman ministers, under the pretext of effecting an amicable arrangement till some explanation should take place between the French and British governments. Having obtained his object, by a temporary suspension of hostilities, he gave in such demands as he knew must inevitably lead to the immediate renewal of the war. His ultimatum was, of course, rejected. On the 19th of March he convened a council of war, the result of whose deliberations, accompanied by a letter from lord Keith, announcing the refusal of the British ministry to sanction any such convention as that of E-l-Arish*, was communicated to the army in the following address: —"Soldiers! To such insults, we shall reply by victories: prepare for battle†." Informed, at length, of the "successful destinies" of Buonaparte, Kleber was anxious to efface the unfavourable impression that his first dispatches were calculated to inspire against the consul, by struggling for the preservation of the French interests in Egypt.

After a tedious march, begun in November, 1799, the grand vizir (Joseph Bashaw,) encamped near Catich on the 5th of February, 1800, at about seven miles and a half, or three hours, distance from El-Arish, which fort had capitulated to the Turks, preparatory to the late negotiation. His army amounted numerically to 80,000; though he

* Lord Keith's letter to general Kleber, dated on board the Queen Charlotte, January 8, 1800, was as follows: "Sir, I inform you, that I have received positive orders from his majesty, not to consent to any capitulation with the French troops, which you command in Egypt and Syria, at least, unless they lay down their arms, surrender themselves prisoners of war, and deliver up all the ships and stores of the port of Alexandria to the allied powers. In the event of this capitulation, I cannot permit any of the troops to depart for France, before they have been exchanged. All vessels having French troops on board, and sailing from this, with passports from others than those authorized to grant them, will be forced by the officers of the ships which I command to remain at Alexandria. In short, ships which shall be met returning to Europe, with passports granted in consequence of a particular capitulation with one of the allied powers, will be retained as prizes; and all individuals on board, considered as prisoners of war."

† Highly as the laconicism of Buonaparte has been admired, we do not think that so fine a specimen of the style, as is presented in this address of Kleber's, could be selected from the dispatches of the consul.

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could boast no more than 40,000 effective followers, and these characterised by the usual features of a Turkish army—inconstancy and insubordination*. While the army was at El-Arish, the scarcity became so pressing, that, had not a day's calm weather permitted a convoy to land some provisions, a revolt might have ensued. During these transactions, and even while Kleber was amusing the allies with the farce of negotiation, the troops that had marched to embark for Alexandria were remanded, with all the heavy artillery, and Cairo was put into a state of defence.

Hostilities recommenced early on the morning of March 20, by a fire from sixty pieces of cannon, on the Turkish advanced posts, commanded by Nuzuff-Bashaw, at Mataria, the ancient Heliopolis, five miles from Cairo. The French army consisted of 15,000 men, including cavalry and dromedaries, and were drawn up in two strong lines, extending from El-Kobbi towards Boulac, flanked on the right by a wood of date trees, and part of their artillery. Here they received the attack of the Turks, who had advanced into the plain between the villages of El-Hanka and Mataria. The Janissaries were the only infantry that engaged in this skirmish, hovering about the French lines, in parties of twenty or thirty, and so scattered as to make no impression. They were totally unsupported by cannon, and short of ammunition. About noon, the French began to advance in line. Forty thousand of the vizier's troops, not a man of whom had as yet engaged, were immediately seen flying in all directions. Attempts to rally them proved abortive; and at one o'clock the vizier was himself compelled to retire, as the enemy, marching in two oblique lines, were proceeding to cut off his retreat. He had permitted the French to approach within a mile of him, mistaking them for his own troops; and it was not till captain Lacey, of the engineers, apprised him of his danger, that he could be persuaded to rise from his sofa, and leave his pipe! The loss of the French consisted of ten killed and forty wounded: they took from the Turks about nineteen pieces of cannon. A brisk fire was kept up on the rear of the Turkish army, the whole of the night of the 20th, by the flying artillery of the French, who, on the 21st, took possession of Belbeis; from whence the Turks retreated precipitately to Jaffa, with the loss of half their army, by desertion, fatigue, and hunger.

The French were prevented from pursuing their advantages to El-Arish, where they might either have destroyed that post, or gained some other advantage, which might have held the Turks in check, on the side of Syria, by one of those circumstances which peculiarly mark the character of the war in Egypt. A detachment of Janissaries and Mamalukes, under Nuzuff-Bashaw, availing themselves of

* Mr. Morier, who was an eye-witness of these scenes, gives us the following curious characteristic of the vizier's march, which is worthy of notice. The orders of the vizier, (says Mr. Morier,) were thus issued, by a crier, on the evening of February 10: "To-morrow you are to march for ten hours, to reach the waters of the Nile. Those who wish it, may now depart."

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the absence of the French from Cairo, during the pursuit of the vizier, took possession of the town, or, it may be called, the suburbs of Boulac, situated on the Nile, in the near vicinity of Cairo, and a little farther down the river. About two or three hours after the commencement of the battle of Heliopolis, the inhabitants of that place, under the direction of a few Turkish officers, raised a white standard, and, armed with muskets and sabres, which they had found means to conceal, attacked a fort, called Fort Camin, near Boulac, garrisoned by a handful of French. Being obliged, by the guns of the fort, and a sortie from head-quarters, to fall back, after the loss of more than 200 men, they confined their hostilities to the firing on parties of French as they advanced, with an intent to enter, and reinforce the small corps of their countrymen stationed in that place. Numbers of Mamalukes and Janissaries came up for the support of the insurgents. The inhabitants of Cairo came out in crowds, in expectation of seeing a general engagement. Nuzuff-Bashaw, accompanied by Osman-Effendi, Kiaja-Bey, Ibrahim-Bey, Mahomed-Bey, Assan-Bey-Gedaoni, and, in a word, by all the chiefs of the old government, except Murad-Bey, with a numerous force, in the mean time, entered Cairo, March 29, by the *gate of Victory*, giving out that the French had been cut in pieces, and that they had come to take possession of the capital, in the name of Sultan-Selim. They celebrated, with great pomp, the triumph of the Ottoman arms over the infidels. The whole of their troops amounted to about 10,000 Turkish cavalry, 2,000 Mamalukes, and from 8 to 10,000 inhabitants of villages. The march of this numerous body to Cairo had been concealed from the observation of the French, by fetching long circuits. They were received by the inhabitants of Cairo with demonstrations of the utmost joy.

Nuzuff-Bashaw with his troops, together with an immense cavalcade of the inhabitants of Cairo, went straight to the quarter of the town occupied by the French and other Europeans. A general pillage and massacre, without distinction of age or sex, ensued, and the bodies of the slain were thrown into the canal called Kalidje. Nuzuff-Bashaw, with a part of his troops, proceeded to the place of Esbekieh, the French head-quarters. The grenadiers and foot-guards advanced to receive them. Being repulsed from head-quarters, which was a palace belonging to Mahomet-Bey-el-Elfi, their leaders, with as many of their followers as could, threw themselves into the adjoining houses.

An insurrection in Cairo was now general. Fifty thousand men, armed with muskets, pikes, and clubs, scoured the streets, and threatened to set fire to such houses as refused admittance. The white flag was every where displayed; and the criers from the tops of the mosques proclaimed curses on the heads of the infidels. Amidst hideous yells of war, the exclamation of joy, called *hoolalaus*, was every where heard among groupes of women and children. Mustapha-Aga, superintendant of the police, under the French government, being seized and delivered up by the multitude to the Turkish chiefs, was cruelly put to death by empalement. The populace deeming the dreadful punishment of Mustapha, which they greatly applauded, a pledge of impunity,

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punity, abandoned themselves to every excess, and principally to pillage. The houses of the Cophts, Greeks, and Christians of Syria, were forced and plundered, and great numbers of those unfortunate people were mercilessly and wantonly put to death. The individuals, or small parties of the French, scattered in different parts, endeavoured, with various success, to make their way to the citadel.

Amidst the general uproar and horror, occasion was taken, by some, to gratify private malice and revenge by assassination. The rage of the Mussulmen against the Christians was infuriated by a religion, false, indeed, in many respects, but not rightly understood, and accommodated to the animal ferocity of the vulgar. The law of Mahomet does not, by any means, prescribe vindictive cruelty even towards the opponents of the faith; but to all men of all religions, goodness, and mercy. Among the immense numbers of Mussulmen, which, at this tremendous crisis, crowded the streets of Cairo, were some of the better sort or condition, who so interpreted it. Mahomedans, both Turks and Arabs, at the hazard of their lives, used their utmost efforts, both of persuasion and force, to rescue the Christians from the murderous fury of their countrymen.

It was the principal object of Nuzuff-Bashaw to carry, by storm, the French head-quarters. Two hundred and fifty French sustained the siege for two days, when they were reinforced by general Lagrange's column, that had returned for their support from El-Hanka. The approach of this column was opposed by a body of 4000 cavalry, Turks and Mamalukes. General Lagrange drew up his men in a square, formed by four battalions, to receive them. A discharge of musketry, and of some pieces of cannon, soon dispersed the assailants; and the French, under Lagrange, arrived in head-quarters about two in the afternoon. That post by the skill and exertions of the artillery and engineers, was quickly rendered impregnable.—The bombardment of Cairo, which had commenced on the first movements of insurrection, from the citadel and the fort, called by the French *Dupuy*, was still kept up without intermission.

In the mean time, the French were obliged to abandon, one after another, the houses adjoining, or near the place of Esbekieh. The insurgents advanced, also, on their left, from the quarter of the Cophts, choosing, with much judgment, the positions that were the most proper for intercepting the communications of the French, and maintaining their own with the other parts of Cairo, and with Boulac. The arrival of general Friant, with five battalions, drove back the assailants at all points; but, even by his success, he learnt the difficulties through which he must penetrate into the interior of the city. In all the streets he met with barricades, and here and there walls twelve feet high, constructed of mud and bricks, with double rows of embrasures. The apartments and the roofs of the adjoining houses were filled with Janissaries. Every artifice was employed, in order to keep up, among the populace, the belief that the French army had been defeated by the vizier. Such as showed any disbelief or doubt on this head were either put instantly to death,

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death, or thrown into prison. Different envoys, sent from the French head-quarters, were massacred before they could reach the proper place and persons for delivering their message. The insurgents every where, and, in all respects, displayed a degree of activity, which, under such a climate, is to be excited only by the enthusiasm of religion. They disinterred more than twenty pieces of cannon, hidden, for some time, underground. They established manufactures of powder, and forged bullets with the iron belonging to the mosques, as well as hammers and other tools, for artisans, who offered their services with the utmost alacrity. Magazines of provisions were also established for the use of those employed in the public service. The bombs and bullets of the French were picked up by the populace, in order to be returned, in the same manner as they had been sent; and, as they did not suit the caliber of their pieces, they absolutely founded new cannon and mortars. General Friant, at last, by setting fire to the range of houses that form the place of Esbekieh, arrested the progress of the insurgents in that quarter.

Such was the situation of Cairo, when general Kleber returned to it, with the remainder of the troops, from the pursuit of the grand vizier, on the 26th of March, 1800, at six o'clock in the morning. Being in want of both a sufficient quantity of ammunition, particularly bombs and howitzers, and of troops, and unwilling to run the hazard of a partial attack, he determined to wait for the return of the division, under general Belliard, who was to return to Cairo from Damietta, and the arrival of that under general Regnier. In the mean time, he threw up new entrenchments, and constructed new batteries. During this delay, which was necessary for the success of military operations, the general also employed himself in sowing the seeds of jealousy and discord, by means of emissaries in his pay, among the different classes and tribes that were opposed to him in arms, and in spreading the dispiriting intelligence of the total defeat and flight of the Turkish army. Letters, announcing this, by his contrivance, reached the sheiks, and others of the first people of Cairo. Mustapha-Bashaw, a person of great influence among his countrymen, had been gained over to the side of the French, by the kind treatment he received when taken, on the descent of the Turks at Aboukir in 1799. Through this man, general Kleber corresponded with Osman-Effendi and Nuzuff-Bashaw. As the hope that the French were at last overwhelmed, had united the different parties in Cairo, so, under the terror of their restored and confirmed power, they were soon divided. The Mamalukes, the people of Cairo, and the Turkish soldiers, having each separate interests, were soon disunited by the apprehension of danger, and the hopes held out exclusively to each, by the intrigues of Kleber: Nuzuff-Bashaw, Osman-Kiaja, and Ibrahim-Bey, judged it prudent to capitulate; and Kleber not to insist on too hard terms.

But this capitulation, though nowise harsh, was not carried into execution. The promoters and ringleaders of the insurrection, with the suspicion of barbarians, dreaded that, notwithstanding the pledged faith of the French, the restoration of their power would be immediately

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followed with that vengeance, which usually disgraces the victories of eastern conquerors. This excited, among the populace, fresh commotions. They distributed among them both provisions and money. Public prayers were put up in all the mosques. The women and the children, crowding round the Mamalukes and Janissaries, and hanging by their clothes, conjured them not to abandon them to despair, and poured contempt and execration on those who should have the meanness to desert them. When the time arrived for the execution of the convention, the Janissaries refused to open the gates of their respective quarters; and hostilities were renewed at all the posts, though not on the scale that was intended, after the reunion of the forces.

In these circumstances, general Kleber thought it good policy to divulge and circulate the connexions formed between the French and that old master of Egypt, Murad-Bey, who, immediately after the convention of El-Arish, had sought and obtained their friendship: when, notwithstanding that convention, every thing announced a fresh rupture. The grand vizier summoned Murad-Bey to come, with his followers, in his camp. This circumstance the bey communicated to general Kleber, adding, that he would not comply with the vizier's request, without Kleber's consent. The general replied, "that under the tents of the vizier he saw none, any more than in his own, but friends; and that he was at liberty to go to the vizier's camp with all his men."—General Morand, who was the bearer of this message, was received with every demonstration of kindness.—Two days before the battle of Heliopolis, or, as it is otherwise called, the battle of Mattaria, general Kleber, wishing to know for certain, what he had to expect from Murad-Bey, opened a negotiation with him, through one of his wives, who was, when he married her, the widow of Ali-Bey. This was a lady of the most amiable character. Her house, for thirty years, was the only asylum in Egypt for the unfortunate and distressed of all nations. Orders had been given, both by Buonaparte and Kleber, that she should be treated with every mark of the most distinguished esteem and honour. The answer of Murad-Bey was to this effect: "That the French should give battle to the vizier, and that, then, during the action, he would come over to his camp: but that he would engage for nothing, while a rupture between the Turks and French should be still uncertain." General Kleber readily accepted his terms, and agreed that he should not take any part in any engagement that might take place, if he should be obliged to come to action with the vizier. On this, he retired, before the battle of Heliopolis, and sat down on the right bank of the Nile, at Toura. A solemn treaty was made and ratified between general Kleber and the bey, whereby Murad became a kind of vassal, or tributary to the French, on the condition that there should be allotted to him a certain territory in the Upper Egypt, and that he should be furnished by them with the means that might be necessary for taking possession of it. The provinces of Gingé and Assuan were allotted to him. His title was to be, "Prince governor for the French republic." After the deeds were duly

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duly exchanged, Murad-Bey sent supplies of provisions to the French head-quarters; and some boats laden with the reed, called the *sweet calamus*. He used all his influence in Cairo, but not with immediate success, to bring about a definitive treaty of peace between the French and the grand signior.

The insurrection of Cairo was followed, as usual in similar cases, by risings in different parts of the country: at Damietta, Mehallet-el-Kebir, Tanta, and other places.—But French troops traversing the Delta in every direction, and a series of victories, in petty engagements, restored general tranquillity to the Lower Egypt: where there were now no other disorders than those arising from the incursions of Arabs, plunderers by profession. These events took place between the 29th of March and the 4th of April.

On the night of April 2, a detachment of the division under general Friant attacked the quarters of the Cophts, situated on the north side of the city, penetrated into it by a long street, that runs parallel to an old wall inclosing the quarter, on that side, drove the enemy from their houses, and the numerous barricades which defended that passage, and obtained possession of certain posts which opened a more direct communication than had formerly subsisted, between the one extremity of the French line and the other.—In repeated attempts to recover these positions, the Mussulmen lost a great number of men, and four standards.

April 10. General Regnier, who had arrived at Cairo, with part of the division under his command, and occupied the space between the citadel and Fort Carmin, with two companies of grenadiers and two of light horsemen, gained, in the dead of the night, a very commanding position, near the fort *Fuskovsi*. The houses in the vicinity, with the exception of such as were necessary for the maintenance of the post, were committed to the flames. Twice the enemy attempted to recover that post, and were twice repulsed. They renewed the charge next day; but were beat back with very great loss.

While this was passing on the right of the French line, equal exertions were made on the left. The object was to form a combined attack. Both extremities therefore were to meet, as they proceeded to penetrate into the heart of the city. On the same night, between the 10th and 11th of April, another party attacked the quarters of the Mussulmen's engineers, situated on the right of the plain of Esbekieh, entered it by a breach made by the shot of cannon, and drove the enemy before them with the greatest impetuosity.

The continual fire kept up by the forts and citadel, in order to second these successive and rapid attacks, exhausted the French ammunition. This did not escape the notice of the enemy: who, animated by this circumstance, as well as by the assurances which they had received of speedy succour from the vizier, endeavoured, by public rejoicings, to revive the drooping spirits of the inhabitants of Cairo; whose ignorance and fanaticism presented continually fresh means and opportunities of tampering with their blind credulity. The minarets were illuminated. The *muezzins*, or public criers, whose office it was to call the people, at fixed hours, to prayers,

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celebrated, in lively songs, the low state into which they had been induced to believe that the French had fallen.

General Belliard, who had been recalled from the pursuit of the vizier, as above noticed, with a troop of light infantry, arrived at Cairo on the 12th, and, on the same day, a convoy of ammunition from Rozetta. Furnished with these means, general Kleber prepared for the reduction of Boulac, and a general attack on Cairo. In pursuance of this resolution, the village of Boulac was, on the 13th, summoned now, for the third time, to surrender. On the one hand, a general, complete, and unreserved pardon, was held out to the inhabitants, as the price of their submission: on the other, the most terrible vengeance was denounced, if, by a resistance as useless as pernicious to themselves, they should oblige the French to reduce the place by force of arms. Construing all this into a proof of weakness, they replied, that they would follow the fate of Cairo, where their chiefs were, and that, if they were attacked, they would defend themselves as long as they had life.

The reduction of Boulac, it was considered, would be an important step towards that of the capital, whose inhabitants were led to believe, that the French were unable to make themselves masters even of that inferior town; besides it would have a favourable influence on the Turkish chiefs, and give weight to the shieks of Cairo, who now entreated and implored them to come to a capitulation.

April 14. At the break of day, the siege of Boulac was formed by general Friant, with one demi-brigade, or regiment of light infantry, two companies of grenadiers, a detachment of miners, and the light artillery of the division, commanded by general Belliard. General Friant, unwilling to subject the town to the horrors of assault, if it could be reduced otherwise, tried, at first, the effect of a bombardment. But the insurgents, continuing their resistance, kept up a brisk fire from houses fortified by entrenchments, and from the embrasures of walls and barricades, which obstructed the advances into the town, and, in some places, intersected the principal streets. The cannon was now ordered to play. Orders were given for an assault. The soldiers sprung at once on the entrenchments; the greater part of which were taken, though the besieged defended themselves with heroic courage. Driven from their entrenchments, they found, in every house, a new citadel, which was to be subdued only by the destructive power of fire. The houses that could not be forced were committed to the flames. Amidst the cries of fury, horror, and despair, a new offer of pardon and protection was offered to the leaders of the insurgents; by whom, even in these circumstances, it was, a second time, rejected. The assault was recommenced, streams of blood flowed afresh, and the flames gained more and more on the populous town of Boulac, until the vanquished, at length, implored the mercy of the victors. The head men of the different corporations, or classes of the townsmen, came up to general Friant, with tenders of submission, which were immediately accepted. Hostilities ceased; and a general and unlimited pardon was proclaimed from the minarets, and all the public places.

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The commander-in-chief, willing to improve the advantage he had gained, determined, next day, to follow up the reduction of Boulac with a general attack on Cairo. This design, however, on account of rains as violent as unexpected, he was obliged to postpone till the 17th of April. It was necessary to burn the houses in which the enemy had fortified themselves, and where they had formed their batteries; which could not be done but in dry weather. The Turks, in great numbers, were strongly entrenched in the palace of *Seitia Fatmé*, which flanked the left of their line, at the place of Esbekieh. For some days the French had been employed in running a mine under that important post. The explosion of the mine was to be the signal for a general attack. This explosion was made, towards the close of day, with complete success. The Janissaries and Mamalukes, who defended the post, were buried under its ruins.

At this instant an assault was made on Cairo, at various points. The enemy were driven from one post to another. About four hundred houses were burned, and eight hundred Janissaries and Mamalukes were killed. Some of their chiefs were enabled to save themselves by abandoning their houses, or taking shelter in the houses situated on the great canal which is extended through the city. But this progress of the French cost them also dear. The retreating enemy made frequent stands, and the firing of individuals, as well as parties from the houses, was not without effect. Upwards of five hundred French fell by the firing from the houses, or the poignards and sabres of the Mamalukes and Janissaries. General Belliard, and some other officers of distinction, were among the wounded. The return of day light put a stop to the conflict. The positions abandoned by the enemy were occupied by the French.

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The fanatical zeal and frantic courage of the Mussulmen sunk before the continued successes of the French. Among the whole of the inhabitants of Cairo, there was a very perceptible air of lassitude and of dejection. In this state of mind, they began to listen more than ever to the counsels of the sheiks, who, all along, kept up a secret correspondence with general Kleber, and who insisted still, that farther resistance would overwhelm the city with total ruin, without being of any advantage whatever to the grand vizier. The mediation too of Murad-Bey became more efficacious than it had been. Murad sent Osman-Bey-Birdisi, to Ibrahim-Bey, and Nuzuff-Bashaw, with his advice and entreaties, that they would capitulate, and an offer of his mediation. The terms which these chiefs then proposed were such, that he did not choose to lay them himself before general Kleber. He therefore, on the 17th, sent Osman-Bey-Birdisi, with Osman-Bey-Laskar, a relation of Ibrahim-Bey's, and Osman-Aga, a kinsman of the grand vizier's, to the general. They arrived at head-quarters in the evening, a little after the commencement of the attack. Next day, general Kleber gave them a public audience, in presence of all the generals and officers of his staff. The terms they proffered, Kleber rejected with expressions of disdain: adding, that if what they proposed were known to the whole army, it would excite such an indignation as must for ever

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preclude all means of conciliation. He then, to put an end to farther conference, conducted the three messengers into an apartment, commanding a prospect of both Cairo and Boulac, the latter place still emitting flames and columns of smoke: thereby giving them to understand, without the aid of an interpreter, that such would be the fate of Cairo, if it should not be warded off by submission to the French army: at the same time he showed to Ibrahim-Bey the treaty of peace and alliance which he had concluded with Murad-Bey. This produced all the effect that he had anticipated. It was evident, from the astonishment and consternation of the Bey, that the same cause would produce similar effects, and have a pacificatory influence on the Turks.

The envoys returned immediately to Cairo, and returned the next day, April 19, with conditions of peace, more advantageous to the assailants than those of the preceding day. General Kleber proposed certain modifications. They proposed a cessation of arms, which Kleber refused to grant. They requested, that any attack that should be made might be less violent than that of the 17th, assuring the general, that there was not a doubt of the evacuation of Cairo by the Turkish troops being speedily accomplished in a pacific manner.

General Kleber, after this second conference with the envoys of peace, introduced the Turkish officers that had been made prisoners by general Belliard, at Damietta, in order to convince them, that the French were not only masters of that place, but of Lesbek and all the Lower Egypt: an important circumstance of which they appeared to have been stupidly ignorant. On the same day, he sent them, with the conditions he was willing to grant, for the evacuation of Cairo, reduced to writing, and addressed to the chiefs of the Turkish army. This overture for conciliation general Kleber thought it proper to follow up, on the evening, with attacks on several Turkish posts; which were carried without much resistance. The capitulation, as modified by general Kleber, was signed, in the name of the Turks, by Nuzuff-Bashaw, and brought to the French head-quarters. Hostages being given on both sides, the Turkish army evacuated Cairo, April 24. The loss of the Mamalukes, during the insurrection of Cairo, was computed at 500 killed, and 1000 wounded. That of the Turks, 1200 killed, and 1000 wounded. The besieged marched out with all the honours of war, leaving their wounded in the hospitals, to be returned when cured. The Turks carried along with them the leaders of the insurrection: who, notwithstanding that the French general's word of honour was pledged in the most solemn manner for their protection, were dreadfully afraid of his vengeance. The whole of the enemy, Turks and Mamalukes, as well as the refugees, were under the utmost apprehensions, on quitting Cairo, of being pursued and attacked on their march. Their fears were soon dispersed, by the subordination and good order which prevailed in the French army; at which Nuzuff-Bashaw, and Ibrahim-Bey, expressed their surprise, at the same time that they returned their thankful acknowledgements.—The revenge of the French was expressed in heavy contributions.

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tions.—The retiring army was escorted by the French division under Reynier, as far as Salahich; from whence they pursued their route through the desert to Gaza.

About this time, general Kleber was informed by his ally, Murad-Bey, that a body of 4 or 500 English, and 4 mortars, under colonel Murray, had landed, and made himself master of Suez. The English garrison was strengthened by 6 or 800 men from Mecca and Jambo. The colonel, having learnt the successes of the French, and that a superior force had advanced within a few leagues, reembarked the greater part of his troops; leaving the defence of the place, as stated by the French, to the troops, if they may be called so, just mentioned, and 50 English. It is needless to mention that Suez was retaken by the French, with little or no resistance.

Murad-Bey, before his departure for Upper Egypt, had an interview with general Kleber, in which assurances were exchanged of mutual fidelity.——Mustapha-Bashaw was disgraced for his conduct at Cairo, by being sent into exile. The plate of the Greek and Roman catholics, at Cairo, was found in his possession, and sold, by public auction, at Jaffa. The French had considered the city of Cairo as too extensive and populous to be defended; but, to prevent a recurrence of the dilemma, from which they had just extricated themselves, orders were given to repair a wall that anciently surrounded the town, to construct a few towers, and to occupy certain posts, to which Kleber successfully appointed his auxiliary Greeks and Cophts.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XIII.

Effect of the Victory at Heliopolis on the Minds of the Egyptians.—Judicious Regulations carried into Effect by General Kleber.—Turkish Fleet off Alexandria.—Differences between the Generals Kleber and Menou.—Kleber assassinated.—Succeeded in the Command of the Army by General Menou.—Dissentions in the French Army.—Conjectures concerning the personal Views of Menou.—Military Preparations of the Turks.—Their Timidity and Irresolution.—Overtures for Peace, from the Grand Vizier, rejected by General Menou.—Arrival of an English Armament on the Coast of Egypt.—Landing of the Troops on the Peninsula of Aboukir.—Engagement on the 13th of March.—Fort Aboukir capitulates.—Battle of the 21st.—Sir Ralph Abercromby mortally wounded, and succeeded in the Command of the Army by Major-General Hutchinson.—The French driven from Rhamanich to Cairo—from whence a Detachment marches against the Turkish Army near Belbeis—but are repulsed.—Capture of a valuable French Convoy.—Capitulation of Cairo.—A British Army arrives in Egypt from India.—Capitulation of Alexandria. Evacuation of Egypt by the French and the English.—The Beys seized and sent to Constantinople.—Government by Bashaws established in Egypt.

CIRCUMSTANCES unforeseen, and probably unexpected, had now entirely altered the situation of the army of the east. It is in the effects of the last defeat of the Ottoman power, effects apparently so disproportionate to their cause, that we must look for a change so auspicious to the French. As to the victory of Heliopolis, abstractedly considered, if victory it may be termed, no one appears to have entertained a juster idea of it than Kleber himself, who said, on the evening preceding the engagement, that he had only to go out, and wave his hand towards the Turks, in order to incite them to retire!

It is the nature of weak minds to be unreasonably elated, and as unreasonably depressed; to augur more than the circumstances warrant, and to sink, on the disappointment of their hopes, into consternation and despair. Seeing, therefore, the defeat of the vizier's forces, at the time when they were most confident of his success, the Egyptians concluded the struggle to be over, and hastened to make submission to their conquerors: and, notwithstanding the heavy fines exacted from Cairo, in punishment of what was called the disaffection of its inhabitants, the country remained tranquil and passive. To these local and immediate advantages, were

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were added the knowledge of Buonaparte's triumph at Paris, and the consequent improvement in the affairs of the republic in Europe. Even those who lately arraigned the defection of their favourite commander, in natural and bitter reproaches, seemed to be convinced of the propriety of his departure, and to forget their own sufferings, in the benefits likely to be derived from it by their country. They were, moreover, assured, that, connected as they were with the principal personage of their present government, every thing would be attempted for their assistance. They relied with confidence on the assertion of Buonaparte — "that he should look upon that day of his life as ill employed, in which he should not do something for the army he had left under Kleber, an army entirely composed of his OWN CHILDREN!" Kleber availed himself of these propitious moments, to carry many judicious regulations into effect. Two companies of Greeks, raised by his predecessor, having signalized themselves by their conduct and courage, Kleber raised a Greek legion, which soon amounted to 1,500 men; to secure the means of carriage, in cases of exigency, he established a park of 500 camels, and gave orders for the purchase of horses and camels: he threw flying bridges over the branches of the Nile; and established posts of communication between the different stations of the army: he formed a committee of works: he improved the condition of the soldiery, and suppressed the peculations of commissaries.

Towards the latter end of May, the captain-bashaw appeared off Alexandria, with the Turkish fleet, in order to open a negotiation with the French. As this officer was entirely in the confidence of the sultan, and by no means friendly to the vizier, he probably hoped to render himself still more important by retrieving, through a peace, the disgrace and defeat of Heliopolis. But, whatever were the views of the bashaw, Kleber, emboldened by the successes of the French arms, and acting upon the views of the chief consul, prohibited the landing of any agent of the Turks, and refused these advances to an accommodation. By declining all communication with the Turkish and English commanders, Kleber expected to open a direct correspondence with Constantinople, which might enable him to keep up a regular intercourse with his own government, and prevail on the Turks to consent to a neutrality till the conclusion of a general peace. This policy was, however, frustrated by the activity of lord Elgin, and by the vigour which that activity infused into the councils and determinations of the Porte.

But the wisdom of Kleber's administration cou'd not prevent the jealousies and bickerings that too frequently impede the operation of public affairs. Differences had unhappily arisen, between this general and Menou: the latter did not make his appearance at Cairo, although requested repeatedly to repair thither during the six preceding months, till the expulsion of the Turks from that city. When at last arrived, he raised so many objections to his taking the command of the place, and indeed to every other employment, that Kleber observed, that, "having offered

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fered him the most desirable commands, he had only that of commander-in-chief to add."

From this time the dissensions of the French army were daily augmented; and various reports, injurious to Kleber, and calculated to deprive him of the confidence of the army, were constantly in circulation.

He was assassinated on the 13th of June, 1800, after reviewing the Greek legion in the isle of Raoudah, while walking on the terrace of his garden at Cairo, in conversation with citizen Protain, his architect. The assassin, following him from Gizeh, had arrived at Cairo about the middle of May, and introduced himself into the house along with the workmen. Seizing the moment when Kleber's attention was deeply engrossed, he gave him several stabs with a poignard. On the news of the assassination, the generals immediately assembled at the house of general Damas. The assassin was soon after arrested, and interrogated. The sheiks and agas were likewise examined; but there appearing no reason to believe that the deed was connected with any more extensive conspiracy, the remains of Kleber were interred, and the assassin was executed. His right hand was cut off; and he was then empaled!

Thus fell, in the vigour of his days, one of the ablest generals of the French army. No man was more beloved by his troops, none more esteemed by his country, or more respected by his foes. He possessed that loftiness of soul, without which no true heroism can exist, together with that discrimination of mind, by which alone courage is preserved from rashness and inconsistency. He had great civil, as well as military talents; which were uniformly exerted with a view to the welfare of the republic, unbiassed by party, and undiverted by fortune. A nobler testimony could not have been paid to his worth, than in the circumstances attending the removal of his remains from Egypt. "The army," says general Reynier, "could not endure to leave in Egypt the remains of Kleber. The ceremony of conveying these remains from fort Ibrahim Bey, where they had been deposited, was announced by salutes from all the forts. The English and Turks, who had been previously informed of the intended honour, that the firing of the artillery might in the circumstance of the armies create no jealousies, joined in the funeral honours, and answered by their cannon the salutes of the French." It is with regret, that we find his successor in command attempting to tarnish the reputation of Kleber, and to refuse that justice to his memory, which hardly ignorance and vanity could withhold. Such attempts must invariably recoil, with doubled indignity, on their authors. Far different are the natural indications of a great soul! Julius Cæsar wept over the head of the deceased Pompey!

On the 14th of June, the day after the assassination of Kleber, general Menou assumed the title of commander-in-chief, *ad interim:* after the interment of Kleber, and the execution of the assassin, he added that of general-in-chief.—Though this was done in conformity with the wishes of the other generals, and Menou at first appeared willing to conciliate all parties, murmurs

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murs of dissatisfaction were soon heard in every department of the service. The generals were disgusted, by the intrigues of the new commander to obtain the confirmation of his authority; the soldiers were displeased with a chief, in whom they reposed no military confidence; and the agents of the civil administration found themselves quickly entangled in the execution of plans, which, however popular, betrayed only the folly in which they were conceived, and the utter impossibility of their being carried into effect.

Ministry having confirmed the treaty of El-Arish, though unofficially concluded *, as soon as they were apprised of the transaction, Mr. Wright, lieutenant of the Tigre, on the 9th of June, arrived at Cairo, by the Desert, with a flag of truce, bearing dispatches from the vizier and sir Sidney Smith. Menou, knowing the importance attached to Egypt by Buonaparte, refused to listen to a renewal of the negotiation: though he was the more earnest to open another with the captain bashaw, who was then concerting measures at Jaffa, with the vizier and sir Sidney Smith, against the common enemy. The representations of sir Sidney Smith, backed by the recollection of the rebuff that he had recently experienced at the hands of Kleber, when desirous of treating with that general, effectually counteracted the policy of Menou towards this bashaw. Egypt was now, to all appearance, tranquil; and, soon after this, the periodical inundation covered the country.

Dissension still raged in the French army. The injudiciousness of the new imposts excited universal reprobation in the country; a military force was absolutely requisite to collect them, and, when collected, their produce by no means equalled the public expenditure, which, since the death of Kleber, had augmented from 13 or 1400,000 to 17 or 1800,000 francs per month. Stores and magazines were neglected; and the whole system was apparently conducted, on the supposition that Egypt was in no danger of being attacked. Under these circumstances, a remonstrance was presented to Menou, from the other generals, on the 28th of October. To this, he replied, by offering to several of the remonstrants their passports for France. As little did he pay any attention to the labours of the Savants, who had been spared by Buonaparte. Menou embodied them with the other camp followers, and they might thus be called on, if circumstances should require, to perform military, or any other service †. He was, however, confirmed in the command, by the arrival

* The existence of the treaty could not be known to the British government, when lord Keith's instructions were issued; and into which ministry were probably deceived by the *intercepted letters from Egypt*, where the distresses of the French, and their inability to keep long in Egypt, were, however pressing, greatly exaggerated. *The ratifications of the treaty of El-Arish were exchanged, January* 28, 1800: *the orders to lord Keith were issued in December*, 1799! We have shown that Kleber never intended to abide by that treaty, *if circumstances should arise inducing him to break it*; consequently the charge of bad faith, with respect to this treaty, must be transferred wholly to the French. It served their purpose in Egypt, but, in Europe, as applied to Britain, it will be heard with contempt.

† This was one of the boldest designs ever attempted by any tactitian. To reduce a very considerable number of philosophers to the subordination of privates,

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rival of dispatches from France, on the 5th of November. Damas, the intimate friend of Kleber, had already been superseded; and the confirmation of his command encouraged Menou at once to throw off the mask, and point out those whom he conceived to be inimical to his designs. What were the extent and scope of these, it is, perhaps, impossible to ascertain. His having declared himself a Mussulman, and his marriage with an Egyptian lady; his unceasing reprobation, not without reason, in his dispatches to the government, of an anti-colonist faction *; his attempts at forming to himself a party susceptible of his own views and opinions, and the anxiety which he constantly displayed to disembarrass himself from the interference of those who were not adapted to his wishes: these circumstances gave birth to a suspicion of his intending to erect Egypt into a colony, of which he might hope to become the sole and independent ruler. It is far from improbable, that Buonaparte had conceived such a design, though induced, by events, to relinquish this object of his ambition; but there is no reconciling the imbecility and inactivity of Menou, with so daring and extensive a project. He, who seems wholly to have neglected the measures necessary to the defence of Egypt, can scarcely be believed to have felt a wish for the mastery of that country. Perhaps, too great a confidence in himself, and too high a contempt for the judgment and information of others, were the real grounds of those disgraceful altercations, which continually agitated the administration of general Menou. It does not seem so difficult to explain the imprudent avidity of his financial exactions. Considering the retention of Egypt necessary only till the conclusion of a peace, and supposing that event to be speedily approaching, he might imagine himself justified in supplying the increased expenditure of the army, by large and extraordinary imposts: if Egypt was shortly to be restored to its former owners, this exhaustion of its resources, however painful to the country, would no longer distress the French.

Not discouraged at the reception of a former remonstrance on his conduct, with regard to both military and financial arrangements, but deeply affected by the aspect of their affairs, the French generals waited again on Menou, immediately after the arrival of the brevet, which confirmed him in the rank of general and commander-in-chief.—Perceiving the inefficacy of their representations, and persuaded, at the same time, that the general had obtained the confirmation of his command, by misrepresenting the situation of the army in his dispatches, they drew up a note, descriptive of his conduct, November 24, and delivered it to an officer,

we presume, was not an easy task. During the insurrection of Cairo, 1798, the Savants, who lived together in a spacious house and garden, fortified their precincts, as well as time and circumstances allowed, and armed themselves for their own defence, and chose their commander-in-chief and other officers. But that soon happened, which might have easily been foreseen. Every one had his own plan; all were eager to command, but none willing to obey. This anecdote we give on the authority of Denon.

* That is, men who were heartily sick of the fate of the army of the east, and who were sighing to return to France!

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about to depart for France, who was charged to present it to the government. The departure of this officer was retarded till the 9th of January, 1801; and he was, finally, taken by the English*.

The vizier, meanwhile, remained at Jaffa, with from 10 to 12,000 men, where the fortifications had been repaired by English engineers, as well as the breach at El-Arish. He was, however, in no condition to march, though, with a view to inspirit and connect his forces, he continually asserted his intention of proceeding to offensive operations. His troops had not yet forgotten their retreat from Heliopolis: he was in open quarrel with the bashaw Ghezzar, who commanded a more numerous army: the greatest dearth afflicted Palestine; no supplies were to be procured from the inhabitants of the villages; and he was at length constrained to import from Europe, under numerous disadvantages, the subsistence for his army: a reinforcement of 10,000 men, assembled at Aleppo, was recalled to act against Paswan Oglou, who, having raised himself into popularity by his opposition to the imposts of the government, was in formidable rebellion against the Porte: receiving little money from Constantinople, he attempted, in November, to raise the value of the coin, in order to provide for the payment of his troops, but this occasioned a revolt among them, which was with difficulty repressed: in the midst of these perplexities, he had intreated the aid of the English, part of whose forces appeared off Jaffa, towards the end of December; but were prevented from landing by the plague, which then ravaged the army of the vizier †. They afterwards sailed for Rhodes, and the Gulf of Macri, to finish their preparations. About the middle of December, he received, from Constantinople, the plan of the campaign, and orders to act in concert with the English. The wisdom of this policy, however, in appearing to be particularly connected with the vizier, may reasonably be doubted; since, by this measure, they forfeited the friendship of the Mamalukes, a brave, powerful, and warlike race, who were thus induced to ally themselves more intimately with the French. General Koehler, with some officers of the line, and about 40 privates, were about this time engaged in disciplining the vizier's troops.

These movements were communicated to Menou, in the beginning of January, 1801, by the French spies employed in Syria, and were successively confirmed by the Greek vessels arriving at the port of Egypt. That commander, however, imagined that only the vizier would attempt Egypt; and that the coming of the English, which he yet questioned, could be on no other errand than that of obtaining their share in the partition of the Ottoman empire, by establishing themselves at Rhodes, and acquiring possession of the Archipelago. A detachment of troops quartered

* The famous Tallien. He was accompanied by a number of other French officers. They were brought to London, where they remained for a few days, and then, being liberated on their parole, returned to Paris.

† It is not safe to mingle with the Turks, till the end of June; it might, at this time, have cost us every man of those who appeared off Jaffa, had we persisted in joining the vizier.

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in Upper Egypt, received orders to march to Benezouff, and hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Cairo. But, while these dispositions were carrying into effect, two frigates arrived at Alexandria, February 2, with 300 conscripts, a company of artillery and ammunition, and a number of comedians, and common women, withal, bringing intelligence of the designs of the English, the plan of the French government for the defence of Egypt, and announcing the speedy arrival of considerable succours.—Agreeably to this intelligence, Menou afterwards occupied Rhamanich, that, by securing the Delta, he might facilitate the landing of Gantheaume, with two frigates, and carrying a reinforcement of not less than 5,000 men, which could not, on the arrival of the English fleet, be attempted at Alexandria.

Notwithstanding the extensive preparations of the English, in consequence of the urgent solicitations of the Porte, and the total incapacity of that power to resist, by itself, the energetic arms of the republic, the Turks were yet extremely unwilling to embark in vigorous hostilities. Several causes conspired to produce this timidity of disposition. Awed by the threats of the emperor Paul, who, at the instigation of Buonaparte, seemed determined to overrun the Ottoman empire, they were anxious to prevent that most dreaded of all calamities, the presence of a Russian army, by timely negotiation with Menou. Even the assistance of the English, so often requested, and so necessary to a successful opposition of the army of the East, might prove not without its disadvantages. It is certain, that the vizier, though hitherto the friend and advocate of the English, had now begun to contemplate our forces with suspicion; and that his dread of the prospective superiority of the English, nearly equalled the apprehension with which he regarded the success of the French: in either case, Egypt might eventually be subjected to the yoke of the victorious invader. He had, besides, to counteract the intrigues of the captain bashaw, the uniform advocate of the French, whose ascendency was predominant in the seraglio. Now this counteraction could not be more effectually accomplished, than by bringing about such a peace with Menou, as should include the evacuation of Egypt.—Murad-Bey, having been encouraged by Kleber to correspond with Ibrahim-Bey, as a medium of ascertaining the plans and dispositions of the allies, afforded a channel of communication, which it might otherwise have been difficult, if not impossible, to have obtained, between the vizier and the French commander, without awaking the jealousy and resentment of the English. He, therefore, requested Murad, through Ibrahim-Bey, to offer himself as mediator between the Turks and French. As it was the policy of Murad, to conciliate all parties, while prudently depending on none, he accepted the instructions of the vizier, and undertook to convey them to Cairo. The mission was intrusted to Osman-Bey-Birdisi, who had audience of Menou on the 19th of February. He laid before that general a statement of the English forces, together with the plan of the approaching campaign. The English army, he affirmed, amounted to 18,000 men; they were to

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to attempt a landing in conjunction with the captain bashaw, while the vizier crossed the desert, and the English fleet, with troops from India, should arrive at Suez. Osman enforced this statement by reasonings, and begged that Menou would not forget the interests of Murad-Bey, if he entered into treaty with the Porte. He was heard with great coldness, and answered with singular abruptness, by Menou; who seems to have considered Osman rather as a spy, deputed to investigate the condition of the French army, than as the ambassador of a mediatorial power. On the appearance of the English fleet, in the road of Aboukir, Osman repeated Murad's offers to strengthen the French army with all his resources; but he received only evasive answers, and was soon after ordered to quit Cairo, and return to Murad-Bey. Thus terminated the overture towards a negotiation, which, had it been skilfully managed, might have proved of the greatest importance to the French.

The plague had appeared in Cairo, at the latter end of January, where it raged with its accustomed virulence; the finances were collected by force; the military chest was nearly exhausted; and the magazines were unprovided with corn, of which there seems to have been a scarcity among the French since the death of Kleber. It was, therefore, with considerable pleasure, that they saw two ships arrive in the port of Alexandria*, from France, on the 1st of March. La Regenerée brought 200 men of the 51st demi-brigade, a company of artillery, and ammunition: the brig, la Lodi, communicated the satisfactory intelligence of Gantheaume's squadron being on its way with the reinforcement above stated.

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All minds were now anxiously directed towards Egypt. It was a novel and interesting spectacle, to contemplate the two most powerful European nations contending, in Africa, for the possession of Asia. Not only to England and France, but the whole civilized world, the issue of this contest was of the utmost importance. With respect to England, the difficulties to be surmounted were proportioned to the magnitude of the object. The vizier, with his usual irresolution, yet debated on the propriety of cooperation; while the captain bashaw, who was at Constantinople with part of his fleet, inclined to treat with the enemy. The English taking the unpopular side, that of the government, still less was to be hoped from the countenance and support of the people, whom the French had long flattered with the idea of freedom and independence. It remained also to justify the breach of faith, so speciously attributed to this nation, in the treaty of El-Arish. These were serious obstacles to the progress of the expedition to Egypt; but they were not the only obstacles. This expedition had to contend with an army, habituated to the country, respected at least, if not beloved, by the inhabitants, and flushed with reputation and success; an army, inured to danger, aware of the importance of Egypt to their government, determined to defend the possession of

* The English ships of war, blockading this port, had gone to join the fleet under lord Keith, in the bay of Aboukir.

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it; and encouraged in this determination, no less by the assurance of speedily receiving effectual succours, than by the promise of reward and the love of glory.—The French force in Egypt, at this time, distributed in different posts, garrisons, and, we may add, hospitals, amounted to about 30,000. The number of their allies, consisting of Cophts, Greeks, Arabs, Mamalukes, and corps of camp-followers, or adventurers from France, was computed at 15,000. The English troops, which had long harrassed, and kept up an alert on the coasts of France, Spain, and Italy, thus distracting the enemy, and concealing their grand object, the expulsion of the French from Egypt, were assembled, in November, at Malta. The command of the land forces, as already noticed, in the proceedings and debates of parliament, declined by general Stuart, was devolved on sir Ralph Abercromby.—The English fleet, ships of war of various kinds, boats, and transports, having set sail from Malta, December 10, had arrived at Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania, on the 28th of December, and had captured, on its passage, as above noticed, a vessel bound from Alexandria to Marseilles, from which some information was acquired respecting the French force at Alexandria. At Marmorice, the whole army, from 17 to 18,000, was alternately put on shore, paraded, and refreshed; and was joined by a convoy of Greeks and Turks, who, however, deserted during the strong westerly gales on the passage to Aboukir, where the English arrived on the 2d of March. Too much of the day of their arrival had elapsed, to admit of the landing being effected before the approach of night: and an unfortunate succession of strong northerly gales, attended by a heavy swell, augmenting the difficulties of a coast naturally dangerous, rendered it, till the 8th, impossible to disembark. Though it was not originally intended to have commenced operations on the side of Alexandria, the long delay of the fleet at Marmorice, for the vain purpose of securing a reinforcement of Greeks and Turks, induced the general to change his opinion, and to proceed at this time *. From the time of the arrival of the English, at Aboukir, to their landing, they had the mortification of seeing the scattered divisions of the French army marching

* Aboukir is a small port, E. N. E. of Alexandria: the interval along the coast is rocky and dangerous. Though the Rosetta branch of the Nile is navigable to small vessels, yet none of force sufficient to cover a landing can approach it. The Delta coast is shoal to the Damietta branch; which admits of vessels of greater burthen, but not sufficient to obtain a footing against any well-directed resistance: farther along the coast, to Jaffa and Acre, is worse.—The lake Mareotis, extending along the south side of the peninsula of Aboukir, was the ancient mouth of the Nile, by Canopus. The sea penetrating, without resistance, into the bed, forsaken by the Nile, enlarged it more and more, into a vast lake, and still continues to enlarge it; in so much, that the isthmus which unites Aboukir to the continent, and along which the canal is carried, which furnishes water to Alexandria, is threatened with final ruin. For the defence of this isthmus, the Arabian princes, the caliphs, set about forming a mound, or *dyke*, of which, however, traces are only to be found in two places. It is conjectured, either that it was never completed, or that it gave way before the violence of the waves, which are dashed against it, for part of the year, by the northern winds.—This lake, except in the season of the inundation, is nearly dry.

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daily along the beach into that fort, and batteries erected, on the sand-hills, to oppose their disembarkation. On the evening of March 7th, the wind changing to the northward, and the sea becoming more calm, the general was enabled to reconnoitre the shore, and determine on the spot for landing; while sir Sidney Smith, who had been dispatched to Lake Maadie, in three armed launches, to ascertain some points, the possession of which might be of service, having assailed a battery, taken a blockhouse defended by forty men, and boarded a guard-boat at the entrance of Aboukir lake, returned, with a chief of brigade captive, and an ass, with its driver, to the unspeakable amusement of the whole fleet. Trivial as this adventure may appear, its effect on the army was electric; every man wished to have been of the party, and looked forward to the morning with emulation.

At three o'clock, on the morning of the 8th, on the signal rocket from the admiral's ship, the boats, having received the troops, proceeded to rendezvous near the ship Mondovi, which was anchored about a gun-shot from the shore. Here they were to assemble, and be drawn up within the armed vessels stationed to cover their landing, and wait for orders. This division of the army amounted nearly to 6,000 men, and occupied about a hundred and fifty boats. The clear silence of the night, and the interesting solemnity of the scene, no words can adequately describe. Along a space of six miles to the shore, nothing was to be heard but the deep murmur of thousands of oars dipping in the sea, and incessantly urging the flower of a brave army to the severest destiny of man. The line of the English boats reached the rendezvous about day-light, where, after making the necessary military preparations, which were not completed till eight o'clock, they remained for some time in the midst of the bay, menacing every part of the coast, for such was the extent of anchorage occupied by the fleet, and so great the distance of many of them from any one given point, that it was not till nine o'clock, that the signal could be made for the boats to advance. Under the direction of the honourable captain Cochrane, of the Ajax, protected by the necessary vessels, and attended by those under sir Sidney Smith, who had the charge of the launches and field artillery, the whole division moved towards the shore. It was ten o'clock before the troops arrived at the point of disembarkation, which was narrow, and a hill, that commanded the whole, seemed nearly inaccessible. The French, fully prepared for their reception, permitted them to advance till they were within reach of their numerous batteries, with which they had occupied, at distances, a space of nearly three miles; when they opened so tremendous a discharge of grape shot, and shells of all dimensions, as threatened the English with immediate destruction. Our boats had a good way to row, and were, for some time, under the fire of fifteen pieces of artillery, and the musketry of 2,500 men. Undaunted by this dreadful prospect, with the fire of the castle, flanking their right, they made good their landing, overcoming the impetuosity of the French, who poured down in torrents to the beach, and even attacked our men in

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in the boats, and breaking the charge of a body of cavalry. The English regiments went up to the mouths of the cannon, seized them, and drove the French artillerymen from their batteries, with the bayonet. Emulous of the glory of this arduous day, the seamen, harnessing themselves to the field-artillery, with ropes, drew it on shore, in defiance of the batteries, to which they replied only by loud and triumphant shouts. The 23d regiment and the four flank companies of the 40th, ascended the great sand-hill, to which all the fortifications of the enemy appeared to refer, with a coolness and intrepidity, that, for some moments, paralyzed opposition, and reflected immortal honour on their commander, colonel Spencer. These troops, having gained the summit, took seven pieces of artillery, and pursued the enemy down the back of the hill. The centre hill carried, all the support of the enemy's flanks was cut off, and the English were playing upon their rear. There were not more than 2000 of the English landed when the enemy began to yield. On both sides the loss was considerable. The French employed about 4000 infantry, and 600 cavalry, in this engagement. Victory was the reward of resolution, ardour, and intrepidity. The English took possession of the height, their advanced post being about four miles from Aboukir, while the French retreated towards Alexandria. The loss of the English, on this day, in killed and wounded, was 554. The loss of the enemy was not ascertained. Sir Ralph Abercromby, in his dispatches to government, modestly says, "It must have been considerable." The English took eight cannon, with a quantity of ammunition. By night, the whole of the army had landed. The English being ignorant of the real situation of the enemy, and but partially acquainted with the country, it was judged inexpedient to pursue the advantages of a first success: from the 9th to the 12th, our army were engaged in landing the stores and provisions.

Menou profited of this pause, to reinforce the garrison, so that when the English came in sight of the enemy, on the evening of the 12th, they found them strongly posted among sand-hills and palm-trees, four miles from the walls of the ancient Alexandria eastward, and numbering about 5000 infantry, besides a body of 600 cavalry, aided by flying artillery. The English amounted to 13 or 14,000, but their cavalry was badly mounted, and they were deficient in artillery. Early on the morning of the 13th, they, however, moved forwards to the attack. The left wing was first in motion, taking the edge of lake Maadie, and designing to turn the right of the French; the right, acting as a reserve, covered the movement, and kept in a parallel with the first line. The centre marched slowly on the other side of a height, which, concealing them from view, general Lanusse imagined the left wing to be insulated. Under this persuasion, he advanced into the plain, hoping to overpower it by a brisk attack. This was conducted with all the impetuosity of French cavalry, and as resolutely repulsed by the 90th and 92d regiments; particularly the former, whom their antagonists unfortunately mistook for dismounted cavalry, but found them on their knees, prepared to receive the charge. Meanwhile, the English

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lish centre had appeared on the height. As it was no longer possible to flank the left wing, Lanusse commenced his retreat, which he conducted with great ability, to the heights of Nicopolis. From this position, the French might have easily been forced by the ardour of their assailants, who, in the midst of a victorious career, were ordered to desist: on reconnoitering the situation of the enemy, it was judged imprudent to attempt a position, that could not, when gained, be occupied. Recovering from their dismay, on seeing a halt, commanded at the moment when they expected to be driven within the walls of the city, the French came forward, and enjoyed the satisfaction of galling the retreat of the English. The French, on this day, according to their own statement, lost, in killed and wounded, above 300. The loss of the English was very great: it exceeded in killed, wounded, and missing, 1200, officers and privates.

During this engagement, general Abercromby had a horse shot under him, and was rescued from being enveloped among the French cavalry, by the 90th regiment, who received the charge upon their bayonets. The English, with their right to the sea, near the Roman camp, and their left to the canal of Alexandria, at this time dry, opposite the point of lake Maadie, were assiduously employed in getting their heavy cannon on shore, and fortifying their camp. Through the intelligent activity of sir Sidney Smith, they had discovered plenty of water, and, by his interest with the inhabitants, were liberally supplied with provisions. Leaving a strong guard on the heights of Nicopolis, to impose on the English, the French employed themselves in repairing the works of Alexandria; dispatching also a vessel, to acquaint the government with what had happened, and to inform Gantheaume of the position of the English fleet. On the 19th of March, fort Aboukir capitulated to the English: while Menou arriving from Cairo, the whole of his disposable force was on the 20th concentrated at Alexandria. This junction might, perhaps, have been prevented, had the English, by cutting the dyke which separates it from lake Maadie, let the sea into the lake Mareotis.

The English occupied a line, about a mile in extent, nearly four miles from Alexandria, having a sandy plain in their front, the sea on their right, and the lake of Aboukir and the canal of Alexandria, at that time dry, on their left. Their flanks were covered by gun-boats and redoubts filled with artillery. Here Menou resolved to attack them, on the ensuing morning. He proclaimed a louis-d'or for each man who would volunteer to commence the action by turning the right of his enemy. This was undertaken by the invincibles, amounting to 900 men. Through the vigilance of the emissaries of sir Sidney Smith, general Abercromby was apprised of the design on the evening of the 20th. The action commenced with a sham attack on the left of the English, about two hours before day-light, on the 21st of March; and was immediately succeeded by one real and vigorous on the right, where the French, mounted on dromedaries, were twice repulsed with great slaughter. At this time, general Abercromby took horse, and rode towards the scene of action. After a dreadful struggle, in which Lanusse

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nuse and many of the invincibles were slain, and to which they were stimulated by liquor, they succeeded in turning the right of the English. Eager to second the efforts of Lanusse, Ramphon boldly charged the reserve, consisting of the 42d, together with a corps of Germans and others, under the command of general Stewart, and the 28th, under major-general Moore, the senior officer, and consequently chief in command of the reserve, which had moved to the support of the right.

The left wing of the 42d regiment, under the command of major Stirling, was ordered to advance to the support of the left of the 28th. This having been effected, captain Bisset of the light company was directed to keep a good look out on the left, then unsupported. A smart firing immediately commenced on the right and front; and soon after a gun was fired on the left. In the rear were heard some persons speaking French in a low tone of voice. These were at first mistaken for some of general Stewart's foreign brigade, supposed to be coming up to the aid of the 42d regiment. But on approaching closer, they were discovered to be a French battalion, marching up in open column to the rear of the corps, with one field piece and six horses. To avoid being placed between two fires, the left wing charged instantly, threw the French battalion into confusion, and made great slaughter. In this onset their gun and horses were captured. The enemy were pressed so hard, that the remains of this battalion sought shelter in an old ruin, having been prevented from getting farther to the rear by the right wing of the 42d, then coming up to the assistance of the left. To major Stirling, who at this time entered the ruin close upon the heels of the flying enemy, two French officers presented themselves and begged their lives. This having been granted, the remainder were ordered to lay down their arms; and major Stirling having immediately advanced to the officer who carried the standard, and seized it from him, they instantly complied.

Major Stirling, perceiving serjeant Sinclair to be at this time close by him, and knowing him to be a trusty soldier, he committed to him the charge of the standard, at the same time ordering him to see the prisoners into the rear, under the guard of twelve men. Serjeant Sinclair being wounded by a sabre in the head, and left for dead, the standard was picked up by a private of the 28th.

The right wing having been now formed, both that and the left regained the ground they had previously occupied. There they were met by two strong columns of the enemy advancing, on whom they commenced a very sharp fire. Colonel Stewart ordered an immediate charge, by which the enemy were driven back 200 yards. This was an important period of the action; for a body of French cavalry were then observed, ready to attack the 42d in rear. Colonel Stewart therefore gave instant orders to halt. Thus, after considerable fatigue, and their ammunition nearly expended, the 42d beheld itself nearly surrounded, and fresh detachments of the enemy advancing. But as danger increased, the royal highlanders were stimulated to additional exertion. A fortunate circumstance at this moment occurred.

General

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General Stewart's foreign regiment, who had not hitherto borne a great share in the action, arrived, fully provided with ammunition. By three well-directed vollies, they forced a part of the French infantry to retire into a hollow in rear.

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The 42d, on being at this time obliged to retire through the foreign corps in files, were unavoidably broken. Observing their situation, the French cavalry impetuously charged them on the left; and in this charge the brave sir Ralph Abercromby received his mortal wound *.

Six hundred and fifty of the invincibles, thirty-seven of whom had perished by their colours, lay extended on the ground, when the remainder entreated, and obtained quarter †. The main body of the French, in a heavy column, pressed at this moment through the English line, towards the rear of the camp; accompanied by the cavalry under general Roize, who directed a furious charge on the rear of the reserve. This was, however, broken by the excavated nature of the ground. It was full of excavated pit-holes, about three feet deep; which the sand raised about the banks another foot or two, as conveniences for the English soldiers before the landing of the tents. In this ground the French were completely routed. Somany of their generals ‡ had now fallen, that the French soldiers were long engaged without orders; till Menou, after two hours' deliberation, ordered a retreat, which they executed under cover of the opposite hills, lined with cannon. Perceiving the advantages of the French position, and wanting cavalry, the English were contented to harrass their retreat; and at 11 o'clock, they reoccupied the heights of Nicopolis. The left, commanded by general Hutchinson, shared comparatively but little in the struggle of this glorious day, the success of which was greatly promoted by the officers and seamen under Sidney Smith. Eleven thousand of the enemy are stated to have been engaged; but by constantly removing their killed, during the action, the extent of their loss, though supposed to amount to 3 or 4,000, was effectually concealed. The English too suffered greatly, but most in the death of their beloved commander, general sir Ralph Abercromby, who died of a wound he had received

* The Highland Society, at London, in grateful acknowledgement and commemoration of the valour of their countrymen, on this day, presented the 42d regiment with a piece of plate, value 100 guineas: inscribed with an appropriate motto and designs. A silver medal was also struck, in commemoration of the capture of Buonaparte's invincible standard: one to be given to each private as well as officer in the regiment, or, if killed or dead, to their nearest surviving relations. The cool and intrepid courage of colonel Stewart's foreign corps, and of the 28th regiment, on whom, as well as the 42d, the fury of the enemy principally fell, it is agreed, on all hands, was also, on this important day, particularly distinguished.

† A principal cause of the desperate bravery of the French was a report, circulated by their generals, that the English would grant no quarter!

‡ Among these was general Lanusse. Being very severely wounded in the thigh, the bone of which was shattered, he was told that, in order to save his life, he must submit to an amputation. To this operation, the general refused his consent, saying, "I do not wish to survive this disgraceful day." A mortification ensued, and he died in a few days thereafter.

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in this conflict, on board the Foudroiant, March 28. During the early part of the engagement, when, in the darkness of night unable to distinguish friend from foe, he was involved among the enemy, he was rescued from immediate destruction, only by the affectionate valour of his own troops. To the first of these who came up to him, he said, "Soldier, if you know me, don't name me!" At that instant, a French dragoon suspecting the prize he had lost, rode up to the general, in the midst of his own guard, made a cut at him, but, not being quite near enough, merely penetrated to his shirt, grazing the skin with the point of his sabre. The dragoon's horse wheeling about, he made a second attempt, by a lunge, that passed the general's side and right arm, which he instantly closed. The dragoon being at this instant shot, the sabre remained in the general's possession, who presented it to sir Sidney Smith, then at his side! He was soon after wounded in the thigh; but could not be prevailed on to retire, till victory was decided. Having been wounded two hours, he fainted, as soon as he saw the retreat of the French. A large incision was made, to extract the ball, which could not be found, though the general seemed hopeful of recovery. To the inexpressible regret of his family and country, this hope was disappointed: he concluded an honourable and arduous service of forty-six years, at an advanced age, on the field of glory, and in the arms of victory! He had endeared himself to his family, by the habitual practice of every relative and social duty: by the amiableness of his manners, the tenderness of his affections, the simplicity and integrity of his life. No man ever felt more deeply the awful responsibility attached to a commander-in-chief. "These victories," replied sir Ralph, being congratulated on his successes, "make me melancholy." He considered war as a solemn, though a trying duty: and regarded victory of no value, but as it tended to promote the interests and the repose of society. Such a character will be gratefully numbered among the highest benefactors of mankind!

The command of the British army now devolved to general Hutchinson, who had served under general sir Ralph Abercromby, by whom he was warmly beloved and highly esteemed, and who, speaking with great modesty of himself, in his account of the great and decisive action of the 21st, lamented the death of his illustrious friend, though in strains of friendship, yet with the precision of truth. The loss of the English, on this day, in killed, wounded, and 32 missing, amounted to 1225.—The number of troops, that sailed, on this expedition, under sir Ralph Abercromby, was originally about 17,000. By sickness, and the loss on the 8th and 13th, the number of effective men had been greatly reduced; and all the marines were left at Aboukir: so that, on the 21st, the number of our troops, brought into the field, did not much exceed 11,000; which was nearly the same with that of the French. A corps of Turks, about six or seven hundred, during the whole of the action, kept at the distance of about half a mile. The Turks were greatly intimidated by the repeated drubbings they had received from the French.

The French line, passing in front of the British, extended from the Rosetta

Rosetta Gate of the ancient city along the Aboukir Road, to the Alexandrian canal, then over a bridge to the edge of lake Mareotis; and turning to their right along the edge of the lake, encompassed the gardens on both sides of the canal, to the western environ of Alexandria. Separated from the enemy by a valley of about a mile, the British extended from the sea to where the canal formed an elbow, in a southern direction; they were in possession of lakes Aboukir and Maadie, with armed launches up to the left of their front, and along the northern bank of the canal. Both armies were sufficiently exhausted, to be desirous of a temporary repose. By the engagements of the 8th, 13th, and 21st of March, Egypt had in reality been delivered from the dominion of its tyrannical invaders.

Towards the end of March, 57 Turkish vessels, and 6000 troops, under the captain bashaw, arrived in the road of Aboukir. These troops, having taken post at Maison Quarrée, joined a detachment under colonel Spencer, which, encamping at Etko, on the 7th, reached Rosetta on the 8th of April. After a spirited but inadequate resistance, fort Julian and Rosetta surrendered on the 19th. The reduction of Rosetta facilitated the procuring of supplies, as well as the operations of the army. Had the enemy concentrated their force at this place, superior as they were in cavalry, the contest might have terminated very differently. But the divisions of the French army were at their height; and so little was Menou acquainted with the designs and movements of his antagonist, that the death of general Abercromby was unknown to him till the 8th of April, when he was informed of that event by a deserter. He had then but recently reinforced Rhamanich, Rosetta, and Lesbeh. El Aft, indeed, was more firmly secured by the junction of generals Lagrange, Morand, and Valentin, who, with 3900 men, had ably intrenched themselves in that position. The English had, April 13, cut the dyke which separates lake Maadie from that of Mareotis, but the waters did not spread with the expected rapidity. They, however, possessed a good flotilla on the Nile; and were encouraged by a reinforcement of 2900 men, which landed at Aboukir on the 5th of May.

Seven thousand English, and 6000 Turks, supported by a flotilla, having advanced against El Aft, the batteries on the right bank of the Nile were so much harrasssed by the English flotilla, that they abandoned this post on the 7th of May, and, leaving a sufficient garrison at Alexandria, fell back on Rhamanich. By the possession of this post, and by means of their cavalry, they hoped to keep the greatest part of the Delta in their power, preserve their communication with Cairo, and be ready, in case that Gantheaume's squadron should arrive at any point, to facilitate the debarkation of the troops which they expected, and which, of course, would not attempt to gain the port of Alexandria. By this time lord Keith, reinforced by part of the squadron under sir J. Borlase Warren, and also by the captain bashaw with four ships of the line, had, all together, 17 sail of the line before Alexandria, and one in the bay of Aboukir. Sir Sidney Smith had proceeded up the Nile with a number of Albanians, and the

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the English gun-boats. Some gun-boats of the French had been enabled to retreat, before them, to Cairo. The French, at this time, in Alexandria, drew their subsistence from Rhamanich, on the backs of camels, across the shallowest parts of the inundation.

In consequence of the movement of the French, general Hutchinson resolved also to move at the head of 4000 troops; and instead of merely keeping his position before Alexandria, to commence a campaign in the field, by an attack on Rhamanich; which he made on the 9th. Between the 9th and 10th of May, the enemy retreated to Cairo; and the greater part of their flotilla, prevented from escaping by the batteries on the right of the Nile, became the property of the victors. The loss of Rhamanich is said to have deeply affected the French. By this event, Alexandria was insulated; and the end for which Rhamanich had been occupied by Menou, the command of the Delta, and the landing of the troops under Gantheaume, appeared no longer attainable. The murmurs of the army only augmented the jealousy of the commander-in-chief, who, dreading a mutiny in favour of a new general, sent Reynier* on board a ship bound for France, where he found Damas, Daure, and Boyer, companions of his fortune, because, like himself, supposed the enemies of Menou. About this time, a convoy of germs, coming from Cairo by lake Menouf, ignorant of the retreat of general Lagrange from Rhamanich, fell into the possession of the English, with 150 prisoners, and several guns intended for the defence of Alexandria. The convoy was extremely valuable; consisting of clothing, wine, spirits, stores, and nearly 5000*l.* in money.

When the Mamalukes took possession of Cairo, after the battle of Heliopolis, they rendered a most essential service to the vizier, by recalling the French from the pursuit of his flying forces, and employing them in the reduction of that city. His army being thus preserved from absolute dispersion, was permitted to recruit at Jaffa. But here it immoveably remained; the vizier having resolved not to move a step to the assistance of the English, till, in fact, they had conquered for themselves. It was not, therefore, until informed of the brilliant success of his allies, and aided by their artillery and officers, that he was induced to march, at the head of 25,000 men, with whom he reached Belbeis on the 7th of May, and immediately threw up intrenchments. Numbers, who waited only to ascertain whether this army would pass the desert unmolested, convinced of their security, now flocked to his standard. The French forces at Cairo, under general Belliard, being about this time strengthened by the junctions of general Lagrange, from Rhamanich, it was resolved to defeat the vizier before the arrival of the Anglo Turkish army, commanded by general Hutchinson. Nearly 5000 infantry, and 900 cavalry, chiefly from Rhamanich, were selected for the execution of this design. Had the French been permitted to make an attack on such a rabble as the Turkish army, which

* An officer of distinguished merit, and well known in Europe, from his having been chief of the staff during the famous retreat of general Moreau in Suabia, 1799.

they

they would have done, and probably in the night, their defeat would have been certain. Major Holloway, major Hope, of the artillery, and other English officers present, therefore, persuaded the vizier to anticipate an attack by making one.

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On the 15th of May, his highness, the grand vizier, received intelligence, that the enemy were in full march from Cairo, on the road towards Belbeis. The vizier, after it was dark, ordered Tahir-Bashaw, with 3000 cavalry, and three light field-pieces, to advance to meet them; and, if a favourable opportunity should offer, during the obscurity of the night, to attack; but, if not, to impede their march as much as possible. About ten o'clock at night they met three leagues from the Ottoman camp, when each halted, and lay on their arms during the night, and until eight o'clock in the morning, at which time Tahir-Bashaw commenced an attack. He was soon after reinforced by 1500 cavalry. It was now found that the enemy had come forward with about fourteen pieces of artillery, 600 cavalry, and 4000 infantry. The vizier, therefore, ordered Mahomed-Bashaw to move forward with 5000 men, cavalry and Albanian infantry, and nine light field-pieces. The French had eight-pounders in the field. The other English officers, besides major Holloway and major Hope, were captain Lacey, of the royal engineers, and captain Leake, of the royal artillery. Captain Lacey accompanied Mahomed-Bashaw, and captain Leake Tahir-Bashaw. Each of these officers received his orders from major Holloway, remaining still near the person of the vizier: who, after sending forward his advanced guard, came up himself, and took the command. Major Hope was with the artillery.

The enemy moved into a wood of date-trees, where they were attacked by the Turkish cavalry and infantry with great spirit for three hours, when, retiring from the wood, they took a position on the left, their left flanked by a wood, and forming a hollow square on the right. The Albanese infantry advanced to the edge of the wood, and, in this situation, galled them much; and, on the Turks threatening their right, the French changed their position, and attempted to gain the heights, in which they were prevented by a rapid movement of Turkish cavalry, who gained the summit. In this manœuvre, they were annoyed by two guns, which were advanced on the occasion. At this time, the French commenced a decided retreat, and were driven beyond El-Hanka, a distance not less than seven miles from the place of the first operations. The grand vizier, who had commanded his troops, as major Holloway reported, with great gallantry and prompt decision, then gave orders for them not to pursue them any farther. The loss on either side, for the time in which they were engaged, was small. The Turks had about thirty killed, and eighty wounded. The French had about fifty killed. The number of their wounded could not be ascertained, as they carried them off the field. The disposition of the Turkish army, the order of march, and all their movements, were arranged by major Holloway. It was by following his counsels, that the grand vizier was enabled, during near seven hours, to keep in check the French army, to counteract its plans, to

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to attack it, to seize every advantage of position and ground, and, at last, after manœuvring with science for so long a time, to repulse it with loss, and gain a complete victory.

While this passed on the side of invest Cairo, fort Lesbeh surrendered to a detachment from the vizier's army. —These successes reanimated the drooping energy of the vizier, and taught him to confide in the spirit and genius of his allies. On this day, a detachment from the troops, under general Hutchinson, surprised a convoy, conducted by colonel Cavalier, who had been foraging for the garrison of Alexandria. Six hundred men, (infantry, cavalry, and artillery,) the prime of the enemy, together with a considerable portion of their dromedary corps, one four-pounder, and 550 camels, were on this occasion surrendered. From the 9th to the 20th, the English had taken near 1600 prisoners, including those taken at fort Bourlos, which followed the evacuation of fort Lesbeh. It was about this period, that Osman-Bey-Tambourgi, the successor of Murad, assured general Hutchinson, as the versatile Murad himself had also done on his part, of his attachment to the English, whom he joined with 1500 Mamalukes. While, from political motives, Osman and others encamped near the English, they privately, according to the usual policy and perfidy of barbarians, assured the French that they would commit no hostility against them, and they kept their word! Murad-Bey died on the 21st of April, after an illness of three days, but not without strong suspicions of his having been poisoned. The situation of affairs not permitting the interment of his remains in the sepulchre of the Mamalukes, he was buried at Savuagni, near Tahta; his companion in arms breaking his weapons over his tomb, and declaring that no one was now worthy to wield them!

On the capture of Rhamanich, general Hutchinson proceeded to invest Cairo. Owing, however, to the low state of the river, the bar at Rosetta, and the consequent difficulty of bringing the heavy artillery up the river, as well as procuring provisions, general Hutchinson did not arrive at Embabeh, before Gizeh, till the 20th of June. He resolved to attack Gizeh on the left, while the vizier pressed Cairo on the right bank of the Nile; and a bridge of boats was thrown over the river, at Chobra, to keep up a communication between the armies. The fortifications of Cairo, which were commenced by Kleber, had been assiduously continued by Menou; but, extending over a space of twelve miles, they did not admit much defence with a garrison of 8000, who had, besides, to overawe the inhabitants, agitated at the proximity of a victorious army, and dreading the resentment of the vizier.

On the 21st, the combined forces advanced on both sides of the river. A capitulation was desired by the garrison on the 22d, which, being assented to, was negotiated by brigadier-general Hope, and ratified on the 27th. The French could not have effected a retreat: as little were they competent to the defence of Cairo, their ammunition nearly exhausted, their treasury empty, and provisioned only to the middle of July. By this capitulation, they were to be conveyed to the French ports, in the Mediterranean, with their arms, artillery, baggage, and effects, within fifty days from the date of the ratification; men of letters and naturalists were permitted to retain their papers and col-

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lections: an exonerationwas granted to such of the people as had adhered to the cause of France; and it was stipulated, that Menou might avail himself of these conditions, for the surrender of Alexandria, provided his acceptance of them was notified to the general commanding before Alexandria, within ten days from the date of the communication being made to him. It was also stipulated, in a private articleof this convention, that the wife, daughter, aid-de-camp, and all the effects of general Menou, should be sent from Cairo to Alexandria by the allied powers. There were embarked, in all, from Cairo, at Aboukir, upwards of 13,000 persons, exclusive of 1000 sick, and a number of invalids. During a novel and critical march, in conducting this garrison through the country, notwithstanding the mixture of Turks, British, and French, considerable harmony prevailed.

Scarcely was the capitulation signed, when anarmy, under general Baird, appeared on the banks of the Nile, fromIndia. A part of that force had arrived from the bay of Bengal, September 14, 1800, at Trincomalé, in the isle of Ceylon, where it staid two months, and where it was augmented by a number of troops that had been sent down therefromBombay. The fleet leaving Ceylon on the 18th of February, 1801, steered along the coast of Malabar, still ignorant of their destination, till they arrived, March 23, at Bombay. The health of the troops, much impaired, was soon restored by the vegetables of that place. Here generalBaird took the command of the little army, which, after a passage of twenty weeks from Trincomalé, arrived at Cossier in Egypt. The troops that landed, under colonel Murray, at Suez, were an advanced division of the Bombaydetachment. The navigation of the Red Sea was arduous, difficult, and dangerous; from rocks and shoals, and contrary winds, blowing sometimes directly from the quarter of theirdestination. Two of their transports were lost, and many others damaged.—After staying a short time at Cossir, they crossed the Desert of Thebes, with many difficulties, in ten days, and arrived at Gennat, on the banks of the Nile, about 400 miles from Grand Cairo. The route of the army from Cossir was through a defile of 150 miles, between hills and barren rocks. In this desert not a particle of herbage was to be seen, and scarcely anykind of vegetation, until they arrived at the banks of the Nile, which was first descried at Reneh. This long and toilsome march they could not have performed without the friendly aid of the Mamalukes and Arabs.

The joy which the soldiers expressed, at the sight of water, is not to be described: though the vehemence of their thirst was thereby increased, and also their impatience to allay it. The army marched along the river from Gennat to Kingé, from whence they fell down in boats to Cairo. This, though the distance was above 300 miles, was effected, through the rapidity of the stream, in nine days. The French, as our little army advanced, evacuated their posts on the river, and retreated to their headquarters. The whole of the Indian army, now assembled, under general Baird, opposite Grand Cairo, consisted of 5000 British and 2000 sepoys. After halting here for some weeks, they were marched down the country, and encamped before Rosetta, twenty-five miles from

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Alexandria. It was extremely mortifying to our brave army from the East, that, after tasting so deeply of the toils and hardships of war, fortune did not permit them to participate, on this occasion, in its glories.

General Menou, far from appearing to approve of the article in the capitulation at Cairo, agreeably to which he might have surrendered on the terms acceded to by general Belliard, increased the fortifications round Alexandria, particularly at Nicopolis, and avowed, in his dispatches, the determination of burying himself under its ruins. To relieve the place of a number of useless mouths, about the middle of May, the members of the institute, and the commission of arts, though they had been formerly put in military requisition, were ordered to depart for France. They embarked in a small vessel; but, when they were quitting the port, the English refused to let them pass. Attempting to return, they were menaced with being sunk by the French! and it was not till after several days anxiously passed, during which they were supported by the English, that Menou could be prevailed on to take off his prohibition of their return. Nor did Menou yet despair of receiving the reinforcement entrusted to Gantheaume, who, after remaining two days within thirty leagues of Alexandria, was obliged to bear away, on being discovered by the English fleet. It was therefore resolved, by the allies, to accelerate their attack. On the 17th of August, 2000 Albanians attempted a sand hill commanding the seashore, to the left of Nicopolis.—A party of 200, under colonel Spencer, took possession of a hill, in front of the enemy's right, between the lakes and the first bridge of Alexandria. General Menou, who was in that part of the French intrenched camp, opposite our post, sent about 600 men to drive colonel Spencer from his position. They advanced in column, with fixed bayonets, and, without firing a shot, till they got very close to our men. The colonel then gave immediate orders to charge. It was obeyed, and the enemy were driven back, with great slaughter. At sun-rise, on the 18th, the inundation having taken effect, lake Mareotis was covered with vessels and boats, containing troops, which were protected by fifty gun-boats. The troops, commanded by major-general Coote, having landed at the castle of Marabout, and being gallantly assisted by the Turkish corvettes, under the honourable captain Cochrane, it became soon a heap of ruins, and capitulated on the 21st. In endeavouring to fire the English shipping, the French had consumed their own flotilla, and two of their frigates were sunk near the fort. On the 22d, the allies entered the harbour of the old port, opening a severe cannonade on some troops posted on the bank of the ancient canal, in which they were supported by the flotilla on lake Mareotis. A detachment, under major-general Coote, took seven pieces of cannon, and made considerable impression on the French, who had fixed themselves to the right of fort le Turcq, strengthened by reinforcements from Nicopolis. On the 27th, Menou, however, requested a capitulation, which he affirmed to have been necessitated by the evacuation of Cairo: but Alexandria could not long have resisted this necessity, independantly of the evacuation; a fact known to general Hutchinson, and which pro-

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bably induced him not to precipitate the fate of the enemy, as he might have done, by more vigorous measures. The garrison was in great distress, and threatened by the near approaches of famine. Indeed, the protraction of the siege, after the surrender of Cairo, is only to be defended, on the ground, that the French general might feel it necessary to support the splendid boast of burying himself under the ruins of Alexandria, by the parade, at least, of resistance. The conditions, which had been granted to Belliard, were not refused to Menou. An attempt was made to include the acquisitions of the *learned men* among the articles of confiscation; but, on their resolutely declaring that they would burn their papers rather than resign them to the English, the contest was relinquished. A cargo, however, of Egyptian antiquities, which they could neither conceal nor consume by fire, was brought to the British Museum. The inhabitants of Constantinople, considering the surrender of Alexandria as the termination of the war in Egypt, manifested, on the occasion, the most enthusiastic joy. The cannon of the seraglio were fired; the city was splendidly illuminated; and the sultan ordered fifty gold medals to be struck, bearing a crescent and star in the centre, with a suitable inscription, to be distributed among the English officers in Egypt: to several of whom, the grand vizier, in the name of his sovereign, had before made both honourable and valuable presents. A magnificent palace was built in Pero, and dedicated to be the residence, in all times to come, of the English ambassador at the Ottoman Porte.

During this arduous and interesting contest, the English lost twenty-four officers, and about 7 or 800 private men, including the navalaswell as the military service. Very different was the fate of France: which, in this memorable expedition to the East, concurred, not less than from 30 to 40,000 of their best troops, and almost annihilated her navy. Of the whole number of French sent to Egypt, in the course of three years, there returned 23,000. They were accompanied by several hundreds of the natives of both sexes.

General Hutchinson, now advanced to the peerage, with the title of lord Hutchinson, obtained leave, on account of his health, to return to England, and resigned his command to lord Cavan, who remained in Egypt. Part of our troops returned to Britain at the same time with lord Hutchinson. The British force left in Egypt, in October, was 5000 men, exclusive of the Indian army: forming, all together, a body of 12,000 men.

From the commencement of the war in Egypt, the Porte had formed a secret resolution to change the government of that country, at the same time that both the grand vizier and captain bashaw held out to the Beys and the Mamalukes the most unequivocal assurances that their authority would be immediately restored, on the destruction of the infidels.—On the expulsion of the French from Egypt, accordingly, seven of the Beys were invited to Alexandria, to hold a conference with the captain bashaw, on the subject of certain arrangements necessary to be made for their reestablishment. They were received on their arrival with every demonstration of hospitality and respect. On pretence of a wish that they might accompany him, in a vi-

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sit of ceremony, to the British commander at Alexandria, but in reality, with a view to send them to Constantinople, he treacherously engaged them to go on board a ship of war, whither he was, himself, to accompany them. But, after they had gone into the boats that were to carry them to the ship, they began to recollect the repeated advices and warnings that had been given them by general Hutchinson, never to trust themselves on board any Turkish vessel, and to apprehend some violence, after they should be lodged in the frigate. They required of the officers, who had charge of them, to reconduct them to the shore. The officers, pleading the orders of the high-admiral, refused to comply with their request. The Beys, grasping their arms, began to use force. A conflict ensued, in which four of the Beys were killed and three wounded. Several of the boatmen shared the same fate. The grand vizier, too, at the same time, attempted to secure as many of the Beys as he could, by force or fraud. Some fell into his hands: others made their escape into Upper Egypt.

General Hutchinson, apprised of all this, ordered his troops under arms, remonstrated severely with both the grand vizier and captain bashaw, and reclaimed, in a menacing tone, the wounded Beys, the bodies of the slain, for honourable sepulture, and the Beys, also, who were in the power of the vizier. The captain bashaw imputed the disaster that had befallen the seven Beys, whom he had invited to his residence, to themselves: whose suspicions, he said, were without foundation: and excused his own conduct from the orders that had been sent, both to himself and the grand vizier, from the Porte: which was well assured, that it was never the intention of the court of London to take any part in the internal regulations or government of Egypt; but, after the expulsion of the French, to leave the Ottomans to establish there what form of government they should think proper. The captain bashaw carried his head very high, and maintained great pomp and splendour: such as he deemed suitable to the sovereign dignity of the Porte. He affected to treat general Hutchinson, in some sort, as the guest of the grand signior; in sending him, regularly, a second course, consisting of all the delicacies that could be provided, to his table. Thus he artfully combined an air of hospitality with an air of superiority and supremacy in Egypt. There were not a few, who said, that the general should have declined to accept the hospitality of the Turkish high-admiral, assumed greater state himself, and, in a word, a tone of mastery and control, for a time, in a province recovered, almost solely, from the French, by the British arms. They were even of opinion, that it would have been as wise, as magnanimous policy, to have punished the treachery of the bashaw, and avenged the death of the three Beys, by hanging him up at the yard-arm of the frigate, on board of which he meant to decoy them. So great an act of justice would have struck the East with an admiration and awe of the British name, and exalted it above every name in the world.

There were, however, other considerations, that weighed down the opposite scale, in the balance. Had it been the purpose of our government to retain possession of any post or posts in Egypt, such a measure

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might perhaps have been accounted not less eligible than daring. But it was not the design of Britain to do any thing that might offend and alienate, but, on the contrary, to cultivate the favour of her Turkish ally.

General Hutchinson did not embrace a line of conduct that would probably have been condemned by his court, as extravagant, and imprudent: nor yet did he tamely and meanly acquiesce in a measure dictated by barbarian perfidy. But, steering a middle course, he demanded, with inflexible firmness, the freedom of the Beys, which was granted. There could not have been a fitter agent, in this business, than general Stewart, who, at the head of a strong detachment, carried the remonstrances and demands of the British commander-in-chief to the captain-bashaw.

But the Beys, though left at their own disposal, foresaw the evacuation of Egypt by the English, and the establishment of the power of the Turks, at least in the lower regions of that country. Their faithful Mamalukes were either dispersed, or had fallen by the sword. They listened, therefore, to the fair promises that were made to them by the captain-bashaw and grand vizier, and solemnly confirmed by their oaths on the Koran, of protection, favour, and preferment, if they would throw themselves into the arms of the sultan. They consented to relinquish their pretensions to any authority in Egypt; and signified this consent, in writing, to the grand signior, and also to general Hutchinson. The Porte extended to Egypt the system of government by bashaws.

Thus terminated the revolution occasioned by the French invasion of Egypt. In the midst of all the toils, dangers, and conflicts of war and insurrection, the French were assiduous in exploring that renowned land, under all the views of physical and moral science, and in making collections in antiquities and natural history. Though they failed in the attempt to extend their political power, they enlarged the sphere of their knowledge. And they acquired information that may be of great use in the case of their ever engaging in another expedition, with or without the consent of the Porte, to Egypt.——Buonaparte, the author and conductor of the expedition to Egypt, on a retrospect of its progress, vicissitudes, and termination, consoled the French nation with the reflection, that "The army of the East had left in Egypt, an immortal memory, which would, perhaps, one day revive there the arts and institutions of society. And that history, at least, would not pass over in silence all that the French had done to introduce into that country the arts and improvements of Europe*." How far this result, so greatly to be desired, is probable or improbable, is a very interesting and curious question. Never, we apprehend, will the arts and sciences take root and flourish in Egypt, so long as it is under the domination of the Turkish government, and the Mahomedan religion.†

* View of the Republic, 23d November, 1801.

† In the course of this year the following question was proposed, as a subject for the annual prize discourses, by the university of Cambridge: "Quid est causæ, cur per plura sæcula, scienti et artes liberales, non nisi in Christianis populis floruerint." What is the reason why, for a number of ages, the liberal arts and sciences have flourished only in Christian countries? This was an ingenious question, and worthy of the university.

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CHAP. XIV.

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Great Object of Buonaparte in the War with England.—The Colonization of Egypt his favourite Project.—French Menaces of invading England.—Sea Coast of France divided into Six Maritime Prefectures.—Effects produced by Threats of France throughout Great Britain.—Measures taken by Government for the Defence and Security of the British Isles.—General Disposition of the British Fleet.—Naval Engagements in the Bay of Algeziras.—Daring Attempt frustrated—but Victory finally obtained by a British Squadron, under Sir James Saumarez.—Vain glorying and frantic Hopes of the French.

IT was the great object of Buonaparte, in the war with England, to strike at the root of her naval power and greatness, by cutting off, as much as possible, the sources of her commerce. Her transatlantic colonies, in the reduced and ruined state of the French navy, were wholly beyond his reach. India, the great fountain of her wealth, it seemed not impossible to reach, by means of political intrigues as well as arms, through the establishment of a French colony in Egypt. Or, if that object should fail, or not be soon accomplished, the improvement and the produce of Egypt, of itself, and the trade of the East, gradually allured to its own channel, through that noble isthmus, would compensate the loss of the French colonies in the West Indies, and throw such a mass of easy and natural commerce into the hands of France, the mistress of the Mediterranean, as might enable her, at least, to divide, with Great Britain, the empire of the ocean. There was, besides, in the idea of colonizing Egypt, and restoring the natural prerogatives of those regions, something that warms the human breast by so many interesting recollections, something grand, as well as politically advantageous; and peculiarly fitted to take hold of a mind, at once heroic, and deeply tinctured with a love of letters. The colonization of Egypt was the darling child of Buonaparte. It was the grand pivot on which the aggrandizement of France and his own glory and fame were to turn. Around this favourite project, other collateral objects were arranged. To harrass, distract, and exhaust the financial resources of England, by menaces of invasion, was, of itself, a wise measure of war: but it derived an additional interest and importance, in the eyes of the chief consul, as it might afford an opportunity, while our fleets should be detained on our coasts, of slipping out a fleet with succours to the French army in Egypt. While all was in movement on the side

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side of the land, and camps were formed near the sea coast, ships were equipped and victualled in the principal ports, and gunboats, and other light vessels of war, were constructed and drawn, from time to time, to places of rendezvous on the British channel.

After the battle of Maringo had led to a negotiation with Austria, and preliminaries of peace were signed on the part of that power, though afterwards disavowed, by the count St. Julian, a grand camp began to be formed at Amiens, in September, 1800. It was occupied by detachments from what was called, the *chosen army*, commanded by general Murat, and was strengthened, from time to time, by additional numbers. A camp was also formed between Bruges and Ostend; another between Gravelines and Dunkirk; and a third, at Boulogne: which was destined, as it was generally understood, to be the principal point from which the French, like the Romans, under Julius Cæsar, were to pass over into Britain. These three camps, by the month of July, 1801, were occupied by a great number of troops, among whom were many emigrant Irishmen; as there also were in camps formed at Brest, St. Maloes, and on the coast of Normandy. The building of ships, and other preparations for an immense naval armament, were carried on with great activity, all along the Dutch and Flemish coasts, as well as those of France. Rumours were industriously circulated, and by almost all the French, and by many of the English, credited, that a corps of 25,000 men, all chosen troops, under the command of general Hedouville, convoyed by thirty French and Spanish ships of the line, and a proportionable number of frigates, would sail from Brest; that a second corps of 12,000 men, under the command of general Humbert, and escorted by five ships of the line, and a frigate, would sail from the harbours of Normandy; and a third corps, consisting of 20,000, under the convoy of one ship of the line, eight frigates, and a great number of smaller ships of war, from the harbours of Flanders and Piccardy. This is the most moderate computation of the force that was destined by the French government for the invasion of England, or of Ireland. Other statements raise it to twice that number of men. Certain it is, that the number of disposable troops, that might be employed by the French government, in any expedition, after the armistice of Steyer, and the peace of Luneville, was very great. But neither we, nor any others, we apprehend, of our countrymen, can ascertain, with any thing at all like an approximation to exactness, the real amount of the hostile armament. The lowest computation was probably nearest the truth. All was in motion, from the mouth of the Scheldt to the mouth of the Garronne.—The islands of Jersey and Guernsey were threatened with immediate invasion from St. Maloes, Granville, and Cherburg. Besides the armament at Brest, destined, as was supposed, to make a descent on the west of England, or, more probably, on Ireland, there was a fleet of eight or nine vessels, under the command of admiral Gantheaume, ready to sail on some unknown expedition; and another of five ships of the line, under admiral la Touche. The combined fleets of France and Spain, that

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lay in the harbour of Brest, ready, according to every appearance, to sail, amounted, so early as January, 1801, to 52 sail of the line.

Buonaparte, in order to combine his preparations at land with his preparations by sea, and to restore and improve the navy, had lately divided the whole extent of the sea-coasts of France into six maritime prefectures; namely, those of Brest, Toulon, L'Orient, Rochfort, Havre, and Antwerp. Not only ships, but gun-boats, and flat-bottomed boats, were equipped under the direction of the prefects, along the whole line of the coast. Redoubts were thrown up, and furnaces prepared for the heating of balls, in the places supposed to be most liable to attacks by the English. Telegraphs were erected for communication among the different prefectures, with one another, and with Paris. Proclamations were issued, from time to time, by the prefects, calculated to animate the courage and the hopes of the French seamen. If any little advantage was gained, by accident, or by superiority of numbers, over any of the British ships, it was magnified into an important victory, and a signal instance of naval prowess.—The British isles, and all the wealth of their commercial towns, were pointed out as the modern Carthage, whose spoils were to reward the enterprise and the valour of the modern Romans.

The British government and nation beheld these hostile preparations and threats without dismay, though not without a degree of anxiety as well as indignation. From Caithness to the Land's End, all glowed with ardour to meet the enemy on the theatre of either land or sea. The French had acquired the greatest glory, throughout the whole course of the present war, by their martial achievements on the continent. Their title to fame and renown was just, and not to be disputed. Yet all their exploits were found insufficient to overcome the inveterate and salutary prejudice, that one Englishman is fully a match for two Frenchmen. Not only the soldiers, but, we have been well assured, many of the officers, and even some of the commanders of the militia regiments, professed a firm persuasion of that maxim; not at any popular meetings, but in their social and convivial parties with one another.—Orders were given, early in 1801, by the British ministry, to construct, as soon as possible, a number of gun-boats for the protection of our coasts, particularly at the entrances into our ports and the mouths of our navigable rivers. Application was made, with success, by government to the directors of the East India company, for the use of such ships, as were not taken up, for the commerce of India, for the current year, to be employed in different ways and for different purposes. The town of Liverpool, solicited and obtained permission, from the legislature, to provide various means for their own defence: and this noble example was followed in other parts of the kingdom.—As the hostile preparations of the enemy increased, the activity of our government, and the zeal of the people, were increased in proportion. In the end of July, a circular letter was issued from the office of the secretary of state for the home department, to the lord-lieutenants of counties; communicating intelligence which had been received,

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ved, "That the naval and military preparations which had been for some time past carried on, in the ports and on the coasts of France and Holland, had of late been pursued to a great extent, and with increased activity; and that these preparations being apparently directed to the object of making an attack on some part of the united kingdom, his majesty considered it as of the utmost importance, that the most effectual steps should be taken without loss of time, for employing, to the best advantage, that part of his military force, which the voluntary zeal and spirit of his subjects had placed in his hands, for the public security. The lords lieutenant were requested by the secretary, in the name of his majesty, to signify to the commanders of the several corps of volunteer cavalry and infantry, within their respective counties, his majesty's earnest wish that all corps of that description might be kept in a state of the utmost readiness for such immediate service as might be conformable to their respective engagements, and as the exigencies of affairs might require. And it was particularly recommended, that, under the present circumstances, the respective corps of volunteer cavalry and infantry, should assemble, for the purpose of performing their military exercises, as frequently as their necessary avocations would admit."

This recommendation and request was obeyed, throughout every part of the united kingdom, with the utmost alacrity. Field days and reviews were to be seen at every town, and almost in every parish. The whole country assumed a military air, and an attitude of defiance. The volunteers were ready either to march to any place where any body of the enemy should land or attempt a landing, or to take upon themselves the duty of the garrisons, if it should be thought necessary to withdraw the regulars. As it was understood that the Dutch fleet, under admiral De Winter, was ready to put to sea, and that the flotilla at Dunkirk, reinforced from time to time by detachments of troops from Amiens and Calais, and other parts of the coast, was ready to act at the same time that the flotilla at Boulogne was in a like state of forwardness, the lords-lieutenant of the counties of Suffolk and Essex, as well as the lieutenants of Kent and Sussex, directed inventories to be sent to them of the horses, waggons, and other articles in the counties. A number of posting and hand bills were printed, by order of government, to be distributed, in case of necessity, among the people, calling upon them to take up arms, and to employ other means calculated to embarrass and obstruct the progress of the enemy in case of actual invasion.

Towards the end of July, when the preparations of the enemy were so forward as to menace an actual attempt, strong piquet guards were mounted all along the coast, and orders issued for all the volunteers of the southern districts to be alert, and in a state of preparation to march, on a moment's warning. Four complete parks of artillery, forming a hollow square, were so arranged, at Woolwich, as to be able to set off, at a moment's warning, to any part of the country. The horses were harnessed in the centre, and the drivers and engineers slept on the spot. In the rear of the guns, which were in general 9 and 12 pounders, were the *chevaux de-*

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frize, and ammunition waggons. Orders were given for reembodying the supplementary militia, disbanded at Christmas, 1799, and their joining their respective regiments. Instructions were given out respecting the state in which the troops were required to move at a moment's warning. "Being properly provided with country carriages, ammunition, and provisions, and leaving all incumbrances behind them, they were to march, as much as possible, together, in the small brigades of contiguous regiments, into which they should be divided, agreeably to the particular routes and orders that would be immediately forwarded from head-quarters, on the certainty of the enemy's appearance. Such brigades were to have each an appointed commander, or otherwise to be commanded by the eldest officer in rank for the time. In the first hurry of assembling the troops, on the landing of an enemy, it might not be possible, in all cases, to prescribe positive routes, and to prevent crossing, crowding, and interfering in the march of so many bodies, moving from different places, and tending to the same point. The prudence and the arrangement of the senior officers, must therefore, in the best manner, obviate such unavoidable difficulties. When the troops marched in corps, and encamped, they would be the more easily provided for: but when it was necessary that they should be cantoned, or hurried on, they would be under a necessity of putting up with the most crowded and slightest accommodation; and a rigorous discipline must prevent them from requiring more than the country and circumstances could allow. On the routes where troops were to march, sufficient bread might certainly be provided, in the large towns, on a short notice. Should this not be the case, commanding officers were, themselves, to obviate the difficulty in the best general mode they could, and not to permit individuals to trespass or commit outrages. Whether the troops should be cantoned, or encamped, a commissary was to attend each brigade, to regulate, and provide for the march, and to whom every necessary assistance was to be given. If there should be no commissary or assistant quarter-master, and the pressure should be such, that provision of straw, forage, or bread, must be had on the spot, the commanding officer was to appoint one or more intelligent officers to act as commissaries, and assistant quarter-masters for the time, who should go forward with proper assistance, call upon the magistrate or magistrates of the neighbourhood, and, representing the necessity of the case, as the only means of preserving property, and the regularity of the troops, induce them to take such immediate measures, and give such orders, as would, on the spot, produce the necessary supplies: for all which the commanding officers of each regiment would give full and distinct acknowledgments (signed also by the commissary or assistant quarter-master) in writing, specifying in words the quantities of each article received, the number of persons and horses thereby provided for, and for what time. Registers of every receipt, so granted, were to be kept by commanding officers, as necessary checks, if called on. And the receipts themselves were to be afterwards collected, and discharged

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charged by the commissary general, at the fair rates of the country. The troops were to encamp on the commons, wherever there were such. Otherwise, they were ordered to encamp on such grass fields, as should be most convenient for their march, and to which they could do the least damage. But, if unavoidable damage should be done, the commanding officer of the encamping corps was to grant a certificate of the nature and amount."

Thus, in the inland arrangements, the government united the safety of the public with justice to individuals.

On the sea coast, all along the channel, from the Nore to Falmouth, a system of night signals was employed to announce any approach of danger. Frigates and gun-boats were stationed at proper places near the British shore. The return of the Baltic fleet, while it added to the amount of our disposable naval force, inspired, if possible, into our seamen and marines, still higher sentiments of courage, honour, and glory. Such was the immensity of our navy, that our fleets, squadrons, and cruizers, blocked up the enemy in their principal ports, and watched their flotillas of gun-boats, while they endeavoured, with various success, to skulk close to the shore, from one place to another, and annoyed, and quashed their trade in every quarter of the world. A chain of English vessels of war stretched along the whole extent of the French coast on the channel, generally about two or three miles from land. Frigates were stationed behind the promontories, for intercepting any vessels, that should venture to put to sea, not knowing their danger. Sometimes our frigates, and other lighter vessels, would dash in, and cut out the enemies' ships from their creeks and harbours. The Dutch fleet, and the preparations in the adjacent ports of the enemy, were watched, and held in check by squadrons under the command of the admirals Dickson and Greaves. That under Dickson, who had the chief command of both, amounted to twelve sail of the line, besides frigates. That under Greaves, to five or six sail of the line, besides other vessels. The harbour of Toulon was watched, and the neighbouring coasts scoured by sir John Borlase Warren. Admiral Cornwallis, with fourteen sail of three-deckers, and one 80 gun ship, besides frigates, and other armed vessels, cruized off Brest. A squadron of eight sail of seventy-fours, and two of 84, besides frigates, cutters, and gun-boats, under rear-admiral sir James Saumarez, blockaded Cadiz.

So great, at this time, the summer of 1801, was the immense strength of the navy of England, that she had a fleet in the Indian ocean; a fleet in the Red Sea; a fleet at the mouth of the Nile; two fleets in or near the Mediterranean; a small fleet in the Baltic; a fleet in the West Indies; detached cruizers and convoy ships in every direction; and a channel fleet; while a flotilla of vessels of different descriptions, under the command of lord Nelson, who was invested with the supreme command of maritime affairs from the Land's End to Yarmouth, guarded the British shores, and struck terror into those of France.

Such was, in general, the disposition of our fleets, in the months of February, March, April, May, June,

June, and July 1801, though, on so variable an element, and amidst such complicated and shiftingscenes, they underwent, of course, many variations. The squadron under sir Robert Calder, missing the tract of Gantheaume, went in quest of him to the West Indies. It was supposed by our government that it had gone thither, whether for reestablishing subordination to the French government in St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, or attacking Jamaica; though, it would seem, that its real destination, the relief of the French colony in Egypt, the favourite project of Buonaparte, might have well appeared to be the more reasonable conjecture. Our government was, in like manner, held long in suspense whether the grand expedition, under the command of Buonaparte, in person, in 1798, was destined against Egypt, or the East or West Indies.

When the real route of Gantheaume was known, he was followed by the squadron under sir John Borlase Warren, who sought him with no better success! He eluded, likewise the vigilance of lord Keith's fleet and cruizers, as well as those of sir Richard Bickerton. Though the object of his voyage was fully known, he sailed about the Mediterranean for six months, without either falling into the hands of our squadrons, or of being often, or that for certain, heard of. Sometimes he was reported to have accomplished the object of his voyage, by landing in Egypt, and at others, that he had landed the troops he carried, in Barca, on the coast of Barbary, between Egypt and Tripoli. These reports, and a thousand others as ill founded, were greedily swallowed by the French, and made use of by their government for keeping up their spirits. The English and other nations, and even at last the French, when their curiosity about his fate began to be blunted by the lapse of time, made a joke of the matter, and said that he must have gone to some unknown, or unfrequented seas, on a voyage of discovery. At last he returned to Toulon, in July, without effecting any thing besides throwing the small force into Alexandria, already mentioned. In his voyage towards Egypt, he had the good fortune to fall in with and to take three English vessels. Two of them were frigates; the other, a cutter of 12 guns, carrying home dispatches from lord Keith. The causes of his failure were, the strength and the vigilance of our squadrons, boisterous weather, as he alleged, and the hostile dispositions manifested by the nations of both Egypt and Barbary. In his return, he fell in with and captured the Swiftsure, one of our seventy-four gun ships of war. Captain Hollowell, the commander, crowding all his sail, attempted to escape or fight his way through the whole French fleet. The French ships, from their great superiority in sailing, closed with him, one after another, very fast: so that he was engaged, at once, with three ships of the line and a frigate. After an action of one hour and seven minutes, he was forced to give up the unequal contest. The Swiftsure, at the commencement of the action, was 86 men short of her complement, which was 700, and had 59 sick. Being, after the engagement, little better than a wreck, she was taken into tow. The next day, carpenters and seamen, from all the ships, were sent on board to repair her damages, and

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and soldiers to complete her number to 700. With all their exertions, and the advantage of smooth water, it was six days before they were able to make sail. The capture of the Swiftsure was celebrated by all the French journals as a grand achievement.

Nearly about the same time another of our ships of the line fell into the hands of a French squadron, under admiral Linois, on the Spanish coast, near Cadiz. This squadron, consisting of two ships, carrying each 80 guns, one carrying 74 guns, and a frigate, besides cutters, on the 4th of July, lay at anchor off Algeziras*. Rear-admiral sir James Saumarez, informed of this, with the Cæsar, of 84 guns; the Pompey, of 84; the Spencer, of 84; the Audacious, of 74; the Hannibal, of 74; a frigate carrying 40 guns; and a lugger of 16, went in quest of them. Having stood through the straits, from the Mediterranean, and opened Cabareta Point, he found that the ships lay at a considerable distance from the batteries on shore. Encouraged by this circumstance, and by a leading wind, he resolved to attack them.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 5th, the English squadron, with springs on their cables, advanced to the French ships, in order to come to the closest action possible. Captain Hood, in the Venerable, led the squadron with his accustomed gallantry; but, from the failing of the wind, was obliged to cast anchor. Captain Stirling anchored opposite the inner ship of the enemy, and brought the Pompey to action in the most spirited manner. Captain Darby, of the Spencer, and captain Ferris, of the Hannibal, from light winds, were prevented, for a considerable time, from coming into action. At length the Hannibal getting a breeze, captain Ferris had the most favourable prospect of getting alongside of one of the enemy's ships, when the Hannibal unfortunately ran aground. Sir James Saumarez, with his own ship, the Cæsar, and the Audacious, made every possible effort to run between the Hannibal and the French batteries and squadron, to cover, and to enable her to extricate herself from the difficulty into which she had fallen; but the wind did not favour this bold manœuvre: and being, at that critical time, only three cables' length from one of the enemy's batteries, he was under the necessity of making sail, leaving the Hannibal, which, of course, struck her flag. The admiral, in his dispatches to government, makes the following animated and interesting appeal in behalf of the courage of his squadron: "My thanks are particularly due to all the captains, officers, and men, under my orders; and although their endeavours have not been crowned with success, I trust that the thousands of spectators from his majesty's garrison (of Gibraltar,) and also the surrounding coast, will do justice to their valour and intrepidity, which were not to be checked by the fire from the numerous

* There is no port in Spain where there is so great a number of gun-boats, and light-armed vessels kept, as in that of Algeziras; which, during the war, on account of its proximity to Gibraltar, was a kind of depôt for them. It was there, that, in the course of the last war, the floating-batteries, fire-ships, and gun-boats, were built for the memorable siege of Gibraltar; and it yet contained such portions of that vast armada, as escaped the devouring fury of the flames.

batteries,

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batteries, however formidable, that surrounds Algeziras."—The immediate circumstances that unavoidably led to the loss of the Hannibal, are thus briefly related by captain Ferris, in a letter to the admiral, dated at Algeziras, July 7. "From the number of batteries, ships, and gun-boats, we had to encounter, our guns got soon knocked up; and I found it was impossible to do any thing, either for the preservation of the ship, or for the good of the service, our boats, sails, rigging, and springs, being all shot away; and having so many killed and wounded, which will appear by the annexed list, I thought it prudent to strike, and thereby preserve the lives of the brave men that remained.—Notwithstanding the unfortunate issue, I have the satisfaction to say, that every order was observed and carried into execution with the promptitude and alacrity becoming British officers and seamen."—The number of killed and wounded, in the Hannibal, alluded to by captain Ferris, was 143. The total of killed, wounded, and missing, in our squadron, was 375.

According to the Spanish accounts of this engagement, published in the Madrid Gazette, there was another English ship, which, being greatly disabled, struck her colours before the Hannibal; but, that the ship which had struck first, was towed off by a great number of gun-boats, and other vessels, sent out from Gibraltar. According to the same accounts, the loss of the French, in killed and wounded, amounted to not fewer than 800. The Madrid Gazette claimed the discomfiture and surrender of the Hannibal, as an honour due to one of the batteries at Algeziras, called St. James's. The batteries of *St. James's* and *Green Island* had slackened their fire, and were ready to be attacked, and fall into the hands of detachments from the British ships, when they were saved by parties of troops on board the French ships, landed in order to arm the batteries, under the command of brigadier-general Devaux. Two of the French ships, being the largest, were stranded, the other was disabled from service. In the number of the slain, on the side of the French, were the captains of the two eighty-gun ships, the *Formidable* and *Indomptable*.

The Spanish troops were displaced from the batteries by the French; who did them the dishonour of confessing that they did not think the posts safe in their hands. The French, both in the ships and on shore, are allowed, on all hands, to have acquitted themselves with very great coolness and courage. It was a hard and desperate engagement.—If the English had greatly the advantage in the number of ships, that advantage was counterbalanced to the enemy by the batteries on shore, and by the failing of that favourable wind, on the strength of which sir J. Saumarez had hazarded one of the most daring attacks that was ever made, in a naval war, in any country.

If the capture of the Swifisure, by a whole squadron, was a matter of triumph, it was not surprising that the French considered the victory at Algeziras as the summit of naval glory. It was announced, by an official note to all the theatres of Paris, that six English ships of the line had been either taken, or beaten back into the harbour of Gibraltar, by three French ships. The same news

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news was circulated by the telegraphs throughout the whole of the French empire: not a word of the batteries on shore. The 5th of July was called the *naval Maringo*. The destruction of the modern *Carthage* was predicted, in an epigram greatly admired in Paris, because it had lost its *Hannibal*. From the result of the engagement at Algeziras, the French nation, at large, inferred, without the smallest doubt, that their navy would soon be enabled, with proper attention, to contest the empire of the seas. "Honour and glory," exclaims one of their journalists, "to the brave Linois, and the seamen who fought under him on the 5th of July! may an action so memorable form the epoch of the resurrection of the French navy, and prove to Europe, that it is not true that our navy is, from the nature and force of circumstances, destined to be inferior to that of England! Whence is it possible that the adage can have arisen, repeated sometimes even by Frenchmen, *that on land we are superior to the English, but that we must admit all their advantages by sea?*—Most certainly we must admit them, on all occasions, when our marine, neglected and forgotten, receives neither encouragement nor pay, when no movement is seen in our ports, and our sailors are left in a state of humiliating and fatal inactivity. It was by actual service that our armies learnt to combat. They had courage, and experience gave them skill. The same result would infallibly take place, if, commencing with the elements of our marine, the same care and the same solicitude were extended for its restoration. To infer, from the great advantage given to our enemies, by a total neglect, to place our navy on a respectable footing, as well as our army, that this advantage is, in a manner, the natural inheritance of the English, and to form this conclusion into a kind of prejudice, is a proceeding the most unjust and absurd.—England is an island, and necessity makes the English complete seamen; but, though France is not an island, has she not numerous ports in the channel, and on the coasts of the ocean and Mediterranean? Does any one think that it is on board the packet-boats, between Dover and Calais, that English seamen are formed? And can our French mariners go to both the Indies, the seas of the North, and the Pacific and Southern Oceans, by the stage-coach? These few observations show how easily the most absurd opinion may obtain circulation. Happily the present government well know it. It has not been discouraged by obstacles of any kind. It now reaps the fruits of its providence, patience, and zeal. The great example, which has just been exhibited, will add to the means which it developes. It will encourage our seamen, show our enemies what we can do, and prepare new triumphs."

It rarely happens, indeed it does not seem to be in human nature, that men should form an accurate and candid judgment concerning each others merits and character, independently of all accidents of fortune, whether prosperous or adverse. The judgment may labour, by a very up-hill operation, to come to, and to form such a decision, for a time; but the imagination is sure, sooner or later, to deface the work of the understanding, by the brilliant colours of a prosperous, or the gloomy shades of an unfortunate issue,

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sue. While the French, in the estimate they made of their own glory in the naval engagement at Algeziras, did not make a just account of the advantages they enjoyed, and the formidable obstacles and accidents encountered by sir J. Saumarez; the English nation, on whom, after defeat, all these made their full impression, could not, for a short time, refrain from accusing the admiral of imprudence. His gallantry was acknowledged. The bravery of his officers and seamen were also acknowledged; but the attack on the French ships, moored so near the gun-boats and batteries at Algeziras, was considered as imprudent. The most skilful naval commanders did not make this charge. The plan, they admitted, to be as well conceived as it was courageous. It might have been executed with success and glory, but for the failing of the wind, and the stop that was put to the course of the Venerable. In the general estimation, however, the admiral's courage was carried to the full length of temerity: and, even in the judgment of the most experienced seamen, the wisdom of his design, was probably somewhat diminished, by the failure in the execution.

Such was the temper and tone of the public mind in France and England, when intelligence was received of a second action fought by the squadron under sir J. Saumarez, in which he obtained a victory, not inferior to any of the most brilliant exploits that adorn our naval annals. The three French line of battle ships, disabled in the action of the 5th of August, were, on the 8th, reinforced by a squadron of five Spanish line of battle ships, under the command of don Juan de Moreno, the same Moreno, who commanded the Spanish gun-boats, in 1782, in the attack on Gibraltar, and a French ship of 74 guns, wearing a broad pendant, besides three frigates, and an incredible number of gun-boats and other vessels. They got under sail on the morning of the 12th, together with the English ship, the Hannibal, which they had succeeded in moving off the shoal on which she had struck. Sir J. Saumarez almost despaired of getting a sufficient force in readiness to oppose to such numbers; but through the greatest exertions of the officers and men, the Cæsar, which was the admiral's ship, as already mentioned, was in readiness to warp out of the mole of Gibraltar, also, in the morning of the 12th; and immediately after the whole squadron got under weigh, except the Pompey, which ship had not had time to get in her masts. The English admiral determined, if possible, to obstruct the passage of so powerful a force, as that of the enemy, to Cadiz. Late in the evening, he observed the combined squadron to have cleared Cabareta Point, and, at eight, he bore up to stand after them. His majesty's ship, the Superb, a seventy-four, being stationed ahead of the Cæsar, he directed captain Keats to make sail, and attack the sternmost ships in the enemy's rear, and to use his endeavours to keep in shore of them. At eleven, the Superb opened her fire close to the enemy's ships, and, on the Cæsar's coming up, and preparing to engage a three-decker, that had hauled her wind, she was perceived to have taken fire, and the flames having communicated to a ship to the leeward of her, both were soon in a blaze, and presented a most

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a most awful sight. As there was no possibility of offering the least assistance to the enemy in so distressing a situation, the Cæsar passed on to close with the ship, engaged by the Superb; but, before the Cæsar could come up, that ship, the St. Antonio, of 74 guns, and 730 men, was completely silenced, and hauled down her colours. The Venerable and Spencer having, at this instant, come up, the English admiral bore after the enemy, who were carrying a press of sail, and standing out of the straits; but lost sight of them during the night. It blew excessively hard till day-light; and in the morning, the only ships in company were the Venerable and Thames, ahead of the Cæsar, and one of the French ships at some distance from them, standing towards the shoals of Conil, besides the Spencer astern, coming up. All our ships immediately made sail with a fresh breeze, but, as they approached, the wind suddenly failed, and the Venerable alone was able to bring the French ship to action, which captain Hood did in the most gallant manner; and had nearly silenced her, when his mainmast, which had been before wounded, was unfortunately shot away, and thus the enemy's ship was enabled to get off, without any possibility of following her.

The particular circumstances of the Superb's services, communicated to sir J. Saumarez, at his request, by the captain, were these: captain Keats, in consequence of the admiral's directions to make sail up to and engage the sternmost of the enemy's ships, at half past eleven found himself abreast of a Spanish three-decked ship, on which he opened his fire at not more than three cables' length, which produced good effect not only in that ship, but in the other two, which lay nearly in a line abreast of her: all which ships soon began firing on each other, and at times on the Superb. The three-decker was the Royal Charles, carrying 112 guns. In about a quarter of an hour, he perceived the ship he was engaging, and which had lost her foretopmast, to be on fire. On this he instantly ceased to molest her, and proceeded on to the ship next at hand, the St. Antonio, above mentioned, under French colours, and manned, nearly in equal proportions, with French and Spanish seamen, and which, after some action, the chief being wounded, struck her colours. From the very few survivers of the ships that caught fire, and blew up, and who, in an open boat, reached the Superb, at the time she was taking possession of the St. Antonio, captain Keats learned, that, in the confusion of the action, the St. Hermenegildo, also 112 guns, mistaking, in a dark night, the Royal Charles for an enemy, ran on board her, and shared her melancholy fate.—The other Spanish ships, were the St. Ferdinando, of 94 guns; the Argonaut, of 80; and the Wanton, a lugger of 12 guns.

The escape of the French ship, the Formidable, from the Venerable, was represented as a great naval victory, and a signal instance of the reviving glory of the French marine. Troude, the officer who commanded the Formidable, which was the admiral's ship, while his flag was hoisted on board a frigate, said, that he was attacked by no less than three English ships of the line, and a frigate: all of which he obliged, by well-pointed broadsides, to sheer off. They left him, he said, in

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in possession of the field of battle, where he expected they would renew the engagement; but, as they judged it prudent to retire, and as he was not in a situation that admitted of his pursuing them, captain Troude determined to continue his route to Cadiz, where he arrived, July 13, about two o'clock in the afternoon.—Here also the other crippled remains of the combined squadrons found shelter. Sir J. Saumarez went with his squadron to refit at Gibraltar: from whence, in a few weeks, he returned to blockade the enemy in Cadiz. Sir J. Saumarez was honoured by his majesty with the order of the Bath.

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CHAP.

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CHAP. XV.

Operations of the French at Land, as usual, more successful than those at Sea.—Combined Attack on Portugal, concerted between France and Spain, in which the Concurrence of Spain is not sincere, but intended as a Measure for the Prevention of greater Mischief.—Portugal deserted by England.—Mutual Declarations of War between Spain and Portugal.—Sham War; and Peace between Portugal and Spain.—The Preliminaries of that Pacification refused to be acceded to by the French Government.—French Army advances through the Pyrennees to the Portuguese Frontier, and sits down before Almeida.—The Portuguese Government, alarmed, prepare seriously for Self-defence, but unable to raise an effective Army of sufficient Strength.—The Portuguese Island of Madeira occupied by the English.—Pacification between France and Portugal.

THE operations of the enemy were, as usual, more successful at land than at sea; in the interior of the great peninsula of Spain and Portugal, than on the shores.

The connexion between Great Britain and Portugal had been of so long standing, so intimate, and of so great mutual advantage, especially to Great Britain, that Portugal was considered and spoken of by the French, and men of their faction in Spain, as being, in fact, as a colony in the hands of England. It was, in truth, of greater value to this country than any of her foreign settlements, India alone excepted. An attack on Portugal, therefore, naturally occurred to the French government as a mode in which they might severely wound Great Britain, and induce her, for the safety of that kingdom, to make, in a general pacification, important concessions to France. The Portuguese, our old and faithful allies, were not more disposed to continue in habits of close intercourse and friendship, than proud and confident in the protection of the English. If the English government would have supplied them with an army, as well as with a navy, the general voice of the court and nation, as in the war terminating in 1763, would have cheerfully embarked the fortune and fate of Portugal with that of Britain. Our ministers appeared, for some time, to have embraced the resolution of defending Portugal, and so late as October, 1801. The cabinet of Spain, unwilling to be dragged by the French into a contest with a kingdom, with which it was so nearly connected by the ties of blood, and which was destined, one day, to return within the bosom of the Spanish

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Spanish monarchy, offered itself as a mediator between Portugal and France. To this the British cabinet would not consent; but attempted to rouse the Portuguese to war, with the promise of military succours, provided that a person, recommended by Great Britain, should be employed to fill the office of commander-in-chief of the forces in Portugal, instead of the actual commander-in-chief, who, from age, was not capable of acting with a sufficient degree of judgment for his country. The court of Lisbon did not take this advice. They agreed, however, that, if this country would furnish an army of 25,000, the British ministry might then appoint a minister. To this our ministry would not accede; and determined to carry the force destined for the defence of Portugal to the relief of Egypt *. Such was the general account of affairs given by a noble secretary of state. The demand of the court of Lisbon was certainly not unreasonable. A pretence only seems to have been sought for sacrificing Portugal to a superior concern, for the expulsion of the French from Egypt. A few British regiments, however, were left in Portugal; and a subsidy was granted by Britain to her catholic majesty, of 300,000*l.*: an aid, as was observed, as justly as frequently, both in and out of parliament, fitted only to serve as a bribe, or to make up a bribe, for the purchase of a temporary peace to Buonaparte.

The court of Madrid, yielding to the solicitations and threats of their terrible allies, declared war against Portugal, on the 3d of March, 1801. The principal grounds of this measure were declared to be these: that the court of Lisbon had refused to ratify a peace with France, signed by its plenipotentiary in 1797, by which Portugal agreed to separate itself from England, and, as a pledge of its fidelity, to suffer its ports to be garrisoned by Spanish troops; that all the attempts of his catholic majesty to detach Portugal from his enemy, England, and to induce her to make peace with his ally, France, had proved ineffectual; that, by her sailors, and the protection afforded in her ports to the fleets of England, she had assisted the fleets of this country in the exercise of their hostility against France and Spain; that she had furnished the English with provisions, and taken part with them in all their acts of aggression, even so far as to insult the French in the port of Carthagena.—"What conduct," the king of Spain put the question, "had he to observe in the midst of so many outrages? The French republic, justly irritated against Portugal, was desirous of inflicting a just vengeance upon her, and its victorious arms would long since have spread desolation through its provinces, if his fraternal affection for the most faithful queen, and her august children, had not suspended the blow with which it was threatened by his ally, the republic.—From his paternal care for those provinces, he had been induced to forget all preceding, and all fresh grievances, which he had to complain of, and to endeavour to divert the

* Lord Hawkesbury's speech in the house of commons, in the debate on the definitive treaty, Monday, May 13, 1802.

successes

successes of the French armies, and to obtain an advantageous peace. He strongly represented to the court of Portugal the dangers to which it exposed itself. He had employed the most engaging language of paternal tenderness and friendship, to incline them to a wise determination.—The obstinacy of Portugal had obliged him, at last, to use a harsher language."

It was not, however, till the 26th of April, that a proclamation of war, or rather of defence, was issued by the Portuguese government. After enumerating many, and some recent, good offices of Portugal to Spain, they complained that the court of Madrid, instead of evincing sentiments of gratitude, for the generous conduct of Portugal, had, on the contrary, by terminating hostilities with France, not only endangered the nation which had assisted it, but declared war against the Portuguese, for having remained faithful to their treaties. It set up a pretext, that treaties contracted in the sight of God and man might be suddenly broken, and that their august prince and the nation should be guilty of perjury. A nation, which could resist the Romans, conquer Asia, make great discoveries by sea, shake off a foreign sceptre, and recover and maintain her independence, should not that nation, at present, recal to mind the honourable annals of her history?—" People of Portugal! we still preserve the courage and sentiments transmitted by our ancestors. Justice is on our side; and the true God, favourable to our cause, will punish, by our arms, the injustice of our adversaries."

Never were mutual declarations of war made with less acrimony, or a sincerer desire of coming speedily to terms of peace. The same spirit of moderation, forbearance, and good will, appeared in the conduct of the war, that was displayed, on both sides, in its proclamation. Preparations, or a show of preparations, were made by the Portuguese government for a war, professed to be merely defensive. New levies were made in all places, and among all ranks, the ecclesiastics, and men above sixty, alone excepted. None were exempted capable of bearing arms, or, as the Portuguese have it, " capable of showing a beard." A force was raised, and set in motion, of regulars and irregulars; but the numbers we have not been able to ascertain with any tolerable degree of exactness. The prince of Brazils attended the army in person. To assist in carrying on the war, government borrowed the plate of the churches, which was deposited as a pledge, in aid of the public faith, for sums advanced, in the hands of individuals; and an augmentation was made, of one-third part, to the daily pay of the soldiers. Every thing, in short, wore the appearance of a necessary defence against a serious and alarming invasion.

The province of Alentejo, the largest, the most fertile, and the best cultivated of the six into which Portugal is divided, is 200 miles long, and eighty broad. It is extended from the confines of Spain to the sea. It is divided into two grand districts, by the Tagus and the Guadiana. The former of these rivers bounds it on the north, and separates it from Estramadura; and the latter entering Portugal, near Badajoz, and flowing through its

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southern parts, falls into the gulf of Cadiz, at Ayamonte, and there forms the boundary between Portugal and Spain. Both these rivers presented to the military eye, natural inlets into Portugal. That of the Tagus, on the right bank, was the most natural and direct to the main force of the kingdom, Lisbon and Oporto. But the Spaniards proceeded by that of the Guadiana; though the Tagus, on the right of which Oporto and Lisbon are situated, furnished with an army to oppose the passage, cannot be crossed from the south; and that an army, which enters Alentejo, cannot extend its hostilities beyond that province, or, at most, to Algarva.—If the Spaniards had been at liberty to choose what route they pleased, the choice they made might easily be accounted for: but it is probable that the plan of invading Portugal was concerted, or rather dictated, by Buonaparte. While the Spaniards were to penetrate into Alentejo, the French auxiliaries were to act on the other side of the Tagus, and march to Oporto* and Lisbon.

The Spanish army, from 30 to 40,000, under the command of the prince of peace, from different points, entered Alentejo on the 20th of May.—It would be idle, and, after the campaigns and engagements in this work, recently described, might well appear uninteresting and tiresome, to give a particular account of a campaign, where all was rapid progress on the one part, and precipitate retreat, with very little resistance, on the other. By the 6th of June, the Spaniards had reduced Elvas, Campo-Major, Arronches, Fior de Rosa, Estrencoz, and, in a word, all the strong places, and all the magazines of Alentejo. They had taken a great number of prisoners, 11 standards, and driven the Portuguese beyond the Tagus. On that day, the 6th of June, preliminaries of peace were signed between Portugal and Spain, at Badajoz: the principal conditions of which were, that the town, fortress, and province of Olivenza, were ceded to Spain, and the ports of Portugal shut against the English. This pacification was ratified on June 16, but not proclaimed by Portugal, till the 20th of July. It was deemed prudent not to publish the treaty of Badajoz till the Portuguese possessions in South America, by a reinforcement of French troops, should be secured from invasion on the part of England. In the Portuguese proclamation, not a word of France was mentioned.

From the whole aspect of this business, between Spain and Portugal, there cannot be a doubt that the courts of Madrid and Lisbon maintained a secret understanding with each other. The Spaniards forbore the attack on the Portuguese, as long as possible. They had no effective army, or rather, perhaps, they chose to have none. The French government, however, urged them to raise one, which they promised to support with troops from France. A French army of observation had been established for some time near Bourdeaux, and detachments of this had begun to

* Next to Lisbon, the richest and most commercial town in the kingdom. It has a naval arsenal.

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file off, by Bayonne, toward the Spanish frontier. The French general St. Cyr, was, at the same time, sent to Madrid, to be with the Spanish general, and to concert with him all the operations of the war. Spain, therefore, with an apparent desire to gratify the wishes of her republican ally, but, in reality, to prevent a greater mischief, commenced the aggression. She took the field with an army hastily collected, and without a sufficiency of either stores or provisions. An army of the same complexion, and equally devoid of energy, was sent to oppose her. An attempt was made by marches, and a little skirmishing, in which not more than 4 or 500 were engaged on both sides, to deceive the republicans into a belief, that both parties were seriously at war. The French hastened to forward and crown the victorious career of their ally. But the moment they approached to the scene of action, terms were proposed by the Portuguese court, acceded to by that of Spain, and thus all disputes between these kindred powers were amicably settled.

The situation of Portugal, shut up between the prevailing power and influence of the French by land, and that of the English at sea, was extremely hard, and bore a near resemblance to that of the Danes, menaced on the one hand by the English, during the formation of the late northern coalition, and on the other by Russia. Mr. Friar, the English envoy at Lisbon, sent a strong note to the Portuguese minister, remonstrating against the conclusion of peace, till his court should be consulted.

At this haughty conduct, the Portuguese cabinet was greatly hurt, as Portugal had to complain of the conduct of Great Britain. Immediately after Mr. Friar had presented this note, he wrote another to Mr. Arbuthnot, the English consul, desiring him to intimate to the British merchants to hold themselves in readiness to depart at a moment's notice. But the English were invited to remain, with assurance of protection, by the prince regent of Portugal.

By a convention entered into between France and Spain, at Madrid, peace was not to be concluded between these parties on the one hand, and Portugal on the other, unless, among other conditions, certain places in Portugal should be given to be occupied by French troops, until the establishment of a general peace in Europe. When, therefore, the first consul of France was invited to accede to the preliminaries of the peace of Badajoz, he refused his concurrence. He represented that it was contrary to the convention of Madrid, and to the general policy and interest of the allies. And that the immediate consequence of this treaty to his catholic majesty, if he should ratify it, separately, would be the loss of Trinidad; which must be ceded, as a condition of peace with the British nation, if the occupation by French troops, of some quarter, or some posts in Portugal, should not enable the French government to offer, to the cabinet of London, an option, which it might prefer even to the possession of the Spanish island. But the court of Lisbon, having ratified the treaty of Badajoz, separately, the French government proceeded in its determination

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tion of invading Portugal. A French army, 30,000 strong, under general Leclerc, provided with a numerous train of artillery, having traversed the Pyrenees, entered Portugal from Salamanca, on the 28th of June, invested the town and fortress of Almeida, and, from that position, menaced both Oporto and Lisbon. —It was the policy of Great Britain to counterbalance the conquests made by the common enemy on her allies, by seizing their transmarine dependencies. While the French threatened the subjugation of Portugal, a squadron, with troops, was sent out by the British government for taking into our protection and possession, the island of Madeira. It arrived on the 23d of July, at the place of its destination. Early on the 24th, a negotiation was begun, and, before it was dark, half the force was landed and encamped.—On the 25th, the remainder was landed; and colonel Clinton, who commanded the expedition, having made proper representations, and satisfied the governor of the friendly intentions of the English to the Portuguese, was put in possession of the two forts which command the bay of Funchal, the capital of the island.

Edicts were again issued by the Portuguese government, for military conscriptions. Large bounties were offered to seamen, for manning six ships of the line, intended to join the English fleet at Cadiz. The subsidy from England of 300,000*l.* which arrived early in July, in an English frigate, quickened the exertions of the Portuguese. Succours in men likewise were solicited from England, and fondly, though vainly, expected. The men were at work in the arsenals of Lisbon and Oporto day and night. The greatest activity prevailed in every branch of the war department. Portugal was seriously prepared to defend herself.

The Portuguese army, however, notwithstanding all the requisitions, and all the bounties which were offered to landsmen, as well as sailors, did not amount to more than from 20 to 25,000 men, including three regiments of loyal French emigrants, and some corps of English cavalry. Its head-quarters were fixed in the strong post of Abrantes, on the Tagus, in Estramadura. The commander-in-chief was the duke of Alfoens.

The duke, in the beginning of July, quitting Abrantes, and leaving a strong corps there, under the command of general Forbes*, proceeded with the main army, to occupy such position as might enable him to check the farther irruptions of the French. But, in the mean time, while the weak, and but ill-provided Portuguese army were thus employed, and the French frowned farther invasion and conquest from Almeida, a negotiation was set on foot for peace: which was finally concluded at Madrid, on the 29th of September. By this treaty, neither Olivenza, nor any other portion of the Portuguese territory, was given to Spain. But the interests of France were consulted in commer-

* A Scotchman, who had been long in the service of Portugal. This is the colonel Forbes who called out the famous John Wilkes, at Paris, for having so much abused the colonel's countrymen, in one of the numbers of the North Briton.

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cial regulations, and in the extension, as well as compactness of the French Guiana*. The fate of Portugal, with its dependencies, it was evident, was to turn on the conditions of peace between France and England. The pacification with Portugal was signed only two days before the signing of the preliminaries of peace between France and England: which peace was accelerated by the quickened preparations and attempts of France to invade Great Britain and Ireland, and the futility of all such attempts proved to the conviction of France, and all the world.

* See State Papers.

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CHAP. XVI.

Invasion of Britain in flat-bottomed Boats.—By whom first projected.—The Policy of Buonaparte in his Menaces of Invasion.—To which his boasted Preparations were inadequate.—Gallant Exploits of British Gun boats and Cruizers.—French Ports blockaded—and Coasts insulted—yet French Vessels of War steal from one Place to another, alongshore —Their great Place of Rendezvous, Boulogne.—The French and English on the opposite Sides of the Channel keep each other on the alert.—The Tide of War turned by the English from offensive to defensive.—French Preparation for Self-defence.—The War between France and Britain assumes an Aspect extremely interesting.—The opposite Preparations of War seen from the opposite Coasts.—The Harbour of Boulogne described.—French Encampments and Fortifications.—Bombardment of the Vessels in the Harbour of Boulogne.—Its Effects.—Second Attack on Boulogne.—Singular Precautions of the French, for defending and securing their Vessels from being carried off by the English.—Plan of the Attack.—Circumstances that involved its Miscarriage.—Defeat and Disaster.—Lord Nelson, leaving a sufficient Force before Boulogne, returns to Deal.—Humane Attentions of Lord Nelson to the wounded Sailors.

THE plan of a descent on Britain in flat-bottomed boats, from Boulogne, was first proposed by the famous Lally, in 1744. It was for a moment adopted by the French ministry, but quickly abandoned, as impracticable. There had not arisen any circumstances in the British army, or in the character of the British nation, and certainly not in the navy, that presented greater facilities of invasion, in the course of the last fifty years, than could be hoped for at any former period. Nor was the present ruler of France so devoid of prudence, or desperate in fortune, as to hazard so extravagant and frantic a project. At the same time, therefore, that the necessity of vigilance and preparation for defence was allowed on all hands, the most reflecting and judicious part of the British nation were fully persuaded that no descent of any consequence would be attempted, unless it should be invited by too great carelessness, or contempt of the enemy. The policy of Buonaparte was twofold: to divide and distract, and to exhaust the resources of the British government, as above stated, and at the same time to occupy, and keep in exercise, a very numerous army. This army, he could not, in prudence or with safety, either to the republic, as it was still called, or to himself, permit to languish in absolute

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solute idleness, or to indulge the restless genius of Frenchmen, in listening to various schemes of endless innovation. The state of the continent was still critical and unsettled. The indemnities of Germany were yet to be fixed; the clamours of discontented states, and the intrigues of cabinets, to be overawed. It was natural therefore, in these circumstances, that France should station her disposable troops along the frontier, in a sort of activity, and in the expectation of services, in order to prevent idleness, cabal, remissness, and desertion. But, while it was ridiculously asserted, and as ridiculously believed by many, that France had, in the month of August, from 60 to 80,000 men assembled in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk, 30,000 near Calais and Boulogne, 30,000 in Flanders and Holland, and 60, or 70,000 more in the neighbourhood of Rochford and Brest, all her preparations were, in reality, but slight, and utterly inadequate to the object which she professed to have in contemplation. There was little danger of an attack from an enemy, whom our light ships of war every where insulted on their own coasts, who were every where attacked, and almost constantly with success, by British squadrons, and individual ships of inferior force, and the amount of whose progress towards invasion was little more than to smuggle a few gun-boats along their own coasts, when they had the good fortune to escape being captured in the main seas, by regaining the port from whence they came. The vessels were frequently drawn along shore by horses.

On the 11th of June, the boats of sir John Borlase's squadron cut out, from the harbour of St. Croix, eleven French ships laden with provisions and stores for the combined fleets in the harbour of Brest. By the boats also of sir John Borlase Warren's squadron, a number of the enemy's vessels was destroyed, June 22, in Quimper-bay. On the 27th of May, his majesty's brig of war, Speedy, commanded by lord Cochrane, fell in with some Spanish vessels, under convoy of his catholic majesty's xebec, Elgamo, of 258 men, and 36 guns. The Speedy, carrying fourteen four-pounders, captured nine ships of the convoy; and, having sent men on board of the prizes, she had only 25 men remaining out of seventy, her original complement. She was chased by the xebec, which gained upon her rapidly. But her brave commander was determined that she should not be a cheap conquest. Accordingly, a warm action commenced, which, however, did not last long. The xebec, after having lost some of her hands, surrendered to the Speedy, and was taken by her, along with the other prizes, and prisoners, into the harbour of Mahon, in Minorca.

On the 21st of July, the boats of his majesty's ships, the Doris, Beaulieu, and Urania, which composed part of the inshore squadron off Brest, entirely manned by volunteers, under the direction of lieutenant Lusack, boarded and carried the French national corvette, La Chevrette, mounting 20 guns, manned, and completely prepared for a voyage to St. Domingo, with three hundred and fifty men, under the batteries in the bay of Cameret, and in the presence of the combined fleets of France and

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Spain. The attack was made during the night: but, as soon as the enemy perceived the English boats approaching, they began a heavy fire, both from the ship and the shore. The contest lasted two hours and a half, during which time a dreadful carnage took place on both sides. The French ship's deck, when she struck, was literally covered with the mingled bodies of the contending parties.

In the night of the 20th of August, the boats of the British ships of war, the Fishguard, the Diamond, and the Boadicea, under the direction of lieutenant Pipon, cut out of the harbour of Corunna, a new ship, pierced for 20 guns, a gun-boat mounting a long 82 pounder, and a merchant ship: all of them moored within the strong batteries that protect the port. The prizes were towed out of the harbour under a heavy fire, with great coolness and perseverance.

About the same time, some English frigates burned a mass of pitch and tar, on the coast of Picardy, attacked a division of flat-bottomed boats on their way from St. Vallery, to join the flotilla at Boulogne, took three, and blew up four.

A division of 30 or 40 gun and flat-bottomed boats at Calais, and another division, supposed to be nearly the same number, were blocked up, at this time, August 22, each by seven or eight English ships of war; while two ships of the line, a frigate, two brigs, and three or four cutters, were stationed off Boulogne. Yet, notwithstanding this blockade, gun-boats, armed flat bottomed boats, and other small craft of the French, made their way from one port to another, and were brought together in great numbers at Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne, Havre, La Hogue, Dieppe, Cherbourg, St. Maloes, and other places. But the place of rendezvous for the whole, or the greater part, was Boulogne. The French small craft were frequently enabled to make their way, in good weather, by keeping close to the shore, while the English ships of war were out in the open sea.

The nature of the maritime war that was, at this time, carried on close in on the French side of the channel, and the extreme absurdity of the threatened invasion, will appear from the mention of one circumstance, that when their vessels were enabled to skulk along the shore, and to escape from the British ships of war, by means of batteries on land, this was published as matter of congratulation and triumph. The following article, extracted from the French journals, was considered as a piece of great and good news.

Brest, August 22d. "Four chasse-marées, laden with salt, having doubled the point of Pennemarck, were chased about nine o'clock in the morning by an English frigate, which endeavoured to cut off their retreat, from Audierne. The troops of artillery and infantry were at their post; already the frigate had discharged several shots on one of the chasse-marées, and had considerably damaged it. It was on the point of surrendering, when the crew were loudly encouraged from the battery of Cremence to continue their voyage, with assurances that they would receive the necessary degree of protection from a battery near at hand. Encouraged

couraged by this, the vessel continued its course, and arrived in safety at the place of its destination.

"The officer commanding the battery, seeing that the three other vessels were making the shore at an intermediate point, and that the frigate had manned three boats, to defeat their design, for want of houses, caused the cannoniers to drag along the beach a field piece three quarters of the way. But, their strength failing them, they took up their muskets, and, conjointly with the infantry, flew to the place where the vessels were aground. But the enemy had previously reached the place, and had time, in spite of a very brisk fire from the battery of Sock, to set fire to two of the chassemarées, and to carry off the third. Two officers of the 40th, with a number of fusileers and cannoniers, precipitated themselves on board the vessels. In the face of one hundred and fifty shots from the frigate, which was at anchor, opposite to them, they succeeded in extinguishing the fire on board one of them, and brought her safe into the port of Audierne. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the activity and zeal of the officers, fusileers, and cannoniers."

Thus the French and English were busily employed in keeping each other on the alert. A mighty force was collected on either side of the channel. More and more troops were continually drawing to the French coast. Reinforcements, on the other hand, were daily sent to the British, so that, by the beginning of August, the sea was covered in a manner with our ships of war along the whole extent of the coast, from which the enemy might attempt to execute their threats of invasion. But a system of mere defence was not considered as worthy of the British nation. Even menaces of invasion were not to pass with impunity. It would have been madness to have attempted an invasion of France: but there were different points on the coasts of France, Flanders, and Holland, where deep wounds might be given; and where the painful and tedious preparations of the enemy might be disconcerted in a moment.

To turn the tide of war, from defensive to offensive, was deemed not less wise than magnanimous conduct. The nature of war merely defensive was dispiriting. It gave the enemy not only the choice of his time and place, but the advantage of courage and energy in his attack It was better to hazard something in offensive war than to lower the public mind by suspense. At the very point of time, therefore, when the project of invading this country appeared to be ripe for execution, it was determined that lord Nelson, with a flotilla of gun-boats, and other armed vessels, backed by some ships of the line, should carry the terrors of war home to the doors of France. A fitter agent for this purpose could not have been chosen than lord Nelson. His very name was a tower of strength: and every thing possible to be done was to be expected from the skill as well as gallantry of his conduct. There were, however, not a few, who disapproved the appointment of lord Nelson to the command of this flotilla. There were not wanting many other skilful and intrepid commanders. And there would have been more dignity, it was thought, to have shown that we had other naval commanders fitted to conduct

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an expedition of gun-boats, besides the illustrious conqueror at Aboukir and Copenhagen.

Nec deus intersit nisi dignus, vindice nodus Inciderit.—*Hor.*

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But lord Nelson, himself, offered his services. It has been said, we know not how truly, that the plan of attacking, instead of waiting to be attacked by the French, was first proposed by lord Nelson to lord St. Vincent.

While the armament, to be directed by lord Nelson, was drawing together at Sheerness and the Nore, a stop was put to all intercourse between England and the opposite coasts. Orders were sent by government not to suffer any persons whatever to land from France, Flanders, or Holland.

The French, instead of making attacks on England, were wholly employed in preparations for defence against the dreaded attacks of the English armament. At Boulogne, Dunkirk, Dieppe, Havre, Cherbourg, and other places, where the English might direct their attacks, land forces were collected from the neighbouring quarters; batteries were constructed, and furnaces erected for heating red-hot shot; all which had fires in them ready for service. The French were every where, on their coasts, kept on the alert, and felt that anxiety and alarm which unavoidably arises in the most courageous breasts from ignorance of the particular point to be attacked by a brave and enterprising commander.

The war between France and Britain assumed now an aspect extremely interesting to every individual of the French and the British nations. In former wars, and in the preceding part of the present, hostilities were carried on in distant colonies. In Italy, Germany, or other parts of the continent, the nations seemed now to come to close quarters with each other. The contest bore somewhat of the character of the struggles between the French and English in the days of our Henrys and Edwards. The French encampments, on the coast of Picardy, were seen with the aid of glasses, from Dover, and bodies of English troops were in like manner seen from Calais.

On the 30th of July, lord Nelson hoisted his flag on board the Leyden of 68 guns, at Deal, and took the command of the armament, destined for an unknown expedition*. Curiosity was greatly excited, all was anxious expectation.—Lord Nelson, with the squadron under his command, on sailing from Deal, August 1st, stood over to the coast of France. Boulogne sur Mer was the place on which it was resolved to make the attack. This, as above noticed, was the principal place of rendezvous, on the opposite coast, where the enemy had been assembling their numerous small craft, as was given out, for the invasion of this country. The gun-boats and flat-bottomed boats, in the harbour of Boulogne, had been reinforced by a flotilla from Calais, consisting of six gun-brigs, four lug-

* The force, under his command, comprehended, besides the Leyden, the de Ruyter of 64 guns, the Isis of 50 guns, the Hind and Brilliant frigates, together with a great number of bombs and gun-boats, revenue-cutters, and armed pinnaces, in all about 40 sail. His lordship afterwards shifted his flag to the Medusa frigate.

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gers, and two schooners. The design of the enemy, to come out, was soon perceived by our cruizers in that quarter; they slipped their cables, and gave them chace, but found it difficult to get within shot of them; so that, by keeping in close by the shore, they got into Boulogne. In this harbour there were now, besides the flotilla from Calais, two schooners and sixteen gun-boats and luggers. On either side of the town there was formed an extensive encampment. Lord Nelson, having arrived off Boulogne, employed all Monday, August 3d, in reconnoitring the fortifications of the place, and concerting the best plan for an attack.

The shore at Boulogne stretches nearly towards the east and west: Towards the east, a point of land runs out, forming a bay. In the middle of this is the mouth of the harbour, which looks out to the north. The enemy's vessels, consisting of six brigs, two schooners, and about twenty gun-boats, were arranged in a line along the beach, not half a mile from shore, one half east, but the longest half west of the harbour's mouth, in front of which was the largest brig. On the beach of the harbour was a strong battery, and another on the pier-head, east of the harbour.

Lord Nelson, on Monday evening, stood close into Boulogne, with some of the bomb-vessels, and threw several bombs, to try how they would reach the enemy. Finding that they reached the shore, he made a signal of recal, and the whole armament anchored about four miles from the land. Orders were given to begin the attack at break of day next morning, 4th of August. At four o'clock, he himself stationed the bombs, five in number, in an oblique line, stretching from the west end of the line of the enemy. They came to anchor, and began to throw bombs about five o'clock. The other ships of war were stationed, under weigh, in another line, behind the bombs, ready to render assistance. His lordship's own flag was placed in front of the harbour, having our two lines, one of bombs, another of small ships of war, stretching from his right. Behind these was the Leyden, man of war. Lord Nelson's first intention was to attack the enemy's vessels with bombs only, as these reach much farther than shot, and would prove effectual, while the enemy's shot could not reach our vessels. At six o'clock, however, it being then high water, lord Nelson, in order to induce them to disclose their strongest points, (for it was difficult to discover their batteries, the cliffs being of a brown clay,) sent his ships of war very close to the shore, in face of the batteries, where they fired first one broadside, and tacking round, fired the other: and then sailing away, they loaded again for another such attack. This produced a heavy firing on both sides; but when the water fell, this of course was given over. The French batteries, on each side of the harbour, could only fire straight out, or nearly so, while our bomb-vessels were stationed so much to their left, that the batteries could not bear upon them. The French soon discovered the inutility of their batteries; they therefore set on a number of men to throw up works and batteries on the hill, in the eastern turn of the bay, which flanks the whole line of coast. But still they could not reach our bomb vessels, which were at the extremity of the line

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line of vessels to the westward. Only a few shells, therefore, were thrown from them. The object which the British admiral had in view, in the disposition of his vessels, was, to have all the French ships to retreat towards the mouth of the harbour, that, being in a cluster, their destruction might be effected at night.

The wind being favourable for the bomb-vessels to act, he made the signal for them to weigh, and to throw shells at the enemy's vessels, but previous orders had been given, as little as possible to annoy the town. Six of the French vessels were so much damaged, that they were towed from the scene of action. Five of them were got into the mole: one sunk; three others were also sunk; and one bulged. It was lord Nelson's intention in the dark to have sent three bombs close upon the enemy, each bomb towed by ten-boats; which were also to tow the boats away, in case of accident. But the wind shifting, the attack became impracticable, without the utmost danger: and our whole fleet was obliged to haul off, without making the attempt. In this affair one of our engineers was wounded, and one seaman lost an arm; this was all our loss. As to the advantage gained, lord Nelson made no great account of it. "It would serve to convince the enemy," he said, in his dispatches to the admiralty, "that they could not come out of their harbours with impunity."

While our ships of war were firing their broadsides at the French on shore, about seven in the morning, as above mentioned, lord Nelson moved about in his barge, making observations and minutes, which might be useful in a future attack. That some attack, either here, or elsewhere, was intended, he signified, in general orders, *Medusa, off Boulogne*, August 5. "Lord Nelson has reason to be very much satisfied with the captains of the bombs, for their placing of the vessels yesterday. It was impossible that they could be better situated: and the artillery officers have shown great skill in disabling ten out of twenty-four, opposed to them. The commander-in-chief cannot avoid noting the great zeal and desire to attack the enemy in a closer and different combat, which manifested itself in all ranks of persons, and which lord Nelson would have gladly given full scope to, had the attempt, at this moment, been proper. But the officers and others may rely, that an early opportunity shall be given them for showing their judgment, zeal, and bravery."

On the 6th of August, the British admiral sailed, with part of his fleet, to Margate Roads. A number of his gun-boats returned to Deal. And a sufficient force remained off Boulogne. From Margate Roads, lord Nelson, without ever having gone ashore, again set sail, on the 8th, directing his course, at first, not to the Downs, but to the eastward, as if it had been his design to make an attack on Flushing, or some other port on the Dutch coast. But the real point of attack was no other than Boulogne. To an active and daring mind, accustomed to overcome all obstacles in the pursuit of victory and glory, the late success, in disabling so great a proportion of the flotilla, appeared, in the light of a disappointment, if not a defeat, rather than a matter of triumph. He was inflamed with an ardent desire of bringing off the enemy's flotilla, which was

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moored in the front of Boulogne, to the number now of twenty-five armed vessels.

This attempt, the effect of courage, carried by a tide of success to the length of temerity, and almost madness, was made on the night between the 15th and 16th of August. The force collected at the Downs, for this second attack, amounted to about seventy vessels, of different descriptions: on board of which were some thousands of marines. On the evening of the 15th, about dusk, our vessels were ordered to form in four divisions, to storm the French line of boats, brigs, and luggers, defended by long poles, headed with spikes of iron, projecting from their sides, and with a very strong netting braced up to their lower yards, moored head and stern across the harbour, with iron chains, in the strongest manner, containing each from one hundred and fifty to two hundred soldiers, and under the protection of land-batteries as well as musketry from the shore. Since the first bombardment, the enemy had erected batteries on every favourable point, and the army collected on the heights occupied a line of nearly three miles in length. But the circumstance of the vessels being made fast to one another, and to the ground, by means of strong iron chains, was then unknown to the English. Our men were provided with boarding-pikes, tomahawks, and cutlasses only. Fire-arms were forbidden, lest they should have been induced to fire, and alarm the enemy before they could be well up with their boats. The plan of the attack was as follows: the fleet was put into four divisions of boats for boarding, each under the command of a captain; and a fifth division of howitzer-boats. The first four divisions consisted in flat-bottomed boats, armed only with marines, and the boats belonging to the different ships and cutters in the squadron. Each of these divisions consisted of three flat-bottomed boats, and about ten six-oared boats. The first division was commanded by captain Sommerville, of the Eugene; the second, by captain Parker, of the Medusa; the third, by captain Cosgrave, of the Gannet; the fourth, by captain Jones, of the Diligence. The division of howitzer-boats were under the direction of captain John Conn. The whole flotilla was formed into the different divisions by the senior master and commander, captain Sommerville. Each division had its proportionate number of enemies' vessels to attack, the first beginning to the eastward, and so on in the order westward. The boats, in their respective divisions, put off from the Medusa, at half past eleven at night, of the 15th. The second division, under captain Parker, closed with the enemy first, at half past twelve, Sunday morning. Captain Parker ordered captain Williams, with the subdivision under his orders, to push on to attack the vessels to the northward of him, while he himself, with the others, ran alongside a large brig off the mole head, wearing the commodore's pendent. The boats were no sooner alongside of this ship, than they attempted to board. But the strong netting, already noticed, baffled all their endeavours, and an instantaneous discharge of guns, from about 200 soldiers on her gun-wale, laid captain Parker, with two-thirds of the crew, on their backs, into the boat, all either killed

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or desperately wounded. A part of the officers and crew of the Medusa were in the boat with captain Parker; and another part of them in the barge, under lieutenant Longford, who nobly seconded the efforts of the captain until all her crew was disabled from making any effort. The barge, being on the outside, was enabled to get off with the tide; but the boat, in which captain Parker was, hung alongside; and, as there was not an officer or man left to govern her, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, if she had not been taken in tow and carried off by the hon. Mr. Cathcart, who commanded the Medusa's cutter. Mr. Cathcart sustained the attack with the greatest intrepidity, until the desperate situation in which captain Parker was left, obliged him to call Mr. Cathcart to his assistance.

Mr. Williams led his subdivision to the enemy with the utmost gallantry. He took one lugger, and had began to attack a brig, while his crews suffered equally with those under the immediate command of his captain. Nearly the whole of his own boat's crew were either killed or wounded.

The next division, that came up with the enemy, was that under the direction of captain Cotgrave. The captain, wishing to reduce the largest vessel first, lost no time in making the attack; but, in consequence of his leading the division, and of the enemy's opening a heavy fire from several batteries, thinking it advisable to give the enemy as little time as possible, he cut the tow-rope, and did not wait for the other boats: so that it was some little time before the other boats could get up. He received so many shots through the boat's bottom, that he soon found her in a sinking state; and, as it was not possible to stop so many shot-holes, he was obliged, with the men, to take to one of the boats of the ship, York, which soon came up with the rest of his division. Finding, from the number of men killed and wounded in the different boats, and the constant fire of grape and small arms from the shore, that there was not any prospect of success, he thought it for the good of his majesty's service to withdraw the boats between two and three in the morning.

The first division, carried by the rapidity of the tide, did not gain the place of its destination at the time intended; and captain Sommerville, finding that he was not likely to reach it in the order prescribed, gave directions for the boats to cast each other off. By so doing, he was enabled to come up with the enemy's flotilla, a little before the dawn of day, and, in the best order possible, to attack, close to the pier-head, a brig, which, after a sharp contest, he carried. Previously to this her cables were cut; but the captors were prevented from towing her off, by her being secured with a chain. Not seeing the least prospect of being able to get her off, and in consequence of a heavy fire of musketry and grape-shot that was poured on them from the shore, three luggers, and another brig, within half pistol-shot, they were obliged to abandon her, and push out of the bay, as it was then completely daylight. The fourth division, notwithstanding every exertion, could not, on account of the rapidity of the returning tide, get to the westward of any part of the enemy's line, until near daylight. On approaching the eastern part of the-

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the line, in order to assist the first division then engaged, they met them returning. Under these circumstances, and the day breaking apace, captain Jones judged it prudent to direct the officers commanding the different boats to return to their different ships.

Captain Conn, with the howitzers, in support of captain Parker's division, advanced towards the pier, until he was aground in the headmost boat. He then opened his fire, and threw about eight shells into the harbour. From the strength of the ebb, he was not able to keep his station off the pier-head. He continued, however, his fire on the French camp, till the enemy's fire had slackened, and almost totally failed, and captain Parker's division had passed without him.

One French lugger only was brought off, with a lieutenant, eight seamen, and eight soldiers; being all that remained out of about double that number, with which she had been manned.

The loss of the English, in this second attack on Boulogne, in officers, seamen, and marines, killed and wounded, amounted to not less than 172. Among the wounded, was captain Parker, who lost a leg and thigh. The loss of the French is not known: though it is reasonably supposed to have been very considerable; not only from the havoc made by our seamen and marines, but from the vollies of musketry poured by the enemy, regardless of their own men, into their own brigs and boats, after they were boarded, and had fallen, or were likely to fall into the hands of the English. The French admiral, Latouche Treville, in his dispatches to the minister of the marine, stated the loss of the French at no more than ten men killed, and thirty wounded. This diminution, of what must have been the real loss here, is carried so far as to be wholly incredible. The admiral did not pretend to deny that our men boarded the French vessels with the utmost intrepidity; nor attempt to conceal that they were compelled to retire, merely in consequence of the impracticability of getting the ships off, and the strong fire of musketry kept up on them from the troops in the gun-boats, and that lined the shore. He denies, however, that a single shot was fired from the land batteries, from a dread of wounding and killing their own men. Eight of our boats, according to the French accounts, were sunk, and four barges taken. They describe also the shocking spectacle that was presented on board their vessels after the action. The decks strewed with dead and dying; and fingers, hands, wrists, and arms, every where discovered, after the dead bodies were thrown into the sea. The attempt was, in truth, a deplorable act of temerity; a prodigal exposure of human life.

The gallant admiral ascribed the failure of success "to the darkness of the night; the rapidity of the tide and half tide; the separation of the divisions; and the circumstance of their not arriving all at the same happy moment with captain Parker. But it is sufficiently accounted for by foresis of cutlasses and bayonets; vollies of musketry and grape-shot, poured on our men, both from gun-boats, and from the shore, while they were employed in clearing away the strong boarding netting; the projecting spikes; and the chains which remained after our brave seamen had cut the cables of the

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the enemy's vessels; and the barricades covering numerous troops abaft their mainmasts —We are, on all occasions, happy to do justice to the enemy. The French commodore, (we are informed from the mostindisputableauthority,)addressed the first boat's crew that approached his ship, and in which was captain Parker, as already noticed, in the following words, which were spoken in pretty good English: "Let me advise you, my brave Englishmen, to keep your distance. You can do nothing here; and it is only uselessly shedding the blood of brave men to make the attempt."

The tremendous engagement at Boulogne, in which the roar of so much artillery, both at sea and on shore, seemed to shake both heaven and earth, was heard on both sides of the channel, and the first, on both, was seen. During the whole of the action of the 3d of August, the hills near Boulogne were covered with spectators. The heights around Dover were, in like manner, covered with thousands of people. It was a clear day, and the wind at south-east; so that the greater part of our ships were to be seen, while they kept up a fire on the harbour of Boulogne. The smoke of the French batteries, firing in return, was also distinctly seen. This is, perhaps, the first engagement of any magnitude, between France and England, that was seen from the shores of both countries.

On Sunday afternoon, lord Nelson, with part of his fleet, returned to the Downs. The remainder continued, for some time, to cruise on the French coast.

September 14. The commander of the English cruisers, captain Sommerville, anchored at the distance of a league and a half from the French line, which was called the advanced guard, with two large ships and a frigate, and ten vessels of inferior note.

At Deal, lord Nelson did every thing in his power for the relief or comfort of the brave men who had suffered in this unfortunate expedition; and his kind and cordial sympathy afforded to our brave and generous seamen and marines a very sensible consolation and pleasure. His time was chiefly occupied in visiting the wounded in the hospital. He paid the utmost attention to every individual; inquiring into their several cases, and consoling them with a promise, that he would shortly bring them good news. On asking one man, whom he recollected, how he was, he learnt, that he had lost an arm. Lord Nelson told him never to mind that; for that he himself had lost one also, and perhaps should shortly lose a leg; but that they could never be lost in a better cause than the defence of their country. This had a wonderful effect on the seamen. Several of them exclaimed, that they only regretted their wounds, as they prevented them from accompanying him in another attack on their enemies.

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CHAP. XVII.

Singular Modesty of the French, after the Repulse of the second Attack on Boulogne—accounted for.—Considerations inclining the French Government to Peace.—Flags of Truce—amidst continued Preparations on both Sides for War and mutual Invasion.—Negotiation for Peace—brought to a Conclusion.—Preliminaries of Peace announced in the London Gazette.—Enthusiastic Joy at the Return of Peace, both in London and Paris, and all other Parts of France and Britain.—Very different Emotions excited by this Event in the Breast of the French Loyalists.—Their Cause deserted by the last Power in which they had still hitherto reposed some Hopes and Confidence.—New Hopes resorted to by the French Emigrants.—Their Situation described.—Reflections.—Peace between France and the Ottoman Porte.—Between France and the Elector Palatine of Bavaria.—Between France and Russia.—Between Great Britain and Russia, and acceded to by the other Northern Maritime Powers.—Convention between Buonaparte and the Pope for the Reestablishment in France of the Catholic Religion.—The Conduct of the Emigrant Bishops of France contrasted with that of the Constitutional Bishops—and with that of the English Clergy in the Reign of Henry VIII.—Reflections.

FROM the vapouring boasts and menaces with which the French proclamations and other papers were usually stuffed, on the smallest advantage gained over the English at sea, it was to be expected that their repulse from Boulogne, on the 16th of August, would have been blazoned in all the pomp of the most exaggerated description, accompanied with the most extravagant anticipations of victory and glory. The French admiral, however, in his dispatches to government, confined himself merely to a brief statement of facts: which, though exaggerated, in some instances, in order to place, in a more conspicuous point of view, the bravery of those who served under him, was, on the whole, consistent with those of our own commanders. Nor was the narrative of Treville accompanied with the smallest comment, when it was published, either in the official journal, or any other of the French prints. It is in the circumstances that induced the French government to attune the public mind, in both the great rival nations, to the idea and expectation of peace, rather than of war, that we find an explanation of a silence so contrary to all its habits on similar occasions.

It was by this time sufficiently manifest that all the French preparations,

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parations for an invasion of Britain were but contemptible. Even the disastrous attack on the harbour of Boulogne, proved that the French were at that moment more anxious to preserve than to employ them offensively against the English. Truly, an invasion was neither to be dreaded nor expected from a nation that had been unable, in so great a space of time as had elapsed, to send to sea the combined fleets of France and Spain, or to keep a single boat in the harbour of Boulogne, the grand rendezvous of the invading flotilla, without chaining it to the ground, and without calling in, for its defence, their troops and their batteries.

It is difficult to conceive how manifestoes threatening invasion, after such a humiliating discovery, could have been drawn up in such a manner as to escape contempt and derision. So great was the naval strength of Great Britain, that at the very time when she was the most loudly threatened with an invasion from the coasts of France and Flanders, a squadron was sent north about, under commodore Tyler, to join sir James Saumarez, off Cadiz. The attainment, too, of the grand object for which the preparations and menaces of invasion had been so long kept up, had now become hopeless. From the time that the French were driven from Rhamanich into Cairo, and the failure of the expected relief and succours from the fleet under Gantheaume, the retention of Egypt by the French was not, by any means, to be expected. There were many other considerations, which, no doubt, had an influence on the mind of the chief consul: the death of Paul I; the dissolution of the northern confederacy; the naval power and glory of Great Britain still increasing; the union of all parties in this island; and prompt preparation for the defence of their country; discontents in Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont; disputes in Germany about indemnities, and the difficulty of carrying into execution the treaty of Luneville; and, finally, the necessity of managing public opinion, and public spirit in France, which was exhausted and fatigued with war, and rendered, or soon to be rendered, as irritable as despondent, from the total failure of all the grand projects of a maritime coalition; the colonization of Egypt; and an invasion of Great Britain or Ireland, or both. While farther preparations were made on the one side of the channel for the defence of the coast, and a show was still made of some effort towards invasion; on the other, British fleets, squadrons, and cruizers, hung over and alarmed the coasts of France, Flanders, and Holland *. Flags of truce were

* French gun-boats continued, as usual, to steal from place to place along the shores, and fresh alarms were raised on the coasts of the enemy by the English squadrons. It would not be worth while, did our limits admit, to enter minutely into this petty, and, indeed, mock warfare. On the 4th of September, a flotilla of gun-boats, to the number of thirty-five gun-brigs and schooners, escaped from Dunkirk to Calais, where they arrived towards sunrising next morning. It was stated, in the English papers, "that some of our cruisers, with a view to prevent their passage, had moored close in shore, which the French observed; and, favoured by a dark night, stood out to sea, and reached Calais in the morning before our vessels could get up with them." The French commodore, having noticed this, published a contradictory

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were daily passing, amidst vessels of war, between Calais and Dover, and couriers between London and Paris. M. Otto still remained in the British capital, and soon after the preliminaries of peace were signed and ratified between the French and Austrian governments, Mr. Merry was sent to Paris, as an agent on the part of the British ministry. The negotiation for peace, which had been continued for near nine months, between M. Otto, on the part of France, and lord Hawkesbury, our secretary of state for the home department, and which was, no doubt, influenced by varying events, was at last brought to a conclusion. It was carried on with profound and admirable secrecy on both sides. Great and important decisions in the councils of states, not wholly at the nod of a capricious despot, are generally anticipated by public opinion, notwithstanding the secrecy of the negotiation. There was a general conviction among men, on both sides the channel, whose minds were not darkened by too near and interested views of particular objects, that peace was now neither very uncertain, nor far distant. The growing system of convenient spoliation was not to be overthrown, nor the doom of the continent to tremble for a time, under the rod of France, reversed by the utmost efforts of a single power. And it had been fully proved, by a sufficient number

contradictory account of that *calumny*. It was not, he stated, by running out beyond the English vessels, that he reached his destination, but by boldly sailing along the shores of France.—The following article from the Paris papers, conveys a very just idea of what was passing, at this time, in the channel:—"Boulogne, September 5. The division of gun-boats, consisting of sixteen vessels, which was waiting at Dieppe for a favourable wind and opportunity to proceed to this port, arrived here last night. Only one vessel remained behind, which struck on the sands on the beach, or ran aground four leagues from this place. It is possible that she may have met with obstacles, which prevented her from getting farther; for a strong wind prevailed. and the sea was extremely boisterous. *Troops were immediately dispatched, and some pieces of artillery will be planted, to prevent the English from getting possession of her before she is got off.* The west wind, which has driven the English from our coast, soon increased to such violent gales, that one of their ships of war, after veering out all her cable, was obliged to cut it. The English left a buoy to enable them to find the anchor on their return; but general La Touche, who suffers nothing to escape him, perceived this buoy, and immediately sent to cut it."

In the mean time, while the different divisions of the French flotilla, as it was called, endeavoured, with various success, to creep close in shore, from one port to another, our fleets and squadrons still kept those of the enemy, as well as their harbours, in general alarm, took a number of small prizes, and held all their armaments in a state of perfect inaction.

The apprehension of attacks on the Dutch coast was not less than that on the coasts of France. The fleet, under admiral de Winter, was held in blockade by admiral Dickson; and here, too, the tide of alarm was completely turned. A squadron, under the immediate command of the active lord Nelson, sailing from Deal, August 23, insulted the coasts of Holland and Zealand. The Gallo-Batavian government was obliged to change their projects of offence into defensive measures. The French general Augereau, after visiting the Dutch fleet at Helvoetsluys, proceeded to inspect the works of defence at the maritime posts: at the Brill, Gorée, the isle of Walkeren, the Helder, and other places. The gales that usually precede the equinox, about the middle of September, drove the English cruisers into the Downs; and the *advanced guard* of the French flotilla into the harbour of Boulogne. On the return of calm weather, both parties resumed their stations.

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of experiments, that England had as little to apprehend from the invasions of the French, as the French had from the invasions of the English.

On Saturday, the 2d of October, there was given, in a London Gazette Extraordinary, the following intelligence: "Preliminaries of peace, between his majesty and the French republic, were signed, last night, at lord Hawkesbury's office, in Downing Street, by the right honourable lord Hawkesbury, one of his majesty's principle secretaries of state, on the part of his majesty, and by M. Otto, on the part of the French government."

These preliminaries were ratified, by the French government, at Paris, on the 5th of October. Great Britain acquired the island of Ceylon, in the East Indies, and that of Trinidad in the West. Egypt was to be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions were to be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the war. The territories and possessions of our ally the queen of Portugal were also to be preserved entire. So also were those of our ally the king of Naples*: every thing else was to be given up to France. Explanations and alterations were made in the definitive treaty, carried on and concluded at Amiens, more advantageous to France than the terms of the preliminaries: but these things fall naturally into the history of 1802. The ratification of the preliminaries was exchanged between lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto on the afternoon of the 12th of October; it had been brought to London on the morning of that day, by M. Lauriston, a colonel of artillery in the French army, an aid-de-camp, and a great favourite of Buonaparte's. There was a degree of propriety in transmitting the ratification by the hands of colonel Lauriston, as his family, though now naturalized in France, was of British extraction, and the recollection of this yet recent. He was a great grandson of the famous Mississippi Law, a gentleman of an ancient family, namely, that of Lauriston, in Scotland. The news of peace was received by the people of Great Britain with great and enthusiastic joy. Illuminations, the firing of cannon, feastings, dramatic entertainments, poetical effusions, and other expressions of satisfaction and gladness, carried in many instances almost to the height of phrenzy, expressed the joy of France. Never, perhaps, since the restoration of Charles II, was the general joy in England so high and extravagant. It was in proportion to the sufferings that had been so long endured from the war, and the miserable forebodings arising from a dread of its farther continuance. It is on the future, that all projects and hopes of happiness turn. The populace, and indeed all ranks, gave way, for a time, to the pleasing delusion, that some unknown good was soon to spring up like light out of darkness. Immediately on the arrival of colonel Lauriston, in London, he went to M. Otto's house in Hereford

* It is to be observed, however, that, in execution of an agreement already made between France and Naples, the remains of the Neapolitan navy, consisting of two ships of the line, two frigates, and a brig, were delivered into the hands of the French; nor was there any stipulation, in the preliminaries of peace between France and England, for their restitution.

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Street. His arrival having been hourly expected, the news thereof soon spread through the town, and attracted an immense number of the populace. After a stay of about an hour, the colonel, M. Otto, and two other French gentlemen came out, and entered their carriage, for the purpose of going to exchange the ratifications with lord Hawkesbury, in Downing Street. The populace, however, aware of their intention, immediately took the horses from the coach, and drew it down Oxford Street, Bond Street, and through Piccadilly to Downing Street, with loud acclamations. There the ratification was exchanged. On the return of the carriage, the populace, whose numbers were now considerably augmented, insisted on paying the same compliment to their French visitors, by drawing them back as they had come, amidst loud shouting and huzzaing. A party of the guards also attended in the escort to prevent riot and disorder, and in farther compliment to the welcome strangers. Colonel Lauriston gave the populace ten guineas to drink. He was a very handsome young man, about 27 or 28 years of age, and of a very genteel and pleasing address. During his stay in London, which was but for a few days, he never appeared in the streets without attracting a crowd: and he was always greeted with loud huzzas.

The manner in which the English people treated M. Otto and colonel Lauriston was considered as a proof that the former hatred to the French, by which they had been too long distinguished, had been extremely weakened by the miseries of war, and that the hope and the necessity of a speedy peace, were superior to every consideration.

But while all ranks rejoiced at the arrival of peace, there were many who loudly arraigned, and none who did not lament, the conditions on which it was obtained, on the part of Great Britain.

On the news of the preliminaries, October 3, the three per cent. stocks suddenly rose from 59 to 66. At Paris, where joy and hope were as extravagant, the *Tiers Consolidés* rose from 48 to 53. Another stock, called *Rentes Provisoires* rose in a higher proportion: viz. from 33 to 40.

Peace was proclaimed in every part of the world; an intercourse was immediately opened between the ports of France and England, and packets regularly interchanged. The recruiting service in both countries was discontinued: and bodies of troops were disbanded. Addresses on the peace to our sovereign in this country, and to the chief consul in France, poured in from all quarters. The work of pacification was justly ascribed to Buonaparte, who was called the *hero-pacificator of Europe*. To the address from the legislative body, he replied, that "the peace was owing to the stability to be expected from the organization of social order and government."

Very different were the feelings excited by the preliminaries of peace in the bosoms of the French princes, and other emigrants, and in all their warmest partizans of every nation, who saw in the recognition and consolidation of Buonaparte's power, not only the ruin of the royal cause in France, but the subversion of the balance of power, and even of all subordination, civilization, and property

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perty in Europe. The night of that day, on which the preliminaries were ratified at London, so splendidly illuminated in that great capital, was, to the French emigrants there, a night of darkness and horror. The melancholy, despondent grief, and indignation, that took hold on the minds of the poor, ignorant, and superstitious priests, of the lower order, seemed to be sanctioned by the voice of heaven. Between ten and eleven o'clock, there was the most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, that was ever witnessed, perhaps, by the present generation, and at that period of the year very unusual. The lightning was vivid in the extreme. The whole sky in every direction, for more than the space of an hour, seemed in a blaze. And what added, in the eyes of the superstitious, to the omen, at the admiralty office, where the illumination was displayed in the shape of a crown and anchor, the crown was extinguished by the storm, while the anchor continued in all its splendour.

The frantic Paul, of Russia, abandoning the cause he had so warmly espoused, and burning with zeal to express by all possible means, his zeal for the French republic, had given orders, that the prince of Bourbon, calling himself Lewis XVIII, should quit Mittau: on which, the unfortunate prince sought from the king of Prussia, and found an asylum, first at Konings-berg and afterwards in Warsaw. Russia was the only power on the continent, wholly independent on France. Yet, when Russia failed, it was some consolation to the French loyalists, that Britain still presented, not only an undaunted, but hostile front to the republic, and still held out some glimmering hopes of giving a favourable turn to the royal cause, through the vicissitudes of fortune, tortured into a display of power by force of arms. In this humble, anxious, but patient state, the French emigrants in London had long remained; sustaining adversity with noble recollections, the pride of honour, chastised and mellowed by affliction, and some faint hopes of seeing better days. From the melancholy and pitiful remains of their shipwrecked fortunes, contributions were made for preserving from the contagion of vice, and the low-minded vulgar, the children, destined on their entrance into life, to share deeply in the sufferings and sorrows of their parents, and to nourish in their bosoms, sentiments of morality and religion, and of loyalty, reverence, and devotion to the sovereign family of France. A modest chapel was raised, and a school, under the direction of a worthy clergyman, the younger *monsieur Carron*, instituted at Somer's Town, a new suburb of London, where the scale of the houses was calculated for the reception of poor people. Here the children of the emigrants, with as many of the natives of Great Britain and Ireland as their parents or guardians, chose to send to it, were educated with the utmost attention to morals, religion, and all acquirements to be attained in tender years. The count d'Artois, the prince of Condé, and others of the princes and nobles of France, attended the public examination of the seminary, and by the distribution of small premiums, encouraged the virtuous sentiments and designs, which it was the object of the institution to promote. In this lowly retreat, sentiments of the most pure and exalted nature were displayed.

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on both sides. The devotion of the French to the race of their kings, kind and good on the whole, was expressed in repeated exclamations of *Vive le Roi*, mingled with tears: and corresponding sentiments were expressed, also, in tears, by the princes of Bourbon. It was an affecting and instructive scene; a school for teaching the vanity of the world; and particularly the vanity of putting any trust in princes. The royal and noble emigrants of France could not have believed, until they had been taught by experience, that the house of Bourbon would have been so completely deserted in a general contest for the cause of sovereigns. Although, as Mr. Pitt argued, with the coldness of a barrister, there had been no positive engagement contracted with the emigrants, yet, by their cooperation with the allies, they were one of the parties allied in fact. The utter silence in the preliminaries for peace between the republic and Great Britain, respecting their helpless condition, therefore, must have filled the minds of the French loyalists, with every painful emotion and passion.

After the ratification of the preliminaries, the count d'Artois, (Monsieur) with the other French princes, dreading the arrival of a French ambassador in London, retired to the palace of *Holyrood House*, at Edinburgh.

Yet, utterly to extinguish hope, is a thing almost impossible. Among the loyalists, and these the most enlightened, there were not a few, who considered the concentration of power in France in a single and vigorous hand, as a presage auspicious to the restoration of the monarchy. Some believed that this had been all along the ultimate object of a plan, arranged between Buonaparte and the abbé Sieyes. Others, that though this was not the design, it would follow as a matter of course. The way to it was prepared by the establishment of absolute power. It was impossible that ideas of restoring Charles II of Great Britain could have prevailed during a commonwealth. The restoration of the king was necessarily preceded by the reign of a lord protector. What Cromwell was to England, Buonaparte would prove to France.—Such was the reasoning of many of the emigrants, driven to the last shifts of hope: neither is it our meaning to deride it as altogether whimsical.

This was the year of treaties for pacification. The treaties between the French and Austrians; between the French republic and the king of Naples; between Spain and Portugal; and between France and Portugal, have been already noticed *.—The moment that intelligence was received at Paris, that preliminaries of peace were signed by the British government, Buonaparte patched up a peace with the Ottoman Porte. In this transaction, and also in a measure taken for expediting the peace with England, there appears very much of Italian artifice or cunning: which, though not to be too rigorously censured in a politician, detract nevertheless, from dignity and greatness of character, and sometimes pay dearly, in the loss of estimation, for a temporary

* In the end of 1800, a definitive treaty of peace was concluded between the French republic and the dey of Algiers.

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convenience or advantage. Conscious power and ability are usually as direct in their course, as they are strong in their nature. Though, after the return of Reynier and the other French officers who accompanied him, and the subsequent news of the fall of Cairo, and other circumstances, it was impossible that he could entertain any hope of retaining Egypt, he published in all the French papers, that there was a sufficient store of provisions and ammunition, in Alexandria, for several years. The voluntary evacuation of Egypt by the French, and the integrity of the Ottoman empire, was therefore held out as an equivalent for the restitution of French colonies by the English. On the very day after the signing of the preliminary treaty at London, October 2, intelligence was received, in this capital, of the surrender of Alexandria, and the evacuation of Egypt. The news of the preliminaries being signed, and the London Gazette, of October 3, announcing the capitulation of general Menou, for the surrender of Alexandria, having reached Paris on the 7th, immediately, a kind of ex-ambassador, from the Porte, Esseyd Aly Effendi, who had been detained in Paris, as a hostage, since 1793, and who was unprovided with any diplomatic powers from his court, was called from the retirement in which he lived, for the purpose of negotiation. Special care, in the meantime, was taken, that he should be so watched and occupied, as neither to have time nor opportunity for hearing of the fall of Alexandria. The journalists received strict orders not to say a word, or give a hint of this event, until they should receive permission and orders to do so. The treaty between France and the Ottoman Porte * was signed, October 9. The next day, and not before, a translation of the London Gazette, just mentioned, appeared in the French paper, called, *Desenseurs de la Patrie.* Poor Esseyd Aly was cajoled by Talleyrand into a persuasion, that his country owed to France the evacuation of Egypt, which had been delivered by the arms, and already given up by a treaty with England. The Turks, menaced with a descent by the French from the ports of Ancona and Ottranto, and other points on the coast of the Adriatic, had proposed reconciliation, and a return of peace with France; on condition, however, of the restitution of Egypt, to which the French government had hitherto refused to accede. The influence of Paul I, too, was employed in his usual manner, in order to induce the Turks to cede Egypt to France. But they said, that it was contrary to the law, to "alienate a dominion of the eldest son of the prophet."

By the treaty with the Porte, France was admitted to all the privileges of the most favoured nation. So that the English, the deliverers of Egypt, were not, in future, to enjoy the smallest advantage in the Turkish empire, that should not also be enjoyed by the French; who, in violation of all former treaties, had tyrannized over Egypt for three years, and well-nigh severed that province from the Ottoman empire for ever.

On the 24th of August, a treaty of peace was concluded between

* See State Papers, p. 292.

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the French republic and the elector palatine of Bavaria, in which that prince renounced, in favour of the French republic, all claim to the countries and dominions he had heretofore possessed on the left bank of the Rhine; and whereby the French republic, on the other hand, guaranteed to the elector the integrity of all his possessions on the right bank, and engaged to use all its influence, for carrying into effectual execution the 7th article of the treaty, particularly with respect to Bavaria: so as that the electoral palatine house should receive a territorial indemnity, situated as well as possible for its convenience, and equivalent to the losses of every kind which had been the consequence of the present war*.

Though the emperor Paul had become as zealous a friend to the French republic, as he was an infuriated enemy to Great Britain, his former engagements with the British government had not been retracted by any formal pacification with France. It was not till the 17th of October, that a treaty of peace was signed between France and Russia. By this treaty, the French nation acquired very considrable commercial advantages.

That all matters in dispute between Great Britain and the northern powers were amicably adjusted after the death of Paul, and the battle of Copenhagen, has been already noticed. It may be just mentioned, in the present enumeration of treaties, that the convention by which they were so adjusted was signed at Petersburgh, on the 17th of June †.

There remains yet another treaty to be noticed, of a very extraordinary nature, and not less important, probably, in its proximate effects, and remote consequences, than any yet mentioned: a convention between Buonaparte and the pope; whereby his holiness agreed that the Gallican church should be decomposed, and modelled anew, according to the good pleasure of the chief consul. The object of this convention, which was called a *concordatum*, was to reestablish, in France, the public worship of the catholic religion. There was to be a general resignation of the French bishops, both of those who had acknowledged the revolution, or as it would have been briefly, and not unhappily expressed, in a former, and no very distant period, *bowed the knee to Baal*, and of those who, sacrificing all worldly advantages to conscience, or rather, in truth, in these times, to a sense of honour, had quitted their dioceses and France, and voluntarily embraced the hard lot of the other emigrants. The episcopal sees were to be filled up with persons presented to them by the first consul, and confirmed by the pope, as had been done in France before the revolution. The curates or parish ministers were to be appointed by the bishops and prefects, conjointly. The catholic religion was to be recognized as that of the majority of the French. Its ministers were to have salaries ‡, and a sanction was to be given to the sale of ecclesiastical property. The form of the engagement to be taken by the clergy, was, "I promise fidelity to the government of the French republic, as established by the constitution."

The worldly wise, or as they

* See State Papers, p. 297. † Ibid. p. 212. ‡ Ibid. p. 382.

were

were commonly called, the constitutional bishops, did not now hesitate to resign their benefices, for the prevention of schism, and the preservation of the unity of the church. The united voices that demanded their resignation were not to be resisted; and, besides, it was well understood that their offices would be quickly restored to them. It was only taking out a new lease. Of the emigrant bishops, by far the greater number, with many expressions of the profoundest respect for the head of the church, and devotion to the Christian cause, complied with the request of the holy father. Others, with equal professions of respect and devotion, and these not by any means suspected of being insincere, could not but pause before they complied with a request extorted by an overbearing force. They could not consider the holy father as in a state of freedom. They doubted, whether to dissolve at once the bonds that connected the bishops with their dioceses, in such times, was for the good of the church: nor had ever so extraordinary a measure been taken, in any period of the church, without the approbation and sanction of a general council.

Religion, that had lost its power over the human mind, from an alliance with an inordinate degree of wealth and power, and carnal passions, was now seen as usual, in a state of suffering and trial, to recover her influence with the natural simplicity, beauty, and dignity of her form. The seeds of her future progress were sown, as it were, again in a soil mellowed by affliction. The constitutional bishops were universally despised, and very generally detested. It was the noble conduct of the French clergy, who sacrificed all to their religious duty, that revived and nourished the flame of piety in the western and other provinces. Had all the clergy of France proved *vicars of Bray**, all respect for the catholic religion must have soon died away. Expiring devotion was revived by a degree of martyrdom. Buonaparte, who professed himself to be a disciple of Mahomed, and boasted of having destroyed the pope, did not hesitate to patronize the Romish religion, when, by so doing, he might gratify a majority of the French nation, and even render it an instrument for the consolidation of his own government. That these were his motives, he made no scruple frankly to acknowledge in the council of state.

When objections were made to the measure, by some of the members, who considered it as too great a deviation from the original principles of the revolution, and that it might be followed by consequences dangerous to the present government, Buonaparte, with a mixture of seriousness and irony, replied, "Make you no account then of a clergy, who will pray every day for the safety of the republic, and of bishops, who will be obliged, by their oath, to reveal all plots against it†?"

It

* An allusion to a certain parish-priest, who, amidst all the changes in this country, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, was determined still to be vicar of Bray.—To be a *vicar of Bray* has almost become an idiom in the English language. It expresses much in few words.

† Among a great variety of squibs and epigrams that were circulated at this time on the subject of the *Concordat*, the following was much noticed:

Politique

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It is natural, on the present occasion, to recollect the changes that took place in the church of England, in the reign of Henry VIII, and the conduct of our bishops and other dignitaries, and the clergy in general at that period. Henry not only renounced the authority of the pope, in matters of external order and regulation, and suppressed and seized the revenues of religious houses, but erected himself into the head of the English church in all respects. He not only dictated in matters of exterior form or ceremony of worship, but, assuming the supremacy in all cases, both spiritual and temporal, prescribed articles of faith, both to the church and nation. These he changed, and still required that both church and nation should change their opinions, as he changed his. The conduct of the chief consul of France, in subjecting the church in temporal and external concerns to the state, was moderate and mild, when compared with the capricious tyranny of the English monarch. We do not, however, read of any emigrations or even resignations of the English clergy at that period.—The different parts that were acted by the French clergy of the present age, and by the English clergy in the 16th century, may justly be considered as a very curious and wonderful phenomenon in morals. Of the authenticity and truth of the Christian religion, the English divines had not the smallest doubt. With regard to the truth of the Roman catholic faith, it is no breach of charity to suppose, that the superior orders of the French clergy, of our times, are for the most parts sceptical; yet the greater part of the French bishops, as well as their clergy, resigned their benefices: the English clergy, amidst all the caprices of the king, held theirs fast. What is the inference? — That a sense of honour is a more steady and powerful motive of action, than at least an ordinary degree of zeal for religion. Religion, when allied with metaphysical distinctions, can easily cover various windings and backslidings, under specious pretences. But honour knows no subterfuges; for the last appeal is to itself.

Though the convention between the pope and Buonaparte was signed so early as the 26th of July, and ratified on the 10th of September, it was not carried into effect until April, 1802. It was deemed political wisdom, it would seem, by Buonaparte, to defer so popular a measure as the reestablishment of the Roman catholic religion, for some time. It would be looked to as an object of hope, a livelier emotion than gratitude; and the boon, when granted, might compensate and obliterate the remembrance of some grievances, perhaps, and disappointments.

Politique plus fin que général habile,
Bien plus ambitieux que Louis, dit le Grand:
Pour être roi d'Egypte, il croit à l'Alcoran,
Pour être roi de France, il croit à l'Evangile.

Still better a politician than a general,
More ambitious than Lewis, called the Great:
To be king of Egypt, he believed in the Koran.
To be king of France, he believed in the Gospel.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XVIII.

Alteration of political Power between Despotism and Democracy.—General Plan or Principles of Buonaparte's Government.—His private Conduct or Deportment.—His Representation of the State of France, involving a summary View of the State of Europe, towards the Conclusion of 1801.—*Additional Remarks on the State of Europe.—Agitations in Germany, Switzerland, and the French West Indies.—Hanover evacuated by the Prussians.—Tottering State of the Turkish Empire.—Insurrections in the new Republic of the Seven Isles.—General View of the State of British India.*

IT has been observed, that political power, which is never long fixed at one point, vibrates alternately, in all its vicissitudes, between despotism and democracy. When it has, for some time, been concentrated on the head of one man, it is afterwards dispersed into the hands of several, and *vice versa*. In such a nation as France, so numerous, restless, ardent, fond of innovation, and not yet quite habituated to the yoke of absolute power, it certainly required not less ability and address to retain, than those by which Buonaparte had obtained the reins of government. During the two first years of his reign, the public mind was easily occupied, and managed by means of foreign war and negotiation. France was now at peace with all the world, and the first question, it may be fairly presumed, with the first consul, was, how, by management of the French, he might consolidate his own power and authority.

It would appear to have been the general plan of his government from the beginning, to unite vigour with lenity; to amuse and gratify the French people as much as possible; to qualify, or rather overawe liberty, privileges, and pretensions, by a complicated chain of dependencies on himself, as well as by the command of a great military power: for the keeping of which, on foot, he could never want pretences. Such was his plan: nor, in truth, was the French nation to be governed by any other.

But, at the same time, it is but justice to the first consul to observe, and to record, that neither was his power exercised with wanton caprice, nor unemployed for the public advantage. In his preferments to office, he was generally guided by a regard to merit, and the opinion of the nation. He restored the operation of laws, and, as much as he could, that of religion. He set very seriously about improving the civil

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civil law of France, founding it wholly on a moral basis, or the principles of human nature, and extending its influence, for the comfort and well-being of individuals, to many domestic situations or cases, and other relations, of which the law had not formerly taken any cognizance. He formed a plan for the education of youth, in all the departments, the encouragement of genius, and the advancement of science. He turned his attention to the reestablishment of a regular system of finance, of a navy, of commerce, of agriculture, and manufactures. He liberally patronised, and was assiduous in his attention to the arts, liberal and mechanical; to the formation or restoration of canals, bridges, and highways: and, in a word, to the general strength, resources, and prosperity of the empire. Nor was he inattentive to what was demanded by the particular or national character of the French; naturally fond of splendour, pomp, parade, show, and amusement. Indeed, in the way of pleasing the taste of the French, in these respects, he had an opportunity of strengthening his own power, by the distribution of vast sums of money in improving and embellishing the capital, and other places, among which the consular palaces were not forgotten, and in increasing the splendour of all that related to the exterior state and security of the chief magistrate.

At the same time that Buonaparte was not an enemy, but a friend to public feasts, spectacles, and other entertainments, yet he laboured, by all means, by his regulations, countenance, and example, to discourage and check whatever was loose in morals, or frivolous, enervating, and unmanly, in matters of amusement or taste. He honoured marriage, and a domestic life; constancy and sincerity in attachments and friendships; and all manner of ingenious, industrious, and laborious occupation. For what concerns the theatre, a very capital consideration indeed in France, he set his face severely against all loose and frivolous pieces, and encouraged, on the other hand, such as were of a moral, grave, and dignified cast. He showed more countenance to tragedies than to the greater part of comedies.

In his own private deportment, he exhibited to the French an example of a simple and laborious life. He was not addicted to any pleasures that were not pure, noble, and sublime. He lived comfortably in his own family: he loved his nearest relatives, and was beloved by them. He was neither forgetful nor inattentive to his friends. Nothing passed in the council of state, the great and indeed only spring of laws and government, that did not undergo a nice examination by the first consul. He heard the opinion of every one with patient attention. But he viewed every thing, at the same time, with his own eyes, and followed his own judgment. So magnanimous and courageous a spirit as Buonaparte could not have been deficient in clemency. The danger was, that he might have carried that divine virtue to the extremity of great imprudence. He yielded, therefore, to the necessity of punishing a small number of the conspirators against his life, noticed in our last volume, by death, and by sending about 80, who

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who were either their accomplices, or from whom his life was in danger, to French Guyana.

The forms of liberty being still preserved in France, even under the present dictatorship, it is customary, at stated periods, for the executive government, to lay before the legislative bodies an account of the state of the nation: just as the king of Great Britain and Ireland takes a summary view of the state of public affairs, foreign and domestic, in his speeches at the meeting and rising of parliament. A view of the republic, signed by the chief consul, and countersigned by the secretary of state, was presented to the legislative body on the 23d of November, 1801. The main drift of the paper was, to show, that the arms and negotiations of the republic had been attended with lustre and success abroad, and that order and tranquillity had been restored at home. It concludes thus. "The English people have embraced peace with enthusiasm. The hatred of rivalship is extinguished. The emulation of great actions and useful enterprises will only remain. The government have made it their ambition to replace France in her natural relations with all nations. They will make it their glory to maintain their work, and to perpetuate a peace which shall constitute their happiness, as well as the happiness of humanity."

From this view of the conduct of Buonaparte, it might seem that he was born not only for the good of France, but of mankind. He was careful to encourage virtue, science, and all good arts. In his own deportment, he was exemplary. And, for what concerned France, in relation to foreign countries, he professed an emulation only of "great actions and useful enterprises—and was determined to perpetuate a peace which should constitute the happiness of the French, as well as that of humanity." This, indeed, would have been true glory. And there were not a few who entertained sanguine hopes that Buonaparte would have exhibited as illustrious an example of moderation and justice, as he had done of skill, valour, and success in war. But it soon appeared, that he was actuated still by the vulgar ambition of domination; whether by means of arms, or political intrigue. He, probably, conceived that it was in this way only that he could satisfy the genius of France, which aimed constantly at being not only the mistress, but the model of the world.

Of the state of the world at this time, as it stood in relation to France, an account is given, not on the whole unfaithful, in the consular representation of great affairs just quoted, and to which we here refer our readers *.

As France took the lead, and affected the control in the movements of nations, we have little to add, to what is there stated, in a brief survey of the situation of Europe, November, 1801: the point of time, at which it will be proper to begin the history of 1802. It is into the history of that year, that the agitations in Germany respecting indemnities, the part that was taken by the few remaining independent powers on that subject, the convulsions in Switzerland, and the insurrections and momen-

* See State Papers, p. 313.

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tary change of government in the French West India colonies, naturally enter. These things may then be seen in their results, as well as their origin and progress, and some narrative may possibly be given of them without interruption, and not altogether devoid of interest.

As we have noticed the invasion of Hanover by the Prussians, and their declaration, that it was not their intention to keep it any longer than the disturbed and unsettled state of Germany might render this necessary, it becomes proper, for the satisfaction of our readers, to mention, that, having long resisted the solicitations of the elector, the king of Great Britain, to evacuate that territory, they at last did so, in November. As the king of Prussia had laid the states of the north of Germany under contribution, for the maintenance of his army of observation, which secured the neutrality of the country, during the war, so in like manner he maintained his army in Hanover, at the expense of Hanover. A prince, who can send his armies into the territories of his neighbours, and maintain them there, as long as he pleases, at their expense, bears a very near affinity, or resemblance, to the actual sovereign of those countries.

In Turkey in Europe, Passowan Oglou not only still held out, but gained several important advantages over the troops of the grand signior. The Janissaries of Belgrade revolted, confined, and afterwards murdered the bashaw, and governed that important city, with its environs, by their own authority. The Turkish bashaws were not uninfluenced by these examples of successful rebellion. They were, many of them, thereby encouraged in that spirit of refractoriness and disobedience to orders from the seraglio which had appeared, for some length of time, in many of the provinces. The efforts of the Porte, to reduce the rebellious troops by force, were but feeble, and generally fruitless. Modes of conciliation were more successful, and procured at least a nominal and temporary submission. In short, the Turkish government, broken by internal dissension and discord, was strongly marked by that spirit of irresolution, concession, and occasional retraction of promises, and sallies of vigour, which usually mark the very last stage of declining empire.

Opposite and near to the Turkish shores, a spirit of insubordination, insurrection, and revolt, arose from a contrary cause: not from the debility of an old, but the audacity of the people under a new, government. In the republic of the Seven Isles, insurrections broke out in the islands of Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia; different parties, which may be divided into oligarchists and republicans, contending for different forms of government. But these insurrections were soon overawed by the combined authority of Russia, Turkey, and Great Britain.

In the East Indies the affairs of Great Britain continued to prosper, and even to become more and more prosperous; if prosperity is to be measured by new acquisitions of territory, and extent of conquest. The Dutch Molucca islands were seized by the troops of our East India company, without much resistance. New districts were wrested from the native princes, our allies. New schemes were formed, and new enterprises undertaken for the extension of commerce.

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merce. Resistance and revolt were subdued; and all British India wore a face of security and splendour; but sadness and sorrow reigned in the houses or prisons of our princely allies. And in the severities inflicted on them, numbers of their faithful subjects largely participated. Of inferior chiefs, polygars, independent proprietors of the soil, not a few were sent to exile: a punishment to them worse than death; as many of them proved, by throwing themselves overboard into the sea: while their wives and children on shore beat their breasts, tore their hair, and rent the skies with their lamentations. But of the state of British India in 1800 and 1801, we shall be enabled to give a more particular and authentic account, by the evidence that may be expected to come out in the course of the investigation to be made in the approaching session of parliament, respecting the conduct of the East India company towards the nabob and family of Arcott.

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CHRONICLE.

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CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. THE first day of the century, being also that of the union of the two kingdoms, was ushered in with ringing of bells, and the new imperial flag was hoisted at the tower, accompanied by the firing of guns there, and in the park.

Stafford. About 11 this day, a dreadful circumstance took place in this prison. One Mr. Theophilus Smith was mentioned in our last year's chronicle, p. 21, to have attempted to murder a Mr. Wainwright, of Liverpool, for which offence he was some time after apprehended, and committed to the county gaol in this town for trial, under the Black Act, but his trial was put off at the last assizes. During his confinement his wife frequently visited him; and this morning, about 11 o'clock, she went to see him, but had not been in his room long before the keeper heard the reports of two pistols, one immediately after the other, and, on going into the room, discovered Mr. S. with his brains blown against the wall, and Mrs. S. on the floor, with a desperate wound in her back. It appeared, the horrid deed had been done by two double-barrelled pistols, which Mr. S. procured by some unknown means, and had first shot his wife and then himself. The unhappy lady is likely to recover. An infant daughter is left to lament this rash and dreadful act.

3d. This day the members of his majesty's council took the oaths as privy counsellors for the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and his majesty received the great seal from the lord chancellor, and causing it to be defaced, presented to him a new great seal for the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. His majesty was also pleased to appoint, by proclamation, that, "The royal style and titles shall henceforth be accepted, taken, and used, in manner and form following; that is to say, the same shall be expressed in the Latin tongue by these words: 'Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratiâ, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor:' and in the English tongue by these words:—'George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith.'"

14th. This day a proclamation was issued, for laying an embargo on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels, in the several ports of this kingdom; which was afterwards effectually put in execution.

The rotation at Bow Street police office has been thus altered: sir William

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liam Addington has retired on a pension; Mr. Ford takes the lead; and Mr. Graham is translated from Hatton Garden.—Days of sitting: Monday and Thursday, Mr. Ford; Tuesday and Friday, Mr. Bond; Wednesday and Saturday, Mr. Graham.

15th. A general court of India proprietors confirmed a resolution of the court of directors, granting to the marquis Wellesley an annuity of 5,000*l.* for 20 years, to commence 1st Sept. 1798, the day on which the treaty with the Soubah of the Decan was concluded.

The marquis Wellesley, with the concurrence of the East India company, has established a university at Calcutta upon an extensive scale, and regulated upon the most useful principles. It will contain professors for the ancient languages, with the Persian, Hindoo, &c. and for every branch of science and literature. The professors are to be obliged to read lectures in their respective departments.

26th. The case of the journeymen taylors, who have stood out so long for an increase of their wages, from 25*s.* to 30*s.* a week, came on to be heard before alderman Brook Watson (as *locum tenens* for the lord mayor), the recorder, sir John William Anderson, and three other aldermen. The court having consulted for some time, the recorder proceeded to give judgment. He then ordered, that the journeymen should be allowed 27*s.* a week; which is a rise of 2*s.*; and double that sum, or 54*s*, in case of a general mourning.

28th. Mr. Waddington, for engrossing hops, was adjudged to pay a fine of 500*l.*, to be imprisoned for one month, and till such fine shall be paid.

31st. The sale of fine wheaten bread is prohibited from this day: and brown bread will consequently now be generally used.

The deplorable situation of the French prisoners of war in this country having been for some time known, to efface any unfavourable impression which may have been made against the English government in this country, or on the continent of Europe, a long correspondence on the subject has been published by ministry;—from which it appears, that the chief consul refuses to supply the prisoners with clothes, although we have paid for the clothing of all our countrymen prisoners in France.

Mr. Jefferson is elected president of the United States of America.—The election was conducted with great warmth. The ballot was renewed thirty-one times during three successive days. The thirty-second time decided the election in favour of Mr. Jefferson, to be president; and Mr. Burr, the next highest on the list, to be vice-president: the election was declared by a salute of 16 guns from the battery at Washington.

The Petersburgh court Gazette, of 30th December last, contained the following article:

"It is said that his majesty the emperor, perceiving that the European powers cannot come to an accommodation, and wishing to put an end to a war which has raged 11 years, has conceived the idea of appointing a place to which he will invite the other potentates, to engage, together with himself, in single combat, in lists which shall be marked out; for which purpose they shall bring with them, to act as their esquires, umpires, and heralds, their most

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most enlightened ministers, and able generals; as Thugut, Pitt, and Bernstorff. He will bring, on his part, counts Pahlen and Kutusoff."

On this article the editor of the Hamburgh newspaper, after inserting it by order of the Russian minister there, adds the following observation on it, written by Kotzebue, the celebrated dramatist, and dictated to him verbatim by the emperor Paul:

"It is not known whether this rumour is to be depended upon; meanwhile it does not seem to be altogether without foundation, as it bears the mark of what has often been imputed to him."

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Died—At Berne, of the wounds he received from the French soldiers many months since, on their irruption into Switzerland, Lavater, the celebrated physiognomist: he had lost the use of speech, and even his understanding, for twenty-four hours before his decease. The death of his sister-in-law, to whose house he had caused himself to be carried in his last moments, seems to have accelerated his own. A few days before his end he dictated verses, which were read in the presence of his parishioners. He was an humble country clergyman, of good education, a warm fancy, and a natural acuteness of discernment. His perspicuity of intellect was associated with weakness of sensibility and imagination, not a little akin to that of J. J. Rousseau. In this situation, and with these qualities, he was accidentally led to turn his attention, in a particular manner, to the expression of human sentiment and character in the varied conformation of the countenance, head, and other parts of the frame, in the complexion, in the habitual motions and attitudes, in the temperament of health, &c. He perceived, that in all these, not only transient passion, but even the more permanent qualities of character, are often very distinctly expressed. He carried his observations, in this way, much farther than any other person had before advanced. Success inflamed his imagination, and he became an enthusiast in the study of physiognomy. The opinions relative to it, which he propagated, were a medley of acute observation, ingenious conjecture, and wild reverie. They were divulged by him in conversation, and in a multitude of fragments, which he and his disciples soon assembled into volumes. Novelty, mystery, and the dreams of enthusiasm, have inexpressible charms for the multitude: every one was eager to learn to read his neighbour's heart in his face. In Switzerland, in Germany, in France, even in Britain, all the world became passionate admirers of the physiognomical science of Lavater.—His books, published in the German language, were multiplied by many editions. In the enthusiasm with which they were studied and admired, they were thought as necessary in every family as even the bible itself. A servant would, at one time, scarcely be hired till the descriptions and engravings of Lavater had been consulted, in careful comparison with the lines and features of the young man's or woman's countenance. The same system was eagerly translated into the French language: and, as the insight into character and secret intention which it promised was infinitely grateful to female curiosity, all the pretenders to wit, taste, and fashion, among the lively women of France, soon became

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came distractedly fond of it. It was talked of as a science susceptible of mathematical certainty; and was applauded as capable of endowing man with the power of omniscient intuition into the hearts and intentions of his fellows. After the first charm had been dissolved, Lavater still retained many disciples. He continued to cultivate physiognomy, and was still eagerly visited by travellers passing near the place of his residence. By some of his adversaries he was idly and unjustly accused as an insidious Jesuit, who, under the pretence of physiognomy, pursued some vast and mischievous design. His theological opinions took a colour from his physiognomical ones; and he became the abhorrence of the orthodox. His private life was simple, and even devoutly pious. His wife had become, as well as himself, a great physiognomist. He was always an early riser, and used never to take his breakfast till he had, in his own mind, earned it by the performance of some literary task. He was, at the dawn of the French revolution, not at all adverse to it. Even when it began to penetrate into Switzerland, he did not passionately declare against it; but, when he saw his native country become a prey to the excesses of Jacobinism, his indignation was earnestly roused, and he wrote some eloquent pieces against the oppressions of the French. He favoured the momentary counter-revolution. He was cruelly attacked and wounded by the French soldiers when that counter-revolution was suppressed. His death was in consequence of those wounds. It may revive his fame, and excite a new curiosity for the perusal of his works.

At Venice, Cimarosa, the celebrated composer. The persecution he underwent at Naples, for his political opinions, shortened his days.

FEBRUARY.

3d. A singular occurrence happened this day at Chipping Sudbury. A woman, named Hannah Palmer, lately wrote to a person in Bristol, entreating that he, or a Mr. C. would come to her, as she had something important to disclose. They accordingly complied with her request, and she informed them that she was in the deepest distress and horror of mind; that her father had died on the 24th of December last; and that, on the 26th following, she dragged the body down the stairs, placed it on a wheelbarrow, and conveyed it in the night to the garden behind the house, where she dug a grave, and buried it with her own hands. Information of the transaction was immediately given to the proper officers of the town, who sent to Mr. Joyner, of Berkeley, the coroner. The body was taken up, and examined by two surgeons, who deposed that it was their opinion the deceased died a natural death; after a cool, patient, and impartial investigation, which occupied upwards of 10 hours. The jury returned a verdict—That the deceased died by the visitation of God: but a detestation of the extreme brutality of this unnatural and unfeeling daughter still remained strongly impressed on their minds.

Dublin. The extensive shores on which the Dictator, a rich Liverpool ship, was unfortunately lately lost, were covered with cotton, coffee, dye stuffs, puncheons of rum, and

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and chests of valuable papers. The chests were broke open. Unfortunately, as no magistrate resides in the neighbourhood of that part of the country, every thing was at the mercy of the people for three days. On the fourth day, Mr. Marshall, the late high-sheriff of the county of Kerry, who lives 40 miles from that place, arrived at the shore, and at the risk of his life, which was often threatened, succeeded in recovering a quantity of valuable property, together with many important letters, addressed to the first commercial houses in Europe, which he immediately forwarded. He also recovered nearly 20,000*l.* in London bank-notes and bills. He took from one of the countrymen alone, who could not read, more than 12,000*l.* in bills; which it appears belonged to a Mr. James Frazer, a respectable merchant of Berbice, who was passenger, and one of the unfortunate sufferers. In consequence of a large reward, offered by Mr. Marshall, Mr. Frazer's body was found, many miles from the wreck, by some country people, and being identified by the three surviving sailors, was decently interred in the church of Inch.

11th. Mr. Waddington received the judgment of the court, on a second conviction for forestalling hops, in the county of Kent, namely, a fine of 500*l.* and three months imprisonment.

Lady Pomfret exhibited articles of the peace against the earl. Her affidavit stated, that she was married in 1793, and was allowed 2,000*l.* per annum pin-money, which sum was secured upon part of her property, namely, 112,000*l.* in the three per cents.; that his lordship, to obtain possession of this money, and to force her to give up her annuity, had used her extremely ill; and that, in consequence of threats of personal violence, she had, in 1797, been obliged to execute a deed which affected her property to a large amount; that she had instituted a suit in the ecclesiastical court against the earl for adultery and cruelty, had been obliged to leave his house and reside with her relations, and now prayed the protection of the court.

12th. The earl of Pomfret appeared in court, and gave recognizance, himself to the amount of 5,000*l.* and two sureties of 2,500*l.* each, to keep the peace towards his wife, and to appear on the last day of Hilary term, 1802, to answer to the complaint preferred against him.

14th. The king was confined to the house by a severe cold, and on the 16th was affected by a fever, from which his majesty did not recover till March 12; when the physicians' bulletins ceased to be issued.

Manchester. A dreadful fire recently happened at the linen-yarn factory of Messrs. Kirby and Littlewood: a number of poor persons concerned in the works, and living in the upper part of the premises, to the amount of forty, were either burnt to death, or killed in the fall, in endeavouring to escape. The whole of the premises were consumed by the conflagration.

Lately, as some workmen were setting down a fence, in the grounds of W. Wilshere, esq. near Hitchen, in Hertfordshire, they discovered two perfect human skeletons, which it is conjectured, from the place and position in which they lay, must be the remains of two persons who had

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been murdered; but no one has, within memory, been missed from the town or neighbourhood. About 32 years since, a purse with two bank-notes was found by some children near the spot, and, though advertised, were never claimed; the purse was thought to be stained with blood.

By the first report on the tunnel under the Thames, at Gravesend, the committee, after having inspected the accounts, found that no obstacle had occurred to prevent the work from being carried on and finished, according to the original intention of the subscribers: but that, as the work advances, more water may be expected to be met with, and consequently the present power will be insufficient; the committee therefore recommended that a steam engine be purchased or hired, as soon as the borings are completed.

From a second report, it appears that, after the committee had assembled for the purpose of viewing Mr. Dodd's (the engineer) experiment of stopping out the lateral springs in the shaft, the depth of water in the shafts, carefully measured in presence of the committee, before the operation commenced, was 4 feet 6 inches; in 5 minutes the water decreased 16 inches, in ten minutes it decreased 28 inches, and in 17 minutes the bottom became visible. The committee, after waiting half an hour, could observe no visible increase of the water.

Died—In Guy's hospital, London, the once unfortunately celebrated Louisa, or Lady of the Hay-stack; who, about eighteen years ago, was found to have taken up her residence under that shelter, in the parish of Bourton, near Bristol, in a state of melancholy derangement. She then appeared to be under twenty years of age. This very extraordinary woman, whose "Tale of Woe" was first told to the public by Miss Hannah More, has naturally ceased, for a considerable time past, to interest the general curiosity. During several days of her abode under the hay-stack, (from which she at last permitted herself to be removed with reluctance,) she was visited, and irregularly fed, by the country people, till the hand of sympathy and compassion provided her better protection. As her name was unknown, she was immediately distinguished by that of Louisa. During a considerable interval, in which she afterwards remained in retirement, and before she was admitted as incurable into the asylum in which she died, she was chiefly supported by a voluntary subscription, under the management of Miss Hannah More, and her sisters. Those active advocates of humanity, having lost the pecuniary assistance of most others, continued to supply the extra wants and accommodations of the poor solitary stranger, at the expense of more than 10*l.* per annum, till her decease. The same kind, and much the same degree of mental derangement, which the "Tale of Woe" described, remained with Louisa to the last. In her general conduct she exhibited the various common evidences of the most confirmed insanity; which, in addition to the contraction of her limbs, from her exposure to cold in the open field, and from her future propensity to remain inactive, rendered her an object of the strongest pity. But her insanity was uniformly remarkable in this, that, however disordered and childish her affections and resent-

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resentments, she never could be drawn into any explanation respecting her family, her connexions, or her country; however affable and unguarded she might sometimes appear, the moment any person put a question, directly or indirectly, relative to those topics, or made any allusion to them, however distant, she always changed countenance, assumed an air of suspicion, grew grave, and inflexibly silent — or would instantly touch on some other subject. From her accent, she was undoubtedly of German origin; but, though she knew little of English, she avoided conversing in any foreign language. Her manners and occasional movements indicated superior rank; and her frequent exclamations of *dear papa!* and *dear mamma!* in connexion with ideas of equipage and ornaments, led to that conclusion. Many endeavours were used, on the continent, to trace her family, by circulating her description and story in the public prints, but without effect. The mystery of this silence was too remarkable, not to confirm the first opinion of her being a person above the common classes, with the additional probability of some unhappy and treacherous seduction. The conviction, that it is possible for any man, making pretensions to honour, or even of distinction from a brutal nature, so to betray, and so to abandon, in a foreign land, youth, beauty, the strongest sensibility, and perhaps the most engaging innocence, fills the mind with horror of the deed, and with shame and indignation for the character! Such profligacy, in this instance, may have been of foreign production.

MARCH.

2d. The state prisoners, who have for a considerable time past been confined in the tower, the house of correction in Cold Bath Fields, Tothil Fields Bridewell, Shrewsbury, and other county gaols, were brought up to the duke of Portland's office, when most of them were liberated on their own recognizance. Among these were lord Cloncurry, Mr. Bonham, &c. One or two persons refused to enter any bail, insisting upon unconditional release, and were of course remanded. Such of them as had been brought from the country were allowed five pounds each to defray the expenses of their journey home, and the whole were treated with civility and attention. Col. Despard, Galloway, Lemaitre, and Hodgson, who refused to enter into recognizance, or give bail, were committed to Tothil Fields, a sthey insisted upon being delivered unconditionally to freedom, or brought to trial.

4th. Lord St. Vincent's claim to 9,674*l.*, an eighth share of two Spanish ships, captured in Sept. 1799, by the Doris frigate, while cruising within the limits of his lordship's command, and under his orders, but to which lords Nelson and Keith conceived themselves entitled, was confirmed to his lordship by a decision of the court of king's bench.

8th. *Folkstone.* An immense portion of that stupendous eminence the cliff, bordering the sea, between this town and Sandgate, at about a quarter of a mile from hence, suddenly giving way, was precipitated below with great violence, and several smaller fragments have continued

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tinued falling at different times since, some slight fissures and separations of the surface being observed previous to their descent. The earth beneath the cliff seems to have sunk originally, as there is a conspicuous depression of it in some parts, and considerable intersections in others. The foot-path, from this place to Sandgate, went across the part which has tumbled down; and it was a very providential circumstance, that, at the time it happened, which was a little after ten o'clock in the morning, no one happened to be upon the spot, as they must otherwise have been dashed to pieces, by falling from an elevation of several hundred feet.

Philadelphia The undertaking for bringing water from the Schuylkill, to be distributed in pipes for the uses of domestic economy in this city, has been completed.

In consequence of a late conspiracy of the slaves in Virginia, it has been found necessary to employ an additional military force to guard the safety of their masters.

14th. The following letter was this day addressed to the printer of a morning paper by lord Camelford, in consequence of some reports in circulation of the person likely to be nominated by him to the borough of Old Sarum, in case Mr. J. H. Tooke should be declared ineligible to sit in the house of commons.

"Mr. Editor, it is with much reluctance that I feel myself called upon to convey sentiments to the public through the medium of a newspaper; but, since the subject on which I wish to explain myself is not of a nature to be brought forward in a more appropriate place, I must hope for the indulgence of the public to believe, that it is not without a considerable sacrifice of my own private feelings that I have at length yielded to what I conceive a public duty. A report, as preposterous as unfounded, has lately found its way abroad, stating, that I meditated a gross and indecent insult upon the dignity of the legislature, by using an influence I am supposed to possess, for the purpose of introducing an improper character into the formation of its body. As long as this insinuation was confined to individuals, and only affected myself, I saw no reason for departing from my general mode of treating such idle fabrications with silence and contempt; but, since persons have been found credulous enough to endeavour to stamp this idle story with a relative sanction, which it would not have otherwise found, it becomes me to set the public right, by solemnly assuring them, that no such idea was ever in contemplation for one moment, and that I am at a loss to discover how the rumour originated; as, so far from being capable of harbouring a wish to add at this moment to the embarrassments of an unhappy and dejected people, it would be the pride and glory of my heart (if I had the power) to place such persons in situations of responsibility as, by their talents and integrity, might preserve our laws, our government, and constitution. CAMELFORD."

Several barrels of gunpowder, in the stores of Messrs. M'Intosh, Inglis, and Wilson, in the centre of the town of Inverness, by some accident blew up, spreading devastation round them; some houses have been rased to their foundation, others unroofed, and not one that has escaped some injury. Fragments of the buildings were driven a great distance, three women

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women and two children were buried in the ruins; and two miss Frasers, of Fanellan, unfortunately passing, one was killed on the spot, and the other so desperately wounded, as to render her death a desirable event. Many other people were wounded, but not dangerously. The shock was felt many miles round.

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17th. A general court of proprietors was held at the India house; when, in consideration of the important benefits which have resulted to the company from the services of Mr. Dundas, as president of the board of control, it was, with the exception of two persons, unanimously resolved, "that he be requested to accept, during the existence of the company's present limitation of their exclusive trade, of an annuity of 2,000*l.* to be paid to him, his executors, or assigns."

19th. A general court of proprietors of bank-stock met for the purpose of declaring a half year's dividend to the 5th April next; when it was resolved, such was the improved condition of the company, that a bonus of 5*l.* in navy 5 per cents, should be paid on each 100*l.* stock, in addition to the annual dividend of 7*l.* per cent.

20th. His majesty's ship Invincible, of 74 guns, captain Rennie, has been most unfortunately lost by running aground on the Norfolk coast. The ridge of sand is called the Hamondsburg, or Hippisburg, and is situated about 14 miles from Winterton. The number of lives lost amount to upwards of 400, including the captain and the greater part of the officers; 195 only, out of the whole of the crew and passengers, having been saved from the wreck. Rear-admiral Totty, who was proceeding in the Invincible to join the North Sea fleet, is among the survivors. He arrived in town yesterday afternoon, and immediately waited on the lords of the admiralty.

The new drying-house belonging to the powder-wotks of Messrs. Harvey, of Battle, in Sussex, containing about eight hundred weight of gunpowder, blew up with a terrible explosion; and such was the force of the powder, that the building, though of brick, was shattered to atoms. One poor man, who happened to be in the house at the time, was unfortunately killed. His scattered remains were afterwards found amongst the ruins, and exhibited a shocking spectacle. How the accident happened, as there were no fires in the stoves, no one can tell.

At Winchester assizes the principal trial was that of lieut. Stapleton, of the 20th regiment, for shooting, in a duel, ensign Grainger. The court was extremely crowded, and the trial continued eight hours, when the jury returned a verdict of manslaughter.

Died—25th. Paul I, emperor of all the Russias, &c., at 4 o'clock this morning. He was 46 years and 6 months old; he reigned only 4 years and 4 months, as he ascended the throne, Nov. 17, 1796. He was twice married; first, on Oct. 10, 1773, to Natalia-Alexievna, of Hesse-Darmstadt; he was left a widower on the 26th of April, 1776, and married, Oct. 13, the same year, Sophia Dorothea, of Wurtemberg Stutgard, born Oct. 25, 1759. By this marriage he had four sons and five daughters. The sons are, Alexander, born Dec. 23, 1777, married Oct. 9, 1793, to Maria Louisa Elizabeth Alexievna, of Baden, born Jan 4, 1779. 2d. Constantine, born

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born May 8, 1799, married Feb. 26, 1796, to Julia Henrietta of Saxe-Cobourg, born Sept. 23, 1781. 3. Nicholas, born July 2, 1795. 4. Michael, born Feb. 8, 1798. The daughters are, 1. Alexandra, born Jan. 7, 1785, married Feb. 20, 1799, to Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, died in child-bed March 16, 1801. 2. Helena, born Dec. 24, 1784, married, May 19, 1799, to Frederick Louis, hereditary prince of Mecklenberg Schwerin. 3. Mary, born Feb. 5, 1786. 4 Catharine, born May 21, 1788. And Anne, born Jan. 7, 1795.—Alexander succeeds his father; the oath of fidelity was taken to him, with the usual formalities, on March 25, the same day on which his father died.

The circumstances attending the death of this monarch, have been stated, generally, with truth, but with incorrectness in the details. The following particulars we have heard, in a way that leaves no doubt of their accuracy. The public must still be desirous of being informed respecting an event which has led to such great changes in Europe, most happily for this country.

Paul had disgusted all ranks—his temper and tyranny had left him no friends—the favourite of to-day knew he might be the victim of to-morrow—commerce was at a stand, and the trading class suffered severely—the very party about his person, who were daily receiving his favours, were so conscious of their danger, that they were the first to promote the plan for dethroning him. A considerable time before his death, this party resolved to force him to abdicate the throne and to retire far from the seat of government. This fact was known to several well-informed persons in London, and hence arose the eagerness with which his famous challenge, when it first arrived here, was regarded as a preliminary to his being deposed. The French papers have asserted that his death was plotted by the English government, having for their agent at St. Petersburgh an English colonel. Such a charge is as false as it is infamous.

Paul, about the middle of March, gave his minister a warrant for banishing or imprisoning his wife, the empress, and two sons, Alexander and Constantine. The minister did not put this order into execution; but went to the sons to inform them of it, saying, "Your father is ruining the country and himself, he will now destroy you; is this to be borne?" The sons owned themselves sensible their father was ruining the country, and drawing on general confusion; but they could not interfere, they must obey. The minister suggested that something must be done to stop him in his course. The sons said they could advise nothing, and would take no part, but would leave it to the ministers to pursue such measures as were best calculated to promote the interests of the empire. Upon this the minister called a secret meeting of the court party, consisting of the ministers, military commanders, officers of state, and chief nobility, amounting in all to nearly forty persons. They dined together, that the bottle might give them courage, perhaps, and the minister proposed that the emperor Paul should be desired to abdicate the throne; that he should retire to a palace at a distance from St. Petersburgh, where he should be protected, and pass his life in private. This proposal, to which all parties had agreed individually before, was unanimously adopted; and the

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the party proceeded in a body, late in the evening of the 24th, to the emperor's palace, to put their project into force.

The emperor Paul had heard of a plot to dethrone him, and had for a considerable time, lived in a state of the greatest alarm. He stationed the most faithful guards at the avenues of his palace, and took every precaution against surprise. The guards challenged the party when they approached; the party gave the watchword, but that would not satisfy the guards; at last their own commanders came forward from among the party, when of course the whole were allowed to pass. They did not go up a back staircase, as it has been reported, but went up the grand entrance, to the emperor's bed-room, knowing that was the hour at which he would be retired. At the bedroom door, a trusty hussar was stationed, who refused the party permission to pass on any terms, and a violent struggle ensued, in which the hussar was overcome. They then entered the bedroom, and, to their utter astonishment, perceived the emperor had left the bed. They saw nothing of him in the room, and now concluded their design had wholly failed, that it could not be concealed, and that their lives must pay for their attempt. But, in searching around, the emperor was discovered standing behind a screen, just as he had leaped out of bed, alarmed by the struggle made by the hussar, and apprehensive of some plot. The party now told him the object of their visit, stated to him the acts of injustice and tyranny of which he had been guilty, the ruin he was bringing upon the nation, and the general discontent at his conduct, concluding by recommending that he should abdicate the throne in favour of his son Alexander, and presenting, for his signature, an instrument to that effect. Paul trembled, confessed his misconduct, admitted the truth of all with which he had been reproached; but promised to act with the strictest propriety, and just do as they should direct in future, if he was permitted to reign. His abdication, however, was insisted upon, and he was consenting, when, among others, count Z. whom he had stripped of all the honours and emoluments bestowed by the empress Catherine, began to reproach him, in very severe terms, for his personal ill-treatment. Paul, who disliked this person much, replied with bitterness and rage, and a violent altercation ensued, when count Z. who is a very athletic man, lifted a chair, and, striking Paul with the corner point of the seat of it a severe blow on the forehead, the emperor fell senseless to the ground.

This was a circumstance neither foreseen nor provided against; and the whole party were greatly at a loss how to proceed. After such a breach, it was thought it would be impossible to cajole the emperor into abdication, it was dreaded, that nothing could blind his rage, if he recovered. Having gone so far, it was deemed necessary for their own safety to go farther; and it was agreed, that the emperor should be put to death. This, however, it was necessary to do, leaving as little appearances of violence as possible. He was strangled, trampled upon, and bruised, for several hours, till it was quite certain he was dead. His body was then laid in the bed, and in the morning a physician was called in, to certify that he died of an apoplexy.

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But the revolutionary party did not finish the business completely like masters. They left the hussar at the door, to overhear, and partly witness all that passed, and they allowed him to escape. If he had been put to death also, the truth would not now be so well known; perhaps it might have been for ever concealed from the public. But the hussar went forth, and whispered what he knew; the story got abroad, and the empress, Paul's widow, hearing it, sent for the hussar, and took him under her protection. Such is human ambition, or rather vanity, that the empress, who might have rejoiced at being freed from a husband who neglected her for the worst of favourites, and was even going to banish her far from his throne, no sooner found her greatness eclipsed by the loss of her lord, and that she was to sink into the antiquated, the neglected character of an empress dowager, than she pretended the most violent grief, threw herself in public over the corpse of Paul, caressed the hussar, published his tale in every quarter, and took all possible steps to stir up a party against the government to espouse her cause. In this she has had some success. In consequence, Alexander has sent count Z. into exile, has dismissed the minister, and has taken every step to show his respect for his father's memory; but we have seen, even by the public accounts, that a melancholy, a suspicion, and an uneasiness, constantly hang about him. He lives in dread, notwithstanding the wisdom and humanity of his government.

In addition to the above particulars, and since they were written, we have heard that it is impossible to describe the joy of the people of St. Petersburgh, on the news of Paul's death. In ecstacy, transported, they seemed as if reprieved from sentence of death. This spirit prevailed so much, that the showmen about the streets represented the whole circumstances, with explanations and names, more freely than we have described in the above account, till an order was issued by government, forbidding persons to talk publicly of the emperor Paul's death. Count Z. who carried the first news to Moscow, was waited on first by a deputation of the nobles, and next of the merchants, congratulating him in transports of joy, and bestowing on him the richest presents.—Many letters, it is said, were found among the papers of the Turkish valet, the favourite of the emperor Paul, who kept madame Chevalier, announcing the plot for deposing Paul. One of these letters had been sent the day before his death, giving the most minute particulars of what was to be done. This letter was seized among Kutusoff's papers, unopened! The empress dowager went to the late coronation at Moscow, and did every thing by her conduct to excite pity for her situation and for Paul's fate, but to no purpose.

APRIL.

4th. A female swindler, of the name of Robinson, lately resided at Blackheath, where she had the address to defraud various tradesmen of property to the amount of 20,000*l.* and upwards. This impostor had a boarding-school on Croom's Hill two years, during which time she represented herself as heiress to several large

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large estates. In May last she sent to Mr. Creasy, a tradesman at Greenwich, whom she informed that her uncle, Alexander Stuart Robinson, of Fascally, was dead, and begged he would accompany her to an attorney, to arrange matters preparatory to her taking possession. A few days after Mr. Creasy lent her 2,000*l.* until the settlement of her affairs at Fascally. She took a house in the Paragon, which was in an unfinished state, and engaged bricklayers, painters, and carpenters, to finish the premises in the most expensive style; while these improvements were going forward, Miss Robinson set up three carriages; and the latter end of June set off for Brighton with four horses and out-riders. On her return, Miss Robinson went to Hatchett, and desired him to make her an elegant chariot, with silver mouldings and raised coronets of the same, by the queen's birth-day, as her cousin Mr. secretary Dundas, intended to introduce her at court. Mr. Oakley, of Bond Street, was also applied to, to furnish the house for 4,000*l.* Things then went on swimmingly; the drawing-room was painted in water-colours, the walls in landscape. The looking-glasses came to 1,100*l.*; the principal bed was 500*l.* and every other article suitably magnificent. During the time the furnishing of the house was going forward, Mr. Oakley requested, when half the order had been completed, the sum of 1,000*l.* Miss Robinson felt herself hurt, and said, if he had any doubts of having his money when her affairs were settled at Fascally, he might apply to her sister lady Paget, or to her cousin the bishop of London, or to sir Richard Hill. Upon these bold assertions, Mr. Oakley proceeded with the order, but, when nearly completed, he waited upon the bishop of London and sir Richard Hill, who said they had no farther knowledge of Miss Robinson than by a card which a person of that name had been in the habit of leaving at the houses of persons of distinction. Upon this discovery, in February, Mr. Oakley took out a writ, and with proper officers, his own men, and several carts, went down to Blackheath, and laid in wait till 9 o'clock, when the carriage came home, but no Miss Robinson. From this circumstance it appeared that she had received intimation of what was going forward, and would not return. Mr. Oakley, finding he could not take the body, got into the house, and disrobed the mansion of its furniture by 6 o'clock the next morning. At 9 o'clock in the morning came in an execution, under virtue of which the remaining part of the property was sold by auction on the premises. Miss Robinson was traced into Cornwall, and soon after was apprehended at Huntingdon, and lodged in the county gaol, where she remains in a state of extreme poverty, having squandered all the fruits of her misapplied ingenuity. In person she is of the middle size, and is remarkably ordinary. From her prison she has issued a ridiculous and unintelligible vindication of her conduct.

A shark, 28 feet in length and 10 feet in circumference, was lately caught in a fishing seine near the bathing-house at Abbotsbury, in Dorsetshire. His tail, when spread, measured 8 feet, the fins 4 feet, and it is supposed to weigh 15 tons. It was entangled in the mackarel-seines, destroyed by the crew of the Greyhound cutter, who fired on it, and afterwards towed it to the village of Portland. Fourteen horses were employed

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ployed to draw the monster up the bank and on shore, where a booth was erected over it. Before he was quite dead he appeared mottled like a common dog-fish.

Two life boats have been finished by Mr. Greathead of Shields, one of which has been conveyed to the station off Bawdsey Cliffe, and the other to Lowestoffe, in Suffolk; and, from their great utility in saving the lives of seamen in tempestuous weather, they will, in all probability, soon become general on the coasts of this island.

13th. The trial of sir Harry Browne Hayes, for forcibly carrying off Miss Pike, the rich quaker heiress of Cork, with intent to marry her, came on at Cork this day, at 9 o'clock in the morning, and continued till 10 at night. The jury brought in a verdict guilty, but recommended him to mercy.

22d. Three men were committed to Hereford gaol for trial, charged with robbing and wounding Mr. Stallard, of Moor Court. About one o'clock the ruffians broke into the house, and proceeding to Mr. Stallard's room, beat him until they conceived him to be dead; they then went into the apartments occupied by the female servants, who they compelled to attend them with lights to show where the plate, linen, &c. were deposited, and afterwards to assist in packing it up, when they escaped without alarming the men servants, six of whom lay in the out offices. The robbers were shortly pursued, and taken in bed at a public house near Ross, with all the property in their possession.

25th. The powder-mills at Waltham Abbey blew up with a dreadful explosion. Nine persons lost their lives.

26th. About eight in the evening a mob assembled before a house in Wych Street, formerly the Queen of Bohemia tavern, (but now supposed to be unoccupied,) in consequence of some boys, who had been at play in the passage, declaring they saw some persons through the key hole employed in cutting up human bodies. The mob, having increased, at length broke into the house, in which they found several human bodies partly dissected, one body of a man which appeared to have been not long dead, with that of an infant not four months old, untouched, and several tubs with human flesh, &c. The stench was so great, that many were glad to return without viewing the disgusting scene, and many who went in were seized with sickness. Notwithstanding it was explained to the mob, that the house had been for some time used as an anatomical theatre, they were so enraged as to proceed to destroy the house; but a party of Bow Street officers arriving, at length succeeded in restoring the peace, to the great satisfaction of the neighbourhood, who had been much alarmed at an idea that the mob would in their rage set fire to the house. The surgeons, who were in the house, made their escape by a back way, leaving several of their instruments behind them. This is the house in which a committee of the Corresponding Society was seized three years ago. It was formerly a noble palace, and the spacious but gloomy and desolate appearance of the apartments added to the horror of the scene. An examination into the circumstances then took place before Mr. Justice Ford; the result of it sufficiently pointed out how these bodies came to be deposited in the house, it having clearly appeared that

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that they were used for the purposes of dissection. By the orders of Mr. Ford a coroner's inquest was held on the bodies; and their verdict fully coinciding with what was stated on the examination, the mob were satisfied with the explanation, and were induced quietly to disperse. The bodies were buried in St. Clement's churchyard.

27th. The long depending cause between the parishioners of St. Gregory, London, and the warden and minor canons of St. Paul's, was decided in the Court of Exchequer, in favour of the latter. The parishioners contended, that from time immemorial, previous to the 37th of Henry VIIIth, down to the year 1795, they had been accustomed to pay no more than about 90*l.* as a composition for tithes, and that therefore they were not within the provision of the act. The jury, however, decided, that they were within the statute of Henry VIIIth, and consequently liable to the payment of 2*s.* 9*d.* in the pound, making in the gross about 1,300*l.* per annum, of which six years arrears are due.

28th. Two young women, named Lamb and Mothershall, were committed to Lincoln gaol, charged with the murder of Mr. S. Glew, of Epsworth, and robbing him of property to the amount of 40*l.* Mr. G. had an axe, which they seized from his hand, and beat him with it on the head until they fractured his skull, when they threw the body into a ditch.

Anne Clarke was last week executed at Ruthyn, for the murder of her illegitimate female child. She held the infant's face in a pool of water until she became suffocated, when she buried her in the mud. This wretched woman delayed execution for several months by an unfounded plea of pregnancy.

Some convicts lately escaped from Botany Bay; and after extraordinary perils and hardships, reached Hindostan, and endeavoured to proceed up the Godavery, with intent to proceed to Hyderabad; but were intercepted by a party of sepoys, and conducted to Madras, where, having confessed the circumstances of their escape, they were ordered to be sent back to the colony by the first opportunity.

Parliament has passed a vote for the erection of two monuments in St. Paul's cathedral, to the memories of captains Riou and Moss, who so bravely fell in the action off Copenhagen.

Died—17th. At his house in Pall Mall, in his 91st year, William Heberden, M. D. senior fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and F. R. S. and S. A. He was educated in the grammar-school in St. Saviour's churchyard, and was many years fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, where he was admitted in December, 1724, being then only 15 years of age. He proceeded B. A. 1728; M. A. 1732; M. D. 1739; and practised physic at Cambridge till about the year 1750, when he removed to London, and continued a considerable time before his talents were discovered; so long that, almost weary with solicitude, he was on the point of returning to end his days at Cambridge. But happily, he steadily persevered, and soon shone forth in full lustre. From a thorough conviction of its public utility, Dr. Heberden was one of the earliest subscribers to the Humane Society, and in 1778 was elected vice-president of that excellent institution. To this worthy physician the widow of

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of the celebrated Dr. Conyers Middleton bequeathed her husband's MSS. from which Dr. Heberden, in 1761, obliged the learned world with a curious tract, intituled, "Dissertationis de servili Medicorum conditione Appendix," &c.; with a short but elegant advertisement of his own, which may be seen in the "Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer." In 1763, a most valuable edition of the "Supplices Mulieres" of Euripides, with the notes of Mr. Markland, was printed entirely at the expense of Dr. Heberden. He wrote the epitaph in Dorking church, on Mr. Markland, who had bequeathed to him all his books and papers. To Dr. Heberden, Mr. Bowyer bequeathed his "little cabinet of coins, a few books specifically, and any others which the doctor might choose to accept." Dr. H's. other publications were, "ΑΝΤΙΘΗΡΙΑΚΑ, an Essay on Mithridatium and Theriaca, 1745," 8vo. In the Medical Transactions of London, Vol. I, Remarks on the Pump water of London; Observations on the Ascarides; Account of the remarkably good Effects of common Salt in an extraordinary Case of Worms; Observations on Nyctalopia; On the Chicken-pox; Account of the epidemical Cold in June and July, 1767; Queries on medical Subjects. In Vol. II, Observations on the hectic Fever; Remarks on the Pulse; Some Account of the Angina Pectoris; Of the noxious Effects of some Fungi; Queries on medical Subjects. In Vol. III, Farther Account of the Angina Pectoris; Method of preparing the Ginseng Root in China; On damp Linen. In a "Letter to Lord Kenyon, relative to some Conduct of the College of Physicians of London," given to friends, but not sold, in which that learned body has received a thundering philippic, the character of this truly respectable veteran is thus delineated by Dr. Wells: "Many of our physicians have no doubt received little injury from the causes of the corruption of character, to which they have been exposed; and some few may have escaped their influence altogether. One of these few, Dr. William Heberden, I must conclude to have been well known to your lordship, from the eulogy which you pronounced upon him during the trial of Dr. Stanger's cause. He was probably, indeed, the only physician with whom you were intimately acquainted; and hence, from the natural error of attributing to a whole species the properties of its only individual we have seen, you might imagine that he possessed his many virtues in common with the rest of his class. But Dr. Heberden, my lord, stands, in a manner, alone in his profession. No other person, I believe, either in this or any other country, has ever exercised the art of medicine with the same dignity, or has contributed so much to raise it in the estimation of mankind. A contemplation of his excellencies, therefore, can afford little help towards obtaining a just notion of the general worth of physicians. In speaking of a mole-hill, we would not employ terms that had relation to the immensity of a mountain. Were I, my lord, possessed of talents adequate to the undertaking, I should here endeavour to describe at full length the character of that illustrious man. In this attempt I should first mark his various and extensive learning, his modesty in the use of it, and his philosophical distrust of human opinion in science, however

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however sanctioned by time or the authority of great names. I should then exhibit him in the exercise of his profession, without envy or jealousy; too proud to court employment, yet undervaluing his services after they were performed; unwearied, even when a veteran in his art, in ascertaining the minutest circumstances of the sick, who placed themselves under his care, taking nothing in their situation for granted that might be learned by inquiry, and trusting nothing of importance that concerned them to his memory. To demonstrate his greatness of mind, I should next mention his repeatedly declining to accept those offices of honour and profit at the British court, which are regarded by other physicians as objects of their highest ambition, and are therefore sought by them with the utmost assiduity. I should afterwards take notice of his simple yet dignified manners, his piety to God, his love for his country, and his exemplary discharge of the duties of all the private relations in which he stood to society; and I should conclude by observing, that his whole life had been regulated by the most exquisite prudence, by means of which his other virtues were rendered more conspicuous and useful, and, whatever failings he might as a human being possess, were either shaded or altogether concealed. After my description was finished, I should think it proper to say that I had never been acquainted with Dr. Heberden, and consequently could neither be dazzled by the splendour of his virtues, from approaching them too nearly, nor influenced in my opinion concerning them by benefits he had already conferred upon me; and that standing, as he does, upon the verge of this state of existence, ready to wing his flight to another of glory, his ear must now be closed to the voice of flattery, had he ever listened to that siren, or were I base enough to solicit her aid, in the foolish expectation of receiving from him some future reward." He married Mary, daughter of Francis Woollaston and granddaughter of the author of "The Religion of Nature delineated," by whom he had two sons, William, M. D., and John, educated at St. John's college, Cambridge; B. A., 1775, M. A. 1778. Thomas Heberden, M. D., (physician at Madeira,) was brother to the late worthy Dr. William Heberden.

MAY.

1st. The branch of canal from Buckingham to the Grand Junction Canal was opened this day, with great rejoicings. A barge, with the marquis of Buckingham, Mr Praed, and Mr. Selby, (gentlemen of the committee,) and Mr. Box, the treasurer, accompanied by a large party of ladies and gentlemen, and a band of music, led the way to a procession of 12 barges, laden with coals, slate, and a variety of merchandize; upon their entrance into the basin at Buckingham, they were saluted by the firing of several pieces of cannon. A numerous party were handsomely entertained by the marquis of Buckingham, at the Cobham Arms Inn, on this occasion; and a liberal supply of beer was given to the populace. This brach of canal, nine miles and a quarter in length, has been completed in about eight months, and will secure to an extensive district of country the most substantial benefits.

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14th. A court of common council was held at Guildhall.—The committee of ways and means reported, that the city's income for the last year was 92,062*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*; and that its expenditure was 87,828*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*; balance, being the city's nett income, 4,234*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* Upon which the report stated, that the city was to pay to the commissioners for income the sum of 423*l.*

18th. This day, at four o'clock, the ceremony of laying the first stone of a building, to be erected in Capel Court, for the transaction of business in the public funds, was laid by William Hammond, esq., chairman of the committee of managers, in the presence of the proprietors of the undertaking. A procession was made to the spot; and the stone being laid, Mr. Hammond, in a short and neat speech, announced the purpose of the building, wished prosperity to the members, and among other things stated, that an engraving on copper was deposited under the stone.

20th. This day commenced, at Garraway's, the sale of Mr. Benfield's estates. The noble mansion-house and park, containing 409 acres, was knocked down at 25,500*l.* (exclusive of timber and fixtures) to be taken at a valuation. The farms were judiciously divided into desirable lots, and more than thirty years' purchase was bid for all. The whole amount was more than 180,000*l.* A former sale not having been ratified, the present one was made by order of the court of exchequer, under an extent, and produced 13,000*l.* more than the former prices. It appears since, that the whole estate was now again bought in, it not being thought that enough was bid for it.

21st. His majesty, accompanied by the queen and two of the princesses, arrived at Buckingham House, from Kew; and, after his majesty had taken some refreshment, a privy council was held (the first since the king's illness;) at which sir Richard Pepper Arden kissed hands on being appointed lord chief justice of the common pleas, as did also sir William Grant, on succeeding to the situation of master of the rolls.

Parliament has voted the erection of a monument in St. Paul's cathedral to the memory of sir Ralph, and lady Abercromby is to be created a peeress, with remainder to her two eldest sons, and an annual pension of 2,000*l.*

At a recent confirmation by the bishop of Carlisle, at Hull, a farmer from Holderness attended with seventeen of his sons and daughters to be confirmed.

The following singular passage we have extracted from one of sir William Petty's Essays on Political Arithmetic, ed. 1669.

London, he says, doubles its inhabitants in 40 years, and all England in 360 years. That, in the year 1682, there would be about 670,000 souls in London; and about 7,400,000 in all England and Wales; in which there are about 28,000,000 acres of profitable land. That the growth of London must be at its greatest height in the year 1800, and must stop before the year 1842, when it will contain 10,718,880 souls, but the population of the rest of the country will be no more than 10,917,889.

25th. *Dublin.* The earl of Hardwicke, our new lieutenant-general, arrived here this morning. He was received by the corporation of this city, and, attended by a squadron of dragoons, proceeded to the castle. Upon his arrival there he was introduced

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troduced in form to his excellency marquis Cornwallis, who received him sitting under the canopy of state in the presence chamber. The council sitting, his lordship's commission was read, and the oath being administered to him, he was invested with the collar of the order of St. Patrick, and received the sword of state from the marquis Cornwallis.

28th. At the sessions house, on Clerkenwell Green, the coachman and two footmen of a gentleman of great respectability were sentenced to one month's imprisonment, and a fine of 5*l.* each, on the prosecution of John Free, esq. for wilfully driving their master's carriage against that of Mr. Free, in their attempting to break into the rank at the opera house, on the 24th of March.

29th. The rev. Gilbert Wakefield was liberated from his confinement of two years in Dorchester gaol, for his answer to the bishop of Llandaff's pamphlet on the income-tax.

30th. At eight o'clock this morning, a person leaped off the centre arch of Blackfriar's Bridge into the Thames, to decide a trifling wager of five shillings, and had the good fortune to escape unhurt.

Died—Of the wounds received in a hard fought battle with the French in Egypt, general sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. The first commission this able officer bore, was as cornet of the 3d dragoon guards, into which he entered on the 25th of May, 1756, and gradually rose, in 1787, to the rank of major-general. On the breaking out of the war, he served with the duke of York in the Netherlands; and in August, 1795, succeeded sir Charles Grey as commander-in-chief of the West India islands; on his return from whence, in January, 1797, he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general. His next service was to quell the rebellion in Ireland, and, in 1799, he had the second command in the unsuccessful expedition against Holland; and lastly, he was invested with the chief command of the army destined to dispossess the French of Egypt.

JUNE.

1st. The embargo was taken from off the Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in our ports.

3d. A criminal information against G. W. Thellusson, esq. for perjury, was tried at Guildhall; the case was shortly this: Mr. R. Coppinger borrowed 1,757*l.* from the defendant, and assigned the title-deeds of a ship as a collateral security, and under this assignment Mr. Thellusson, on a question in the admiralty court, swore the vessel was his property. The indictment was founded on the presumption, that Mr. Coppinger, having repaid this sum of 1,757*l.* previous to this oath, the property had reverted to him: but it appearing to the jury, that in all assignments of chattel interest it is expressly stated that there shall be a reassignment, and that till that is done the property is vested in the mortgagee, and Mr. Coppinger failing to substantiate any of his allegations of perjury arising from the statement of various other accounts with Mr. Thellusson, the jury, without hesitation, acquitted him.—An action to recover damages for a malicious prosecution, founded on the foregoing, was next tried. The rectitude of Mr. Thellusson's conduct was very clearly established;

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and lord Kenyon characterised the prosecution instituted by Mr. Coppinger as malicious, and devoid of foundation. Mr. Coppinger conducted his own defence, and at great length addressed the jury, who, after a short deliberation, found a verdict for the plaintiff—damages 1,000*l.*

The foundation for the building of the bank of Scotland was this day laid in Bank Street, Edinburgh, by a committee of the directors.

10th. About four this morning a dreadful fire broke out in the sugar-house belonging to Messrs. Ferrers and Warren, in Wood Street, which entirely consumed the same; but, from the timely exertions of the firemen, and the engines being well supplied with water, it was prevented from communicating to a cooperage adjoining, and several old houses and wooden buildings, by which it was surrounded.

13th. This day, in the court of king's bench, one Spence, a poor insane, though mischievous bookseller, was brought up to receive judgment upon a conviction for publishing a seditious libel called "Spence's Restorer of Society," in which he recommends the abolition of all private property in land, and vesting it in parishes, for the benefit of the public at large. The report of the trial having been read by lord Kenyon, the defendant addressed the court in a speech, in which he professed he was actuated in writing the libel in question by the same philanthropy which distinguished the prophets of former times. He warned their lordships to regard what history and posterity would say of them if they treated him with severity. He said, the treatment he received gave him but very little encouragement in labouring for the improvement of society. Such was the ingratitude of mankind, that he was considered by the world as a madman and a lunatic, and behaved to in prison worse than a common felon. He had, however, done nothing but what his own conscience justified him for doing; and if, notwithstanding the purity of his intentions, the court should think him an object of punishment, the cause in which he suffered would enable him to bear it with fortitude. The attorney-general declined pressing any observation against the defendant. The court ordered him to be remanded to Newgate, and brought up again on this day se'nnight. A person came forward as the friend of the defendant, and assured the court he was not, as had been unjustly represented, the head of any sect or party. It appeared that this man was a crack-brained, half-witted organist, and the court accordingly ordered him to be silent, and mind his own business.

On the day appointed Spence was brought up, and received the sentence of the court, which was, to pay a fine of 50*l.* and to suffer twelve months imprisonment.

14th. A cause was this day heard in the court of king's bench, wherein Mr. Haycraft, a respectable ironmonger, was plaintiff, and Mr. Creasy, a currier, defendant. It was brought for 485*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* the amount of goods for which, on the misrepresentation of Mr. C. the plaintiff had credited Miss Robinson, late of Blackheath. On the part of the plaintiff, the strictest caution appeared to have been used before the order was executed; but it was entirely satisfied by the declaration of the defendant. The defence set up was, that Mr. Creasy

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Creasy had been her dupe; that he had founded his favourable report of her on no better foundation than her own assertion; and that there were many others (several of whom he produced) of as extreme credulity as himself. Lord Kenyon, in his charge, confined himself to the simple fact of the goods having been furnished in consequence of the representation of the defendant, to whom he imputed nothing criminal. He laid it down, "that the defendant should have said, such circumstances came to his knowledge respecting the lady who was the subject of inquiry, as induced him to believe she was a person of fortune." But having thought proper to describe her as a person, whom he knew might be safely trusted, he was of opinion, that no part of the defence repelled the action, and that, *in foro conscientiæ*, the plaintiff was entitled to a verdict. The jury found accordingly.

18th. The annual sheep-shearing festival at Woburn closed this day. The company exceeded five hundred agriculturalists, among whom were many noblemen. The duke of Bedford himself presided, aided by lord Carrington, and the weather proving extremely favourable, the gala, which lasted three days, went off with the greatest eclat. Several cattle were exhibited, and experiments made, with a view to ascertain many proposed improvements in agriculture; and the committee of prizes adjudged the different premiums, with great judgment, to the satisfaction of all present, who departed highly gratified by the duke's attentions, and the noble scene they had assisted at.

The Gazette contained orders by his majesty, dated Kew, 29th of May, and June 3, authorizing the dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Cumberland, princes Augustus, Adolphus, and William of Gloucester, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, dukes of Saxe Gotha, Richmond, Devonshire, Portland, Northumberland, Beaufort, Buccleugh, and Roxburgh, marquisses Cornwallis, Buckingham, Lansdown, and Salisbury, earls of Chatham, Westmorland, Carlisle, Spencer, and Camden, to exercise all the rights and privileges belonging to the knights companions of the garter, as if they had been formally installed, his majesty being pleased to dispense with the statutes and regulations usually observed in regard to installation.

19th. The first stone of the Royal Military Asylum was laid at Chelsea, in presence of the duke of York, attended by the secretary at war, lord Harrington, general Delancey, &c. when several coins and medals, commemorating our naval and military victories, were placed under it.

29th. This day, after lasting 56 days, including 12,393 articles, and an appendix of 270 more, closed the sale of the library of the late John Strange, esq. LL. D. F. R. and F. A. S. and formerly his British majesty's resident at Venice, who died March 19, 1799.

30th. This afternoon, between two and three, there was experienced, in this metropolis and its neighbourhood, one of the most violent storms of thunder, accompanied with a most furious hurricane, and torrents of rain, that was ever known. The thunder was very loud, and the lightning vivid. The wind was most tempestuous; and the rain fell, not in drops, but in whole sheets. It never was remembered that so much rain fell in the

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same space: the sewers could not carry off the water so fast as it fell. The Strand, in some places, resembled a canal, and was almost navigable from side to side. The storm continued upwards of half an hour to rage with this violence. The court of common pleas, Westminster, was thrown into much confusion. The wind drove the rain with such violence against the skylight, that it broke the glass; and a torrent of rain descended on the wigs and cravats of the counsel, who instantly forsook their seats in terror and dismay.

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This morning two of the York hussars were shot on Bincombe Down, near Weymouth, pursuant to the sentence of a court martial, for desertion, and cutting a boat out of the harbour with intent to go into France, but by mistake they landed at Guernsey, and were secured. All the regiments both in camp and barracks were drawn up, viz. the greys, the rifle corps, and the Stafford, Berks, and North Devon militia. They came on the ground in a mourning coach, attended by two priests: after marching along the front of the line, they returned to the centre, where they spent about twenty minutes in prayer, and were then shot at by a guard of twenty-four men: they dropped instantly, and expired without a groan. They appeared sensible of their awful situation, and very penitent. The men then wheeled in sections, and marched by the bodies in slow time.

An additional allowance has been made to the prince of Wales of 8,000*l.* per annum; but when his debts are paid off, which will be in about five years, this 8,000*l.* per annum, then amounting to 40,000*l.* will be deducted from his income; so that it is only money lent. His royal highness's income, before this allowance, was 69,000*l.* per annum, of which 22,000*l.* is appropriated for the use of the princess of Wales.

A difference between lord Hawkesbury and the knights marshal volunteers, in regard to the use of an apartment under the secretary of state's office at Whitehall, has lately given occasion to sir James Bland Burgess, and the other officers of that corps, to resign.

Admiral sir Hyde Parker lately applied to the lords commissioners of the admiralty requesting a court martial to be held on him, to investigate his conduct, from the time of the battle off Copenhagen, until he resigned the command of his majesty's fleet in the Baltic. Their lordships, however, declined Sir Hyde's solicitation.

Died.—28th. Francis Wheatley, esq. R. A. an artist of talents that might have raised him to the highest distinction in the arts, either in the province of landscape or portrait. From very early life, however, he had been subject to attacks of the gout, which, for a long time, disabled him for a great part of the year, and which, for a considerable time before his death, had wholly deprived him of power to pursue his profession. This infirmity, and the consequences to which it exposed him, prevented him from studying nature as a landscape; and therefore he was obliged, too often, to have recourse to the evanescent traces of memory. If his works in general are not distinguished for vigour and expression, they are recommended by taste and elegance. He was not so correct in his representation of rural imagery as a favourite landscape painter of the present day; but

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but he was not so vulgar in his conceptions, nor so gaudy in his execution, as other living artists, who have contrived to raise their talents into higher reputation. He has left a widow and seven children.

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JULY.

1st. An experiment took place on the river Thames, for the purpose of working a barge, or any other heavy craft, against tide, by means of a steam-engine, on a very simple construction. The moment the engine was set to work, the barge was brought about, answering her helm quickly, and she made way against a strong current, at the rate of two miles and a half an hour.

From the London Gazette.

The following letter having been humbly submitted to his majesty by the undermentioned officers, who served in the detachment of his majesty's 15th regiment of light dragoons, in the action of Villers en Couché, near Cambray, on the 24th April, 1794; his majesty has been graciously pleased to grant to each of them his royal licence and permission to accept the rank of knight of the imperial military order of Maria Theresa, and bear the insignia thereof, the same having been conferred upon them by the emperor of Germany, in testimony of the high sense which his imperial majesty entertained of their distinguished conduct upon that occasion—W. Aylett, Rt. Pocklington, Ed. Mich. Ryan, Thos. Grandby Calcraft, Wm. Keir, Charles Burrell Blount, Edw. Gerald Butler, and Robert Thomas Wilson.

Letter from his excellency lord Minto, his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna, to lieut.-colonel William Aylett.

Sir, *Vienna, Nov.* 7, 1800.

I have received from his excellency, baron Thugut, eight crosses of the order of Maria Theresa, which the emperor has been pleased to confer on yourself, and seven other officers under-named, of the 15th regiment of light dragoons, who distinguished themselves in a most gallant action, near Villers en Couché, on the 24th April, 1794. His imperial majesty had already testified the high sense he entertained of the brilliant and important service which the regiment performed on that occasion, by presenting the officers engaged, with a medal, struck for the purpose of commemorating that distinguished action, and affording to those who achieved it, a lasting testimony of his approbation and gratitude. It was deemed at the time worthy of the cross of Maria Theresa; but at that period a doubt was entertained whether this order could be conferred on foreigners; that difficulty being now removed, his imperial majesty avails himself with pleasure of the occasion, to evince his high esteem for the regiment, as well as his regard for the individuals, by investing with this distinguished order of merit, gentlemen who have proved themselves worthy to wear it. In transmitting to you, sir, these crosses, to be distributed to the officers for whom they are destined, I cannot omit the opportunity of expressing the satisfaction I have experienced from the share which my situation here has afforded me in the transaction, which, while it does honour to the liberality of his imperial majesty, and throws so

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much lustre on the corps and on those who are immediately concerned, reflects at the same time credit on the country to which they belong. I am, &c.

MINTO.

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7th. The Ambuscade frigate, which some time since surrendered to us in the interest of the house of Orange, in going from Sheerness harbour to the Downs, filled with water and sunk, owing, it is supposed, to a plank in her bottom starting. Fortunately all the crew and persons on board, except eight, were saved by the boats of the tender and ships in the harbour. The hulk has since been weighed and recovered.

10th. The canal to Paddington was opened this morning for trade, with a grand procession, along the Paddington line, to Bull's Bridge at Uxbridge. Exactly at nine, the committee, with their friends, in two pleasure boats, set sail, with colours and streamers flying, each vessel being towed by two horses. At 12 o'clock the company were met at Bull's Bridge by the city shallop, (having on board the sub-committee of the Thames navigation,) and several pleasure boats, with large parties of ladies. On meeting, a salute was fired, and then the procession returned, in the following order:

1. The committee and their friends, in two barges, with the Buckinghamshire band of music.
2. The city shallop.
3. Seven pleasure boats.

At half past five the procession reached the great dock. This was announced by the firing of cannon on Westbourn Green Bridge, and a volley of musquetry from the town. After three huzzas, the company landed, and walked to the Yorkshire Stingo, and, at half past six, sat down to dinner, and spent the evening with conviviality. Great praise is due to the committee for the expedition which they have used since last spring, in completing the canal. A long range of warehouses are nearly finished, for the reception of goods. This day, not less than eight laden barges arrived. A public road 100 feet wide, was finished on Monday last to the quay, which is but a few paces from the Edgeware Road. The number of persons present could not be less than 20,000: for several miles, the banks of the canal were lined with people. Several stages were erected for accommodation, and a long string of carriages appeared on the public walk.

Messrs. Owen and Mardale, of Houndsditch, were indicted, and found guilty, of having a large quantity of the king's naval stores in their possession: they have since absconded, and the recognizances of their bail have been estreated.

11th. Lord Hawkesbury addressed the following bulletin to the lord mayor:

"*Downing Street, July 11th, half past eight, P. M.*

"My Lord,

"I have great satisfaction in informing you, that captain Blake, of the Dispatch cutter, is just arrived from St. Petersburgh, and has brought a convention, signed on the 17th of June by lord St. Helen's, and count Panin, on the part of his majesty and the emperor of Russia, by which all differences between the two countries have been amicably adjusted.

"Their Danish and Swedish majesties

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jesties have been invited to accede to this convention.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "HAWKESBURY."

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

22d. This morning, at an early hour, immense crowds from the metropolis and adjacent parts made their appearance in Hyde Park, to witness the review of those volunteer and associated corps, in London and its environs, who so patriotically enrolled, equipped, and disciplined themselves, at their own expense, for the defence and safety of their country. The different corps, to the number of 4,734, had been drawn up for a considerable time, when, at ten, his royal highness the commander-in-chief appeared on the ground, accompanied by his brother the duke of Kent, lord Harrington, lord Cathcart, and several other general officers, aids-du-camp, &c. In less than half an hour afterwards, arrived his royal highness the prince of Wales, escorted by the Westminster cavalry. The royal Highlanders, commanded by captain Ross, were posted in the centre of the line, on ground independent of the other corps, in the angle between the right and left wing; and, on the 5th signal being given, they commenced the fire by a volley, which was continued by the respective corps from the centre to the flanks of the line. The same was repeated at the 6th and 7th signals. The various corps then went through their exercise and evolutions with considerable expertness. The vollies were in general very regular; and, from the very excellent appearance of the men, the elegance of the uniforms, the fine order of the arms, and the assemblage of beauty, which gave lustre to the spectacle, the *coup d'œil* was, upon the whole, extremely magnificent. The favourable weather, the cause of the assemblage, and curiosity springing from the most praiseworthy motives, attracted nearly all the metropolis to Hyde Park. It was computed, that, independent of the volunteers, upwards of 30,000 spectators attended.

28th. The following account of the escape of some prisoners from the gaol of Newgate in Dublin, on the 18th, perhaps can only, if at all, be paralleled by the history of Jack Shepherd's escape from the London Newgate. On the ground floor in the inner yard, twenty-eight prisoners were confined in four cells, to each of which there is an iron door leading to the upper apartments, at the foot of which there is also an iron door. On the 15th, about twelve o'clock, the prisoners perceiving that their cells were inspected by the turnkeys, conceived it to be a good time to effect their escape before the next inspection; and accordingly on that day, while they had the liberty of the yard, they agreed on their plan, which the want of a rope to descend by from the roof prevented the execution of on that night; but the next day one of their wives having contrived to convey them a rope, on that night they made the necessary breaches, which they effected between seven and nine o'clock, having been locked up at six. Their plan was to break a communication between the cells, and thence to the stairs, which they effected with no other instruments than one piece of iron about six inches long, and their knives: with these they made their way through the thick walls that support

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support the arches of the cells. On ascending the stairs, they were stopped by a door at the foot of the upper flight: this difficulty, however, they soon overcame, as a wall built in place of the hand-railing is but four inches thick: they next had to encounter an iron grate in the chimney of an upper room, but by breaking the wall at the end of the grate they got above it. Having thus opened a passage to the roof, their next object was to get rid of the heavy irons with which some of them were bolted: they therefore waited till the next night. On their return to their cells, they stopped the breaches with stones, and the next day the deputy-gaoler, having an information that one of the prisoners had requested of a woman to bring him a rope for the purpose of escaping, he loaded him with irons, which, however, he contrived to file off, and escaped with the rest. About one o'clock on Saturday morning, sixteen of them got on the roof of the session house, at the end of which, next to Green Street, they raised the lead, and fastened a rope to one of the rafters, by which they descended to the waste ground between the session house and the sheriff's prison. The last of the sixteen, named Traynor, alias Murphy, distinctly heard the only centinel in view (who was planted above one hundred yards from the place they descended) regularly challenge every man as he walked away: they answered, "a friend," were suffered to pass into Green Street, but on Murphy's getting to the ground, the centinel, who by this time had approached the spot, after challenging, perceived the rope, and exclaimed, "You came down by that rope!" which the other acknowledged, and surrendered. One of the prisoners escaped with a single bolt on.

Died.—27th. At Vienna, aged 46, the archduke Maximilian, elector of Cologne. Being much respected, he had considerable influence at the court of Vienna, and was adverse to the party of Thugut. He was uncle to the present emperor of Germany, and brother to the two last, and to the late queen of France. His court was once splendid by the number of the assemblage of French emigrant princes and nobles; but his states were early overrun and ravaged, so that they will never recover the loss. Perhaps his death may facilitate the secularization of the empire, to which his influence was a great impediment. He was prodigiously fat, weighing not less than 4 cwt. On the 29th his remains were interred in the burial place of the imperial family. His personal property is bequeathed to his nephew, prince Maximilian Joseph, now 19 years of age, and third son of the grand duke of Tuscany. It amounts to 10 or 12 millions of florins. The archduke Charles has a considerable legacy, and succeeds to the grand mastership of the Teutonic order.

AUGUST.

1st. The marquis of Abercorn this day, proposing to accompany the marchioness and lady C. Hamilton in a phaeton, from the priory, Stanmore, to Harrow, about eleven in the forenoon, had scarcely advanced 200 yards from the priory, when the horses took fright, and set off with an alarming rapidity, which continued down hill through the

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the town of Stanmore; and, to add to the calamity, the reins broke. The ladies, apprehensive of the most dangerous consequences, shrieked with such violence, as deprived the marquis of that presence of mind so necessary at such a critical juncture. Endeavouring in vain to stop the horses, he advised the marchioness and his daughter to sit quiet; and, in rising up to make more room for the young lady who sat in the middle, he was, by a sudden jerk, thrown out, and both his legs broken. The one fracture was under, and the other above the knee. The marchioness and lady Hamilton still kept their seats, notwithstanding the horses ran with uncommon celerity along the road to Edgeware. At the turning of a lane, when the horses made a sudden spring forward, the marchioness and lady Hamilton were thrown out; the first into the ditch, the other over the hedge, and were no otherwise hurt, than from the scratches of a few brambles. The marquis was with great difficulty carried home, after his legs had been set by Mr. Andrews, of Stanmore. Mr. Heaviside and other surgeons were afterwards sent for from London, who approved of what had been done; and a speedy recovery superseded all farther attendance. The horses proceeded towards the entrance of Canons, when Mr. Deveil, curate of Edgeware, passing along the road, and recollecting that horses on full speed are frequently stopped by another horse crossing upon them, attempted by this means to stop them, but, unhappily, the chaise horses run against the rails before an adjoining house and stopped, but threw down Mr. Deveil's horse, and entangled him and his rider with themselves, from which situation Mr. Deveil was disengaged by the servants of the house, but not without the dislocation of his knee-pan.

6th. A fire broke out this morning about four, at Messrs. James's, wholesale grocers and tea-dealers, Abchurch Lane, Lombard Street, which entirely consumed the dwelling-house, their extensive warehouses, containing near 200 chests of tea, another dwelling-house, and cotton warehouse adjoining. This serious conflagration is supposed to be owing to the negligence of some workmen who were repairing the premises.

15th. At a special sessions for the county of Surrey, held in Horsemonger Lane, before lord Grantley and the bench of justices, for discharging insolvent debtors under the late act, a man of the name of Park applied to be delivered from thraldom; he was opposed by a creditor, one Martin, who stated, that the transaction for which Park was imprisoned was of such a nature, that he was not entitled to the benefit of the act; that he had formerly been a hop-merchant, but had hopped off in every body's debt; that he had since applied himself to the study of astronomy and magic; and that Park and himself had agreed to consolidate their knowledge, and publish a new system of astronomy, which was completely to refute all the absurd notions of sir Isaac Newton. In furtherance of their plan, they invented a superb orrery, and engaged Leicester House to exhibit it, but Mr. Gedge, the landlord, with profane hands, seized upon it for rent. In the mean time, the book went on; the price was to have been a guinea, and it was to have been published by subscription. Park, who undertook

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took the task of receiving the subscriptions, put the money into his own pocket, sold the plates for a trifle, and thus defrauded his partner, the present plaintiff, of his share of the profits of their joint labours. He hoped the court would take cognizance of such fraudulent conduct, and not suffer the defendant to be discharged. The court remarked, that this was entirely a partnership transaction between two conjurors, neither of whom much deserved the name; for the one ought to have foreseen that his knavery would have brought him to a prison; and the other, that if he intrusted him to receive the cash, he would run away with it. The result was, the astronomer was suffered to go about his business.

21st. The sale of Mr. Beckford's goods took place this day. The house, as well as all the adjacent grounds, were crowded with genteel people; the court and stable-yard with carriages, and all the gates, doors, and passages, with lacqueys and beggars. The auction was in the great hall, where an organ, 26 feet high, and 15 feet wide, is placed. This very masterly instrument, built and finished in such superlative taste, that it is said to have cost near 2,000*l.* played till the business of the day commenced. The auctioneer began with an eulogium on the goods to be exposed, and stated them to be the most splendid and transcendant he ever had the honour of bringing to the hammer. Indeed, there was not an item in this day's sale which might not, both for value and magnificence, suit any palace in Europe. Not a stool, or tripod, or spring-blind, or window-curtain, brought so little as a guinea. Some marble slabs went at more than 100 guineas each. A bust of old Homer was knocked down at 27 guineas, and that of Virgil at 19. Every thing in the room, fitted *à la Turque*, sold immensely high. The richness of the hangings, all silk or satin, of superlative quality, the brilliant French plates of glass which decorated and enlivened every side of the room, the sofas formed in the most sumptuous style of oriental magnificence, the chairs and stools, all gilt with burnished gold, attracted every eye; and it was laughable to see even the Wiltshire farmers furnishing their homely parlours with the gorgeous accumulation of inordinate fortune, and of effeminate taste. Some articles sold, notwithstanding, much under value. Two library tables, of the most elegant construction and exquisite workmanship, hardly brought one half of what was expected for them. One could scarcely conceive so many purchasers for such a collection of finery, incomparable as it was; and, what renders their eagerness the more singular is, that no one piece taken from the rest can possibly accord with any other household of ordinary excellence.

A respectable tradesman at Yaxley, near Norman Cross, was tried at the late Huntingdon assizes, for having in his custody a quantity of paillasses, and other articles, marked with the broad arrow of government, and obtained from the prisoners of war at Norman Cross. He was convicted, and sentenced to stand in the pillory at Norman Cross, and be kept for two years to hard labour in the house of correction.

At the quarter sessions for Westmoreland, a settlement cause was tried respecting the family of one Swain, a pauper, which had formerly

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ly been upon the parish of Egremont. The result of the trial fixed them upon Heversham parish, with an expense of 100*l.* more than it would have incurred by affording the proper maintenance. There are frequent proofs of similar parochial economy.

At the Easter assizes at Shrewsbury, a man charged with sheep-stealing, affected to be dumb, and consequently unable to plead to the indictment. He was remanded to prison, and at the late sessions again arraigned. He persisted in silence, when a jury was impannelled to inquire into the cause, and finding that he was mute only with a view of evading trial, he was put to the bar, found guilty of the offence imputed to him, and left by the judges for execution. After conviction, he implored for mercy, declaring, that he had been advised to feign dumbness, as the means of escaping punishment.

At the assizes at Maidstone, there was a cause which, from its novelty, excited an uncommon degree of attention; such a circumstance has not occurred for half a century: it was a trial of a writ of right, in which sir John Honeywood was demandant against lord Gwydir, to recover a piece of land. The jury consisted of sixteen knights. After a long discussion, a verdict was given in favour of sir John Honeywood.

The late Mr. Robinson, of Stockwell, some months since, left 70,000*l.* for the formation of a botanical garden; some circumstances, however, occurring to defeat the intentions of the deceased, the executors made search for his lawful heirs, and found them to be a man in extreme indigence at Chopton, near Woodbridge, named Bedwell, and the wife of a poor labouring man at Middleton, sister to Mr. Robinson. The money has been divided between them.

A boat, crossing from Limehouse Hole to Deptford, with a gentleman, his wife, and child, was run down by a lighter with such rapidity as to cause it to bulge; and, before assistance could be procured, they were all drowned except the waterman, who kept himself above water till a boat arrived to his relief.

The total number of all the new publications, published in London, during the year 1800, was 693. The cost, estimated in boards, amounted to 230*l.* 5*s.*

Died—At Tunbridge Wells, after an hour's indisposition, sir George Warren, K.B. of Boynton, Cheshire. He married, in June, 1758, his first wife, miss Revell, with a fortune of 200,000*l.*; and she dying, he married, secondly, February 3, 1764, the daughter of sir Cecil Bishop, one of the maids of honour to the queen. He was separated from this lady by the decision of the ecclesiastical court, in consequence of complaints against each other, for incompatibility of temper, and personal habits, mutually repulsive. These mutual objections were strongly stated in court, and seemed to indicate unappeaseable antipathy; yet, after this public exposition of their grievances, resentments, and aversions, they came together again, and lived with each other till death produced the final separation. The final pleadings relative to the citations of lady Warren against sir George, her husband, for cruelty, and thereby requiring a separate maintenance, and separation *a mensa et thoro*, came on before Dr. Bettesworth, in the prerogative court, Doctor's Commons

June

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June 26, 1772; when, after a hearing of 11 hours, the judge thought fit to dismiss the citation in favour of sir George Warren, the defendant. Sir George represented the borough of Lancaster in parliament, 1753; was made K. B. 1761; and conceived he had a claim to the barony of the earls of Warren, whose arms he bore, with the addition of a canton, and accordingly employed the late Mr. Watson (whom he presented to the rectory of Stockport), with the assistance of the late Mr. Brooke, Somerset herald, to compile a regular history of those earls, deducing his descent and claims from them. This work, handsomely printed in two large quarto volumes, with costly plates by Basire, was circulated for correction and information; but on the death of the author, and ill health of the patron, was laid aside. His remains were interred in the family vault at Chester, with great funeral pomp. Except those of the royal family, the procession was one of the most costly and attractive that has been seen for several years.

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SEPTEMBER.

6th. The town of Wellington (Shropshire) was visited by the most tremendous storm of thunder and lightning ever known in the memory of the oldest inhabitants. Its continuance was near two hours, during which the claps of thunder were loud and incessant, and the flashes of lightning awfully vivid; and these added to a torrent of rain, which choaked up all the water-courses, and caused a general inundation, filled the inhabitants with terror and dismay. The lightning struck the gaol and shattered the roof; it exploded also in several places in the centre of the town, but fortunately no lives were lost. Much damage was done in the different cellars, which were completely filled with water, and the roads in general were rendered impassable. In its passage from Wellington to Colnbrook-dale, its effects were still more dreadful. One of the furnaces at Ketley was blown up, and several houses were unroofed and otherwise injured. Many horses, &c. were drowned.

15th. A clerical impostor, who calls himself Thomas Scott Smith, has actually officiated for a month for the curate of St. Martin's in the Fields, never having been in orders, or connected with the profession. He had ingenuity enough to introduce himself to Mr. Fell, the curate, as a countryman of his (Yorkshire), saying he was nephew to lord Eldon, and had been in orders near twelve months. Mr. Fell accepted the proffered assistance the more readily, being at the time in ill health.—Every thing was settled, and the pretended nephew of lord Eldon entered on his clerical duty the next day. In a conversation with the clerk, he said that he was educated at Queen's college, Cambridge, where he had taken his degree of bachelor of arts about a month since. On the Saturday following, he went to a mercer's shop in Holywell Street, in the Strand, and ordered a set of canonicals to be made by four o'clock in the afternoon; in the interim he borrowed a set, told the shopman his name was Smith, and that he was chaplain to lord Eldon. The mercer took the trouble to call at lord Eldon's, to make the necessary inquiry, when the steward informed

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ed him that no person of the name of Smith was engaged by his lordship in that capacity. In consequence of this information, the mercer called in his way back at St. Martin's, and saw Mr. Smith in the vestry; when he told him, that he had an opportunity of disposing of the set of canonicals he had lent him in the morning; but to prevent Mr. Smith's being put to any inconvenience, he should have the set he had ordered by three o'clock precisely. By this finesse the mercer got back his goods. This new species of depredation might have continued a short time longer, had he not been apprehended and brought to Bow Street this day, on a charge of forging, and uttering as true, an order for the payment of ten pounds, purporting to be the order of Robert Smith, his father, on Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smith, bankers, near the mansion house, which he had negotiated to Mr. Capper, the master of the Hungerford coffeehouse, Strand, to whom he was introduced as a clergyman officiating for the curate of St. Martin's in the Fields. The fact as to his passing the draft in question was sufficiently proved by Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Co. and that no such person as Robert Smith, whom the prisoner, when he negotiated the draft to Mr. Capper, represented to be his father, kept cash at their house, or ever did.—The prisoner was educated at Peckham school, and had been employed as a rider to a wholesale house in the city. During the time he officiated as priest, he was very attentive to duty, read prayers morning and afternoon; and thus, with administering the sacrament, attending christenings and burials, marriages, &c. his time was wholly taken up. The clerk was known to say he was a little awkward at first; but respect for the dignity of his new master prevented comment, and rendered him extremely willing to give every assistance in his power. He is only twenty-three years of age, middle stature, in person thin, and when he stood at the bar at Bow Street, stared around him with an unmeaning eye, apparently quite indifferent as to his situation.

He has since been found guilty of forgery, and is under sentence of death.

19th. The sentence of death, which had been passed on sir Hen. Browne Hayes, for running away with Miss Pike, has been mitigated to transportation for life to Botany Bay.

Nassau, Bahama's, July 25. On Wednesday last we experienced the most dreadful hurricane that ever was felt in these islands during its continuance. On the 20th and 21st the wind got to the N. E. and on the 22d, in the morning, it blew fresh from N. N. E. getting more to the northward with great violence.—About 12 o'clock we became greatly alarmed, and by two o'clock it blew a hurricane. The vessels then began to drive from their moorings: notwithstanding all the masts were struck, and their anchors down, and every possible precaution used to make them keep their moorings: luckily, there was less shipping in the harbour than there usually is at this time of the year; but the whole drove from their moorings, and came in a string on the shore. The tide was flowing, and as it rose the hurricane increased in violence until the wind became due north; very fortunately this drove all the vessels on the town-side of the harbour, and prevented them from driving out to sea;

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sea; for by three o'clock there was scarcely a vessel in the harbour.—The British ship Echo had captured a Guineaman which lay up the harbour; but she parted f om her anchors, and drove towards the town, struck on the ground, and got on her beam-ends: the seamen got to leeward on her sides, and 250 slaves on board, between decks, were in the most imminent danger. After a short time the vessel fortunately righted, and drove on shore, where the crew and slaves were unexpectedly preserved. Another Guineaman, named the George, which only arrived on the 21st, got on shore, and was in the greatest danger, but the crew and slaves were fortunately saved. At three o'clock the wind began to get about to the eastward, but without any diminution of violence, and the spray of the sea rose in such clouds as to render objects at a small distance invisible. At about half-past four the wind got round to the east, and kept veering about with the sun; a sure prognostic that the gale would not be of any long continuance; but still its violence was unabated. About this time the tide began to ebb, before the wind got round to the southward; otherwise the vessels must unavoidably have been driven to sea, and would, in all probability, have been totally lost; but, as they were all driven up at high water, none of them were blown off About sunset, the wind had got round to the south, and still blew with much violence; but as the town and harbour were sheltered by the hills, it was not much felt there; and by eight or nine o'clock, when the sun set, there was nothing remaining but a fresh gale. There is scarcely any such thing as estimating the loss occasioned in those few hours, but it is generally thought to amount to 100,000*l.*—This may be credited, when you learn that, at one time, we counted 120 vessels stranded; besides several that were sunk and crushed to pieces by other vessels. The masts of the vessels were not cut away; they were literally blown away.—One of the Guineamen lost hers, together with the bowsprit, by the sheer force of the wind. Many vessels are bilged, and many totally abandoned; but, in general, there are hopes of saving most of those that were stranded. On shore the damage done has been equal, in comparison, with that at sea. The sea, to the southward of Fort Montague, made a breach through the sand hills, and has filled the valley to the westward of it many feet deep.

21st. A very extraordinary robbery took place in the house of lords: the whole of the gold lace, and all the ornaments of the throne, the king's arms excepted, were stripped off, and carried away.

29th. At a common hall, this day, Mr. alderman Newman and sir John Eamer were returned by the livery of London to the court of aldermen, as proper persons to serve the office of lord mayor; when, on a scrutiny in the court of aldermen, the majority fell on sir John Eamer, who was accordingly invested with the civic chain.—The thanks of the hall were unanimously voted to the late sheriffs Perring and Cadell, "for their unremitting attention to, and faithful discharge of, the various and important duties of that highly respectable office, and particularly for their active and benevolent exertions to administer relief to the numerous necessitous persons committed to their custody

custody in a season of general distress, and under circumstances of peculiar difficulty"

Letters from the isle of France, dated the 29th of April, state, that Le Naturaliste and Le Géographe had sailed from thence, on their appointed voyage of discovery, under the command of citizen Baudin.

The statue of Suvarroff, in marble, has been placed in the imperial gardens, at Petersburgh, in the presence of the emperor, the royal family, and several regiments of life guards; it was accompanied by music. Prince Constantine made a speech upon the occasion.

The French government have taken much pains to ameliorate the wool of their native sheep by the introduction of Spanish rams. They have succeeded in producing a valuable mixed breed. Ewes have, within this year, been trebled in value, and rams are at nearly eightfold their last year's prices: the latter go so far as thirty louis.

Died —9th. The rev. Owen Manning, vicar of Godalming, and rector of Pepper Hava, both in Surrey. He completed and published, in 2 volumes, folio, 1772, the Saxon dictionary, which had been begun by his friend the rev. Edward Lye. Mr. Manning left behind him large collections towards a topographical history of Surrey; he died in the 80th year of his age.

10th. At Hackney, Gilbert Wakefield, of whom we shall give some account under the head of characters. His remains were interred with much funeral pomp at Richmond, in Surrey, where his brother Thomas is at present incumbent.

OCTOBER.

2d. Preliminaries of peace between his majesty and the French republic were signed last night at lord Hawkesbury's office, in Downing Street, by the right honourable lord Hawkesbury, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, on the part of his majesty, and by M. Otto, on the part of the French government.

10th. About noon, general Lauriston, first aid-de-camp to general Buonaparte, arrived in town with the ratification of the preliminaries of peace. M. Otto immediately waited on lord Hawkesbury with him, and at three o'clock the park and tower guns announced the exchange of the ratifications. Citizen Lauriston arrived at Dover at nine o'clock the evening before. On his passing through town to M. Otto's residence, his carriage was followed by a numerous concourse of people, who afterwards took the horses from his carriage, and drew it down Bond Street, St. James's Street, and to Downing Street, expressing on the occasion the most tumultuous joy.—M. Otto and M. Lauriston, attended by Mr. Cox, the messenger, from Downing Street, then proceeded to the admiralty; where they were met at the garden gate by lord St. Vincent, who very good humouredly addressed the mob thus:—"Gentlemen! Gentlemen!" (the populace gave his lordship three huzzas) "let me request you to be as orderly as possible; and, if you are determined to draw the gentleman accompanied by M. Otto, I request of you to be careful, and not overturn the carriage."—The populace assured his lordship they would be careful of, and respectful to, the strangers.

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At night there was a general illumination throughout the metropolis and its vicinity, which was renewed the next evening.

A letter from Moscow, dated October 1, says: "The ceremony of the young emperor's coronation has been particularly grand; so much so in fact, that I feel recompensed by the sight, for the very comfortless journey of two thousand miles, which I encountered in order to be present at it.

"The emperor arrived at his palace in the suburbs, on the 22d ult. where he continued to reside till the 27th; during the interim, however, he repeatedly visited the city in private. On the morning of Sunday, he made his public entry: the procession was led by the heralds and the grand duke's regiment of cavalry; to these succeeded a long line of empty carriages belonging to the nobility; a regiment of hussars, richly dressed, well mounted, and in all respects the finest corps I ever saw, followed; and then the nobility in their carriages of state, the grand chamberlains, and all the superior officers of the government. The equipages were most magnificent; the carriages in general were drawn by six horses, and attended by eight servants in the richest liveries.

"The empress dowager, in her state carriage, came next; then the present empress (a most lovely woman;) and then the sisters of the emperor, followed by another regiment of hussars, caparisoned as the former.

"Next in succession came the emperor, mounted on a fine English horse, with the grand duke riding on his right, and a vast body of guards closed the procession.

"The church ceremony commenced by the archbishop Plato consecrating the crown, &c. At nine o'clock the empress mother entered the cathedral under a salute of cannon and a *feu de joye*, and took her seat which was prepared on the left hand of the throne—the emperor and empress followed, and then the nobility of both sexes, who, most superbly dressed, were seated on each side of the cathedral; the centre was occupied by those of the first class.

"The prayers were performed by the archbishop Plato, assisted by the bishops, whose dress was uncommonly magnificent; the ceremonies, music, &c. engaged a considerable time, and after a sermon, suited to the occasion, two bishops advanced with the crown, and, under a salute of cannon, placed it on the head of the emperor. The emperor then placed a crown of the most exquisite workmanship on the empress's head, discharges of artillery giving weight to the solemnity.

"After the ceremonies of the church were over, their majesties walked round the Kremlin, under a canopy of gold and silver, and proceeded to the hall to dinner.

"The cathedral is small, but the ceremony was managed with singular precision. The English gentlemen, of whom 17 were present, had seats assigned them, and, to avoid confusion, were, with all the other spectators, except such as formed the procession, obliged to attend at seven o'clock in the morning.

"The illuminations of the city continued for three nights. The Kremlin is particularly adapted for such an exhibition, and was uncommonly brilliant.

"The English and other strangers were presented to their majesties on Tuesday,

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Tuesday, and in the evening there was a splendid ball at court.

"The rejoicings are enthusiastic. To-day a fete is to be given to the populace: a large field is enclosed, and tables placed for the accommodation of many thousands, and a profusion of wines and viands are prepared, with a variety of amusements.

"The weather has been, and continues to be, uncommonly favourable."

Thirty thousand persons were entertained at dinner at Moscow on the emperor's coronation: the wine flowed from fountains. The happy event was followed by a proclamation, ordering the suppression of the recruiting service during the remainder of the year, the remission of the fines not collected, and the release of the insolvent debtors of the crown.

The emperor Alexander has issued an ordinance prohibiting, under penalty of imprisonment or the knout, artizans and domestics, of both sexes, from gambling for money, in private houses, taverns, &c. Heads of families, inn-keepers, &c. permitting or conniving at the practice, are subjected to a penalty of 25 florins, for each offender. His majesty has presented 130,000 rubles of silver to the distressed city of Wilna.

The city of Crakow, in Gallicia, has been nearly destroyed by fire.

A letter from Constantinople contains a long account of the rejoicings in that capital, on the arrival of major Hutchinson, brother to the general, with the intelligence of the surrender of Alexandria. The major, after an interview with the caimachan, had the distinguished honour of an audience of two hours of the grand seignior, who has sent a special deputation to congratulate the general: 250 galley slaves have been released, as have also all persons confined for debts not amounting to 150,000 piastres.

12th. A wooden house, which stood on Little Tower Hill, called True Blue, and which was a rendezvous for volunteer seamen, was wilfully set on fire about 11 o'clock this forenoon by some boys, and was burnt down in two hours. Several engines attended, but were not suffered to play, the populace being incensed against it, saying it was a kidnapping house for sailors before they were taken to the tender.

This day a jury sat at the royal hospital public house on the body of a veteran soldier, who was shot on the morning of the preceding day in Chelsea College. The jury returned a verdict of wilful murder. The prisoner was the same afternoon committed by Mr. Read to Tothill Fields Bridewell. It appeared in evidence to the jury, that a misunderstanding had existed between the deceased and the prisoner for near six years, which arose from a difference of opinion relative to the burning of coals allowed by the institution. It is customary to allow coals only in the winter; and, in consequence of this regulation, the pensioners make it a rule to save a small quantity each day for summer use. The prisoner and the deceased occupying the same apartment, and not agreeing in respect to the consumption of the coals, eternal bickerings ensued; and from such trifling causes their disputes frequently arose to such a height, that about two years since a challenge was given and accepted by the parties. This being reported to their commanding officer,

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cer, major Bulkeley, he reasoned with them, and they then both gave their word of honour to him that the affair should go no farther. The season, however, having commenced, and major Bulkeley being lately dead, the like circumstances produced similar altercations until the day the melancholy catastrophe took place. About seven o'clock the prisoner arose, and after walking up and down the room for about half an hour, took from his bureau a brace of pistols, and throwing open the door of the deceased's cabin, presented a pistol in each hand to the deceased, saying, "Come, you rascal, behave like a man, and give me satisfaction." The deceased, who was sitting upon the end of his bed, replied, "What do you mean?" took one of the pistols, and threw it with contempt, and such violence, at the prisoner's feet as to break it: the prisoner, farther irritated at this, fired. The ball entered the heart, and passed through the body of the deceased, who instantly expired. The deceased, William Lambe, was in his 84th year, and had been many years a serjeant in the 25th regiment of foot. The prisoner, James Legge, previous to this unhappy affair, universally sustained a fair character. They were both captains, and supposed to be the best swordsmen in the college. Legge fought a duel about forty years ago, and killed his man.

Lord Hobart, in a circular letter to all the lord-lieutenants in the kingdom, has by the king's command, expressed his majesty's "deep and lasting sense of their steady attachment to our established constitution, and that loyalty, spirit, and perseverance, which have been manifested by the several corps of yeomanry and volunteers in every part of this kingdom."—Farther, that they (the lord-lieutenants), at the next meetings of the corps, will, in his majesty's name, thank them, and request that they will continue themselves in readiness for immediate service until the definitive treaty is signed, as, till then, it is necessary that there should be no relaxation in the preparations which have been made for the general defence. This letter likewise directs the suspension of the measures ordered pursuant to the act of the 38 Geo. III, in the event of invasion.

Died.—13th. At Blandford, Dorset, Dr. Richard Pulteney, M. D., F, R. S., &c., author of several valuable medical and botanical tracts.

NOVEMBER.

2d. James Legge, the old Chelsea pensioner, was tried on Friday last, and found guilty of the murder of William Lambe. He was a venerable looking man, conducted himself with much firmness, and impressed every person present with sentiments of pity. His sentence was immediately passed, and this morning he was hanged, and his body delivered to be anatomised.

Margate. 5th. Last night, at seven o'clock, captain Palmer, his eldest son, captain Harman's eldest son, a Mr. Smith, and three others, went in quest of a vessel to get her into harbour; strong winds in going off swampt the boat, when captain Palmer, of the Rose in June, and his eldest son, captain Harman's son, and Mr. Smith, mate of captain Hilliard's packet, were drowned.

6th. The

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6th. The court of king's bench was this day moved by Mr. attorney general, for a rule to show cause why a new trial should not be granted in a cause between Haycraft, plaintiff, and Creasy, defendant, tried before lord Kenyon, at Guildhall, on the 14th of June last, and in which a verdict had been given for the plaintiff. "This," said Mr. attorney general, "was an action against the defendant for certain supposed fraudulent and deceitful assertions respecting the credit of a woman of the name of Robinson, made by the defendant, to induce the plaintiff to trust her. Your lordship may recollect a very extraordinary story of a Miss Robinson, who pretended to have come into the possession of a large estate by the death of her mother, and by that means duped nearly the whole of the neighbourhood of Greenwich, and among others the poor currier, my client; he was so far imposed upon, that he lent her considerable sums of money, and at the time she was detected, was her creditor for 2,000*l.* It appeared he had lent her this money, being firmly convinced she had the estate she pretended to have from a variety of circumstances, particularly from seeing pictures and plans of the Fascally estate, as it was called, in Scotland, hung up in her rooms; from letters she showed him, from her supposed steward in the north, respecting new buildings that were to be erected, and wood that was to be cut down; and, above all, from her taking a large and splendid mansion at Blackheath, in the decorations of which no expense seemed to be spared; the first artists had been employed in painting the ceilings, and every thing that luxury and art could invent, or wealth supply, were lavished in the embellishments of her palace. All this, before the eyes of the unfortunate currier, and other credulous persons, induced a belief she was the opulent person she pretended to be. Nay, she went so far as to give powers of attorney to receive her rents, which she said had been forty years in arrears. Every one was industrious in assisting her with money. Your lordship must recollect there was one lady who sold out stock to the amount of 500*l.* in order to accommodate her. In fact, she succeeded in cheating every body but her landlord, Mr. Cator, who availed himself of his right to distrain. The question I would submit to your lordship is, that this man was innocent of any purpose of deception, but that he was deceived himself. The question upon the trial was, whether, as he had taken upon himself to say he had knowledge of the fact of her having an estate, his being deceived was an excuse for him, with regard to the person who, on his representation, had been induced to give her credit? This question does not range itself with any to be found in our books. The point I would submit is, whether a person, affirming that he knows a fact, upon such probable grounds as fairly induce a belief, can subject him to an action if his representation turns out untrue?"

Lord Kenyon—"You may take a rule to show cause.—There is one circumstance you will recollect, I mean the evidence of the defendant's declaration. I find, upon referring to my note of the trial, that I have taken the very words, and marked

under them:—they are, "I can positively, on my ownknowledge, assure you, that you may safely credit miss Robinson; I know she has come into possession of a large estate."

A rule to show cause was granted.

8th. The new lord mayor being this day sworn in at Guildhall, an elegant entertainment was given to the court of aldermen at the mansion house by sir William Staines, who, after dinner, on his health being proposed, thus addressed the company: "Gentlemen, I beg that you will accept my warmest thanks for the honour done me in drinking my health. I assure you with truth, that these thanks flow from a grateful heart, when I look back on my past life, and know that I have been advanced literally from a dunghill to the chief magistracy of this great city. I bow down with gratitude to Providence. Providence, ever gracious, ordains all things! Providence superintends all things: Providence giveth wisdom to a fool, Providence giveth strength to the weak. In my humble exertions to fulfil the various duties of that high and important office, from which I am about to retire, if I have the good fortune to merit your approbation, and to have given satisfaction to my fellow citizens at large, I retire with pleasure, again to enjoy the comfort and happiness of domestic society. I hope to spend the remainder of my days in peace; and, when the time comes, I shall die content."

9th. The lord mayor's procession took place this day, in the usual order, and attracted immense crowds of people. The city was thronged at an early hour to see the procession from Guildhall to the water side.—A few minutes before one sir John Eamer, the new lord mayor, the aldermen, the sheriffs, and the common council, went into their barges at Blackfriars Bridge, and were rowed to Westminster, where they landed at twenty minutes past one. After being sworn in, at half past two o'clock his lordship and the procession left Westminster, and returned to Blackfriars Bridge. At half after three the lord-mayor, the sheriffs, &c., proceeded in their splendid carriages to Guildhall, preceded by the colours, the livery companies, and escorted by the grenadiers and light infantry of the West London militia. The music and the procession, with the fineness of the day, rendered the sight very splendid. The bridges were covered with people; but in Bridge Street, Blackfriars, it was almost possible to walk on the people's heads. The press of such a numerous assemblage produced some confusion; but, owing to the vigilance of the officers, civil as well as military, no accident happened. The cause of the great throng in Bridge Street was owing to the man in armour, who, it was said, would make his appearance there in public about three o'clock. In fact, he did appear soon after, mounted on a bay horse, led by a boy, who wore a breast-plate of armour. This man, in armour bright, for it literally glittered in the sun, was of an uncommonly athletic make, in appearance above six feet high; his face (for he wore his helmet up) was handsome, but wanted that martial appearance necessary on the occasion. After parading about thirty yards towards Blackfriars Bridge, he returned to his station in Bride Lane, Bridge Street.

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The lord mayor and the company arrived at Guildhall at half past four. The lord chancellor joined the procession in an elegant new state coach. The carriage of the late lord mayor (Mr. alderman Staines,) was drawn by the populace, and Mr. alderman Coombe had the like honour conferred on him. Viscount admiral lord Nelson, accompanied by sir William Hamilton, in sir William's carriage, was drawn to Guildhall by the populace, who greeted his lordship with repeated plaudits, and stopped the carriage several times to have the gratification of seeing him. The foreign ambassadors, the chancellor of the exchequer, earl Chatham, the secretary at war, and a numerous company of nobility, were invited to the civic banquet at Guildhall.

The procession having concluded in a style of pageantry unknown to modern civic exhibitions, the lord mayor, with the whole of the constituent parts of the corporation, entered Guildhall, where a magnificent entertainment was provided. The hall was illuminated in the most splendid style; at the upper end, over the hustings, was a transparency, extremely well executed, of Peace, in the midst of four allegorical figures, representing the quarters of the globe, who seemed to return their acknowledgments for the blessings showered upon them. This transparency was decorated with a frame of lamps, which produced a very brilliant effect. At the lower end of the hall, the word PEACE shone conspicuous. There were emblematic transparencies, but by no means well executed. The splendour of the Gothic hall was principally confined to that part which forms what is called the hustings, the whole of which was appropriated to the accommodation of the noble and dignified visitants who honoured the lord mayor with their compay. The most conspicuous personage who graced the festival was citizen Otto. The moment he entered the hall he was saluted with bursts of applause, indicative of the popular sentiment which the peace, of which he had been the harbinger, had produced.

10th. Yesterday, in the court of king's bench, the churchwardens of the parish of Beckenham, in Kent, who had been imprisoned for making an improper rate, and ordered to be brought up on the 3d day of term, were discharged; it appearing they had now done all in their power to satisfy public justice; and that they had been stimulated by a gentleman, who paid 100*l.* towards their law costs, but would not pay the remaining 97*l.* which they had been forced to borrow of their friends.

Accounts have been received of a most tremendous storm, that has ravaged the Swedish, Danish, and German coasts. The storm took place on the 3d, and continued with formidable violence for some hours. The accounts from Copenhagen state, that a Danish frigate and several other ships were either driven ashore or much damaged. From Elsineur we learn, that several ships have been driven from their anchors, and that many have been blown out of the Cattegat. The Cuxhaven accounts of the 4th, represent the storm to have been equally destructive on that coast. It began in the night, and at day-break several ships were seen stranded, from Altenbruch to Ottendorf. The storm did great damage on

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shore, at Copenhagen, Elsineur, and Cuxhaven, and the miseries of the inhabitants of Stockholm were aggravated by a fire, which destroyed above 30 houses.

The following wager, between two gentlemen of fortune and respectability, excited a considerable portion of the public interest:

Mr. Barclay, of Ury, in Scotland, betted 5,000*l.* that he would go ninety miles in 21½ successive hours; which was to include time for refreshment, change of clothes, and every stoppage that Mr. B. might think needful to make. The match was made some time since between the above gentleman and Mr. Fletcher, a gentleman well known on the turf, to be decided in the month of November; Mr. Barclay to give eight days notice of the day on which he was to start. The agreement stated, that he was to go the above number of miles in 21½ successive hours of one day. The time was accordingly fixed for Tuesday the 10th instant. The ground chosen by Mr. Barclay, on which he was to decide the bet, was the space of one mile on the high road between York and Hull, about 16 miles from the former place. The ground was measured by the contracting parties, and a post fixed at the end of the mile, which, in turning, required of Mr. Barclay about one pace and a half each mile, but which was not reckoned in the measurement. Persons were stationed at the winning post to notch down the rounds, and observe that every thing was done in a fair manner. On each side of the road were placed a number of lamps, on purpose to give light during the night. A few minutes before twelve o'clock, on Monday night, Mr. Barclay, with several of his friends, appeared on the ground, as did also Mr. Fletcher. Precisely at twelve six stop watches were set, put in a box at the winning end, and the box sealed; Mr. Barclay starting at the time. He wore a flannel close shirt, flannel trowsers, and nightcap, lambwool stockings, and large leather shoes, rather thick in the soles. He went the first two miles in twenty-five minutes, ten seconds, and continued nearly at the same rate, till he had gone 16 miles, varying only a few seconds each round of two miles. Here he halted. The house into which he went to refresh was situated on the right side of the course, about ten yards from the roadside, and which, in going in and coming out, made twenty yards, but which Mr. Barclay did not wish to be included in the distance. Mr. Barclay remained about ten minutes in taking refreshment, and changing clothes, proceeded with his match, went fifteen miles more, and then refreshed and changed as before. It was now seven o'clock in the morning, which was rather hazy. Mr. Barclay appeared dull, from the dampness of the night-air. Betting, however, was two to one, and five to two in his favour. After refreshing, he again set out, appeared more cheerful, and went sixteen or seventeen miles more with much apparent strength; going each two miles in about twenty-five minutes twenty seconds. By eleven o'clock he had gone fifty miles, and appeared to proceed on his course with greater ease and vigour. Betting was now four and five to one in his favour. When he had gone sixty miles he stopped to refresh and change clothes, remained about ten minutes

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minutes in the house, and came out in high spirits, with much cheerfulness in his countenance. Betting increased in his favour, six and seven to one. He proceeded till he had gone seventy miles, hardly varying in regularly performing each round of two miles in about twenty-five minutes and a half, when he again refreshed and changed clothes, appeared well and strong, and proceeded with his match in a gallant style. He refreshed twice more, viz. when he had gone seventy-eight and eighty-four miles, and performed the whole by twenty-two minutes four seconds past eight o'clock on Tuesday evening, being one hour, seven minutes, fifty-six seconds, within the specified time. What is rather deserving of notice is, that he went three successive rounds of two miles in exactly the same time, viz. twenty-five minutes and fifteen seconds. When he came in he was strong and hearty, and said he found himself so well as to be able to go twenty miles farther. Thousands on foot and horse attended during the course of his walking. When he finished he was loudly huzzaed, and carried on the shoulders of the multitude. Every attention was paid to him during the performance of his match; carriages, mail-coaches, waggons, people on horseback, and on foot, all went to the sides of the road in order to leave him a free passage. He never met with the least interruption; all seemed to wish him well. The West York militia, who were on their route from Hull to York, halted and filed in single divisions to the sides of the road, and left him a clear passage, which had a most singular effect.

It appears on the whole, that Mr. Barclay, after deducting the time he took for refreshment, &c. went the ninety miles in little more than nineteen hours, exclusive of the extra yards in going and coming from the house, and in turning the posts. The weather, except from about four to seven in the morning, was very favourable.

Mr. Barclay had been in training for some time before starting, under the well-known Mr. John Smith, of Oulston, near Easingwould. Mr. Smith's son, a young man about nineteen years of age, went the last thirty miles with Mr. Barclay, in order to keep company with him, and which he went with much credit to himself, and every appearance of future performance. Mr. Barclay is about twenty-two years of age, stout made, and about five feet eleven inches high. He walked much in the manner of the celebrated Powell. The ground he chose had several gentle risings; when he came to these he in general made a sort of a run up, the other parts he mostly walked. He ate very heartily when he stopped; his food was boiled fowls, mutton steaks, &c.; his drink, strong old beer.

After the conclusion of the match Mr. Barclay remained for the night at the house where he stopped to refresh; next morning he drove to Pocklington, where he was welcomed by ringing of bells and every demonstration of joy.

The following letter has been sent by the above gentleman, since his return to Scotland:

To Mr. Bartholoman, Editor of the York Herald.

Dear Sir,

Permit me, through the medium of your paper, to express the high gratitude I feel for the very polite and

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and attentive behaviour I experienced from all ranks during the whole performance of my match, against time, on the 10th instant. Indeed, the generous attention I received while at Mr. Smith's, the anxious solicitude and concern shown by all on the above day, that nothing should interrupt or obstruct the course—and the handsome treatment I afterwards met with from the inhabitants, in returning home through Pocklington and other places, have left on my memory an impression of such grateful sentiments, as death only can erase.

I beg to remain, dear sir,
Much yours and theirs,
R. Barclay.

Ury, Scotland, Nov. 17, 1801.

On referring to one of our earlier volumes, we find there recorded the greater effort of a soldier, who walked from London to Bristol within the same number of hours.

Lord Cornwallis arrived before Calais in a very stormy evening. The greatest anxiety prevailed throughout Calais for his safety, as the sea was uncommonly agitated; but he and his suite fortunately landed without experiencing any accident, about ten o'clock at night, in the midst of heavy rain and darkness. The latter was soon dispelled by an immense number of torches and lights, and the commandant of the marine, who had gone to reconnoitre whether marquis Cornwallis had actually arrived, gave a signal; on which twelve guns, fired by fort Rouge, were followed by a general discharge of artillery belonging to the other forts, and the vessels of the republic in the port, as well as by the ringing of all the bells. A guard of honour was appointed for him at the hotel, the Silver Lion; and all the constituted authorities waited on him to pay their respects next morning. About three o'clock the same day he set off for Boulogne.

Dublin, 12th. This evening Thomas Barry, esq. of North Frederic Street, was found murdered, in the evening, in his own house; his brains were beat out in a most savage manner, and the place robbed. Mr. Barry was a gentleman of immense property. Upon intimation of his murder, G. Heptenstal, esq. coroner of the county of Dublin, and one of its magistrates, came to the place, and made the most strict investigation, but found it necessary to defer holding an inquest until Thursday. The unfortunate gentleman had dined at home; a bottle and glass were found on the table in the room where he was killed. Mr. Heptenstal found in the house property, in scrip, to the amount of 35,000*l.* which escaped the murderers. Mr. Barry, at the commencement of the war, was a partner in the house of Barton, &c. at Bourdeaux, but withdrew his property afterwards.

21st. Vice-admiral sir William Parker was this day tried at Portsmouth by a court-martial, on a charge of having authorized his son-in-law, captain Bingham, to cruize in the America, of 64 guns, beyond the limits of his (admiral Parker's) command, on the Hallifax station, with the view, as it was insinuated, of making prizes. If the America had returned safely, there would probably have been no complaint; but she got into a current, and was lost. A court of inquiry sat upon captain Bingham, and acquitted him of all blame in the loss of the ship; but a question arising how the ship came

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into that part of the world, admiral Parker was called upon to answer it. After hearing the whole case on both sides, the court was of opinion that the admiral was justified in sending the America and Cleopatra to the West Indies; but that he was indiscreet in the detailed instructions for their return within the limits of their station: but the court declared the general character of sir William to be such as to preclude the idea of his having been influenced by any motive not connected with the good of his majesty's service, and therefore most honourably acquitted him.

24th. A long expected pugilistic exhibition took place this day, between two men of the names of Belcher and Bourke; the scene of action was by appointment at Harley Bottom, seven miles beyond Maidenhead, on the road to Henley, where a stage was erected, twenty-four feet square, in a low situation, so that the sourrounding ground commanded a good view. Vast number of post-chaises, buggies, and carriages, some with four, some six horses, arrived in Maidenhead from London about nine o'clock in the morning; but on the previous night, large parties went to Maidenhead, which was so filled, that beds at last could not be procured on any account. The most distinguished persons present were, lord Say and Sele, sir Thomas Apreece, and colonel Montgomery. The whole boxing corps were present; but the great majority consisted of not the most reputable part of the metropolis. The scene for the fight was so chosen, that if the magistrates of one county had interrupted it, the parties had their choice of several other counties, within half an hour's ride. The fight was for one hundred guineas a side, to take place between the hours of ten and twelve. Belcher slept at the Sun, at Maidenhead, the preceding night; and Bourke at the Bear.

About eleven o'clock the parties proceeded from Maidenhead to the ground, in different post-chaises, followed by a great cavalcade; the number of spectators at the fight amounting to about two thousand; the distance of the place from London 35 miles. Belcher appeared first on the stage, and Bourke soon after. In about ten minutes they stripped, and at six minutes past twelve o'clock commenced the fight. In their clothes the parties appeared to be much of a size, being nearly of a height: but when stripped Bourke was by far the larger man, and apparently the stronger, though Belcher was very muscular and well made.

The fight lasted 21 minutes, very little repose being given between the rounds. Bourke at first fought with great eagerness, but after the 10th round he betrayed weakness. Not much science was displayed by either. There was very little betting on the ground, the opinion being so strongly in favour of Belcher, that few would back Bourke. One gentleman lost 200*l.* on Bourke. Bourke was immediately put into a post-chaise, and left standing on the ground half an hour, while another fight took place. Belcher only received one blow on the face, which left any appearance of his being hurt. Bourke made one unfair attempt during the fight, by attempting to lift up Belcher by the leg, that he might throw him down with the greater force. Belcher, who had

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had fully established his reputation before, has now proved himself the best man in England. He displayed wonderful activity and courage, but not an equal portion of skill—Bourke was still less skilful. All the amateurs declared this to be the severest battle that has been fought since the famous combat between Big Ben and Johnson.

Died.—29th. In distress, the once celebrated actress, Mrs. Crawford (formerly Mrs. Barry.)

DECEMBER.

2d. A cause was this day tried in the court of king's bench, wherein one Weston was plaintiff, and capt. Reay, defendant.

Mr. Garrow stated, that this was an action for an assault, to which the defendant had pleaded, that he being captain of the Dublin East Indiaman, and the plaintiff having conducted himself in a riotous and mutinous manner, he had moderately corrected him, and ordered him to be imprisoned. The plaintiff, before he had the misfortune to receive the injury of which he complained, was a gentleman's servant, and had gone to the Cape of Good Hope with sir George Young: but not liking his situation, he wished to come to Europe; his master procured him a passage in the Dublin East Indiaman as a charter-party passenger, and as such he was bound to no employment on board the ship. After he had embarked, an officer, who was passenger in the Indiaman, applied to him to do various little offices as his servant, which, as he was disposed to earn something on his passage, he consented to. On the 17th of April, 1800, he was sent to the poop to brush this gentleman's coat, but was ordered away by the mate. Not being acquainted with the customs necessary to be observed on board a ship, he was coming down from the poop to the quarter deck by the ladder on the windward or weather side, instead of the one to the leeward. The mate, Mr. Davy, turned him round, and desired him to go to leeward, which he was submissively preparing to do, when the captain came out of his cabin, collared him, and, without any explanation whatever, called to the boatswain to bring a point (a rope doubled with knots at the end,) and give the plaintiff a "starting."—The boatswain brought such a rope as the captain desired, and seizing this poor creature, who had nothing on but a thin linen jacket, inflicted upon him no less than forty-four blows; a discipline infinitely more severe than the ordinary punishment in the navy by the cat-o'-nine tails. The plaintiff asked the captain if he meant to murder him; to which he only replied by saying to the boatswain, "D—n the rascal, lay it on—don't spare him—give him plenty—he seems to like it." At last the boatswain left off, merely because he was fatigued and out of breath; and while the plaintiff was creeping away, the captain called him back, and ordered him to the poop, where he remained in a state of arrest for several hours. When the ship arrived in the Downs, the defendant procured the plaintiff to be impressed, and it was in consequence of his having been sent to the East Indies on board a man of war that the present action had been so long delayed.

Robert Bancroft, the captain's servant, and several of the crew, fully confirmed this statement. They added,

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added, that there was not the least disposition on the part of the plaintiff, or any one else in the ship, to mutiny.

Lord Kenyon said, it was absolutely necessary that the discipline of the navy should be preserved, and whenever actions of this sort were brought, he had always a leaning in favour of the officer; but in the present instance, the defendant had made out no allegation contained in his plea; he thought the jury were bound to give the plaintiff damages, which should recompense him for the injury he had received; at the same time they ought not to be so inflamed as to ruin the defendant. The jury retired for about half an hour, and returned a verdict for the plaintiff, with 500*l.* damages. It appeared, however, that the damages laid in the declaration amounted only to 200*l.* of course the verdict of the jury could extend no farther.

5th. A cause of considerable importance was this day tried before sir Simon Le Blanc and a special jury, at Guildhall; it was an action brought by a Mr. Kerslake against the Westminster insurance office, to recover 360*l.* insured by a policy on the life of a Mr. Robson. The cause had been tried before, and a verdict given for the plaintiff. The following is a brief statement of the leading points. Mr. Robson proposed to the plaintiff to grant an annuity of 50*l.* for 360*l.*; the plaintiff consented, on condition he insured his life; and accordingly Mr. Robson, by his agent, effected a policy on the 21st of March, 1798, under a warranty, that he was in good health, and not more than twenty-three years of age. The state of his health prior to the insurance on his life was this; he was a man of slender make and thin habit of body, and in August, 1797, had a slight hæmorrhage from the lungs. for which he was attended by an apothecary of the name of Le Brune. He became perfectly well; but in February, 1799, he had a return of the complaint to a more violent degree. He was attended by the same apothecary, and the next day by Dr. Carmichael Smith, under whose advice he was perfectly restored. On the 21st of March this policy was effected. In the autumn he went to the north, to visit his father, and, upon a shooting excursion, got wet through; the consequence of which was, he fell into a gradual decline, and died in about two months. The office resisted the payment of the policy, on the ground, that although Mr. Robson might not have a disorder tending to shortening life at the time it was insured, yet, that he laboured under a predisposition to a consumption, which rendered his life not an insurable one. Upon the first trial Dr. Smith and Mr. Le Brune expressly stated, that Mr. Robson had none of the symptoms which indicated a consumption; but they admitted, an hæmorrhage from the lungs was such a predisposition to that disorder as made it necessary he should be circumspect with regard to his manner of living. Dr. Reynolds, and several eminent gentlemen of the faculty, were of opinion, that the symptoms described were such a predisposition to consumption as vitiated an insurance upon his life under a warranty of general good health. Lord Kenyon, who tried the cause, gave a strong charge to the jury in favour of the defendant; but the jury, after a long consultation, returned their verdict for

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for the plaintiff. A new trial was moved for and obtained. Mr. Erskine was for the plaintiff, and the attorney-general for the defendant. The same evidence was given as before on both sides; and after sir Simon Le Blanc had summed it up, the jury, with very little hesitation, confirmed the former verdict; the foreman expressly declaring they were of opinion, Mr. Robson, notwithstanding his predisposition to a particular disorder, was in good health when the policy was effected; and that no fraud, deceit, or covin, was practised on the office.

At the assizes, held last week, at Naas, in Ireland, a father and son, named Mooney, were convicted, and orderd for speedy execution, for robbing the Cork mail. It was one of the most daring robberies ever attempted of the kind. The mail-coach was strongly escorted; but these desperadoes, accompanied by six or seven others, fired a volley from behind a wall, with such effect on the escort, as wounded several, and made the rest fly, on which they immediately plundered the mail of property to a considerable amount. One of the gang was hanged a few months since for the same robbery.

14th. This being the grand day for exhibiting the prize oxen at Smithfield, the attendance was very numerous. As early as nine o'clock the show commenced; from that hour till four the place of exhibition was not free from company. The number of persons, who paid a shilling each, at the George, where the prize cattle and sheep were shown, amounted to nine hundred and eighty. This prize ox is considered superior to the one bred about two years since by the same gentleman (Mr. Westcard); which was exhibited about a year and a half ago at the same place. The colour of the present ox was white: he was eight feet in length, and six feet across the back; in height eighteen hands; and weighed near 300 stone, reckoning eight pounds to the stone. Mr. Chapman, of Fleet Market, was the purchaser. The sum given for this noble animal was no less than 160*l.* This ox was exhibited dead at the Gerge Inn, Smithfield, on Friday. The duke of Bedford's ox won the second prize, consequently he was determined the second best in England. The colour of this animal was brown: he was seven feet in length, and six in breadth, and weighed 250 stone. This ox was not sold: the duke's price was one hundred guineas. The other four oxen, which were fattened by Mr. Westcard, of Aylesbury, were bought by Mr. Chapman, of Fleet Market, and Mr. Giblet, of Bond Street. It is supposed the above weighed each full 200 stone; they were all brought to town on Friday last. The whole six were fed on oil-cakes and turnips, with a proportion of grass and hay.

15th. The rev. William Fennel, of Walford, near Newberry, was awakened, about two o'clock, by his chamber being filled with smoke: when instantly rising, he found the house in flames. He took his wife in his arms (whom horror had rendered motionless), and descended the stairs, which were already on fire. The nursery-maid, who slept in the next room, being alarmed, followed him with his youngest child, about five months old; but the flames were so rapid as to prevent his

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his saving his eldest, a fine girl near seven years of age, who, with an old lady, upwards of eighty, mother of Mrs. Fennel, perished, while the unfortunate parents were spectators of their shocking misfortune, without being able to render them any assistance, or save one article of their property, which was uninsured. The house was entirely burnt to the ground.

17th. A most dreadful accident happened at Mr. Dockera's worsted spinning mill, at the Holme, near New Church, Rossendale, Yorkshire: a number of the work people went to divert themselves on the ice of the mill-dam; but in consequence of their collecting together, the ice gave way, and, before assistance could be procured, eight of those unfortunate people were drowned: amongst them was a man about seventy years of age, who, in attempting to save some of them, fell into the water and perished with the rest.

20th. About one o'clock a young man, calling himself Maurice Williams, went to the Hummums, Covent Garden, and asked for a bed. He slept till eleven o'clock that day, when the waiter knocked at his apartments, and offered him what refreshment he might think proper for breakfast, which the stranger refused. Finding that there was no appearance of rising, the waiter began to entertain apprehensions of the health of the lodger, and, consequently, returned about three o'clock in the afternoon to satisfy himself of the fact. The stranger still refused any attention, and assured the waiter that all he wanted was a little more repose. About six o'clock, however, he got up, and walked round the room several times, and locked the door. The waiter increasing in curiosity, if not anxiety, returned to the door about seven o'clock, when he found it still locked, and concluded that his guest had returned to bed.—About ten, both master and waiter expressed their fears; and the former, calling in the evidence of some neighbours for the investigation of the mystery, at last broke open the door, when they discovered the stranger sitting as it were upright in a chair, but lifeless, with his head reclining backwards, and a pistol lying upon the floor. So far as a judgment could be formed of this melancholy event, Mr. Williams had placed the pistol under his right ear, and then lodged its contents in the jugular artery. The coroner's jury have pronounced a verdict of lunacy.

26th. At Covent Garden Theatre the holiday folks were inclined to be mischievous: as soon as the curtain drew up to commence the play of Richard the Third, a wine glass was thrown on the stage by way of prologue, but without exciting much observation. A few minutes after, determined to attract notice, a quart bottle was thrown from the two shilling gallery on the stage; it grazed the hat of Mr. Betterton, who was playing Tressel to Murray's Henry VI, knocked out some of the jewels, and falling on the stage, rolled down to the lamps unbroken. The audience were thunderstruck, the play stood still, and for a few seconds every one gazed with amazement. Satisfied of what had been done, a general burst of indignation broke out over the house, and "throw him over!" "turn him out!" were vociferated from all quarters. The villain was pointed out by his neighbours, sitting

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ting in the front row of the two shilling gallery, in the bend on the king's side. He was seized, the people in the pit and boxes rising up, and considerable agitation prevailing. The fellow, who was drunk, held by the iron railing, that goes round the front of the gallery, and refused to retire: this provoked the resentment against him still more, and the cries of vengeance were loud and general. Three or four laid hold of him, and seemed as if they would drag rail and all away; at last, they succeeded in taking him out of the theatre.

30th. Yesterday afternoon, about three o'clock, the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Old Cavendish Street, Cavendish Square, were alarmed by frequent shrieks of a female voice, apparently issuing from the back part of the countess of Pembroke's house, in Cavendish Square, and soon after an alarming fire broke out, through the roof, from one of the attics, which in a short time spread to the front of the house, and communicated with the shutters of the two pair floor. Every assistance was immediately given by the spectators, and in less than half an hour the pictures, and most of the valuable furniture, were removed into the court yard of a nobleman's house opposite. The engines arrived soon after; but a want of water occasioned some delay: however before five o'clock the Sun, the Westminster, and the Phœnix, were brought into play. The flames had, by this time, consumed the back part of the house, and were making rapid advances to the destruction of the front. About six o'clock the main beams of the second floor gave way; they fell end ways with a horrid crash upon the floor of the drawing room, where they burnt furiously. It was seven o'clock before the engines had any effect on the fire, by which hour the upper part of the house was entirely destroyed; the roof having fallen in some time previous. It was owing, in a great degree, to the difficulty of breaking the windows to come at the fire, that a stop was not sooner put to the conflagration. This difficulty was at last surmounted, by carrying a pipe to the top of the adjoining house, and playing from the parapet. Still the flames adhered to the staircase, and the first floor window shutters, where it had effected a lodgment, and also on the main beams which supported the house. No other remedy remained than that of introducing the pipe through the hall, and playing from the staircase on the fire immediately over head, pieces of the burning timbers falling continually. One of the firemen had the temerity to expose himself in that situation. By perseverance and indefatigable industry, the farther progress of the flames was put a stop to by eight o'clock. The damage done is not known. The lower part of the house, viz. the parlours, the hall, and the kitchens, escaped the general destruction. The cause of the accident is said to have arisen from the airing of the beds, as the family was expected in town from Gloucestershire this morning. Two house maids were in the house, and it is said that one of them left the pan of coals in the back garret bed, having gone down stairs in a hurry and forgot it. When she recollected herself, she ran up stairs, but found the bed on fire: alarmed at the circumstances, she went into fits, and when

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when she recovered, endeavoured by her screams to alarm her fellow-servant, who, frightened, ran out into the streets to call for assistance.—During this time the fire made rapid strides, and burst out in the manner already described. Happily no lives were lost, nor did any other accident happen.

DIED—26th. Mr. Rush the surgeon, aged 50: his death was occasioned by an obstruction which settled on the kidneys, and introduced a mortification in the bowels. Mr. Rush stood high in the opinion of the world as a professional man: his private character was very amiable. During the American war he, by his skill and attention to the officers and men in the West Indies and America, saved may valuable lives. This conduct so endeared him to the army, that on his return home he was much noticed by the commanding officers, and in 1798 was promoted to be inspector-general of regimental hospitals. Mr. Rush has left a good fortune behind him.

BIRTHS *in the Year* 1801.

Jan. 2d. Lady Grant, a daughter.

13th. Hon. Mrs. Cornwall, a daughter.

15th. Lady Mary Anne Sturt, a daughter.

22d. Lady of W. Manning, esq., M. P., a daughter.

Countess of Stahrenberg, a son.

24th. Lady Charlotte Lenox, a son.

Countess of Westmoreland, a daughter.

27th. Hon. Mrs. George Villiers, a son.

29th. Lady Ann Hope, a son.

Lady of sir E. O'Brien, bart., a son and heir.

Lady of sir John Douglas, a daughter.

Feb. 3d. Lady of sir W. Langham, bart., a daughter.

9th. Lady of the hon. G. Gunning, M. P., a son.

12th. Lady of William Stephen Poyntz, esq., a son.

21st. Countess of Errol, a son.

23d. Lady Viscountess St. Asaph, a son.

24th. Lady Louisa Brome, a son.

Lady of sir George Armytage, bart., a daughter.

March 2d. Countess of Guildford, a son and heir.

23d. Countess of Derby, a daughter.

Lady William Beauclerc, a son.

25th. Marchioness of Bath, a daughter.

Lady Bruce, a daughter.

Lady of sir Hector Mackenzie, bart., a daughter.

Countess of Harborough, a daughter.

Lady of sir Charles Watson, bart., a daughter.

April 6th. Lady of W. Baker, esq., M. P., a daughter.

Lady of G. H. Rose, esq., M. P., a son.

Lady Caroline Stuart Wortley, a son.

Lady of Viscount Belgrave, a son.

Lady of the right hon. George Canning, M. P., a son.

Lady Lucy Bridgeman, a son and daughter.

Lady of sir J. Lawson, bart., a son.

18th. The empress of Germany, a princess.

Lady of B. Hobhouse, esq., M. P., a daughter.

25th. Lady Elizabeth Palk, a son.

Lady of sir Charles Oakley, bart., a son.

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Viscountess Charleville, a son.

Lady of sir Grenville Temple, bart., a son.

Lady Le Despencer, a son.

Lady Anne Astley, a son.

Lady of John Dennison, esq., M. P., a son.

May 5th. Lady of sir Home Popham, a son.

6th. Lady of sir John Orde, a daughter.

11th. Hon. lady Dallas, a daughter.

17th. The countess of Talbot, a daughter.

21st. Lady of H. Thornton, esq., M. P., a daughter.

Queen of Sweden, a princess.

Lady of lord Francis Godolphin Osborne, a son.

June 2d. Countess of Lucan, a son.

Lady of sir Brook Bridges, bart., a son and heir.

3d. Marchioness of Winchester, a son.

6th. Marchioness of Bute, a daughter.

17th. Countess of Sutherland, a son.

19th. Lady Templetown, a daughter.

24th. Lady of Edmund Wigley, esq., M. P., a daughter.

Lady of sir John Fagg, bart., a son.

Queen of Prussia, a prince.

Countess of Granard, a son.

Lady Charlotte Baillie, a daughter.

Lady Burnet, a son.

Lady Mary Murray, a son.

Lady Helen Hall, a daughter.

Lady of sir William Clayton, bart., a son.

July. 7th. Lady Folkstone, a daughter.

9th. Lady Amherst, a daughter.

10th. Lady Leslie, a daughter.

Lady of R. S. Milnes, esq., M. P., a daughter.

18th. Duchess of Leeds, a daughter.

19th. Lady Elizabeth Halliday, a daughter.

26th. Lady of John Agnew, esq., M. P., a daughter.

Aug. At her house in Grosvenor Street, the lady who was married at Rome, and afterwards at St. George's, Hanover Square, to prince Augustus Frederic, a daughter.

Lady Catharine Forester, a son.

Countess of Glasgow, a daughter.

Lady Harriet Gill, a son.

Lady Charlotte Campbell, a son.

Lady Amelia Kaye, a son.

Countess of Caithness, a son.

At Constantinople, the lady of lord Elgin, English ambassador there, a daughter, who was immediately inoculated with the cow-pock.

Sept. 4th. Lady of sir H. Harpur, bart., a son.

Lady Harriet French St. George, a daughter.

8th. Lady Harvey, a daughter.

Lady Limerick, a daughter.

13th. Lady Catharine Graham, a son.

21st. Lady of sir John Sinclair, bart., M. P., a son.

Lady of John Dent, esq., M. P., a daughter.

Lady of Charles Morgan, esq., M. P., a daughter.

24th. Viscountess Duncannon, a son.

Oct. 3. Lady of sir N. Martin, bart., a son.

4th. Countess of Berkeley, a daughter.

Lady of the hon. and rev. doctor Marsham, a son.

19th. Lady Louisa Harley, a son.

Viscountess Southwell, a son and heir.

Lady

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Lady Dunboyne, a son and heir.

Lady of sir Charles Cotton, bart., a son.

25th. Lady Charlotte Greville, a son.

28th. Lady George Cavendish, a son.

Nov. 8th. Lady of sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton, a daughter.

10th. Lady of sir John Payne, bart., a daughter.

Electress Palatine of Bavaria, two princesses.

Lady Ann Maxwell, a daughter.

Viscountess Bantry, a son.

Viscountess Deerhurst, a daughter.

Dec. 1st. Countess of Albemarle, a son.

12th. Countess of Oxford, a daughter.

Viscountess Corry, a son and heir.

At Dresden, princess Caroline, consort of prince Maximilian, a prince, who has been christened John, Nepomucenos, Maria, and eleven other names.

27th. Countess of Poulett, a daughter.

Lady Mulgrave, a son.

MARRIAGES *in the Year* 1801.

Jan. 1st. Col. Cotton, eldest son of sir Robert Salisbury Cotton, bart., to lady Anna Maria Pelham Clinton, sister to the duke of Newcastle.

Lord Downe to miss Ainslie.

22d. Arthur French St. George, esq., to the hon. miss Henrietta St. Lawrence, eldest daughter of lord viscount St. Lawrence, and one of the coheiresses of the late countess of Kerry.

Feb. 4th. Hon. Charles Wyndham, brother to the earl of Egremont, to lady Anne Lambton.

Sir John Coxe Hippesley, bart. to Mrs. Hippesley Coxe.

March 5th. Lieut-col. Erskine, to lady Louisa Paget, third daughter of the earl of Uxbridge.

13th. John Joseph Henry, esq. to lady Emily Fitzgerald, second daughter of the duke of Leinster.

21st. Lord Morpeth, eldest son of the earl of Carlisle, to lady Georgina Cavendish, eldest daughter of the duke of Devonshire.

April 6th. The hon. and rev. Pearce Meade, fourth son of the late earl of Clanwilliam to miss Elizabeth Percy, youngest daughter of the bishop of Dromore.

7th. Right hon. lord Whitworth, K. B., to her grace the duchess dowager of Dorset.

13. Sir Edward Knatchbull, bart., to miss Hawkins.

18th. Sir John Arundel to miss Sarah Anne Sharpe.

May 11th. Col. Orde to lady Louisa Jocelyn, sister to the earl of Roden.

18th. James Dupré, esq., M. P., to miss Maxwell, daughter of sir William Maxwell, bart.

25th. Col. Cunninghame to miss Mary Thurlow, youngest daughter of lord Thurlow.

26th. Sir Robert Harland, bart., to miss Vernon.

28th. Capt. Adam Drummond, to lady Charlotte Menzies, eldest daughter of the duke of Athol.

June 3. Hon. Francis Nathaniel Burton, M. P., to the hon. Velentia Lawless, sister of lord Cloncurry.

13th. Mr. serjeant Onslow to lady Drake.

14th. John Hammet, esq., M. P., to miss Woodford.

June. Lord John Thynne, third son of the late marquis of Bath, to miss Mary Anne Master.

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Lord Louvaine, to miss Louisa Wortley.

Joshua Edward Cooper, esq., M. P., to miss Elizabeth Lindsay.

Lord Ongley, to miss Burgoyne, only daughter of the late sir John Burgoyne, bart.

Lord Pelham, to lady Mary Osborne.

July. Thomas Powell Symonds, esq., M. P., to miss Rootes.

Lord Aylmer, to miss Louisa Call, second daughter of the late sir John Call, bart.

August 1st. Sir Edmund Carrington, to miss Paulina Beth.

20th. Joseph Jekyll, esq., M. P., to miss Sloane.

Hon. sir Edward Crofton, bart., eldest son of the baroness Crofton, to the lady Charlotte Stewart, fifth daughter of the earl of Galloway, and sister to the marchioness of Blandford.

Sept. Brigadier-general Danne, to miss White, sister of lord Bantry.

Henry Parnell, esq., son of sir John Parnell, bart., to the hon. miss Dawson, sister to the earl of Portarlington.

The hon. J. Cavendish, second son of sir Henry Cavendish, bart., to lady A. Gore, third daughter of the earl of Arran.

J. H. Moore, esq., to dowager lady Dunboyne.

Sir Marcus Somerville, bart., to miss Marianne Merydith.

Oct. Rev. sir John Head, bart., to miss Walker.

13th. Thomas Wynn, esq., to lady Charlotte Bellasyse, eldest daughter of the earl of Fauconberg.

Sir John Riggs Miller, bart., to miss Beauchamp.

Lieut.-col. Cockborn, to the hon. Mariana Devereux, eldest daughter of viscount Hereford.

Sir John Murray, bart., to miss Callander.

Hon. Montgomery Stewart, son of the earl of Galloway, to miss Catherine Honeyman, sister of lord Armadale.

Hon. George Irby, eldest son of lord Boston, to miss Drake.

Nov. 1st. William Glen Johnston, esq., to miss Harriet Mary Hough Richardson, sister of sir George Richardson, bart.

5th. The right hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, to miss Latouche.

10th. George Ellis, esq., M. P., to miss Parker, daughter of admiral sir Peter Parker.

12th. William Francis, count de l'Age Labrottellaire, to miss Sarah Palmer.

15th. Sir James Blackwood, bart., to the hon. miss Foster.

27th. Lord Francis Spencer, second son of the duke of Marlborough, to lady Frances Fitzroy, fifth daughter of the duke of Grafton.

Dec. 14th. Major Macleod, to lady Arabella Annesley, daughter of the earl of Mountnorris.

Lieut.-col. Wood, to lady Caroline Stewart, daughter of the earl of Londonderry.

24th. Robert Biddulph, esq., M.P., to miss Middleton, of Chirk Castle, whose name he assumes.

Earl of Meath, to lady Melasina Adelaide Meade, fourth daughter of the earl of Clanwilliam.

Sir Charles Burrell Blount, knight, of the imperial military order of Maria Theresa, to miss Elvira Blount, daughter of sir Charles William Blount, bart.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1801.

January 1. Lieutenant-generals: Benjamin Gordon, George Ainslie, James Adeane, Edward Smith, Thomas Bland, Felix Buckley,

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Henry Watson Powell, Thomas Stirling, George Garth, and Richard Grenville, to be generals in the army.

Major-generals: Horatio Spry, W. Souter Johnstone, Harry Innes, Clinton, George Dalrymple, and Robert Donkin, James Balfour, James Francis Perkins, Norman M'Leod, Alexander Campbell, Francis D'Oyly, sir James Duffe, knight, Henry, lord Mulgrave, Grice Blakeney, Paulus Æmilius Irving, George Harris, Richard Vyse, William lord Cathcart, Banastre Tarleton, sir Hew Dalrymple, knight, Gordon Forbes, Andrew Gordon, John Floyd, Oliver de Lancey, John Graves Simcoe, and sir James Henry Craig, K. B., to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels: John Stuart, honourable Robert Taylor, Gerrit Fisher, George Milner, John Henry Fraser, W. D. M'Lean Clephane, Charles Barnet, George marquis of Huntley, George Benson, honourable Edward Finch, Isaac Gascoyne, George Frederick lord Southampton, and Stephen Poyntz, to be major-generals in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels: James O' Moore, Thomas M'Dermot, Eugene M'Carthy, Edward Stack, Hugh Lyle Carmichael, honourable John Brodrick, Henry Warde, James Durham, honourable David Leslie, James Leith, John Manners Kerr, Thomas Scott, Quin John Freeman, William Robertson, Arthur Wolfe, Matthew Baillie, Tomkins Belgrove Turner, John Randall M'Kenzie, Christopher Tilson, William Simson, hon. W. Mordaunt Maitland, William Munro, James Campbell, Thomas Picton, John Gordon Cumming, John Crew, hon. George Lowrey Cole, Marcus Beresford, Gonville Bromhead, Charles M'Donel, George earl of Granard, Mungo Noble, Stafford Lightburne, John Henry Loft, sir William Erskine, bart., Nathaniel W. Massey, Francis Moore, hon. Robert King, William Henry Loft, sir William Erskine, bart., Nathaniel W. Massey, Francis Moore, hon. Robert King, William Henry

Majors: Peter Beaver, William Savary, Hampson P. Thomas, Thomas M'Mahon, John Picton, hon. Edward Wingfield, John Ford, Archibald Bothwell, Arthur Annesly, hon. lord Hely Hutchinson, Benjamin Rowe, Kenneth M'Rae, Edward Boland, Henry Hawley, Edward Scott, James Logan, William M'Caskill, Donald Robertson, Thomas Probyn, John Gordon, George Wilson, George Maddison, John Crowgey, John Wauchope, Frederick William Buller, Humphrey Davie, John J. Broadhead, Thomas Bradford, Thomas G. Elrington, George H. Mason, John Granby Clay, Alexander Colston, John Grey, William Lockhart, Archibald Butter, hon. John Creighton, Dunbar, J. Hunter, John Campbell, Sydney Scroggs, Alexander Cosby Jackson, Gage John Hall, Robert Ross, and George Wynyard, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Richard Brathwaite, esq., Philip Cosby, esq., Samuel Cornish, esq., John Brisbane, esq., Charles Wolseley, esq., Samuel Granston Goodal, esq., his royal highness William Henry duke of Clarence, admirals of the blue—to be admirals of the white.

Robert Linzee, esq., sir James Wallace, knt., William Peere Williams, esq., sir Thomas Paisley, bart., sir Thomas Rich, bart., James Cumming, esq., sir John Colpoys, K. B., Skeffington Lutwidge, esq., Archibald Dickson, esq., George Montagu,

tagu, esq., Thomas Dumaresq. esq., right hon. George lord Keith, K. B., vice-admirals of the red—to be admirals of the blue.

Thomas Mackenzie, esq., Thomas Pringle, esq., sir Roger Curtis, bart., sir Henry Hervey, K. B., Robert Man, esq., sir William Parker, bart., Charles Holmes Calmady, esq., John Bourmaster, esq., sir George Young, knt., John Henry, esq., Richard Rodney Bligh, esq., vice-admirals of the white—to be vice-admirals of the red.

Robert Biggs, esq., Francis Parry, esq., Isaac Prescott, esq., John Bazeley, esq., Christopher Mason, esq., Thomas Spry, esq., sir John Orde, bart., William Young, esq., James Gambier, esq., sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B., vice-admirals of the blue—to be vice-admirals of the white.

Christopher Parker, esq., Philip Patton, esq, Charles Morice Pole, esq., John Brown, esq., John Leigh Douglas, esq., William Swiney, esq., Charles Edmund Nugent, esq., Charles Powell Hamilton, esq., Edmund Dod, esq., right hon. Horatio lord Nelson, K. B. rear-admirals of the red—to be vice-admirals of the blue.

James Brine, esq., John Pakenham, esq , sir Erasmus Gower, knt., John Holloway, esq., John Blanket, esq., George Wilson, esq., sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart., hon. Thomas Pakenham, Robert Deans, esq., Cuthbert Collingwood, esq., James Hawkins Whitshed, esq., Arthur Kempe, esq., Smith Child, esq., right hon. lord Charles Fitzgerald, Thomas Taylor, esq., John Thomas Duckworth, esq., rear-admirals of the white—to be rear-admirals of the red.

John Knowles, esq., John Willett Payne, esq., sir Robert Calder, bart., James Richard Dacres, esq., hon. George Berkeley, Thomas West, esq., James Douglas, esq., Peter Aplin, esq., Henry Savage, esq., Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, esq., sir Richard Bickerton, bart., George Bowen, esq., Robert Montague, esq., John Fergusson, esq., Edward Edwards, esq., sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B., rear-admirals of the blue—to be rear-admirals of the white.

Captains: Edward Tyrrel Smith, esq., Thomas Graves (1st,) Thomas Macnamara Russell, esq., Sylverius Moriarty, esq., sir Henry Trollope, knt.—to be rear-admirals of the white.

Henry Edwin Stanhope, esq., Robert M'Dowall, esq., Billy Douglas, esq., John Wickey, esq., John Inglis, esq., John Fish, esq., Jubleel Brenton, esq., John Knight, esq., Edward Thornborough, esq., James Kempthorne, esq. Sampson Edwards, esq., George Campbell, esq., Thomas Hicks, esq , Henry Cromwell, esq., Arthur Philip, esq., sir William George Fairfax, knt., Thomas Totty, esq., sir James Saumarez, knt —to be rear-admirals of the blue.

Sir Edward Pellew, bart., William Domett, esq., and sir Thomas Troubridge, bart., to be colonels of his majesty's marine forces.

Dublin, Jan. 3. Richard earl of Shannon, K. P., right hon. Isaac Corry, chancellor of his majesty's exchequer of this kingdom for the time being, right hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called lord viscount Castlereagh, chief secretary to the lord-lieutenant, or, in the absence of the said chief secretary, the under secretary for the time being to the lord-lieutenant, or in the absence of the said chief secretary, the under secretary for the time being for the civil department

department of the said chief secretary's office, the right hon. Lodge lord Frankfort, the right hon. John Loftus Loftus, commonly called lord viscount Loftus, and the right hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, to be commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.

6th. Invalids: Brevet lieutenant-colonel James Fahy, to be commandant of the independant companies of invalids at Alderney. Brevet: Colonel James Erskine, of the 15th light dragoons, to be aid-du-camp to the king.

7th. Sir Thomas Troubridge, bart., captain in the royal navy, and colonel of his majesty's marine forces; captain Alexander John Ball, of the royal navy; captain Samuel Hood, of the royal navy; and captain Benjamin Hallowell, of the royal navy; permitted to accept the rank of commanders of the order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, which it is the intention of Ferdinand the Fourth, king of the Two Sicilies, to confer upon them, and to bear the insignia of commanders of the said order.

10th. Major-general T. Garth, to be colonel of the 1st regiment of dragoons.

13th. The king has been pleased to grant the dignity of a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the most hon. Charles marquis of Drogheda, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. P., and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of baron Moore, of Moor Place, in the county of Kent; to the most hon. Charles marquis of Ely, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. P., by the name, &c. of baron Loftus, of Long Loftus, in the county of York; to the right hon. Walter earl of Ormond and Upper Ossory, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. P., by the name, &c. of baron Butler, of Lanthony, in the county of Monmouth; and to the right hon. John Joshua earl of Carysfort, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. P., by the name. &c. of baron Carysfort, of the hundred of Norman Cross, in the county of Huntingdon.

Major Boyle Travers, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

27th. To be brigadier-generals in the West Indies only: Col. David Cunynghame, col. Patrick Wauchope, col. Baldwin Leighton, and col. Martin Hunter. Col. Thomas Peter inspecting field officer. To be colonel in the army, lieutenant-colonel Robert Barnard Sparrow.

31st. Right hon. William archbishop of Armagh, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

Feb. 3d. Lieutenant-col. count Bartholomew O'Mahony, to be colonel in the army.

10th. Colonel Manners Kerr, to be brigadier-general to the forces in the West Indies only.

14th. Henry Vavasour, of Spaldington and Mellington, in the county of York, esq., and Robert Shore Milnes, esq., lieutenant-governor of the province of Lower Canada, in America, created baronets of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Brook Taylor, esq., to be his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of the elector of Cologne.

18th. Right hon. sir John Mitford, speaker of the house of commons, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

20th. Right hon. John earl of St.

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Vincent, right hon. Charles George lord Arden, and the right hon. Charles Yorke, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council. Right hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson, commonly called Lord Hawkesbury, sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

21st. Edward Law, esq., his majesty's attorney-general, knighted.

Right hon. John earl of St. Vincent, admiral of the White, K. B., sir Philip Stephens, bart., William Elliott, esq., sir Thomas Troubridge, bart., James Adams, John Markham, and William Garthshore, esqrs., appointed his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of high admiral of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions, islands, and territories thereunto belonging.

March 17th. Right hon. Philip earl of Hardwicke, and the right hon. George Legge, commonly called viscount Lewisham, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council. Right hon. Philip earl of Hardwicke, appointed lieutenant-general and general governor of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland. Right hon. Robert lord Hobart, sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Right hon. Henry Addington, John Smith and Charles Small Pybus, esqrs., George Thynne, esq., (commonly called lord George Thynne,) and Nathanael Bond, esq., appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer. Right hon. Henry Addington, chancellor and under treasurer of his majesty's exchequer. Right honourable Charles Yorke, his majesty's secretary at war.

19th. Right hon. Thomas Steele, and right hon. lord Glenbervie, appointed paymaster-general of his majesty's forces.

23d. William lord Auckland, and Charles Spencer, esq. (commonly called lord Charles Spencer,) appointed his majesty's postmaster-general.

Colonel Arthur Whetham, and colonel Hugh Lyle Carmichael, to be brigadier-generals in the Leeward islands only. Brevet-major R. Uniacke, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Lieutenant-col. John Barnes, to be deputy barrack-master-general to the British forces serving in both the Canadas.

Lieutenant-general his royal highness Ernest duke of Cumberland, K. G., to be colonel of the 15th light dragoons.

Codrington Edmund Carrington, of the Middle Temple, esq., barrister at law, to be chief justice of the supreme court of judicature in the island of Ceylon; and Edmund Henry Lushington, of the Inner Temple, esq., barrister at law, to be the puisne justice of the said court.

Charles Baron Arden, of that part of his majesty's kingdom called Ireland, to be master and worker of his majesty's mint.

April 4th. Major John Rutherford, to be lieutenant-colonel commandant. Colonels John Bellasis, Richard Jones, and William Neville Cameron, officers of the East India company's forces, to take rank as major-generals in his majesty's army in the East Indies only.

The right hon. lord Eldon, to be lord high chancellor of Great Britain.

18th.

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18th. Right hon. Alexander lord Loughborough, created an earl of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name, style, and title of earl of Rosslyn, in the county of Mid Lothian, with the remainder to the heirs male, lawfully begotten of the body of lady Janet Erskine, deceased, sister to the said Alexander lord Loughborough, and widow of sir Henry Erskine, of Alva, bart.

Mary Henrietta Erskine, daughter of lady Janet Erskine, deceased, to have and enjoy the same place, preeminence, and precedency, in all assemblies or meetings whatsoever, as the daughter of an earl of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

21st. Right hon. John earl of St. Vincent, K. B., and admiral of the white, created a viscount of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name, style, and title of viscount St. Vincent, of Meaford, in the county of Stafford, with remainders severally and successively to William Henry Ricketts, esq., captain in the royal navy, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; to Edward Jarvis Ricketts, esq. barrister at law, brother of the said William Henry Ricketts, and sons, of Mary Ricketts, by William Henry Ricketts, esq., late of the island of Jamaica, deceased, and sister to the said John earl of St. Vincent, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; and the dignity of viscountess St. Vincent, of Meaford, in the said county of Stafford, granted to the right hon. Mary countess of Northesk, daughter of the said Mary Ricketts, and widow of William Henry Ricketts aforesaid, and the dignity of viscount St. Vincent to the heirs male of her body lawfully begotten.

Colonel George Henry Vansittart, to be brigadier-general in the Leeward islands only. Colonel the hon. John Broderick, to be brigadier-general in the Mediterranean only. Brevet-major Charles Holloway, to be lieutenant-colonel in the dominions of the grand seignior only, and major, with permanent rank in the army. Lieutenant-colonel Edward Stephens, and Lieutenant-colonel the hon. William Stewart, to be colonels in the army. To be barrack-masters in Great Britain, sir James Cockburn and sir John Forbes, barts., and George Torriano, esq.

25th. Rev. William Vincent, D.D., head master of Westminster School, to be a prebendary of Westminster.

George Buchan Hepburn, esq., judge-admiral of Scotland, to be one of the barons of exchequer in Scotland.

Henry Gwillim, esq., to be one of the judges of the supreme court at Madras.

Viscount Lewisham, the duke of Portland, lords Hawkesbury and Hobart, Mr. Addington, the duke of Montrose, earl Bathurst, lord Glenbervie, William Dundas and Thomas Wallace, esqrs., lord Arden, Thomas Pelham and Edward Golding, esqrs., to be commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

May 12th. Robert Dundas, esq., appointed chief baron of his majesty's court of exchequer in Scotland. Charles Hope, esq., appointed his majesty's advocate in Scotland.

16th. The earl of Leven and Melvill,

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Melvill, appointed his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.—George Prevost, esq., brigadier-general of his majesty's forces, to be lieutenant-governor of the island of St. Lucia, in America—George Nugent, esq., major-general of his majesty's forces, to be lieutenant-governor of the island of Jamaica, in America.

19th. Right hon. Horatio baron Nelson, K.B., and vice-admiral of the blue, created a viscount of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name, style, and title of viscount Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk.—Tho. Graves, esq., rear-admiral of the white, to be one of the knights-companions of the most honourable order of the bath.

21st. Right hon. sir Edward Grant, knight; right hon. Charles Abbott, and right hon. Thomas Wallace, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

22d. Right hon. sir Richard Pepper Arden, knight, created baron Alvanley, of Alvanley, in the county of Chester.—Mary-Anne lady Abercromby, widow of lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercromby, K.B., created baroness Abercromby, of Aboukir, and of Tullibody, in the county of Clackmannan; and the dignity of a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland granted to the heirs male of her body, lawfully begotten by the said lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercromby, deceased.

26th. Arthur Whetham, esq., appointed governor and commander in chief of the island of Curaçoa, in America.—Thomas Picton, esq., to be governor and commander in chief of the island of Trinidada, in America.

Major-general the hon. John Hely Hutchinson, to be lieutenant-general in the army serving in the Mediterranean, and in the dominions of the grand seignior. Lieutenant-colonel sir Richard Bassett, knight, to be colonel in the army while serving with the troops stationed at Honduras only. Major Thomas Browne, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Captain Terence Mac Mahon, to be major in the army. Colonel the hon. Alexander Hope, to be adjutant-general to the forces in Ireland.

30th. Right hon. sir Richard Pepper Arden, knight, (baron Alvanley,) made a serjeant at law, and appointed chief justice of the court of common pleas.—Right hon. sir William Grant, knight, appointed master or keeper of the rolls and records of the court of chancery.—Major-general the hon. John Hely Hutchinson, to be one of the knights-companions of the most hon. order of the bath.

June 2d. Right hon. Henry Bayley, earl of Uxbridge, appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Stafford.

3d. John duke of Roxburgh, groom of the stole, to be a knight-companion of the most honourable order of the garter.

6th. Sir James Saumarez, of the island of Guernsey, knight, rear-admiral of the blue; Henry Strachey, of Sutton Court, in the county of Somerset, and of Rooksnest, in the county of Surrey, esq., master of his majesty's household; William Weller Pepys, of Wimpole Street, Cavendish Square, one of the masters

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sters of the high court of chancery; Alexander John Ball, esq., captain in the royal navy, a commander of the Sicilian order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit; William Bensley, of St. Mary-le-bone, in the county of Middlesex, esq., Hugh Inglis, of Milton-Bryant, in the county of Bedford, esq., William Earle Welby, of Denton House, in the county of Lincoln, esq., Christopher Banes, of Harefield Place, in the county of Middlesex, esq., and Thomas Barrett Lennard, of Belhouse, in the county of Essex, esq., created baronets of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.—Lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge, and John Thomas Duckworth, esq., rear-admirals of the red, to be knights-companions of the most honourable order of the bath.

9th. Hon. Arthur Paget, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna; William Drummond, esq, envoy-extraordinary at the court of his Sicilian majesty; Alexander Stratan, esq., secretary of embassy at the Ottoman Porte; and Charles Stuart, esq., secretary of legation at the court of Vienna.

Field-marshal his royal highness Frederick duke of York, appointed commander in chief of all his majesty's land forces in the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Charles Edward Beresford, esq., to be secretary to the commissioners for managing the stamp duties.

General sir William Meadows, K. B., to be commander in chief of his majesty's forces in Ireland.

13th. Right hon. Alleyne lord St. Helen's, appointed ambassador extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of St. Petersburgh; and Benjamen Garlike, esq., to be secretary to the embassy.—Charles Oakley, esq., to be secretary of legation at the court of the elector of Bavaria.—Right hon. gen. sir Cha. Grey, K. B. created baron Grey, of Howick, in the county of Northumberland.

15. Right hon. William lord Craven, to be viscount Uffington, in the county of Berks, and earl of Craven, in the county of York.—Right hon. George lord Onslow, to be viscount Cranley, of Cranley, in the county of Surrey, and earl of Onslow, in the county of Salop.—Right hon. Charles lord Romney, to be viscount Marsham, of the Mote, in the county of Kent, and earl of Romney.—Right hon. Thomas lord Pelham, to be earl of Chichester.—Right hon. Thomas lord Grey de Wilton, to be viscount Grey de Wilton, and earl of Wilton, of Wilton Castle, in the county of Hereford, with remainders to Thomas Grosvenor, esq., second son, Robert Grosvenor, esq., third son, of viscount Belgrave, by Eleanor his wife, daughter of the said Thomas lord Grey de Wilton, and the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and every other son and sons of the said Eleanor, by her present or any future husband, and the respective heirs male of their bodies, lawfully begotten.

16th. Right hon. George Legge, commonly called viscount Lewisham, to be baron of Dartmouth, Devon.

Robert Barlow, esq., captain in the royal navy, knighted.

23d. General the hon. William Harcourt, to be governor of the royal military college.—Lieutenant-general John earl of Clanricarde, to be governor of Hull; lieutenant-colonel Francis Cunninghame, of the

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the Coldstream foot guards, to be lieutenant-governor of Hull.—Lieutenant-general Henry Johnston, to be governor of Ross Castle, in Ireland.

24th. Codrington Edmund Carrington, esq., chief justice of the supreme court of judicature in the island of Ceylon, knighted.

25th. Sir Michael Smith, bart., appointed master of the rolls in Ireland; right hon. St. G. Daly, one of the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland; Robert Johnson, esq., one of the puisne judges of the court of common pleas in Ireland.

27th. Right hon. John earl of Chatham, K. G., to be master-general of his majesty's ordnance of the united kingdom.

29th. Right hon. Thomas Pelham, to be baron Pelham, of Stanmer, in the county of Sussex.

30th. James Montgomery, of Stanhope, esq., late lord chief baron of the court of exchequer in Scotland, and William Douglas, of Castle Douglas, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and of Newton Douglas, in the shire of Wigton, esq., created baronets.—John Royds, esq., one of the judges of the supreme court at Bengal; Henry Gwillim and Benjamin Sullivan, esqrs., judges of the supreme court at Madras; knighted.

Robert Blair, solicitor-general for Scotland, elected dean of the faculty.

July 4th. Edmund Stanley, esq., to be his majesty's prime serjeant at law in Ireland.

7th. John Dillon, of Lismullen, in the county of Meath, esq., a baron of the holy Roman empire; John Keane, of Belmont and Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford, esq.; James Chatterton, of Castle Mahon, in the county and city of Cork, esq., his majesty's second serjeant at law in Ireland; Richard Hardinge, of the county of Fermanagh, esq., with remainder to the heirs male of the body of his father, Nicholas Hardinge, late of Canbury, in the county of Surrey, esq., deceased; Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, of Lesheen, in the county of Tipperary, esq.; sir Richard Kellett, of Lota, in the county and city of Cork, knight, with remainder to the heirs male of the body of his father, Richard Kellett, esq., of the city of Cork; sir William Jackson Homan, of Dunlum, in the county of Westmeath, knight; Francis Goold, of Old Court, in the county of Cork, esq., deceased; Morgan Crofton, of Mohill, in the county of Leitrim, esq.; James Michael de Batha, of Knightstown, Cashell, and Ladyrath, in the county of Meath, esq.; Robert Synge, of Kiltrough, in the county of Meath, esq.; and Andrew Ferguson, of the city of Londonderry, esq.; created baronets.

11th. Major-general Francis Dundas, to be lieutenant-general at the Cape of Good Hope.

15th. Right hon. Alleyne, baron St. Helen's of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, created a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name, style, and title, of baron St. Helen's, of St. Helen's, in the Isle of Wight, and in the county of Southampton.

25th. Lieutenant-colonel John Gaspard le Marchant, to be lieutenant-governor and superintendant-general of the Royal Military College; Charles Greenwood, esq., treasurer, and lieutenant-colonel Frederick Mackenzie, secretary thereof.

Charles

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Charles Abbot, esq., elected recorder of Oxford; the hon. C. B. Agar, elected deputy-recorder.

Colonel the hon. Arthur Wellesley, to be brigadier-general in the army serving in Egypt.

Lieutenant-general the hon. Edward Fox, to be commander of the forces serving in the Mediterranean, Gibraltar excepted, with the local rank of general.

30. His grace William Henry Cavendish, duke of Portland, to be lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy-council. Right hon. Thomas lord Pelham, appointed one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Aug. 1st. William A'Court, esq., to be his majesty's secretary of legation at the court of his Sicilian majesty.

Right hon. Horatio viscount Nelson, K. B., vice-admiral of the blue, duke of Bronte, in Sicily, knight of the grand cross of the order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, and of the imperial order of the Crescent, created a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name, style, and title of baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Hilborough, in the county of Norfolk, with remainder to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; and, in default of such issue, to Edmund Nelson, clerk, rector of Burnham Thorpe, in the said county of Norfolk, father of the said Horatio viscount Nelson, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten; and to the heirs male, lawfully begotten, and to be begotten, severally and successively, of Susannah the wife of Thomas Bolton, esq., and sister of the said Horatio viscount Nelson; and, in default of such issue, to the heirs male of Catharine, the wife of George Matcham, esq., another sister of the said viscount Nelson.

8th. Colonel George Vaughan Hart, to be brigadier-general in Ireland. Captain James Wheeler Unwin, to be major in the army.

18th. Charles Morrice Pole, esq., vice-admiral of the blue, created a baronet of the united kingdom.

21st. His royal highness Edward duke of Kent, K. G., to be colonel of the 1st (or royal) regiment of foot.

22d. Captain Charles Auriol, to be major in the army. Lieutenant-general William Gardiner, to be governor of Kinsale. Lieutenant-colonel the hon. John Creighton, to be governor of Hurst Castle.

25th. Lieutenant-general sir Robert Abercrombie, K. B., to be governor of Edinburgh Castle. Robert Jackson, M.D, physician to the forces, and head of the hospital at Chatham, to be physician to the forces, and head of the hospital at the Isle of Wight. James Borland, M. D., to be assistant-inspector of hospitals to the forces.

Sir Michael Smith, bart., master of the rolls in Ireland, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy-council of Ireland.

Sept. 5th. Sir James Saumarez, bart., rear-admiral of the blue, to be a knight of the bath.

Bartholomew Frere, esq., appointed his majesty's secretary of legation at the court of Lisbon.

Colonel W. Henry Clinton, to be brigadier-general in the island of Madeira. The under-mentioned officers, late of the Irish brigade, now of the regiment of Dillon, to take rank as follows: Colonel Edward Dillon, to be colonel in the army; lieute-

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lieutenant-colonel Francis Dillon, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

8th. Captain William O. Hamilton, to be major in the army.

12th. Lord viscount Nelson permitted (by his majesty's warrant, dated Jan. 7, 1801) to adopt, for himself and heirs, the title of duke of Bronte, with the fief of the duchy annexed thereto; and also to receive the great cross of the order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit; all conferred on him by Ferdinand IV, king of the Two Sicilies.

General —— Jarry, to be commandant of the senior department of the royal military college.

15th. Right hon. Murrough, marquis of Thomond, K. P. created baron Thomond, of Taplow Court, in the county of Buckingham.

22d. His grace William Frederick, duke of Leeds, appointed governor of the islands of Scilly, alias Sully, alias Sorlingues.

26th. Major Thomas Gage Montresor, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Lieutenant-colonel Robert Crauford, of the 60th foot, deputy quarter-master-general in Ireland, to be adjutant-general to his majesty's troops stationed in the East Indies.

Captain William Mudie, to be major in the army.

Oct. 6th. Lieutenant-colonel Robert Mathews, to be major of Chelsea Hospital.

Lord Eldon, appointed (by the duke of Portland) high steward of the university of Oxford.

10th. George W. Erving, esq., to be consul from the United States of America at the port of London.

13th. Captain Joseph Lambech, to be major in the army. Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Brownrigg, of the 3d foot, to be deputy quarter-master-general in Ireland.

27th. Colonel Thomas Picton, to be brigadier-general in the island of Trinidad only. Captain Charles Irvine, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces stationed in the island of Jamaica, with the rank of major in the army.

29th. Marquis Cornwallis, appointed his majesty's plenipotentiary at the congress at Amiens; and Anthony Merry, esq., to execute the office of his majesty's secretary at the said congress.

Nov. 14th. Lieutenant-col. John Hamilton, to be deputy quarter-master-general to the forces serving at the Cape of Good Hope.

18th. Charles Bragge, esq, treasurer of his majesty's navy, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council. Sylvester lord Glenbervie, to be president of the committee appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, in the absence of the earl of Liverpool.

21st. Colonel John Blake, to be brigadier-general in Egypt only.

23d. Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, bart., Henry Duncan, esq., sir John Henslow and sir William Rule, knights, William Palmer, esq., sir William Bellingham, bart., Harry Harmood, Samuel Gambier, Francis John Hartwell, Benjamin Tucker, Charles Hope, Isaac Coffin, and Robert Fanshaw, esqrs., sir Charles Saxton, bart., Nicholson Inglefield, esq., and sir Alexander John Ball, appointed principal officers and commissioners of his majesty's navy.

24th. Prince Augustus Frederick, created baron of Arklow, earl of Inverness, and duke of Sussex; Prince Adolphus Frederick, baron of Culloden, earl of Tipperary, and duke of Cambridge.

Dec.

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Dec. 5th. George Keith (baron Keith, of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland,) K. B., and admiral of the blue, created a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the title of baron Keith, of Stonehaven-Marischal, in the county of Kincardine. Lieutenant-general sir John Hely Hutchinson, K. B., to be lord Hutchinson, baron of Alexandria, and of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary. John Halkett, esq., appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the Bahama islands.

7th. William d'Arley, esq., captain in his majesty's marine forces, permitted to accept the rank of knight of the royal and military order of Constantine, conferred on him by Ferdinand IV, king of the Two Sicilies; and to bear, in his own country, the ensigns of the said order.

16th. Richard Ford, esq., chief magistrate of the police, knighted.

17th. Sir Francis Milman, bart., physician extraordinary to the king, appointed (by the queen) one of her majesty's physicians in ordinary.

29th. Major James Fitzgerald, of the 3d foot-guards, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces serving in the Mediterranean, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Brigade-major William Hely, to be fort-major in the garrison of St. John's, in the island of Newfoundland. Francis Knight, esq., surgeon to the Coldstream regiment of foot-guards, to be inspector-general of army hospitals.

Sir Nigel Bowyer Gresley, bart., elected recorder of Lichfield.

Henry Woodthorpe, esq., elected town-clerk, and Thomas Shelton, esq., clerk of the peace, of the city of London.

DEATHS *in the Year* 1801.

Jan. 1st. At Paris, B. Selléque, editor of the "Journal des Modes," and of a little work, after Mercier's manner, intituled "Voyage autour du Palais Egalité," published last year.

2d. Eardley Wilmot, esq., youngest son of sir Eardley Wilmot, deceased, and one of the clerks of the signet.

In the 73d year, Robert Orme, esq., formerly one of the servants of the East India company, and author of a "History of the military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan, from the Year 1745," in 2 vols. 4to.; the first published 1763, the second 1778. To these he added, in 1782, "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire," in a duodecimo volume.

8th. Edward Stratford, earl of Aldborough, viscount Amiens, baron of Baltinglass, governor of the county of Wicklow, and F. R. S. He married, first, Barbara, daughter and sole heiress of the hon. Nicholas Herbert, of Great Glenham, Suffolk, who dying without issue, in 1787, his lordship married, secondly, May 24, 1788, Elizabeth, only daughter of sir John Henniker, of Newton Hill and Stratford House, Kent, knt. He is succeeded by the hon. John Stratford.

Lieut.-general Philip Goldsworthy, colonel of the 1st regiment of dragoons, equerry and clerk-martial to his majesty, and M. P. for Wilton.

10th. George Aufrere, esq. formerly M. P. for the borough of Stamford, and many years a merchant of eminence in London. He married miss Arabella Bate, who survives him, by whom he had only one child, Sophia, who married Mr.

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Mr. Pelham, of Brocklesby, in Lincolnshire, afterwards lord Yarborough.

Lady Leigh, widow of sir Samuel Egerton Leigh. Her first husband was the unfortunate Donellan, executed for the murder of sir Edward Theodosius Allesley Boughton.

Aged 75, John Bevaynes, esq., apothecary to his majesty. He has left 400*l.* per annum to the marchioness of Townshend, who was his great patroness. His remains were interred on the 24th, with great funeral pomp. in the family vault, at Putney, Surrey. He was the eldest of the two sons of a French gentleman of good family. His surviving brother is William Devaynes, esq., M. P., late chairman to the East India Company, to whom he has left 50,000*l.* Mr. D. was appointed household apothecary to the queen in 1761, on her arrival in England, to which he was promoted by Dr. Secker, then archbishop of Canterbury By his lady, who died in 1795, he left no children.

13th. In his 46th year, George Edward Henry Arthur Herbert, earl of Powis, viscount Ludlow, lord Herbert of Cherbury, baron Powis of Powis Castle, and baron Herbert of Cherbury and Ludlow, recorder of Ludlow, lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum and colonel of the Montgomeryshire militia. He succeeded his father, the first earl, in 1772, and has died unmarried. His only sister was married to lord Clive in 1784, by whom she has issue one daughter.

15th. In his 49th year, Ralph Heathcote, esq., his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the elector of Cologne, and to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel; eldest son of the late Ralph Heathcote, D. D.

At Bluecastle, in Jamaica, James Bell, M. D., late of Kelso, author of a valuable paper in the eighth volume of "Medical Facts and Observations."

31st. George Markman, esq., brother to the archbishop of York.

Aged 80, sir Gillies Payne, bart., so created in 1737.

Feb. 1st. George Bridges Brudenell, esq., only son of the hon. James Brudenell, esq., the second son of the earl of Cardigan, whose eldest son, the last earl, was created duke of Montague. Mr. Brudenell was an equerry to the king, and afterwards, for many years, at the head of the board of green cloth, and represented the county of Rutland in 1754, upon the late lord Brudenell becoming earl of Exeter, till the year 1761, and then was M. P. for Stamford, upon the late hon. Thomas Chambers Cecil, father of the marquis of Exeter, being chosen for Rutland. He was chosen again member for Rutland, upon Mr. Cecil's death, and afterwards retired to his seat at Ayston.

6th. At Brunswick, aged 85, her royal highness Philippina Charlotte, duchess dowager of Brunswick, sister of Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, relict of the late, and mother of the present duke, who married the princess Augusta of England. She was born March 13, 1716.

7th. At Madras, soon after his arrival there, sir William Lee, bart., of Hartwell, Bucks, eldest son of the late sir William Lee, and lieutenant-colonel of the 16th (or general Harcourt's) regiment of light dragoons. He is succeeded in his estate and title by his only brother, George, rector of Hartwell, and vicar of Stone, Bucks.

9th.

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9th. Mrs. Davies, widow of the late Mr. Thomas Davies, bookseller, and author of the "Life of Garrick," formerly an actress of some merit at Drury Lane Theatre.

Aged 37, the right hon. lady Charlotte Holwell Carr, daughter of James, 16th earl of Errol, and wife of the rev. William Holwell Carr.

12th. Aged 78, Christopher Strotoff, esq.; an eminent Hamburgh merchant, partner with the late Mr. Burgess. He and Mr. Burgess married two sisters, daughters of Mr. Glover, Hamburgh merchant, father of the celebrated author of "Leonidas," who succeeded to his business, as his two brothers-in-law did to that of Mr. Voght.

14th. At Paris, aged 78, John Darcet, M. D., member of the Conservatory Senate, and of the National Institute, and professor of chemistry in the college of France. He was a native of St. Sever, in the *ci-devant* diocese of Aire, and distinguished himself by his experiments (in conjunction with the late M. Rouelle) on the destructability of the diamond, and by his skill in mineralogy. He married a daughter of the elder Rouelle, and has left a son and two daughters.

In the infirmary at Stafford, where he was under the care of the surgeons of that useful institution for a painful operation, Mr. Francis Barber, the faithful servant and residuary legatee of Dr. Samuel Johnson. He was born in Jamaica, and brought to England in 1750 by colonel Bathurst, father of Johnson's very intimate friend, Dr. Bathurst.

15th. Aged 42, the right hon. lady Elizabeth Douglas, daughter of David, late earl of Glasgow, and wife of sir George Douglas, of Springwood Park, bart.

March 3d. Aged 55, Michael Angelo Rooker, esq., R. A. He was the only son of the celebrated engraver, who is characterized by the late lord Orford, in his Anecdotes, as the Marc Antonio of that art. Michael was bred an engraver under his father, and studied at the academy of the society of artists; and when his majesty founded the present Royal Academy, was elected one of the associates. His excellence as an engraver was great; but, finding the practice of the art prejudicial to his sight, he relinquished it on being appointed scene-painter to the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, reserving only the execution of the plate to the Oxford almanack, for which he likewise made the drawings.

At her apartments in Hampton Court palace, Mrs. Dunckerley, relict of the late Thomas Dunckerley, esq., who bore for his arms those of king George II, with a batoon, and with this motto, "Fato non merito." In the engraving of his arms he was styled "Thomas Dunckerley Fitz-George."

14th. At Berlin, in his 67th year, Ignatius count Von Krasicki, of the holy Roman empire, and prince-bishop of Gresna; knight of the Prussian and Polish orders, and of the order of Malta. He was born at Dubiecko, in Poland, in February, 1735. His distinguished talents procured him the friendship of king Stanislaus-Augustus, who nominated him to the bishopric of Ermland; and on the death of prince Michael Poniatossky, the late king of Prussia, Frederick William II, promoted him to the see of Gnesna.

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18th. In Dublin, aged 76, the ingenious Mr. Thomas Malton, sen., of London, well known for his valuable treatise on perspective, illustrating the principles of Dr. Brook Taylor, for his public lectures on that art, and for his theoretical and practical geometry.

Lady Bellew, relict of sir Patrick Bellew, bart.

Sir John Call, bart, who early in life went out to India as an assistant to, and under the patronage of, that able mathematician and philosopher, Benjamin Robins, esq., chief engineer and captain-general of all the artillery in the East India company's settlements, who dying in July, 1751, Mr. Call continued in the service, studying that branch of science with much success, together with such a judicious exertion of it in the various expeditions carried on in the Carnatic under captain, afterwards lord Clive, generals Lawrence, Caillaud, and others, that, in the year 1757, he was raised to the rank of colonel and chief engineer of all the coast of Coromandel; and in 1765, as a farther proof of his superior abilities and integrity, the East India company appointed him to a seat in the council of Fort St. George, which, with other situations of importance, both civil and military, he held until the year 1770, when, after a period of arduous service of twenty years and upwards, he resigned his appointments, and embarked for England, and, in the following year, was chosen high sheriff of the county of Cornwall. In March, 1772, he married Philadelphia, third daughter and coheiress of William Battie; was created an English baronet in 1791, with remainder to his sons, two of whom, with his lady and four daughters, survive him. He is succeeded in his title and estates by his eldest son, now sir William Call.

Aged 77, the hon. John Bulkeley Coventry Bulkeley, only brother of the earl of Coventry. By virtue of an act of parliament he took his additional name of Bulkeley.

19th. The lady of sir Richard Cope, bart., D. D., prebendary of Westminster.

At his house in Great Ormond Street, aged 71, John Holliday, esq., of Lincoln's Inn, barrister at law, F. R. S., a governor of the royal hospitals of Christ, Bridewell, and Bethlehem, and of the Foundling Hospital; and an active member of the Society of Arts and Manufactures, for which he had lately drawn up a memoir of the late Owen Salisbury Brereton, esq., and of which he would probably have been elected a vice-president.

Lady Harriet Bennet, daughter of the earl of Tankerville.

Hon. Robert Arbuthnot, third son of the late John, viscount Arbuthnot.

Aged 80, John Knowles, esq., admiral of the white.

Hon. John David Coleyear, son of the earl of Portmore.

21st. Shot himself in a fit of insanity, sir John Swin Dyer.

25th. In his 49th year, of the gout in his stomach, with which he had been some weeks afflicted, the hon. lieutenant-general sir Charles Stuart, K. B., brother to the marquis of Bute, colonel of the 26th regiment of foot, and M. P. for Poole, in the county of Dorset.

31st. Lady Duntze, relict of sir John Duntze, bart.

In Syria, of the plague, general Koehler,

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Koehler, one of the most skilful officers in the British service, and who had been delegated by the British government to train and discipline the Turkish army. He was by birth an American, and survived his lady only fifteen days.

Lady Paul, relict of the late sir George Onesiphorus Paul, bart.

April 2d. Killed, in the memorable action off Copenhagen, captain Edward Riou, of the Amazon, by a chain-shot from the crown battery at Copenhagen, at the moment he was cheering his men, eight of whom had the instant before been killed by a single shot. There were no fewer than eighty pieces of cannon playing at one time on the Amazon frigate from the above battery. He was the officer who experienced such distress, and displayed such magnanimity, on the shipwreck of the Guardian frigate. (See our Register for the year 1790, p. 254.)

Captain Grant, of the rifle regiment, who volunteered his services in the Copenhagen expedition: he had his head taken off by a cannon-ball in the same engagement, as effectually as if it had been severed from his body by a scimitar. He was particularly unfortunate in battle, having received three wounds in one day in Holland.

Miss Phillips, eldest daughter of the late sir John Phillips, bart., and sister to lord Milford.

9th. Aged 81, Joseph Gape, esq., one of the oldest benchers of the Middle Temple; senior governor of Bridewell and Bethlehem hospitals; and senior alderman of the borough of St. Alban's, of which he had been mayor, 1746, 1761, 1797. He was buried with his father, April 16, in the abbey church.

24th. Maurice Nelson, esq., one of the secretaries of the navy-board, and brother to lord Nelson.

25th. John Bond, esq., lord of the manor of Hendon, Middlesex, and one of the magistrates of Bow Street Office. He purchased the manor of Mr. Garrick's devisees, 1790.

29th. In the county of Tipperary, Mr. Price, who, having taken a farm against the wish of those who took upon them to regulate the rents of land, received a written intimation, which appears, from the evidence of a member of the house of commons, to have been to the following effect:

"*Liberty Hall.*

"Take notice, that you have been tried and convicted of having taken ——— farm. You have been sentenced to death. You are to give up the farm; otherwise, the warrant for your execution is in the hands of the executioner."

This account the said member received from a brother of the deceased, who showed him another letter to the same effect, which was served on a tenant of Mr. Price at the same time, who, in consequence, fled the country. Mr. Price was, within a few days, in the open field at noon, fired at and murdered by a single individual, who was suffered to depart at his leisure, without any endeavour being made to detain him, though many people were at work at no great distance.

Of a cancer in his tongue, in his 87th year, general Cyrus Trapaud, colonel of the 52d regiment of foot, and the oldest general in his majesty's service. He was related to marshal Turenne, the duke de Bouillon, the duke la Fouace, and several other of the French nobility. His family came to this country early in

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the last century, on account of the persecution of the protestants. His father having had a regiment in France, queen Anne gave him a regiment of dragoons, which he commanded in Portugal. The general served under his late majesty, George II, in the battles of Dettingen and Vall, in Germany; and was at those of Fontenoy, Falkirk, Culloden, and Guadaloupe.

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9th. Aged 69, sir Lambert Blackwell, bart. By his death the title of baronet, conferred on his grandfather, July 16th, 1718, becomes extinct. He has bequeathed all his estates, with his valuable collections of paintings, books, coins, &c. to William Foster, junior, esq., of Norwich.

At Bath, aged 95, John Chapman, esq., senior alderman and six times mayor of that city. He was born Oct. 6, 1706; elected into the common council Oct. 25, 1731; succeeded as an alderman 1742; was chosen mayor September 1744; again 1754, 1761, 1770, 1777, and 1779; and, at the age of 95, succeeded as heir-at-law to the property of an affluent relation who died intestate.

18th. At Isleworth, Middlesex, of which parish he was vicar, in his 80th year, the rev. William Drake, M. A., F. A. S., a gentleman well known in the literary world as a scholar and antiquary; and as the son of the celebrated author of the Eboracum (or the history of York) and parliamentary history.

30th. Aged 77, William Graves, esq., one of the oldest benchers of the Middle Temple, a master in chancery, and elder brother to admiral lord Graves.

June. At his house in Paternoster Row, in the 65th year of his age, Mr. George Robinson, an eminent bookseller. He was born at Dalston, in Cumberland, and, about 1755, came up to London in search of such employment as he might be qualified for by a decent education, and a great share of natural sense and shrewdness. His first engagement was in the house of Mr. John Rivington, from which he went to that of Mr. Johnstone, on Ludgate-hill, where he remained until 1764, when he commenced business as a bookseller in Paternoster Row, in partnership with Mr. John Roberts, who died about 25 years since. The commencement of an undertaking like this required a capital; and the uniform habits of industry and punctuality which Mr. Robinson had displayed, while managing the concerns of others, pointed him out as one who might be intrusted. In a short time these small beginnings swelled into concerns of importance. Mr. Robinson's active spirit, knowledge of business, and reputable connexion, soon enabled him to achieve the higher branches of the business, and, in the purchase of copy-rights, he became the rival of the most formidable of the old established houses; so that, before the year 1780, he had the largest wholesale trade that was ever carried on by an individual. In 1784, he took into partnership his son and brother, who are his successors. In the rise and progress of so great a concern, Mr. Robinson was an eminent proof, (if so plain a truth requires a proof,) how much may be done by habits of attention, industry, and, above all, inflexible integrity and perseverance.

7th. Suddenly, on his estate at Barbadoes, sir Francis Ford, bart., of Ember, Surrey, so created February 14,

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14, 1793. He was formerly a fellow-commoner of St. John's College, Cambridge, B. A., 1778.

At St. Petersburgh, the Russian general Hermann, who commanded the imperial auxiliaries in Holland, in the campaign of 1799, under the duke of York, and was taken prisoner there at the battle of Bergen.

John Campbell, of Stonefield, lord Stonefield, one of the lords of session in Scotland.

Aged 76, Elizabeth, countess dowager of Glencairn. She was daughter of Mr. Macguire and mother of four sons and two daughters by the late earl, who died in 1775.

21st. John Joseph Powell, esq., barrister at law. He was author of "The Law of Mortgages," 8vo, 1785; "Essay on the Learning respecting the Creation and Execution of Powers; and also respecting the Nature and Effect of leasing Powers," 8vo., 1787. He also assited in completing Fearne's posthumous publication.

In an advanced age, the Russian field-marshal prince Repnin.

At Paris, aged 88, John Mathurin Mazeas, formerly a canon of Nôtre Dame, and professor of philosophy in the university of Paris; also a member of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin. He was author of "Elements of Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry," published in 8vo., 1758, and which has since gone through seven editions. Having lost his all at the revolution, François de Neufchateau, when minister of the interior, procured for him a pension of 1,800 livres, which he received during three years; and the national convention, in the third year, when they voted rewards to different learned men, decreed him 3,000 livres. Notwithstanding these decrees, however, he was wholly indebted to the gratitude of one, who had formerly been his servant, for support during the last three years of his life.

At Paris, aged 73, Charles Geo. Fenouillot de Falbain, a native of Salins, in Franche Comté, and author of several dramatic pieces, the most popular of which, "Les Deux Avares," ("The Two Misers,") set to music by Gretry, has been translated, and performed on the English stage.

Major-general Richard Bettesworth, late colonel-commandant of the 2d battalion of royal Irish artillery.

July 2d. Aged 68, Robert Edward Petre, 9th baron Petre, of Writtle, in Essex. He succeeded his father in 1742. This much lamented nobleman was twice married; 1st, 1762, to Anne, daughter of Philip Howard, esq., of Buckingham, Norfolk, brother to Edward duke of Norfolk, by whom he had Robert Edward, his successor, born 1763, George William, died 1797, Anne Catharine, born 1769, and Philip Howard, born 1773; 2dly, to Juliana Howard, sister to the heir of the present duke, who has a jointure of 2,000*l.* per annum, and 4,000*l.* bequeathed to her for the furniture of a town residence. He annually expended 5,000*l.* in charities, a practice that was not discovered till after his lordship's death, and one proof, among many, that he deserved the character which he bore. Though a striking ornament of society, and a man who would have done honour to any situation, however high, his lordship was prevented from ever taking his seat in parliament, on account of his adherence to the faith in which he was

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born. He was, like all his ancestors, a Roman catholic by profession; but, as a true and liberal Christian, freed from the dangerous trammels of superstition, he possessed a mind that nobly soared above all the unworthy actions of religious prejudice. His lordship's remains were removed, on the 5th, from Park Lane, to the family seat at Thornden Hall, Essex, where they lay in state till the 9th, on which day they were accompanied to the grave by all his lordship's tenants in mourning, and the volunteer corps of the neighbourhood, and interred with military honours.—On the 21st a solemn requiem and high mass were performed in the chapel of the elector of Bavaria, in Warwick Street, accompanied with all the corresponding rites of the catholic worship. The chapel was crowded in every part with persons of the first fashion, particularly of the catholic nobility, who attended to pay the last tribute of respect and affection to the memory of this nobleman.

10th. Sir Griffith Boynton, bart., LL.D. He was the only son of the late sir Griffith, who died in 1778, by his second wife, Mary, daughter of sir James Heblethwayte, whom he married August 8, 1768.

12th. At the Abbey House, Chertsey, Surrey, the relict of sir William Young, bart.

William Barrington, viscount Barrington, son of the late general Barrington, and nephew to the bishop of Durham. He succeeded his uncle, the second viscount, 1793.

20th. Of a third stroke of apoplexy, aged 53, sir George William Prescot, bart., second son of the late George Prescot, esq., who died April 21, 1790. He married, April 23, 1774, the eldest daughter of the late Beeston Long, esq., by whom he had issue two sons, George Beeston, his successor, and William Willoughby, and one daughter.

Aged 70, Thomas Fowler, M.D., of York, formerly physician of the Stafford Infirmary. He was a graduate of the university of Edinburgh, and published some valuable works on the medicinal effects of tobacco and arsenic.

In his 76th year, the right hon. sir Grey Cooper, bart., of Gogar, in Scotland, one of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and in the commission of the peace for the county of Suffolk. His death was very sudden. About half after five in the morning he rang his bell violently for his valet, whom he desired to saddle a horse, and ride over to the village, about a mile distant, for the doctor; the man set off immediately, and returned with the apothecary in less than half an hour, but he arrived too late, sir Grey had breathed his last. The messenger, sent to acquaint his second son, a colonel in the guards, met him coming to spend a few days with his father. His eldest son, a clergyman, at the time in Wales, succeeds to the family estate, of near 9,000*l.* a year. After passing through the course of general education, which is usual for an English gentleman, he entered the Temple, studied the common law, and was, in due time, called to the bar. In 1765, he distinguished himself as a zealous votary of the political principles of the Rockingham party. When that party came into administration, they were arraigned as the creatures of the earl of Bute, in a pamphlet, the composition of Mr. Lloyd, the private secretary of the right hon. George Grenville, who was at the head

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head of the ministry they succeeded. In answer to that pamphlet, sir Grey (then Mr.) Cooper, published "A Pair of Spectacles for short-sighted Politicians," of which the minister and the public approved. He soon after wrote another tract in their defence, which appeared under the title of "The Merits of the New Administration truly stated." It was esteemed still more able, and not less seasonable, than the former. On account chiefly of these services, he was then appointed secretary to the treasury. Relinquishing, for this office, the practice of the law, he obtained, at the same time, the grant of a pension for life, to commence from the time when he should retire, by dismissal or resignation, from an office which, from its nature, he could not expect to hold permanently. He did not retire with the ministers to whom he owed his rise. The duke of Grafton succeeded; and sir Grey Cooper remained in the treasury. To lord North, after the duke of Grafton's resignation, his services were still acceptable; nor were his political connexions and principles of a nature to urge him to abandon his office. He continued to perform the same duties till the final dissolution of lord North's administration in 1782.

By shooting herself, miss Hompesch, daughter of general Hompesch. From the testimony of a female servant of Mrs. Richardson, at whose house the general and his daughter resided, in Battersea Fields, it appeared that the deceased was for some time in a desponding way, the cause of which she would not communicate to any one; that, on the day previous to the melancholy catastrophe, she wrote two letters, one to her father, and the other to a friend in Germany. These letters were found on a table in the apartment where the rash act was committed. In the letter to her father she begged, as her dying request, that her heart might be sent to her dear friend in Germany. Several professional gentlemen attended on the jury when the head was opened, and likewise the body, from whence the heart was taken out, by the express desire of the general, to be sent according to the tenor of the deceased's letter. The body was conveyed to Newington Churchyard for interment, attended by one mourning coach. The deceased was a natural daughter, an only child, beautiful in her person and amiable in her manners. Excessive sensibility to a circumstance of a domestic nature is the cause assigned for her melancholy fate.

22d. Assassinated, at his house at Dolling, in Austria, the imperial major-general count de Lichtenberg.

23d. At the baths of Baden, the prince of Belmonte Pignatelli.

August 13th. In Dublin, Robert Cunninghame, lord Rossmore, a lord of the privy-council in Ireland. His lordship was descended from a branch of the Cunninghames, earls of Glencairne, and entered into the army very young. At the period of his decease he was one of the oldest generals in the army, and held the sinecure office of governor of Kinsale Fort. He married, in 1754, Elizabeth Murray, sister of the countess of Clermont, but leaving no issue by her ladyship, the barony devolves, according to the limitation of the patent, to his nephew, the present lord Rossmore.

At Liverpool, in his 52d year,

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Mr. Wild, upwards of 20 years prompter of Covent Garden Theatre.

In his 80th year, George Gordon, third earl of Aberdeen. He succeeded his father, 1745. He married Catherine, daughter of Mr. Oswald Hanson, of Wakefield, in the county of York, by whom he had two sons, George, married, 1782, to Miss Baird, and died, leaving a son, who succeeds his grandfather; his other son was William; and four daughters, Catharine, Anne, Susan, and Mary.

16th. Sir William Plomer, knt., alderman of Bassishaw ward, London, to which he was elected October 23, 1772; served the office of sheriff in 1774, and lord mayor in 1781.

21st. The hon. William Bishop, late president of Barbadoes.

23d. Aged 67, William Rix, esq., town-clerk of the city of London. He had filled various offices in the city for upwards of 40 years, 26 of which he had discharged the duties of the office of town-clerk.

September 3. Aged 74, the hon. John Yorke, fourth son of Philip lord Hardwicke, late lord chancellor. He was clerk of the crown for life, patentee for making out commissions of bankruptcy, M. P. for Ryegate. and F. R. S. He married, 1762, Elizabeth, only daughter of Reginald Lygon, esq., of Madresfield, in the county of Worcester, who died in 1766, leaving a daughter, Jemima, born, June 1, 1763.

7th. At Meiningen, aged 77, her serene highness Sophia Antoinetta, duchess dowager of Saxe-Cobourg. She was a daughter of Ferdinand Albert, duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, and born 1724.

12th. On board the Tisiphone, at sea, whither he had been ordered by his physicians for the benefit of his health, which had for some time past been in a very dangerous state, lord Hugh Seymour, vice-admiral of the blue, commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station, and M. P. for Portsmouth. He had been attacked by the fatal fever of that clime about the middle of the summer, from which he had but a short and temporary respite, as it returned with increased violence on the 1st of September, and on the 12th, in the 46th year of his age, deprived the service of a gallant and meritorious commander, and society of an estimable member. He has left a family of seven orphan children to lament the severity of their loss, from whom their mother, lady Horatio, had but a few months previously been taken off. His lordship was third brother to the marquis of Hertford; made post in 1779, and commanded the Leviathan, of 74 guns, in the memorable action of June 1, 1794, when he captured the Sans Pariel, of 98 guns, in which ship, on being promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, he hoisted his flag in June, 1795, where it continued to fly till his death. He became, shortly afterwards, one of the lords of the admiralty, but soon quitted that official appointment for the command of the leeward island station; whence, after his conquest of Surinam, he succeeded to the chief command of the Jamaica station, where he closed his honourable career of public services.

Lady Louisa Isabella Bridgeman, daughter of Edmund Boyle, earl of Cork and Orrery, in Ireland, and baron Boyle, in England. Her ladyship married, 1792, the hon. and rev. George Bridgeman, brother of

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of Orlando, lord Bradford, by whom she has left issue.

The most noble Arthur, marquis of Downshire, earl of Hillsborough, viscount Kilwarlin, viscount Hillsborough, baron Hill, in Ireland, earl of Hillsborough, viscount Fairford, baron Harwich, in England, hereditary constable of Hillsborough Fort, governor of the county of Down, and LL. D. He was born in London, 1753, and married, 1785, Mary Sandys, niece of Edwin lord Sandys, baron of Ombersley (on whose decease without issue the estates of Ombersley, in Worcestershire, accrued to the marchioness,) and has left issue Arthur Blundell Sandys Turnball Hill, earl of Hillsborough, now marquis of Downshire, born 1788, at the marquis's house, in Hanover Square; lord Anthony, born 1792, and two daughters. The marquis was the chief representative of his noble house, in Ireland, the younger branch of which is represented by viscount Dungannon, and was the only son of Wills, marquis of Downshire, principal secretary of state, 1768, for the American department, better known by the title of earl of Hillsborough, by the lady Margaretta Fitzgerald, sister of James, duke of Leinster; and of his sisters, the eldest, lady Mary, is the present marchioness of Salisbury, the youngest, lady Charlotte, is now countess dowager Talbot. His lordship entered early into the army, and was in service in the time of the American war. On the decease of his father, in 1793, he succeeded to the honours and the large estates in both kingdoms, and led a very useful life between his mansion in Ireland, and his seats in this country, attending to his senatorial duties in the two houses of lords. Immediately after the close of the last session of the present parliament, his lordship returned to Ireland, where his death took place, which was occasioned by a severe attack of the gout in his stomach.

13th. Major William Bulkeley, of the invalid establishment at Chelsea Hospital.

18th. Sir Christopher Sykes, bart., so created March 4, 1783, LL. D., and in the commission of the peace for the East Riding of the county of York,

Lady Elizabeth Kemp, wife of the rev. Dr. Kemp, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and sister to the earl of Hopetoun.

19th. In his 80th year, the rev. Richard Rothwell, of St. John's College, Cambridge; B. A., 1744; M. A., 1746; supposed to have died possessed of property to the amount of 300,000*l.*

In his 90th year, Mr. J. Large. He was the father of 13 children, nine of whom are now living, with 58 grandchildren, and 33 great-grandchildren, all together 111, exclusive of those who have been united to the family by marriage, amounting to 25, making, in the whole, 126 persons.

20th. Sir John Gresham, bart., of Titsey, near Godstone, Surrey, descended from sir John, uncle to sir Thomas, who built the Royal Exchange. He was the sixth baronet, and succeeded his elder brother, Charles, who died without issue; and sir John leaving none, though he married, 1765, Henrietta Maria, eldest daughter of sir Henry Clayton, bart., and sister of sir Robert, the family is extinct.

24th. Thomas St. Lawrence, earl of Howth, viscount St. Lawrence, and twenty-seventh baron Howth, originally

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originally by tenure, and afterwards by patent, one of his majesty's most honourable privy counsellors in Ireland, governor of the county of Dublin, &c. &c. His lordship was born in 1730; succeeded to the barony in 1748, on the death of his father, William, the twenty-sixth lord; and, in 1767, was advanced to the dignities of viscount St. Lawrence and earl of Howth. Thomas earl of Howth had issue, by Isabella King, sister of Edward earl of Kingston, three sons and three daughters, viz. 1. William, lord St. Lawrence, now earl of Howth, married, 1777, to the lady Mary Bermingham, second daughter and coheiress of Thomas earl of Louth, and twenty-second lord Athenry (on whose decease without issue male the baronry of Athenry became in abeyance between his three daughters,) and has issue four daughters, viz. ladies Harriet, Isabella, Matilda, and Mary; 2. Thomas, in holy orders, dean of Cork; 3. Henry, in the army, deceased; 4. Isabella, married, 1773, to Dudley lord Sidney, in Ireland, who dying without issue, that barony became extinct; 5. Lady Elizabeth, married, 1786, to colonel Irwin; 6. Lady Frances.

26th. At the hot wells, Bristol, in his 25th year, lord Augustus Fitzroy, fourth son of the duke of Grafton, post captain in the royal navy, and late commander of his majesty's ship L'Oiseau.

October 1st. In his 48th year, the rev. Lionel Smythe, seventh viscount Strangford; born 1753; entered early into the army, and served many campaigns in North America, but retired from the military profession, and, in 1785, took holy orders, and was presented, 1788, by George, marquis of Buckingham, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to the living of Kilbrew, in the diocese of Meath. He married at New York, Sept. 5, 1779, Maria Eliza, eldest daughter of Frederick Philips, esq., of that province, and had by her two sons and two daughters, viz. Percy, born 1780; Lionel, 1783; Eliza, 1781; and Louisa, 1785. He succeeded his father in 1787.

In his 9th year, sir William Hay, bart. The title devolves to his cousin, the infant son of the late colonel Lewis Hay, who was killed at the landing of the British troops at Helder.

10th. Suddenly, at Bassingbourne Hall, near Dunmow, in the county of Essex, one of the seats of sir P. Parker, where he had resided two years, for the benefit of his health, his grace Dr. Robert Fowler, archbishop of Dublin twenty-one years, being first appointed bishop of Killaloe, 1771, under the administration of lord Townshend, and translated to Dublin, 1778, under that of lord Buckingham. He was of Trinity College, Cambridge; B. A., 1747, M. A., 1751, S. T. P., 1764. He has left one son, the present archdeacon of Dublin, and two daughters, the one countess of Kilkenny, and the other the wife of the hon. and rev. Richard Bourke, dean of Ardagh, brother to the earl of Mayo.

Rev. Mr. Almosino, supreme judge, in ecclesiastical matters, within the pale of the Portuguese Jews' synagogue.

At Sutton-on-the-Forest, near York, aged 82, the rev. Henry Goodricke, prebendary of Grindall in that cathedral, rector of Hunsingore, and vicar of Aldborough, both in that county, and younger brother

brother of the late sir John Goodricke, bart., of Ribston Park. He was a gentleman long and well known on the turf; kept many fine race horses, some of the best now existing; but, in respect for his clerical character, he always ran them in the names of some other gentlemen.

Lady Hannah Stratford, eldest daughter of John, earl of Aldborough, and sister of Edward, the late earl.

In his 60th year, John Brown, the senior associate engraver of the Royal Academy, to which situation he was elected about thirty years ago, nearly at the same time with Chambers and Ravenet, who were both associate engravers, and soon after the institution of the Royal Academy, which obtained the patronage of his majesty in 1768. Brown, in his early youth, had a great propensity to the arts, and, about the year 1755, was apprenticed to J. Tinney, an engraver and print seller in Fleet Street, who was also master to Anthony Walker and William Woollett. Tinney dying during Brown's apprenticeship, Woollett, who was about six years older, and who at that time had made a considerable progress in his profession, took Brown under his tuition, and, in the course of a few years, he very much assisted Woollett in etching the landscapes of several of his most celebrated prints, particularly his large plate of Celadon and Amelia, the Jocund Peasants, and its companions, &c. &c. Brown first distinguished himself by a large landscape he engraved of St. John preaching in the wilderness, the figures of which were engraved by Hall. Indeed, Brown's talent lay principally in landscapes, particularly in etching them; the boldness, brilliancy, and beautiful variety of which were very much in Woollett's manner, and perhaps equal in merit to any produced by that celebrated engraver, and inferior to none in this country, except those executed by Vivares, the taste of whose foliage, &c. surpasses all competition.

Nov. At Nice, Jos. de Beauchamp, born in 1732; entered, 1767, into the order of Bernardines, and took his departure for Asia in 1781, with his uncle, who was appointed bishop of Babylon. In this his first voyage, he steered his course along the Tigris and Euphrates, from Diarbeker to the Persian Gulph. He made a collection of medals, inscriptions, and designs of the monuments of ancient Babylon, as well as Arabic manuscripts, which he presented to the Abbé Barthelemy. Of his account of the ruins of Babylon, the reader will find a translation in our Register for 1793, vol. xxxv, page 352. In 1787, he made a second voyage upon the Caspian sea. He was beaten by robbers, says citizen Lalande, and contracted a fever, which lasted eighteen months; but it did not prevent him from continuing his voyage. It was in the course of this voyage that he observed the most important eclipse of the moon of which the history of astronomy preserves any remembrance. In 1795, he made a third voyage: and, through the means of citizen Volney, he was appointed consul at Mascate, in Arabia; at which place, however, he never arrived, being taken by the English, with whom he remained three years a captive. The peace having at length given him his liberty, he arrived sick at Nice, where he died at

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at the moment when the first consul had appointed him commissary-general at Lisbon.

18th. Aged 55, James Hugh Smyth Barry, esq., of Belmont, in Cheshire. He was of the noble house of the earls of Barrymore in Ireland, and his father was the hon. John Smyth Barry, fourth and youngest son of James earl of Barrymore, grandfather of Richard the present earl. Mr. Barrymore was next in succession to the earldom of Barrymore after the hon. Augustus Barry, only brother of the present lord, who, as baron Barry of Olethan, ranks as one of the most ancient peers in the three kingdoms. His family estates in England and Ireland amounted to 25,000*l.* per annum; to which, in case of his dying without a will, the present earl of Barrymore was heir at law. Considerable estates devolved to him through his mother, Dorothy, eldest daughter and coheiress of Hugh Smyth, esq., of Weald Hall, Essex.

20th. Lady Juliana Penn, fourth daughter of Thomas, first and late earl of Pomfret, and relict of the late hon. Thomas Penn, of Braywick, Berks, formerly an hereditary proprietor of Pennsylvania, to whom she was married 1751, and who died 1775, leaving by her a son, John, sheriff of Bucks, 1799, and several daughters.

24th. At Vienna, aged 77, field-marshal count Lascey, a knight of the golden fleece, privy counsellor of the emperor, a knight of the military order of Maria Theresa, minister of state and of conferences, general field-marshal, and proprietor of a regiment of cuirassiers. He was born at St. Petersburgh, October 21, 1725, and descended of one of the most ancient families of Normandy, which followed William the Conqueror to England. A hundred years afterwards, under the reign of Henry II, his branch of the family established itself in Ireland, and occupied the first departments in the state. Peter de Lascey, count of the holy empire, left Ireland with James II, in 1698, and entered into the service of France, which he quitted for that of Russia, in which he died, when field-marshal and governor of Livonia. His son, Francis Maurice, of whom we are now speaking, quitted Russia in 1735, and was educated at Vienna, where, having had the honour of being presented to the reigning empress queen, she appointed him her chamberlain in 1741, and in 1743 he was a cornet in the Austrian service. He made his first campaign in 1744, as adjutant to count Browné, and was made a captain after the battle of Valetri, when he distinguished himself in a very particular manner. In the following campaigns against Prussia, he was at the battles of Strigau, Trauman, Resseldorf; and, in Italy, was in the battle of Piacenza, afterwards at the taking of Genoa, and soon after at the battle of Rancoux. In 1748, he was shut up in Maestricht, and was relieved only by the peace, from that disagreeable position. In 1753, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, in recompense for the services he performed in the seven years' war. In 1758, he was appointed field-marshal-lieutenant, after having relieved the city of Olmutz; and received, in the same year, the grand cross of the order of Maria Theresa. In 1760, he commanded at the battle of Torgau; and, in 1766, was made field-marshal,

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shal, president of the council of war, &c. &c. The part that great general acted in the campaign spoken of has been too conspicuous and well-known to require any details. His military skill was equal to his bravery, and his whole life a series of glorious achievements.

27th. Aged 70, lady Elizabeth Noel, eldest daughter of Baptist, fourth earl of Gainsborough, who died 1750; sister to the two last earls; and was born 1731.

Aged about 70, Joseph earl of Wiltown, viscount Russborough of Russeltown, and baron of Russborough. He was the eldest son of Joseph the late earl, by Cecilia Leigh, his first countess, whom he succeeded in the honours 1783; but his lordship dying unmarried, the earldom devolves to the hon. Brice Leeson.

At Turnham Green, Mr. Armstrong, the celebrated sheriff's officer. He was at the top of his profession as a bailiff many years; and, in that time, had several *touching* interviews with nearly all the dashing characters of the last half century. He retired with a fortune of not less than 60,000*l.* and built a house on Turnham Green, whence he banished his next door neighbour, sir Francis Buller, who did not like to be thus elbowed by a subaltern of the law. Mr. Armstrong's fortune devolves to his two sons-in-law, the one Mr. Dyson, son of the late solicitor to the admiralty, the other a respectable farmer in Kent.

Dec. William Hamilton, esq., R. A. He attended the Royal Academy, on Nov. 26, as a monthly visiter, in perfect health; but, on his return home in the evening, was seized with the fever of which he died. His remains were interred in St. Anne's Church, attended by many members of the Royal Academy.

The right hon. sir John Parnell, bart., one of his majesty's privy-counsellors in England and Ireland, representative in the imperial parliament for the Queen's county, and formerly chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland. He succeeded to the title, 1782, on the decease of his father, sir John, one of the judges of the king's bench, and married Letitia Charlotte, youngest daughter and coheiress of the right hon. sir Arthur Brooke, bart., and sister of Selina, lady viscountess de Vesey, and has left issue. He was descended from the ancient family of the Parnells of Cheshire, who removed to Ireland soon after the restoration, and was great nephew of the poet Parnell.

7th. At Paris, Charles John Clarke, esq., of Hitchin Priory, in the county of Herts. His death was in consequence of an injury he received, Nov. 9, by the fall of a temporary building on which he was seated to view some fireworks. The first consul, on hearing of the accident, sent his own surgeon to attend him, with a message, that, as soon as his recovery would admit the presence of a stranger, he would pay him a visit. On the 30th of November he wrote to a friend in London, that he hoped in a few days to proceed to the warm baths of Italy; but died of a mortification, the spine of his back being irrecoverably injured. Mr. Clarke was the only son of a sister of the late Edward Ratcliffe, esq., of Hitchin Priory, and succeeded to that very large estate on the death of another sister's son, sir Charles T. Radcliffe.

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The most noble Letitia, marchioness of Antrim. Her ladyship was the eldest daughter of Hervey, viscount Montmorres; and was first married to the honourable Arthur Trevor, son of Arthur, viscount Dungannon, and by him (who, dying before his father, never attained the title,) was mother of the present lord. The marchioness married, secondly, 1774, Randal, marquis of Antrim, knight of the order of the bath; and had issue Anne Catharine Macdonnell, countess of Antrim, (who succeeded to that title on the decease of her father, but the marquisate became extinct,) and lady of sir Henry Vane, bart. of Wynyard, in the county of Durham, chief of that family, from the younger branches of which descend the earls of Westmorland and Darlington.

William Edwardes, lord Kensington. He has left issue an only son, William, born 1777, now lord Kensington. His lordship was the grandson and heir of Edward Henry, earl of Warwick and Holland, and baron Kensington, on whose decease, 1759, the titles became extinct; but the estates devolved to the issue of the lady Elizabeth Rich by Francis Edwardes, esq. William, the only surviving son of the lady Elizabeth, being the representative of the earls of Warwick, was, in 1776, created to the barony of Kensington; but the earldom of Warwick was conferred on the Grevilles. William lord Kensington was, at the period of his death, at the advanced age of 90, from which he was usually called the father of the house of commons, being the oldest member of that house.

Lady of sir Thomas Roberts, bart.

Of apoplexy, with which he was struck while walking in the electoral park, and passed a very cold night in the open air, in a state of insensibility, though when found in the morning he was still alive, Nauman, master of the electoral chapel at Dresden, and one of the first composers in Germany.

Of a malignant fever, at Chateauneuf, in the department of Saone and Loire, in the house of citizen Dree, his brother-in-law, the celebrated Dolomieu, member of the French national institute.

Aged 38, the rev. James Hurdis, B. D., of Magdalen College, Oxford, M. A., 1787, and fellow of that college; elected professor of poetry in that university 1793. Mr. Hurdis has distinguished himself, both as a poet and divine, in the following publications: "The Village Curate," 1788, 4to.; a volume of poems, 8vo.; "A short critical Disquisition on the true Meaning of the Word *tanninim*, found in Gen. i, 21," 1790, when he was curate of Burwarsh, Sussex, on parting from the inhabitants of which he addressed to them "Reflections on the Commencement of a new Year," 1793; "Cursory Remarks on the Arrangement of Shakespeare's Plays, occasioned by reading Mr. Malone's Essay on the chronological Order of those celebrated Pieces;" "Select critical Remarks upon the English Version of the Ten first Chapters of Genesis," 1794; to which his critical dissertation on Gen. i, 21, above mentioned, which met the approbation of the present bishop of Salisbury, was intended as a preliminary specimen. His last publication was "The Favourite Village, a poem," 1801, 4to.

25th. At Hadley, in her 75th year, deserving

deserving a high rank on the roll of British literati, Mrs. H. Chapone; to whom the literary world is indebted for many valuable works on education, and elegant pieces of poetry.

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26th. At Edinburgh, Andrew Lumisden, esq., at the advanced age of 81 years, in the full possession of all his faculties; distinguished as a man by courteous manners, an amiable disposition, integrity of character, a steady but unaffected adherence to all the rules of decorum; and, as an author, by a work, entitled, "Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome and its Environs*."

During a residence of twenty years in that seat of the fine arts, he collected his materials, not from books alone, but also from a minute examination and exact survey of the objects he meant to describe. His work, beside the general merit of a perspicuous style, correct arrangement and descriptions, always accurate, and sometimes novel, possesses a merit not often met with except in Addison, that the antiquities he describes illustrate the classics, and the classics he quotes illustrate the antiquities.

He passed almost the whole of his life in Rome, Paris, London, or Edinburgh, where his literary talents and pleasing manners rendered him a welcome visitor in the circles of the polite and learned world.

30th. At Lyons, at a dinner given by Talleyrand to the notables, Visconti, archbishop of Milan, eighty-two years of age, to all appearance in good health, and very lively. He had scarcely sat down, when leaning towards Talleyrand to speak to him, he expired on his seat. Moscate, a celebrated physician, who was one of the company, endeavoured in vain to restore him to life; his heart had instantly ceased to beat. He was remarkable for the mildness of his character, and the beauty of his person; he did not hesitate, at his time of life, to leave his country, and to traverse Mount Cenis, for the purpose of meeting the representatives of his country, and the first consul of France, at Lyons. He was a descendant of the ancient sovereign dukes of Milan, who, from having abandoned their principality to Sforza, in repugnance to the interest of Lewis of Orleans, the husband of Valentina Visconti, gave rise to those wars in the Milanese which, for a long period, rendered that country the burial place of the French.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year* 1801.

Bedfordshire. Stephen Raymond, of Potton, esq.

Berks. Onisephorous Elliott Elliott, of Binfield, esq.

Bucks. Edward Bury, of Iver, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire. Richard Eaton, of Stetchworth, esq.

Cheshire. John Scott Waring, of Ince, esq.

Cumberland. Sir Wilfred Lawson, of Brayton Hall, bart.

Derbyshire. Richard Arkwright, of Cromford, esq.

Devonshire. Peter Bluet, of Halcombe Regis, esq.

Dorsetshire. Thomas Rose Drewe, of Wootton Fitzpayne, esq.

Essex. John Archer Houblon, of Hallingbury Place, esq.

* Some short extracts from this work we gave in our Register for 1797, vol. xxxix, p. 421.

Gloucestershire.

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Gloucestershire. John Brown, of Salperton, esq.

Herefordshire. John Skip, of Ledbury, esq.

Hertfordshire. Thomas Fitzherbert, of Shenley, esq.

Kent. Edward Austen, of Godmersham, esq.

Leicestershire. Thomas March Phillips, of Garendon, esq.

Lincolnshire. Charles Mainwaring, of Goltho, esq.

Monmouthshire. Thomas Williams, of Chepstow, esq.

Norfolk. Robert Marsham, of Stratton Strawless, esq.

Northamptonshire. Joseph Sibley, of Northampton, esq.

Northumberland. Sir Charles Miles Lambert Monck, of Belsay Castle, bart.

Nottinghamshire. William Elliott Elliott, of Nottingham, esq.

Oxfordshire. George Clarke, of Clusterton, esq.

Rutlandshire. William Kemp, of Belton, esq.

Shropshire. Thomas Clarke, of Peplow, esq.

Somersetshire. John Band, of Wookey, esq.

Staffordshire. Thomas Bainbrigge, of Woodseat, esq.

Southampton. Willam Garrett, of Leigh House, esq.

Suffolk. Charles Steyneham Collinson, of Sproughton, esq.

Surrey. Bryan Barret, of Stockwell, esq.

Sussex. William Borrer, of Hurst Pierpoint, esq.

Warwickshire. John Stanton, of Kenelworth, esq.

Wilts. Thomas Bush, of Bradford, esq.

Worcestershire. Thomas Phillips, of Broadway, esq.

Yorkshire. Richard Thompson, of Weatherley Grange, esq.

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SOUTH WALES.

Brecon. Matthew Gwyn, of Abercrave, esq.

Carmarthen. Edward Richard Shewen, of Strady, esq.

Cardigan. John Williams, of Castle Hill, esq.

Glamorgan. Robert Jones, of Fonmon Castle, esq.

Pembroke. Morgan Jones, of Kilwendoy, esq.

Radnor. Hugh Powell Evans, of Noyadd, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesea. John Price, of Wern, esq.

Caernarvon. William Harvey, of Bodvel, esq.

Denbigh. John Meredith Mostyn, of Segroit, esq.

Flint. David Pennant, of Downing, esq.

Merioneth. Jonathan Passingham, of Hendwr, esq.

Montgomery. Joseph Lyon, of Vavor Park, esq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year* 1801.

Cornwall. Edward Collins, of Truthan, esq.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

London Gazette Extraordinary, April 15, 1801.

Letter from Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Commander-in-chief of a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships employed on a particular Service, to Evan Nepean, Esq.; dated on Board the London, in Copenhagen Rouds, the 6th Instant.

Sir,

YOU will be pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that since my letter of the 23d of March, no opportunity of wind offered for going up the Sound until the 25th, when the wind shifted in a most violent squall from the S. W. to the N. W. and N., and blew with such violence, and with so great a sea, as to render it impossible for any ship to have weighed her anchor. The wind and sea were even so violent as to oblige many ships to let go a second anchor to prevent them from driving, notwithstanding they were riding with two cables an end; and, by the morning, the wind veered again to the southward of the west.

On the 30th of last month, the wind having come to the northward, we passed into the Sound with the fleet, but not before I had assured myself of the hostile intentions of the Danes to oppose our passage, as the papers marked Nos. I, II, III, and IV, will prove: after this intercourse, there could be no doubt remaining of their determination to resist.

After anchoring about five or six miles from the island of Huin, I reconnoitred, with vice-admiral lord Nelson and rear admiral Graves, the formidable line of ships, radeaus, pontoons, galleys, fire-ships, and gun-boats, flanked and supported by extensive batteries on the two islands called the Crowns; the largest of which was mounted with from 50 to 70 pieces of cannon: these were again commanded by two ships of 70 guns, and a large frigate in the inner road of Copenhagen, and two 64 gun ships (without masts) were moored on the flat, on the starboard side of the entrance into the arsenal.

The day after, the wind being southerly, we again examined their position, and came to the resolution of attacking them from the southward.

Vice-admiral lord Nelson having offered his services for conducting the attack, had, some days before we entered the Sound, shifted his flag to the Elephant; and after having examined and buoyed the outer channel of the Middle Ground, his

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lordship proceeded with the twelve ships of the line named in the margin*, all the frigates, bombs, fire-ships, and all the small vessels; and that evening anchored off Draco Point, to make his disposition for the attack, and wait for the wind to the southward.

It was agreed between us, that the ships remaining with me should weigh at the same moment his lordship did, and menace the Crown batteries, and the four ships of the line that lay at the entrance of the arsenal; as also to cover our disabled ships as they came out of action.

I have now the honour to enclose a copy of vice-admiral lord Nelson's report to me of the action on the 2d instant. His lordship has stated so fully the whole of his proceedings on that day, as only to leave me the opportunity to testify my entire acquiescence and testimony of the bravery and intrepidity with which the action was supported throughout the line.

Was it possible for me to add any thing to the well earned renown of lord Nelson, it would be by asserting, that his exertions, great as they have heretofore been, never were carried to a higher pitch of zeal for his country's service.

I have only to lament that the sort of attack, confined within an intricate and narrow passage, excluded the ships, particularly under my command, from the opportunity of exhibiting their valour: but I can, with great truth, assert, that the same spirit and zeal animated the whole of the fleet; and I trust, that the contest in which we are engaged, will, on some future day, afford them an occasion of showing that the whole were inspired with the same spirit, had the field been sufficiently extensive to have brought it into action.

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It is with the deepest concern I mention the loss of captains Mosse and Riou, two very brave and gallant officers, and whose loss, as I am well informed, will be sensibly felt by the families they have left behind them; the former a wife and children, the latter an aged mother.

From the known gallantry of sir Thomas Thompson on former occasions, the naval service will have to regret the loss of the future exertions of that brave officer, whose leg was shot off.

For all other particulars I beg leave to refer their lordships to captain Otway, who was with lord Nelson in the latter part of the action, and able to answer any questions that may be thought necessary to be put to him. A return of the killed and wounded you will receive herewith.

I have the honour to be, &c.
H. Parker.

P. S. The promotions and appointments that have taken place on this occasion, will be sent by the next opportunity that offers; but I cannot close this without acquainting their lordships, that captain Mosse being killed very early in the action, lieutenant John Yelland continued it with the greatest spirit and good conduct: I must, therefore, in justice to his merit, beg leave to recommend him to their lordships' favour.

* Elephant, Defiance, Monarch, Bellona, Edgar, Russell, Gauges, Glatton, Isis, Agamemnon, Polyphemus, Ardent.

No.

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No. I.

London, in the Categat, 27th March.

From the hostile transactions of the court of Denmark, sending away his Britannic majesty's chargé d'affaires, the commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet is anxious to know what the determination of the Danish court is, and whether the commanding officer of Cronberg Castle has received orders to fire upon the British fleet as they pass into the Sound, as he must deem the firing of the first gun a declaration of war on the part of Denmark.

(Signed) Hyde Parker.

No. II.

Answer.

Cronberg Castle, March 28.

In answer to the admiral's honoured letter, I have to inform him, that no orders are given to fire on the English fleet; an express is gone to Copenhagen, and should any orders be sent, I shall immediately send an officer on board to inform the admiral.

(Signed) Stricker, governor.

No. III.

Cronberg Castle, March 28.

In answer to your excellency's letter, which I did not receive till the following day, at half-past eight, I have the honour to inform you, that his majesty the king of Denmark did not send away the chargé d'affaires, but that upon his own demand he obtained a passport.

As a soldier, I cannot meddle with politics; but I am not at liberty to suffer a fleet, whose intention is not yet known, to approach the guns of the castle which I have the honour to command.

In case your excellency should think proper to make any proposals to his majesty the king of Denmark, I wish to be informed thereof, before the fleet approaches nearer to the castle. An explicit answer is desired.

(Signed) Stricker.

No. IV.

Answer.

On board the London, March 29, One A. M.

Sir,

In answer to your excellency's note just now received, the undersigned has only to reply, that finding the intentions of the court of Denmark to be hostile against his Britannic majesty, he regards the answer as a declaration of war, and therefore, agreeably to his instructions, can no longer refrain from hostilities, however reluctant it may be to his feelings; but at the same time will be ready to attend to any proposals of the court of Denmark for restoring the former amity and friendship which had for so many years subsisted between the two courts.

(Signed) H. Parker.

His excellency the governor of Cronberg Castle.

Elephant, off Copenhagen, April 3.

Sir,

In obedience to your directions to report the proceedings of the

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squadron named in the margin *, which you did me the honour to place under my command, I beg leave to inform you, that having, by the assistance of that able officer captain Riou, and the unremitting exertions of captain Brisbane, and the masters of the Amazon and Cruiser in particular, buoyed the channel of the Outer Deep, and the position of the Middle Ground, the squadron passed in safety, and anchored off Draco the evening of the first; and that yesterday morning I made the signal for the squadron to weigh, and to engage the Danish line, consisting of six sail of the line, eleven floating batteries, mounting from twenty-six 24-pounders to eighteen 18-pounders, and one bomb-ship, besides schooner gun-vessels.

These were supported by the Crown islands, mounting 88 cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, and some batteries on the island of Amak.

The bomb-ship and schooner gun-vessels made their escape; the other seventeen sail are sunk, burnt, or taken, being the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown islands, after a battle of four hours.

From the very intricate navigation, the Bellona and Russell unfortunately grounded, but although not in the situation assigned them, yet so placed as to be of great service. The Agamemnon could not weather the shoal of the Middle, and was obliged to anchor; but not the smallest blame can be attached to captain Fancourt; it was an event to which all the ships were liable. These accidents prevented the extension of our line by the three ships before mentioned, who would, I am confident, have silenced the Crown islands, the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth, and prevented the heavy loss in the Defiance and Monarch, and which unhappily threw the gallant and good captain Riou (to whom I had given the command of the frigates and sloops named in the margin †, to assist in the attack of the ships at the harbour's mouth) under a very heavy fire: the consequence has been the death of captain Riou, and many brave officers and men in the frigates and sloops.

The bombs were directed and took their stations abreast of the Elephant, and threw some shells into the arsenal.

Captain Rose, who volunteered his services to direct the gun-brigs, did every thing that was possible to get them forward, but the current was too strong for them to be of service during the action; but not the less merit is due to captain Rose, and, I believe, all the officers and crews of the gun-brigs, for their exertions.

The boats of those ships of the fleet, who were not ordered on the attack, afforded us every assistance; and the officers and men who were in them merit my warmest approbation.

The Desirée took her station in raking the southernmost Danish ship

* Elephant, Defiance, Monarch, Bellona, Edgar, Russell, Ganges, Glatton, Isis, Agamemnon, Polyphemus, Ardent, Amazon, Desirée, Blanche, Alcmene; sloops, Dart, Arrow, Cruiser, and Harpy; fire-ships, Zephyr and Otter; bombs, Discovery, Sulphur, Hecla, Explosion, Zebra, Terror, and Volcano.

† Blanche, Alcmene, Dart, Arrow, Zephyr, and Otter.

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of the line, and performed the greatest service.

The action began at five minutes past ten. The van, led by captain George Murray of the Edgar, who set a noble example of intrepidity, which was as well followed up by every captain, officer, and man in the squadron.

It is my duty to state to you the high and distinguished merit and gallantry of rear-admiral Graves.

To captain Foley, who permitted me the honour of hoisting my flag in the Elephant, I feel under the greatest obligations; his advice was necessary on many and important occasions during the battle.

I beg leave to express how much I feel indebted to every captain, officer, and man, for their zeal and distinguished bravery on this occasion. The honourable colonel Stewart did me the favour to be on board the Elephant; and himself, with every officer and soldier under his orders, shared with pleasure in the toils and dangers of the day.

The loss in such a battle has naturally been very heavy. Amongst many other brave officers and men who were killed, I have with sorrow to place the name of captain Mosse, of the Monarch, who has left a wife and six children to lament his loss; and among the wounded, that of captain sir Thomas B. Thompson, of the Bellona.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Nelson and Bronte.

London Gazette, April 21, 1801.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed on a particular Service, to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary of the Admiralty; dated on Board his Majesty's Ship London, in Copenhagen Road, the 9th of April.

Sir,

The honourable lieutenant-colonel Stewart having volunteered his services by being the bearer of these dispatches, I have accepted thereof, on a belief that it will be more expeditious than by sea.

I have the pleasure to transmit an armistice concluded between the court of Denmark and myself.

I mean, as soon as the disabled ships are refitted, and the worst of the wounded moved into the Holstein Danish ship of the line, which I have commissioned as an hospital ship, to proceed over the Grounds into the Baltic, to put into execution the remaining part of my instructions.

The Isis and Monarch being found in so bad a state from the late action, as to render it necessary to send them to England, to have their damages repaired; I shall send them home for that purpose with the Holstein hospital ship, which has the wounded and sick on board.

The Danish government on the one hand, and admiral sir Hyde Parker, knight, commander-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's naval forces in the Road of Copenhagen, on the other, being, from motives of humanity, equally anxious to put a stop to the farther effusion of blood, and to save the city of Copenhagen from the disastrous consequences which may attend a farther prosecution of hostilities against that city, have mutually agreed upon a military armistice or suspension of arms.

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His Danish majesty having for that purpose appointed major-general Ernest Frederick Walterstorff, chamberlain to his Danish majesty, and colonel of a regiment, and adjutant-general Hans Lindholm, captain in his Danish majesty's navy, his commissioners for agreeing about the terms of the said armistice; and admiral sir Hyde Parker, knight, having, with the same view, duly authorized the right hon. Horatio lord Nelson, of the Nile, knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, duke of Bronte, in Sicily, knight of the grand cross of the order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, and of the imperial order of the Crescent, vice-admiral in the fleet of his Britannic majesty, and the honourable William Stewart, lieutenant-colonel in his Britannic majesty's service, and commanding a detachment of his Britannic majesty's forces embarked; these said commissioners having met this day, and having exchanged their respective powers, have agreed upon the following terms:

Art. I. From the moment of the signature of this armistice, all hostilities shall immediately cease between the fleet under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker, and the city of Copenhagen, and all the armed ships and vessels of his Danish majesty in the road or harbour of that city, as likewise between the different islands and provinces of Denmark, Jutland included.

Art. II. The armed ships and vessels belonging to his Danish majesty shall remain in their present actual situation as to armament, equipment, and hostile position, and the treaty commonly understood as the treaty of armed neutrality, shall, as far as relates to the cooperation of Denmark, be suspended while the armistice remains in force.

On the other side, the armed ships and vessels under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker, shall in no manner whatsoever molest the city of Copenhagen, or his Danish majesty's armed ships and vessels on the coasts of the different islands and provinces of Denmark, Jutland included; and, in order to avoid every thing which might otherwise create uneasiness or jealousy, sir Hyde Parker shall not suffer any of the ships or vessels under his command, to approach within gun-shot of the armed ships or fort of his Danish majesty in the road of Copenhagen. This restriction shall not, however, extend to vessels necessarily passing or repassing through the Casper or King's Channel.

Art. III. This armistice is to protect the city of Copenhagen, as also the coasts of Denmark, of Jutland, and islands included, against the attack of any other naval force which his Britannic majesty may now or hereafter, during its remaining in force, have in these seas.

Art. IV. The fleet of admiral sir Hyde Parker shall be permitted to provide itself at Copenhagen, and along the coasts of the different islands and provinces of Denmark, and Jutland included, with every thing which it may require for the health and comfort of its crews.

Art. V. Admiral sir Hyde Parker shall send on shore all such subjects of his Danish majesty as are now on board the British fleet under his command, the Danish government engaging to give an acknowledgement for them, as also for all such wounded as were permitted to be landed after the action of the 2d instant,

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instant, in order that they may be accounted for in favour of Great Britain, in the unfortunate event of the renewal of hostilities.

Art. VI. The coasting trade carried on by Denmark, along all such parts of her coast as are included in the operation of this armistice, shall be unmolested by any British ships or vessels whatever, and instructions given accordingly by admiral sir Hyde Parker.

Art. VII. This armistice is to continue uninterrupted by the contracting parties for the space of fourteen weeks from the signature hereof, at the expiration of which time, it shall be in the power of either of the said parties to declare a cessation of the same, and to recommence hostilities upon giving fourteen days previous notice.

The conditions of this armistice are upon all occasions to be explained in the most liberal and loyal manner, so as to remove all ground for future disputes, and facilitate the means of bringing about the restoration of harmony and good understanding between the two kingdoms.

In faith whereof, we, the undersigned commissioners, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present armistice, and have affixed to it the seal of our arms.

Done on board his Britannic majesty's ship the London, in Copenhagen Roads, April the 9th, 1801.

(Signed) (L. S.) Nelson and Bronte.
(L. S.) William Stewart.
(L. S.) Ernest Frederick Walterstorff.
(L. S.) Hans Lindholm.

In pursuance of my above mentioned authority, I ratify this document with my hand.

(L. S.) Frederick.

Ratified by me,

(L. S.) Hyde Parker.

Admiral and commander-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's fleet.

London Gazette Extraordinary, May 3, 1801.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Ralph Abercromby to the Earl of Elgin: dated Camp before Alexandria, the 16th of March.

My lord,

On the 1st instant the fleet arrived in sight of Alexandria; on the 2d it anchored in Aboukir Bay; the weather did not permit any debarkation before the 8th; on that day it was happily effected under the most trying circumstances. The boats had near a mile to row, and were for some time under the fire of fifteen pieces of artillery, and the musketry of 2,500 men; still the intrepidity of the troops overcame every difficulty. We took eight pieces of cannon.

On the 9th, the remainder of the army was landed. On the 12th, we marched forwards to within two leagues of Alexandria, and one league of the enemy, who were advantageously posted on a ridge, with their right to the canal of Alexandria, and their left to the sea. On the 13th we moved forward to attack the enemy, and to turn their left. They did not, however, wait, but came down and attacked us. The action was warm; but the enemy were every where forced under the walls of Alexandria. Our loss is considerable. Although colonel

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lonel Erskine is wounded, he is doing well. He has lost a leg. His regiment gained great credit, but suffered severely. No officer of rank is killed or dangerously wounded. Excuse this scrawl, written on my knee.

R. Abercromby.

London Gazette, May 9, 1801.

Letter from General Sir Ralph Abercromby, K.B., Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Troops serving in the Mediterranean, to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

Camp before Alexandria, March 16.

Sir,

Although it was not originally my intention to have commenced the operations of the British army in Egypt on the side of Alexandria, yet circumstances arose which induced me to change my opinion. We were much longer delayed on the coast of Asia Minor, than we had at first any reason to apprehend; and we were ultimately obliged to sail from Marmarice in a very imperfect state of preparation. I am fully sensible of the exertions of his majesty's ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, as well as of the quartermaster-general, and the other officers who were sent forward to provide for the necessities of the army. Our delays originated from other causes. For a considerable time previous to our sailing the weather was extremely boisterous, and the wind contrary. The moment that it became practicable to sail with so large a fleet, lord Keith put to sea; we left Marmarice on the 22d of February, and came in sight of Alexandria on the 1st of March.

On the 2d the fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay. Until the 7th the sea ran high, and no disembarkation could be effected; on that day every arrangement was completed, and on the 8th, the troops forming the first division, consisting of the reserve, under the command of major-general Moore, the brigade of guards, under the honourable major-general Ludlow, and part of the first brigade under the command of major-general Coote, got into the boats early in the morning: they had, in general, from five to six miles to row, and did not arrive at the point of landing till ten o'clock. The front of disembarkation was narrow, and a hill which commanded the whole seemed almost inaccessible. The enemy were fully aware of our intention, were in force, and had every advantage on their side. The troops, however, notwithstanding their being exposed to a very severe cannonade, and under the fire of grape-shot, made good their landing, ascended the hill with an intrepidity scarcely to be paralleled, and forced the enemy to retire, leaving behind them several pieces of artillery and a number of horses.

The troops that ascended the hill were the 23d regiment, and the four flank companies of the 40th, under the command of colonel Spencer, whose coolness and good conduct major-general Moore has mentioned to me in the highest terms of approbation. It is impossible to pass over the good order in which the 28th and the 42d regiments landed, under the command of brigadier-general Oakes, who was attached to the reserve under major-general Moore,

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Moore; and the troops in general lost not a moment in remedying any little disorder which became unavoidable in a landing under such circumstances. The disembarkation of the army continued on that and the following day.

The troops which landed on the 8th, advanced three miles the same day; and on the 12th the whole army moved forward, and came within sight of the enemy, who was formed on an advantageous ridge, with his right to the canal of Alexandria, and his left towards the sea.

It was determined to attack them on the morning of the 13th; and in consequence the army marched in two lines by the left, with an intention to turn their right flank.

The troops had not been long in motion before the enemy descended from the heights on which they were formed, and attacked the leading brigades of both lines, which were commanded by major-general Cradock, and major-general the earl of Cavan.

The 90th regiment formed the advanced guard of the front line, and the 92d that of the second; both battalions suffered considerably, and behaved in such a manner as to merit the praise both of courage and discipline. Major-general Cradock immediately formed his brigade to meet the attack made by the enemy; and the troops changed their position with a quickness and precision which did them the greatest honour. The remainder of the army followed so good an example, and were immediately in a situation not only to face, but to repel the enemy. The reserve, under the command of major-general Moore, which was on the right, on the change of the position of the army, moved on in column, and covered the right flank. The army continued to advance, pushing the enemy with the greatest vigour, and ultimately forced them to put themselves under the protection of the fortified heights, which form the principal defence of Alexandria.

It was intended to have attacked them in their last position; for which purpose the reserve, under the command of major-general Moore, which had remained in column during the whole of the day, was brought forward, and the second line, under the command of major-general Hutchinson, marched to the left across a part of the Lake Mariotis, with a view to attack the enemy on both flanks; but on reconnoitring their position, and not being prepared to occupy it after it should be carried, prudence required that the troops who had behaved so bravely, and who were still willing to attempt any thing, however arduous, should not be exposed to a certain loss, when the extent of the advantage could not be ascertained. They were therefore withdrawn, and now occupy a position with their right to the sea, and their left to the canal of Alexandria and Lake Mariotis, about a league from the town of Alexandria.

I have the greatest satisfaction in saying, that the conduct of the British and foreign troops under my command is deserving of the highest praise; their courage and their discipline have been equally conspicuous.

To all the general officers I am indebted for their zeal and intelligence.

From

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From the honourable brigadier-general Hope, adjutant-general, and lieutenant-colonel Anstruther, quarter-master-general, I have received every testimony of zeal, and the most able assistance in the operations of the army; and to the other officers of the general staff I feel obligations.

On the 8th, the arrangements made by lord Keith were such as to enable us to land at once a body of 6,000 men.

The honourable capt. Cochrane, and those other captains and officers of the royal navy who were intrusted with the disembarkation, not only of the troops, but of the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and stores of all kinds, have exerted themselves in such a manner as to claim the warmest acknowledgments of the whole army.

Sir Sidney Smith, and the other captains and officers of the navy under his command who landed with the army, have been indefatigable in their exertions in forwarding the service on which they are employed.

The enemy have left a small garrison in Aboukir Castle: it has been necessary to bring up a few pieces of heavy artillery, and there is reason to believe that it will speedily surrender.

Majors M'Kerras and Fletcher, of the royal engineers, who went down in the Penelope frigate to survey the coast of Egypt, a short time before we sailed from Marmarice, were unfortunately surprised in a small boat in Aboukir Bay; the former was killed, the latter taken prisoner.

Our communication with the fleet is at present kept up by means of the lake of Aboukir. We have been fortunate enough to find water sufficient for the supply of the army; and we begin to derive some supplies from the country.

I have the honour to enclose herewith returns of the killed and wounded in the actions of the 8th and 13th instant, together with a return of the artillery taken from the enemy on those days.

(Signed) Ra. Abercromby.

P. S. I have had no means of ascertaining the loss of the enemy, but it must have been considerable.

Total Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the Army under the Command of General Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. — Aboukir, March 8.

4 officers, 4 sergeants, 94 rank and file, killed; 26 officers, 34 sergeants, 5 drummers, 450 rank and file, wounded; 1 officer, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, 32 rank and file, missing.

Total Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Army under the Command of General Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B., near Alexandria, March 13.

6 officers, 6 sergeants, 1 drummer, 143 rank and file, 21 horses, killed; 66 officers, 1 quarter-master, 61 sergeants, 7 drummers, 946 rank and file, 5 horses, wounded; 1 rank and file, missing.

[A London Gazette Extraordinary, published May 15, 1801, announced the capitulation of the fort of Aboukir, and the articles thereof, as contained in a dispatch from Sir Ralph Abercromby, dated 19th March.]

London

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London Gazette Extraordinary, May 15, 1801.

Letter from General Hutchinson to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

Head-quarters, Camp, 4 Miles from Alexandria, April 5th.

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Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that, after the affair of the 15th of March, the army took a position about four miles from Alexandria, having a sandy plain in their front, the sea on their right, and the canal of Alexandria (at present dry) and the lake of Aboukir on their left. In this position we remained without any material occurrence taking place till the 21st of March, when the enemy attacked us with nearly the whole of their collected force, amounting probably to 11 or 12,000 men. Of fourteen demi-brigades of infantry, which the French have in this country, twelve appear to have been engaged, and all their cavalry, with the exception of one regiment.

The enemy made the following disposition of their army:

General Lanusse was on their left, with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry, commanded by general Roize; generals Friant and Rampoon were in the centre, with five demi-brigades; general Regnier on the right, with two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry; general d'Estain commanded the advanced guard, consisting of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry.

The action commenced about an hour before day-light, by a false attack on our left, which was under major-general Craddock's command, where they were soon repulsed. The most vigorous efforts of the enemy were however directed against our right, which they used every possible exertion to turn. The attack on that point was begun with great impetuosity by the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry, who charged in column. They were received by our troops with equal ardour, and the utmost steadiness and discipline. The contest was unusually obstinate: the enemy were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with our infantry. They at length retired, leaving a prodigious number of dead and wounded on the field.

While this was passing on the right, they attempted to penetrate our centre with a column of infantry, who were also repulsed, and obliged to retreat with loss. The French, during the whole of the action, refused their right. They pushed forward, however, a corps of light troops, supported by a body of infantry and cavalry, to keep our left in check, which certainly was, at that time, the weakest part of our line.

We have taken about 200 prisoners (not wounded); but it was impossible to pursue our victory on account of our inferiority in cavalry, and because the French had lined the opposite hills with cannon, under which they retired. We also have suffered considerably. Few more severe actions have ever been fought, considering the numbers engaged on both sides. We have sustained an irreparable loss in the person of our never sufficiently to be lamented commander-in-chief, sir Ralph Abercromby, who was mortally wounded in the action, and died on the 28th of March I believe

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believe he was wounded early, but he concealed his situation from those about him, and continued in the field, giving his orders with that coolness and perspicuity which had ever marked his character, till long after the action was over, when he fainted through weakness and loss of blood. Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that, as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity.

It is impossible for me to do justice to the zeal of the officers and to the gallantry of the soldiers of this army.

The reserve, against whom the principal attack of the enemy was directed, conducted themselves with unexampled spirit. They resisted the impetuosity of the French infantry, and repulsed several charges of cavalry. Major-general Moore was wounded at their head, though not dangerously. I regret, however, the temporary absence from the army of this highly valuable and meritorious officer, whose counsel and co-operation would be so highly necessary to me at this moment. Brigadier-general Oakes was wounded nearly at the same time, and the army has been deprived of the service of an excellent officer. The 28th and 42d regiments acted in the most distinguished and brilliant manner. Colonel Paget, an officer of great promise, was wounded at the head of the former regiment; he has since, though not quite recovered, returned to his duty.

Brigadier-general Stuart and the foreign brigade supported the reserve with much promptness and spirit; indeed it is but justice to this corps to say, that they have on all occasions endeavoured to emulate the zeal and spirit exhibited by the British troops, and have perfectly succeeded. Major-general Ludlow deserves much approbation for his conduct when the centre of the army was attacked; under his guidance the guards conducted themselves in the most cool, intrepid, and soldier-like manner; they received very effectual support by a movement of the right of general Coote's brigade. Brigadier-general Hope was wounded in the hand; the army has been deprived of the service of a most active, zealous, and judicious officer.

The loss of the enemy has been great; it is calculated at upwards of 3,000 killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. General Roize, who commanded the cavalry, which suffered considerably, was killed in the field. Generals Lanusse and Bodet are since dead of their wounds. I have been informed that several other general officers, whose names I do not know, have been either killed or wounded.

I cannot conclude this letter without solemnly assuring you, that, in the arduous contest in which we are at present engaged, his majesty's troops in Egypt have faithfully discharged their duty to their country, and nobly upheld the fame of the British name and nation.

I have the honour to be,
J. H. Hutchinson.

Herewith

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Herewith I have the honour to enclose a list of the killed and wounded on the 21st of March.

Total Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Army under the Command of General Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B., near Alexandri, 21st March.

10 officers, 9 sergeants, 224 rank and file, 2 horses, killed; 60 officers, 48 sergeants, 3 drummers, 1,082 rank and file, 3 horses, wounded; 3 officers, 1 sergeant, 28 rank and file, missing.

London Gazette Extraordinary, June 5, 1801.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Sir John Hely Hutchinson, K. B., to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas; dated Camp before Alexandria, 20th April.

Sir,

It is with great pleasure that I am to inform you of the success of a corps of Turks and British, under the command of colonel Spencer. They were ordered from hence about ten days ago, for the purpose of forcing the enemy from the town and castle of Rosetta, which commands the navigation of the Nile. This operation has perfectly succeeded. We are now masters of the western branch of that river, and of course have opened a communication with the Delta, from which we shall derive all necessary supplies, as the French have scarcely any troops there, and none capable of making a serious resistance.

The enemy had about 800 men at Rosetta, when they were attacked. They made but a feeble effort to sustain themselves, and retired to the right bank of the Nile, leaving a few men killed and prisoners. They left a garrison in the fort, against which our batteries opened on the 16th, and it surrendered on the 19th instant. The conditions are the same as were granted to the castle of Aboukir.

I have many obligations to colonel Spencer for the zeal, activity, and military talents which he has displayed in the conduct of this important service; and I beg leave to recommend him as a deserving and most excellent officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. H. Hutchinson,
Major-general.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

London Gazette Extraordinary, July 15, 1801.

Letter from the Earl of Elgin to the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury.

Constantinople, June 5.

My lord,

An opportunity for writing to Europe having occurred, I avail myself of it to mention to your lordship, some farther details from Egypt, which have just reached me in a private letter from lord Keith, dated 22d May.

The enemy, after quitting Rahmania, made a wonderful march, and reached Cairo on the 12th of May. It is supposed they then advanced to attack the vizier at Belbeis.

General Hutchinson, who was in his progress from Rahmania towards Cairo, had, by the aid of the Arabs, taken a convoy of 500 camels, with their escort of 600 men. It was destined for Alexandria, which is

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understood to be in great want of some articles of provisions, and of water. General Hutchinson, in his march up the country, observes, that the inhabitants are in the highest degree incensed against the French, putting to death every one that falls into their hands.

Admiral Blanket, in his letters to lord Keith of the 6th, acquaints him with the arrival of the reinforcements from India, under the command of general Baird, colonel Wellesley, colonel Murray, &c.

After the surrendering of Damiettâ, a corps of 700 men embarked, on the lake Burlos, for France, and were taken by lord Keith.

I have the honour to be, &c.
Elgin.

Right hon. lord Hawkesbury, &c.

London Gazette Extraordinary, July 21, 1801.

Extract from a Letter of Major Holloway, to the Earl of Elgin.

Imperial Ottoman Camp of the Grand Vizier, Benalhasser, May 20.

My lord,

I had the honour of addressing your lordship on the 2d of May, from Salanich, which place his highness the grand vizier left the 7th, and the following day arrived at Belbeis, where the advanced corps of his army had been encamped for some time before.

On the 15th inst. his highness received intelligence that the enemy had early that morning marched a considerable force from Cairo, on the road towards Belbeis, where his highness was then encamped. In the evening a farther confirmation of this intelligence was brought, when the enemy was in full march. The vizier, after dark, ordered Tahir Pacha, with 3,000 cavalry, and three light field-pieces, to advance to meet them; and, if a favourable opportunity offered during the obscurity of the night, to attack, if not to impede their progress as much as possible. About ten o'clock at night they met, three leagues from camp, when each halted, and lay on their arms during the night, and until eight o'clock in the morning, at which time Tahir Pacha commenced an attack. He was soon after reinforced by 1,500 cavalry. It was now found the enemy had come forward with about 14 pieces of artillery, 600 cavalry, and 4,000 infantry. His highness, therefore, ordered Mehemmed Pacha to move forward with 5,000 men, cavalry, and Albanian infantry, and nine light field-pieces; the enemy had eight-pounders in the field. His highness afterwards advanced himself, and took the command, which was attended with the happiest effect.

The enemy moved into a wood of date-trees, where they were attacked by the cavalry and infantry with great spirit for three hours, when the enemy retired from the wood, taking position on the plain, their left to the wood, and forming a hollow square on the right. The Albanian infantry advanced to the edge of the wood, and in this situation galled them considerably; and upon the Turkish cavalry threatening their right, they changed position, and attempted to gain the heights, in which they were prevented by a rapid movement of cavalry, who gained the summit. In this manœuvre they were annoyed by two guns, which

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were advanced by his highness on the occasion. At this time, the French commenced a decided retreat, and were driven beyond El-Hanka, a distance not less than seven miles from the place of the first operations. The grand vizier, who had commanded his troops with great gallantry and prompt decision, then gave orders for them not to pursue any farther. The loss on either side, for the time they were engaged, is small. The Turks had about thirty killed and eighty wounded. The French, I think, had about fifty killed, and one prisoner; the number of their wounded could not be ascertained, as they took them off the field.

The Turkish force engaged on this occasion did not at any time exceed 9,000.

Whilst I was congratulating his highness in the field of battle, on the success of the day, we received additional satisfaction by the arrival of the intelligence of the capture of Fort Lesbie, at Damietta, and two smaller forts depending on it, by a detachment from the vizier's army. I had the honour of acquainting your lordship, in my letter of the 2d of May, that his highness intended sending a force against Damietta. This intention he carried into effect on the 6th, by ordering Ibrahim Pacha, with 2,500 men, and five pieces of artillery, to march immediately for that purpose; and it appears by Ibrahim Pacha's report to the vizier, that every arrangement had been made for the attack of Fort Lesbie, on the morning of the 14th instant, when it was discovered that the fort was evacuated, and the garrison had retired.

I beg leave to inform your lordship, that during the action of the 16th instant, myself and major Hope of the royal artillery, were in the field with the grand vizier, captain Lacey, of the royal engineers, with Mehemmed Pacha, and captain Leake of the royal artillery, with Tahir Pacha, to render every assistance in our power.

The combined forces under major-general Hutchinson and the capitan pacha, are about five hours' distance in the Delta, but are expected here in a day or two. I received a letter from the general this morning, who informs me he has taken a convoy of 550 camels, and 600 French prisoners.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Charles Holloway,
Major-commandant, &c.

A Dispatch from Lieutenant-General Sir John Hely Hutchinson, K. B., to the Right Hon. Lord Hobart.

Head-quarters, Camp near Alkam, June 1.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the French abandoned the position of El-Aft on the 7th of May, which we occupied the same evening, and on the 9th we advanced to Rhamanich, where the French were posted with upwards of 3,000 infantry and 800 cavalry. We at first imagined that they might have endeavoured to have maintained that position, but our corps on the eastern bank of the Nile having got into their rear, took the fort of Rhamanich in reverse, which probably induced the enemy to retire in the night, between the 9th and 10th, leaving a garrison in the fort, which surrendered in the morning, amounting to 110 men, commanded

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manded by a chef-de-brigade; we also took the same day about fifty cavalry and three officers, coming from Alexandria.

As the enemy retired towards Cairo, it became necessary to follow them, in order to cover the army of the grand vizier, and to secure a junction with the expected reinforcement from India.

Nothing happened of any importance until the 14th, when we fell in with a valuable convoy of germs on the Nile. They had come from Cairo down the canal of Menouff, which joins the Damietta and Rosetta branches of the river. From this circumstance they knew nothing of the retreat of general La Grange from Rhamanich. About 150 prisoners fell into our hands, and several heavy guns, some of them intended for the defence of Alexandria. The convoy in itself was very valuable, and is a great loss to the enemy. We found on board all kinds of clothing, wine, spirits, &c., and about five thousand pounds in money.

On the 17th, when encamped at Alkam, we were informed by the Arabs, that a considerable body of French, coming from Alexandria, were advancing towards the Nile, near the spot where the boats of the capitan pacha then were. The cavalry were immediately ordered out, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of brigadier-general Doyle, supported by his brigade of infantry. Colonel Cavalier, who commanded the French convoy, as soon as he perceived the boats of the capitan pacha, suspected that our army must be near, and therefore retired into the Desert, where we followed him. The cavalry came up with him, after a march of about three hours. A flag of truce was sent into them, by major Wilson of the Hompesch, requiring them to surrender, on condition that their private property should be respected, and that they should be sent to France by the first convenient opportunity. With these terms they complied, and laid down their arms. They amounted, in all, to about 600 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, together with a considerable portion of the dromedary corps, one 4-pounder, and 550 camels. The prisoners taken are all Frenchmen, and of the best troops they had in Egypt.

On the 17th of May the enemy retired from the fort of Lisbet, on the Damietta branch, and formed a junction with about 200 men which they had at Burlos: this fort they also evacuated, and embarked in five small vessels, four of which have been taken and carried into Aboukir Bay; the fifth endeavoured to escape towards Cyprus, but a Turkish frigate was left in chase of her, so that it is more than probable she has shared the same fate.

The garrisons of the two forts consisted of about 700 men; so that in all we have taken, from the 9th to the 20th, near 1,600 men, which makes a considerable diminution of the enemy's force in this country.

The French made a most extraordinary rapid march from Rhamanich to Gizah, where they arrived on the 13th, and immediately crossed the river to Boulac.

On the 15th, they marched to attack the grand vizier's army. His highness anticipated their intention, and made a forward movement with a considerable body of cavalry on the night between the 15th and 16th. The armies remained for some

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some hours in presence of each other, when the Ottoman troops attacked at about eight o'clock in the morning, and after an action of seven hours the French retired, having lost between 3 and 400 men killed and wounded. They were nearly the same people who had retreated from Rhamanich, and were about 4,000, or 4,500 men.

I congratulate your lordship upon the event of this very important action; I have also much pleasure in informing you, that the Mamalukes, under the orders of Osman Bey, (successor of Murad Bey,) have joined us, to the amount of about 1,500 cavalry, inferior, certainly, to none in the world. I am sanguine enough to hope that the most serious good effects will arise from this junction, as they have a most intimate knowledge of the country, and the greatest influence amongst the inhabitants.

I enclose you the capitulation of the fort of Rhamanich, and also a return of the killed and wounded on the 9th of May, which I rejoice has been so very inconsiderable.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. Hely Hutchinson.

To the right hon.
lord Hobart.

Fort of Rhamanich, May 10.

The garrison of the fort of Rhamanich will surrender to the Ottoman and British forces on the following conditions.

I. The officers shall wear their swords, and retain their effects. They, as well as the soldiers, shall be prisoners of war. — Granted.

II. The garrison shall be sent back to France, and shall not serve against the king of England, nor against his allies, until exchanged conformably to the cartel between the two nations.—Granted.

III. The wounded are placed under the protection of British humanity.

(Signed) La Croix, chef-de-brigade.
Capitan Pacha.
J. Hely Hutchinson, major-general, commander-in-chief.
James Stevenson, captain royal navy.

London Gazette Extraordinary, August 23, 1801.

Extract of a Dispatch from the Earl of Elgin to Lord Hawkesbury; dated Constantinople, July 18.

I have the satisfaction of acquainting your lordship, that the enclosed letters to lord Hobart contain the intelligence of the surrender of Grand Cairo to the combined forces under general Hutchinson, the vizier, and the capitan pacha.

Head-quarters, Camp before Gizeh, 21st June.

My lord,

I have nothing new or of very essential import to communicate, but I avail myself of the opportunity of a messenger going to Constantinople to inform you that we are now encamped near Gizeh, which is on the opposite side of the river to Cairo. We mean to erect batteries in the course of twenty-four hours: it cannot hold out long, as it is a very weak place; but it covers a bridge of communication which the French have over the Nile, and it is therefore essential to us to have it in our possession. This

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operation cannot last above four or five days at most. I then mean to cross the river and join the army of the grand vizier, who is at present encamped very near Cairo: we shall then besiege the place, which is garrisoned by 4 or 5,000 French, but their works are very extended, and would require a much greater number of men to defend them. Great delays have been occasioned in this operation from the low state of the river, and from the bar of the Nile at Rosetta, which is frequently impassable for ten days together, so that our march has been much retarded. The difficulty of procuring provisions for the army, and the obstacles which we encountered in bringing the heavy artillery up the river, (which has not yet been entirely accomplished,) have been very great. However, we have now a sufficiency to begin the siege.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. H. Hutchinson.

To the right honourable
lord Hobart.

Head-quarters, Camp before Gizeh, 29th June.

My lord,

The combined armies advanced on both sides of the river on the 21st instant. The British troops, and those of his highness the capitan pacha, invested Gizeh on the left bank of the Nile, whilst the army of his highness the grand vizier moved forward, and took a position nearly within cannot-shot of Cairo. On the 22d, in the morning, the enemy sent out a flag of truce, and informed me that they wished to treat for the evacuation of Cairo, and the forts thereunto belonging, upon certain conditions. After a negotiation of several days, which was conducted by brigadier-general Hope with much judgment and ability, they agreed to surrender the town and forts on the conditions which I have the honour to enclose.

We took possession of the gate of Gizeh at five o'clock yesterday evening, and also of the fort of Sulkoski, on the Cairo side of the river: hostages have been mutually exchanged, and the final evacuation will take place in about ten days.

I should suppose that there are near 6,000 troops of all kinds in the town; but I speak without a perfect knowledge on the subject, as I have not yet received any returns.

This has been a long and arduous service: the troops, from the great heat of the weather, the difficulty of the navigation of the river, and the entire want of roads in the country, have suffered a considerable degree of fatigue, but both men and officers have submitted to it with the greatest patience; and have manifested a zeal for the honour of his majesty's arms that is above all panegyric; the conduct of the soldiers has been orderly and exemplary, and a discipline has been preserved which would have done honour to any troops.

I am extremely obliged to lieutenant colonel Anstruther, quarter-master-general, for the great zeal and ability which he has shown, under very difficult circumstances, in forwarding the public service. From generals Cradock and Doyle, who were the general officers employed immediately under my orders, I have derived the greatest assistance, and I beg leave to recommend them as highly deserving of his majesty's favour.

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The exertions of captain Stevenson of the navy, have been extremely laborious and constant during this long march; they have done every thing that was possible to forward our supplies; and indeed without their powerful aid, it would have been impossible to have proceeded. Your lordship will recollect that the river is extremely low at this season of the year, the mouth of the Nile impassable for days together, and the distance from Rosetta to Cairo between 160 and 170 miles. Captain Stevenson has been ably supported by captains Morrison, Curry, and Hillyar, who were employed under him. The service in which they have been engaged has not been a brilliant one, but I hope it will be recollected that it has been most useful, and has required constant vigilance and attention; it has lasted now for many weeks; the labour has been excessive, and the fatigue greater than I can express.

This dispatch will be delivered to you by my aid-de-camp, major Montrésor, who has been in the most intimate habits of confidence with me since my arrival in Egypt, and will be able to give your lordship a most perfect account of the situation of affairs in this country. I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection, as an officer of merit, and highly deserving of his majesty's favour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. Hely Hutchinson,
major-general.

To the right honourable
lord Hobart, &c. &c.

[Here follows the convention, for which see the State Papers of this volume.]

London Gazette Extraordinary, October 22, 1801.

A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this Day received at the Office of the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Head-quarters, Camp before Alexandria, Sept. 5.

My lord,

I have now the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that the forts and town of Alexandria have surrendered to his majesty's troops, who, on the 2d instant, took possession of the intrenched camp, the heights above Pompey's Pillar, the Redoubt de Bain, and the Fort Triangulaire. By the capitulation, the garrison are to be embarked for France in the course of ten days, provided the shipping is in a state of preparation to receive them.

The operations against the enemy's works commenced on the 17th of August.

Major-general Coote embarked with a strong corps on the inundation, in the night between the 16th and 17th of August. He effected his landing to the westward of Alexandria with little or no opposition, and immediately invested the strong castle of Marabout, situated at the entrance of the western harbour of Alexandria.

On the east side of the town, two attacks were made to get possession of some heights in front of the intrenched position of the enemy. I intrusted the conduct of the attack against their right to major-general Cradock, and that against their left to major-general Moore. Those two officers perfectly executed my

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intentions, and performed the service committed to their care with much precision and ability. The action was neither obstinate nor severe, and our loss is but small; but it afforded one more opportunity to display the promptness of British officers, and the heroism of British soldiers. A part of general Doyle's brigade, the 30th regiment, (but under the immediate command of colonel Spencer,) had taken possession of a hill in front of the enemy's right. General Menou, who was in person in that part of the French intrenched camp, directly opposite to our post, ordered about 600 men to make a sortie, to drive us from our position. The enemy advanced in column with fixed bayonets and without firing a shot, till they got very close to the 30th regiment, to whom colonel Spencer gave an immediate order to charge, though they did not consist of more than 200 men; he was obeyed with a spirit and determination worthy of the highest panegyric. The enemy were driven back to their intrenchments in the greatest confusion: they had many killed and wounded, and several taken prisoners.

On the night between the 18th and 19th, major-general Coote opened batteries against the castle of Marabout; an attack was also made from the sea by several Turkish corvettes, and the launches and boats of the fleet, under the guidance of the honourable captain Cochrane: great perseverance and exertions were required to get up heavy guns through a difficult and almost impracticable country; but the troops executed this painful and arduous service with such zeal and continued firmness, that the fort capitulated on the night of the 21st: the garrison consisted of about 180 men, and were commanded by a chef-de-brigade.

On the morning of the 22d, major-general Coote marched from Marabout to attack a strong corps posted in his front, in order to cover the approach to Alexandria; the managements of that excellent officer appear to have been able and judicious, and were attended with the most complete success; he drove the enemy every where, though strongly posted, and in a country which opposed uncommon obstacles to the progress of troops. The French suffered extremely in the action, and retreated in much confusion, leaving their wounded and seven pieces of cannon behind them.

On the 24th, batteries were opened against the Redoubt de Bain; and on the 25th, at night, major-general Coote surprised the enemy's advanced posts, when seven officers and fifty men were taken prisoners: this service was gallantly performed by lieutenant-colonel Smith, with the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment, and a small detachment of dragoons, under the orders of lieutenant Kelly of the 26th. The enemy endeavoured to regain possession of the ground from which they had been driven, but were repulsed with loss.

On the morning of the 26th, we opened four batteries on each side of the town against the intrenched camp of the French, which soon silenced their fire, and induced them to withdraw many of their guns.

On the 27th, in the evening, general Menou sent an aid-de-camp, to request an armistice for three days, in order to give time to prepare

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pare a capitulation, which, after some difficulties and delays, was signed on the 2d of September.

I have the honour to enclose you a copy of the capitulation, and also a list of the number of persons for whom the enemy have required shipping; by this it appears that the total of the garrison of Alexandria consisted of upwards of 8,000 soldiers, and 1,300 sailors.

This arduous and important service has at length been brought to a conclusion. The exertions of individuals have been splendid and meritorious. I regret that the bounds of a dispatch will not allow me to specify the whole, or to mention the name of every person who has distinguished himself in the public service. I have received the greatest support and assistance from the general officers of the army. The conduct of the troops of every description has been exemplary in the highest degree; there has been much to applaud and nothing to reprehend; their order and regularity in the camp have been as conspicuous as their courage in the field. To the quarter-master-general, lieutenant-colonel Anstruther, I owe much for his unwearied industry and zeal in the public service, and for the aid, advice, and cooperation, which he has at all times afforded me. Brigadier-gen. Lawson, who commanded the artillery, and captain Bryce, the chief engineer, have both great merit in their different departments. The local situation of Egypt presents obstacles of a most serious kind to military operations on an extended scale. The skill and perseverance of those two officers have overcome difficulties which at first appeared almost insurmountable.

Lieutenant-colonel Lindenthal, who has always acted with the Turks, deserves my utmost acknowledgments; his activity and diligence have been unremitted, and have introduced amongst them an order and regularity which does him the highest honour.

During the course of the long service on which we have been engaged, lord Keith has at all times given me the most able assistance and counsel. The labour and fatigue of the navy have been continued and excessive; it has not been of one day, or of one week, but for months together. In the bay of Aboukir, on the new inundation, and on the Nile for 160 miles, they have been employed without intermission, and have submitted to many privations with a cheerfulness and patience highly creditable to them, and advantageous to the public service.

Sir Sidney Smith had originally the command of the seamen who landed from the fleet; he continued on shore till after the capture of Rosetta, and returned on board the Tigre a short time before the appearance of admiral Gantheaume's squadron on the coast. He was present in the three actions of the 8th, 13th, and 21st of March, when he displayed that ardour of mind for the service of his country, and that noble intrepidity, for which he has been ever so conspicuous. Captain Stevenson, of the Europa, succeeded him, and I have every reason to be satisfied with his zeal and conduct. The crews of the gun-boats displayed great gallantry, under his guidance, in the new inundation; and much approbation is also due to the naval officers who acted under his orders.

Captain Pressland, of the Regulus, has had the direction for many

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months past of all Greek ships in our employment, and of those belonging to the commissariat. He has been active, zealous, and indefatigable, and merits my warmest approbation. I must, therefore, beg leave particularly to recommend this old and meritorious officer to your lordship's protection.

Allow me to express an humble hope, that the army in Egypt have gratified the warmest wishes and expectations of their country. To them every thing is due, and to me nothing. It was my fate to succeed a man who created such a spirit, and established such a discipline amongst them, that little has been left for me to perform, except to follow his maxims, and to endeavour to imitate his conduct.

This dispatch will be delivered to your lordship by colonel Abercromby, an officer of considerable ability, and worthy of the great name which he bears. He will one day, I trust, emulate the virtue and talents of his never sufficiently to be lamented father.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. Hely Hutchinson,
lieutenant-general.

The right hon. lord Hobart, &c.

TRANSLATION.

Articles of the Capitulation proposed by Abdoullahy Jaques François Menou, General in Chief of the French Army now in Alexandria, to the Generals commanding the Land and Sea Forces of his Britannic Majesty and of the Sublime Porte, forming the Blockade of Alexandria; dated the 12th Fructidor, Year 9 of the French Republic (30*th August*, 1801).

Art. I. From the present date to the 30th Fructidor (17th September, 1801), there shall be a continuation of the truce and suspension of arms between the French army and the combined armies of his Britannic majesty and of the Sublime Porte, upon the same conditions with those which actually subsist, with the exception of a regulation, to be amicably settled between the respective generals of the two armies, of establishing a new line of advanced posts, in order to remove all pretext of hostility between the troops.

Ans. Refused.

Art. II. In case no adequate succours should arrive to the French army before the day mentioned in the preceding article, that army shall evacuate the forts and intrenched camps of Alexandria upon the following conditions.

Ans. Refused.

Art. III. The French army shall retire on the first complementary day of the French æra, into the city of Alexandria and forts adjacent, and shall deliver up to the allied powers the intrenched camp in front of the lines of the Arabs, the fort Le Turcq, and the fort Du Vivier, together with their artillery and ammunition.

Ans. In forty-eight hours after the signing of the capitulation, namely, on the 2d of September, at noon, the intrenched camps, the fort Turcq, and that of Du Vivier, shall be delivered up to the allied powers: the ammunition and artillery of these forts shall also be given up. The French troops shall evacuate the city, forts, and dependencies of Alexandria, ten days after signing the capitulation, or at the time of their embarcation.

Art. IV. All individuals, constituting

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tuting a part of the French army, or attached to it by any relations, military or civil; the auxiliary troops of every nation, country, or religion, or of whatever powers they may have been subjects before the arrival of the French, shall preserve their property of every description, their effects, papers, &c. &c. which shall not be subject to any examination.

Ans. Granted; provided that nothing be carried away belonging to the government of the French republic, but only the effects, baggage, and other articles belonging to the French and auxiliary soldiers, who have served during six months in the army of the republic: the same is to be understood of all the individuals attached to the French army, by civil or military capacities, of whatever nation, country, or religion, they may be.

Art. V. The French forces, the auxiliary troops, and all the individuals described in the preceding article, shall be embarked in the ports of Alexandria between the 5th and the 10th of Vendemaire, year 10 of the republic, at the latest (27th September to the 3d October, 1801,) together with their arms, stores, baggage, effects, and property of all kinds, official papers, and deposits, one field-piece to each battalion and squadron, with ammunition, &c. &c.; the whole to be conveyed to one of the ports of the French republic in the Mediterranean, to be determined by the general-in-chief of the French army.

Ans. The French forces, the auxiliary troops, and all the individuals described in the 4th article, shall be embarked in the ports of Alexandria, (unless, after an amicable convention, it should be found more expeditious to embark a part of them at Aboukir,) as soon as vessels can be prepared, the allied powers at the same time engaging that the embarkation shall take place, if possible, ten days after the capitulation shall be signed; they shall receive all the honours of war, shall carry away their arms and baggage, shall not be prisoners of war, and shall moreover take with them ten pieces of cannon, from four to eight pounders, with ten rounds of shot to each gun: they shall be conveyed to a French port in the Mediterranean.

Art. VI. The French ships of war, with their full complement, and all merchant-ships, to whatever nation or individuals they may belong, even those of nations at war with the allied powers, or those that are the property of owners or merchants who were subject to the allied powers before the arrival of the French, shall depart with the French army, in order that those that are ships of war may be restored to the French government, and the merchant-ships to the owners, or to their assignees.

Ans. Refused: all vessels shall be delivered up as they are.

Art. VII. Every single ship that, from the present day to the 30th Fructidor, shall arrive from the French republic, or any of her allies, into the ports or road of Alexandria, shall be comprehended in this capitulation. Every ship of war or commerce belonging to France, or the allies of the republic, that shall arrive in the ports or road of Alexandria within the twenty days immediately following the evacuation of that place, shall not be considered a lawful prize, but shall be set at liberty, with her equipage and

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cargo, and be furnished with a passport from the allied powers.

Ans. Refused.

Art. VIII. The French and auxiliary troops, the civil and military agents attached to the army, and all other individuals described in the preceding articles, shall be embarked on board such French and other vessels, actually in the ports of Alexandria, as shall be in a condition to go to sea; or on board those of his Britannic majesty and of the Sublime Porte, within the time fixed by the 5th article.

Art. IX. Commissaries shall be named by each party to regulate the number of vessels to be employed, the number of men to be embarked upon them, and generally to provide for all the difficulties that may arise in carrying into execution the present capitulation. Those commissaries shall agree upon the different positions which shall be taken by the ships now in the port of Alexandria, and those which shall be furnished by the allied powers, so that by a well-regulated arrangement, every occasion of difference between the crews of the several nations may be avoided.

Ans. All these details will be regulated by the English admiral, and by an officer of the French navy named by the general-in-chief.

Art. X. Merchants and owners of ships, of whatever nation or religion they may be, and also the inhabitants of Egypt, and of every other country, who may at the present time be in Alexandria, whether Syrians, Copts, Greeks, Arabs, Jews, &c., and who shall be desirous of following the French army, shall be embarked with, and enjoy the same advantages with that army: they shall be at liberty to remove their property of all kinds, and to leave powers for the disposal of what they may not be able to take away. All arrangements, all sales, all stipulations, whether of commerce, or of any other nature, made by them, shall be strictly carried into effect after their departure, and be maintained by the generals of his Britannic majesty and of the Sublime Porte. Those who may prefer remaining in Egypt a certain time on account of their private affairs, shall be at liberty to do so, and shall have full protection from the allied powers; those also who may be desirous of establishing themselves in Egypt, shall be entitled to all the privileges and rights of which they were in possession before the arrival of the French.

Ans. Every article of merchandise, whether in the town of Alexandria, or on board the vessels that are in the ports, shall be provisionally at the disposition of the allied powers, but subject to such definitive regulations as may be determined by established usage and the law of nations. Private merchants shall be at liberty to accompany the French army, or they may remain in the country in security.

Art. XI. None of the inhabitants of Egypt, or of any other nation or religion, shall be called to account for their conduct during the period of the French troops having been in the country, particularly for having taken arms in their favour, or having been employed by them.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XII. The troops, and all others who may be embarked with them, shall be fed during their passage, and until their arrival in France, at the expense of the allied powers, and conformably to the rules

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rules of the French navy. The allied powers shall supply everything that may be necessary for the embarkation.

Ans. The troops, and all others who may be embarked with them, shall be fed during their passage, and until their arrival in France, at the expense of the allied powers, according to the usage established in the marine of England.

Art. XIII. The consuls, and all other public agents of the several powers in alliance with the French republic, shall continue in the enjoyment of all the privileges and rights which are granted by civilized nations to diplomatic agents: their property, all their effects and papers, shall be respected, and placed under the protection of the allied powers. They shall be at liberty to retire or remain, as they may think fit.

Ans. The consuls, and all other public agents of the powers in alliance with the French republic, shall be at liberty to remain or to retire, as they may judge fit. Their property and effects of any kind, together with their papers, shall be preserved for them, provided they conduct themselves with loyalty, and conformably to the law of nations.

Art. XIV. The sick, who may be judged by the medical staff of the army to be in a state for removal, shall be embarked at the same time with the army, upon hospital-ships properly furnished with medicines, provisions, and every other store that may be necessary for their situation; and they shall be attended by French surgeons. Those of the sick who may not be in a condition to undertake the voyage, shall be delivered over to the care and humanity of the allied powers. French physicians and other medical assistance shall be left for their care, to be maintained at the expense of the allied powers, who shall send them to France as soon as their state of health may permit, together with any thing belonging to them, in the same manner as has been proposed for the rest of the army.

Ans. Granted. The ships destined for hospitals shall be prepared for the reception of those who may fall sick during the passage. The medical staff of the two armies shall concert together in what manner to dispose of those of the sick who, having contagious disorders, ought not to have communication with the others.

Art. XV. Horse transports for conveying sixty horses with every thing necessary for their subsistence during the passage, shall be furnished.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XVI. The individuals composing the institute of Egypt, and the commission of arts, shall carry with them all the papers, plans, memoirs, collections of natural history, and all the monuments of art and antiquity, collected by them in Egypt.

Ans. The members of the institute may carry with them all the instruments of art and science which they have brought from France; but the Arabian manuscripts, the statues, and other collections which have been made for the French republic, shall be considered as public property, and subject to the disposal of the generals of the combined army.

General Hope having declared, inconsequence of some observations of the commander-in-chief of the French army, that he could make no

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no alteration in this article, it has been agreed that a reference thereupon should be made to the commander-in-chief of the combined army.

Art. XVII. The vessels which shall be employed in conveying the French and auxiliary army, as well as the different persons who shall accompany it, shall be escorted by ships of war belonging to the allied powers, who formally engage that they shall not, in any manner, be molested during their voyage; the safety of such of these vessels as may be separated by stress of weather or other accidents, shall be guarantied by the generals of the allied forces; the vessels conveying the French army shall not, under any pretence, touch at any other than the French coast, except in case of absolute necessity.

Ans. Granted. The commander-in-chief of the French army entering into a reciprocal engagement that none of these vessels shall be molested during their stay in France, or on their return; he equally engaging that they shall be furnished with every thing which may be necessary, according to the constant practice of European powers.

Art. XVIII. At the time of giving up the camps and forts, according to the terms of the 3d article, the prisoners in Egypt shall be respectively given up on both sides.

Ans. Granted.

Art. XIX. Commissaries shall be named, to receive the artillery of the place and of the forts, stores, magazines, plans, and other articles that the French leave to the allied powers; and lists and inventories shall be made out, signed by the commissaries of the different powers, according as the forts and magazines shall be given up to the allied powers.

Ans. Granted; provided that all the plans of the city and forts of Alexandria, as well as all maps of the country, shall be delivered up to the English commissary. The batteries, cisterns, and other public buildings, shall also be given up in the condition in which they actually are.

Art. XX. A passport shall be granted to a French armed vessel, in order to convey to Toulon, immediately after the camps and forts before mentioned shall be given up, officers charged by the commander-in-chief to carry to his government the present capitulation.

Ans. Granted; but if it is a French vessel, it shall not be armed.

Art. XXI. On giving up the camps and forts mentioned in the preceding articles, hostages shall be given on both sides, in order to guaranty the execution of the present treaty. They shall be chosen from among the officers of rank in the respective armies, namely, four from the French army, two from the British troops, and two from the troops of the Sublime Porte. The four French hostages shall be embarked on board the English ship commanding the squadron, and the four British and Turkish hostages on board one of the vessels which shall carry the commander-in-chief, or the lieutenant-generals. They shall all be reciprocally delivered up on their arrival in France.

Ans. There shall be placed in the hands of the commander-in-chief of the French army four officers of rank as hostages, namely, one officer of the navy, one officer of the British army, and two officers of the Turkish army. The commander-in-chief

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chief shall, in like manner, place in the hands of the commander-in-chief of the British army four officers of rank. The hostages shall be restored on both sides at the period of the embarkation.

Art. XXII. If any difficulties should arise during the execution of the present capitulation, they shall be amicably settled by the commissaries of the armies.

Ans. Granted.

(Signed) Keith, admiral.
(Signed) J. Hely Hutchinson, lieutenant-general, commander-in-chief.
(Signed) Hussein, capitan pacha.
(Signed) Abdoullahy Jacques François Menou, general-in-chief of the French army.

(A true copy.)
James Kempt, lieutenant-colonel and secretary.

London Gazette, Nov. 14, 1801.

Extracts from Dispatches from Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir John Hely Hutchinson, K. B, commanding his Majesty's Troops serving in Egypt.

Head-quarters, Camp before Alexandria, August 19.

My lord,

The last division of the French troops who surrendered at Cairo sailed from the bay of Aboukir a few days ago. There have been embarked in all near 13,500 persons. The garrison of Cairo consisted of about 8,000 troops of all descriptions, fit for duty, not including 1,000 sick, and a considerable number of invalids. The total amounts to near 10,000 soldiers, amongst whom there was a very small proportion of Greeks and Copts, not more than 4 or 500 men: the remainder were all French. The other persons embarked were followers of the army, and attached to it in various civil capacities.

Major-general Craddock having been confined at Cairo by illness, I intrusted the command of the troops to major-general Moore, who, during a long march of a very novel and critical nature, displayed much judgment, and conducted himself in the most able and judicious manner. Notwithstanding the mixture of Turks, British, and French, the utmost regularity was preserved, and no one disagreeable circumstance ever took place. My presence at Cairo was rendered indispensably necessary, by some arrangements which I was obliged to make with his highness the grand vizier.

Major-general Baird, after having struggled through many difficulties in passing the desert, and from want of boats to descend the Nile, has at length arrived at Cairo with the greatest part of the troops under his command, and I imagine he will reach Rosetta in the course of a few days: he has been directed to detach a certain number of troops to Damietta, and to leave a garrison at Gaza.

We two days ago commenced our operations against Alexandria; as yet no event of any consequence has taken place; we have lost a few men, and taken a few prisoners.

Major-general Coote has been detached with a considerable corps to the westward, in order to invest the town completely on that side, and to cut off the communication of the enemy with the Arabs, who have been in the habit of supplying them with small quantities of cattle and

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and other kinds of fresh provisions. General Coote's first operation will be directed against Marabout, a castle on an island at the entrance of the old harbour of Alexandria.

I cannot conclude this letter without stating to your lordship the many obligations I have to lord Keith and the navy, for the great exertions they have used in forwarding to us the necessary supplies, and from the fatigue they have undergone in the late embarkation of a considerable number of troops and stores, who were embarked on the new lake, and proceeded to the westward under the orders of major-general Coote.

The utmost dispatch has also been used in sending the French troops, lately captured, to France; which, in our present position, was a service of the most essential consequence.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) J. Hely Hutchinson,
lieutenant-general.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir John Hely Hutchinson, K. B, to the Right Honourable Lord Hobart.

Head-quarters, Camp before Alexandria, August 19.

I was honoured with your lordship's dispatches of the 19th May, at Cairo, where I remained to settle some essential business with his highness the grand vizier, on the subject of the Mamalukes; I have put their affairs in a train of negotiation, and I hope to bring them to a fortunate issue.

The siege of Alexandria will probably be attended with many difficulties; the works towards the east side, where we are encamped, are prodigiously strong, and can hardly be approached on account of the narrowness of the space between the lake and the sea, and the nature of the ground; towards the west the works are not so strong, but, however, the difficulties in approaching them are also numerous; the corps there is completely in the desert, the communication with us (by whom they must be supplied with every thing) is tedious, and the boats employed have a most severe duty to perform; general Coote has, however, been so fortunate as to find water. On the whole, I cannot flatter myself that Alexandria will be in our possession in a short time, unless some event takes place, of which we are not at present aware.

The reinforcements from England, Minorca, and Malta, are all arrived, except the 48th regiment from the latter place; they are very fine troops, and in a perfect state of health, order, and discipline.

Admiralty Office, November 14.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Keith, Admiral of the Blue, &c., to Evan Nepean, Esq.

Foudroyant, Bay of Aboukir, September 2.

Sir,

I have the honour and satisfaction of acquainting you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the important object of this expedition is fully accomplished; a capitulation (of which a copy is enclosed) has been this day signed, providing for the delivery to the allies, to-morrow, of the enemy's intrenched camp on the eastern side of Alexandria, and the

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the fort Triangulaire, and the other important posts on the western side; and for that of the town itself, the public effects and the shipping in the harbour, at the expiration of ten days, or sooner, if the enemy's troops can be sooner embarked. As soon as I can obtain returns of the ships and effects, they shall be transmitted to you. The merchant vessels are very numerous, and one old Venetian ship of the line, with the French frigates Egyptienne, Justice, and Régénéré, and some corvettes, are known to be in the port.

Their lordships will not fail to have observed, from my former details, the meritorious conduct of the officers and men who have been, from time to time, employed on the various duties which the debarkation of the army and a co-operation with them has required. Though opportunities for brilliant exertion have been few since the 8th of March, the desire for participating in it has been unremitted. But the nature of this expedition has demanded from most of the officers and seamen of the fleet, and particularly from those of the troop-ships, bomb-vessels, and transports, the endurance of labour, fatigue, and privation, far beyond what I have witnessed before, and which I verily believe to have exceeded all former example, and it has been encountered and surmounted with a degree of resolution and perseverance, which merits my highest praise, and gives both officers and men a just claim to the protection of their lordships, and the approbation of their country. The number of officers to whom I owe this tribute of approbation, does not admit of my mentioning them by name; but most of the captains of the troop-ships have been employed in the superintendance of these duties, and I have had repeated and urgent offers of voluntary service from all. The agents for transports have conducted themselves with laudable diligence and activity in the service of the several departments to which they are attached, and displayed the greatest exertion and ability in overcoming the numerous difficulties with which they had to contend.

The captains and commanders of the ships appointed for guarding the Porte, have executed that tedious and anxious duty with diligence and success. During my absence from the squadron, the blockade has been conducted much to my satisfaction by rear-admiral sir R. Bickerton; and justice requires me to mention, that when I was with the squadron, captain Wilson, of the Trusty, was unwearied in his attention to the direction of all the duties in this bay.

The capitan pacha has uniformly manifested the most anxious desire of contributing, by every means in his power, to the promotion of the service. Having been generally on shore with his troops, the ships have been submitted, by his orders, to my direction, and the officers have paid the most respectful attention to the instructions they have received from me.

Captain sir Sidney Smith, who has served with such distinguished reputation in this country, having applied to be the bearer of the dispatches announcing the expulsion of the enemy, I have complied with his request; and I beg to refer their lordships to that active and intelligent

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intelligent officer for any particular information relative to this or other parts of the country, on which he has had opportunities of making remarks.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) Keith.

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Copy of another Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Keith, Admiral of the Blue, &c., to Evan Nepean, Esq.

Foudroyant, Bay of Aboukir, September 10.

Sir,

You will be pleased to acquaint their lordships, that the capitan pacha and I have agreed on the enclosed distribution of the vessels of war found in the enemy's possession in Alexandria, of which I trust their lordships will approve.

I have, &c.
Keith.

His Highness the Capitan Pacha and Lord Keith have agreed to receive the Enemy's Ships as under, viz.

Capitan Pacha — Cause, 64; Justice, 46; No. 1, Venetian 26.

Lord Keith — L'Egyptienne, 50; Régénéré, 32; No. 2, Venetian, 26.

The Turkish corvettes to be given to the capitan pacha; but to be previously valued.

London Gazette, Nov. 17, 1801.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 17.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Keith, K. B, Admiral of the Blue, &c., to Evan Nepean, Esq.

Foudroyant, off Alexandria, August 27.

Sir,

My letter of the 5th instant acquainted you, for the information of their lordships, that the embarkation of general Belliard's corps was carrying into execution with all possible dispatch; but, on account of the difficulty of getting forward the immense quantity of baggage that they brought with them from Cairo, the operation was protracted till the 8th. The ships of war, as well as the transports, however, were directed to proceed by divisions. The Braakel, with the first division, sailed on the 4th; the Inflexible, Dolphin, and Ulysses, with the second, on the 6th; and the Experiment and Pallas, with the last, on the 10th, carrying with them between 13 and 14,000 individuals of all descriptions.

The army from Cairo moved on forthwith to the camp before Alexandria; and the general, who did me the honour of spending some days with me while the embarkation of the French was going on, resolved on transporting by the Marcotis, to the westward of Alexandria, a corps of about 5,000 men, under the orders of major-general Coote, to divide the enemy's force and attention, to invest the town closely on that side, and cut off all farther hope of reinforcement or supplies by land. On the 12th, I proceeded with lieutenant-colonel Anstruther, the quarter-master-general, to examine the enemy's position on the side of the lake, and the strength of the flotilla that they had assembled there; and having ascertained that their armed force could be easily subdued, and that a debarkation could be effected with little or no difficulty, the general determined to carry the measure into immediate effect. To secure the landing from interruption, captain Stevenson, of the Europa, who is

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is continued in the command of the flotilla, was forthwith directed to take a station in front of the gun-boats and armed boats which the enemy had assembled on the lake, and drawn up in a line, under the protection of batteries thrown up for their defence, to keep them in check till they could be seized or destroyed. On the evening of the 16th, all the boats of the ships of war and the transports in this bay, were assembled in the Mareotis, with as many germs as could be collected from the Nile, for the purpose of receiving the troops, who were embarked in the night, and landed without opposition the next morning, under the superintendance of captain Elphinstone, considerably farther to the westward than was intended, the wind not admitting of the boats reaching the shore nearer to the town; the enemy, seeing no prospect left of saving their armed boats, set fire to them, and blew them all up in the course of this and the following day, except two or three which have fallen into our hands. Whilst the landing was carrying into effect, captain sir W. S. Smith, of the Tigre, was directed with some sloops of war and armed boats to make a demonstration of attack upon the town.

On the night of the 17th, major-general Coote was enabled to establish batteries against Marabout, a small fortified island that protects the entrance into the great harbour of Alexandria, on the western side, and distant from the town about seven or eight miles, which, for many reasons, it was important to possess. Rear-admiral sir Richard Bickerton, having the command of the squadron blockading the port, directed armed launches from the ships to cooperate with the troops; and the garrison, consisting of near 200 men, unequal to farther resistance, surrendered as prisoners of war, on the evening of the 21st. Mr. Hull, midshipman, and one seaman of the Ajax, were killed on this service, and two seamen, of the Northumberland, wounded.

On the afternoon of the same day, the rear-admiral ordered the Cynthia, Port Mahon, Victorieuse, and Bonne Citoyenne, with three Turkish corvettes, to proceed into the harbour under the direction of the honourable captain Cochrane, of the Ajax, (a channel having been previously surveyed with great industry and precision by lieutenant Withers, of the Kent,) and on the morning of the 22d major-general Coote's detachment moved forward four or five miles on the narrow isthmus leading to the town, formed by the Mareotis or inundation of the south side, and the harbour on the north; captain Stevenson, with the gun vessels on the lake, covering the right flank, and captain Cochrane, with the sloops of war, and armed boats, protecting their left. The position which the major-general took up, and that occupied by our little squadron, which has since been reinforced by the Diana, completed the blockade of the town. The rear-admiral gives great commendation to the honourable captain Cochrane, for the zealous and judicious manner in which he executed the service intrusted to him. Soon after our ships entered the harbour, the enemy sunk several vessels between our advanced ships and their vessels in the port, to obstruct our farther progress to the eastward, and

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and moved their frigates and corvettes from Fig-tree Point close up to the town.

General Menou, finding himself closely pressed on the eastward of the town by the commander-in-chief, who had carried some of the enemy's redoubts, and established strong batteries against their intrenched lines; and on the western side by major-general Coote, who had, during the preceding night, driven in several of their outposts, and advanced up to an important position, which the enemy seemed conscious of being unable to defend, sent out, on the evening of the 26th, proposals for an armistice of three days, to arrange terms of capitulation, which I have no doubt will soon terminate in the surrender of the town.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.
Keith.

London Gazette, May 12, 1801.

Extracts from Dispatches from Rear-Admiral Duckworth, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, to Evan Nepean, Esq., Secretary of the Admiralty.

Leviathan, at Sea, March 27.

Sir,

Having consulted with lieutenant-general Trigge, on the subject of the orders of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, we determined not to wait for the expected reinforcements, but collect the troops that the general thought might be employed with dispatch; and we sailed on the 16th, with about 1,500 troops, for the purpose of attacking the various islands specified in our orders, the general and myself considering it most judicious to commence with the weathermost one, St. Bartholomew, though by calms and very variable winds we were prevented from getting to Grand Saline Bay (our intended place of landing) till the morning of the 20th, when, having prepared every thing for that purpose, and placed the Andromeda, L'Unité, and Drake brig to cover it, the general and myself deemed it expedient to prevent delay, by sending brigadier-general Fuller, and captain King of the Leviathan, with a summons, which, after some little hesitation, was accepted, and the capitulation I transmit entered into. I then detached the Andromeda with the Alexandria tender to assist in watching St. Thomas's, when every exertion was used to land a garrison, and form such temporary arrangements as the urgency of the service would admit; all of which were effected by the morning of the 22d. We found here two Swedish ships, nearly laden with produce of this country, a Danish ship in ballast, besides a variety of small craft, Swedish, and three small French vessels; and I left captain Thomas Harvey, in L'Unité, to cooperate with the commandant of that island, and at ten o'clock, A. M., were in the act of weighing, when ten sail were seen from the mast head; I therefore ordered the Drake brig and L'Eclair schooner to reconnoitre, keeping the wind, myself concluding they were our troops from England, which the general and myself had sent orders to Barbadoes to follow us after landing their sick, with women and children; this, from light airs, was not ascertained till ten o'clock at night, when they proved

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proved as conjectured, and the Proselyte joined in the afternoon of the 24th. Upon this accumulation of force, the general and myself, after some deliberation, judged it would be highly injurious to his majesty's service, and render St. Bartholomew very unsafe, if we omitted attacking the island of St. Martin: we therefore, (though it was not mentioned in our instructions,) prompted by the rectitude of our intentions, decided upon endeavouring to reduce it, and at midnight of the 22d bore away for that purpose; but the unprecedented variableness of the winds prevented our getting there till daylight of the 24th; and on the afternoon of the 23d the Coromandel joined with the 2d West India regiment, when, having placed captain Fowke in the Proselyte, with the Drake brig, in Coles Bay, to cover the landing, under the direction of captain Ekins of the Amphitrite, (who had been sick at Barbadoes, but joined me in the Proselyte, and handsomely volunteered this service,) which commenced at half past eight o'clock; and with his judicious arrangements, the second brigade, of near 1,500 men, under brigadier-general Maitland, were on shore with their field-pieces, and 100 seamen, by eleven o'clock, as was the first brigade of 1,800, under brigadier-general Fuller, by two o'clock, with their field-pieces, and 100 seamen. The second brigade directly proceeded on to take the heights in the approach to the town of Phillipsburgh, which was quickly effected, though not without some smart skirmishing, which afterwards brought on a short action, in which some companies of the 64th, under lieutenant-colonel Pakenham, and two companies of the 8th West India regiment, displayed great gallantry, beat the enemy, and took two field-pieces. At this time brigadier-general Fuller, with the first brigade, marched on to take the heights above Fort Chesterfield, on Maregot, where we had reason to expect the greatest resistance; but the former check (in which the enemy lost from fifty to sixty killed and wounded) evinced that opposition could only lead to destruction, and they embraced a verbal summons (sent in by brigadier general Maitland, at five o'clock) to propose their terms at nine; when lieutenant-general Trigge and self, being on the spot, the capitulation was signed and exchanged by midnight of the 24th, of which I transmit a copy for their lordships' information. At the commencement of the attack we observed in Great Bay two privateer brigs, of 12 guns each, and a schooner of the same force, with a merchant-ship, brig, and nine or ten small craft; and as I considered them likely to attempt getting off in the course of the night, if it was found necessary to surrender, I ordered the Hornet and Fanny armed brig to work up to Great Bay, to prevent such attempt from succeeding, and at sunset sent the Drake to aid on that service; but, unfortunately, the two first did not get far enough to windward to fulfil my intention, by which means one of the brigs and the schooner got out, with a few small vessels, five of which were taken: but I am to lament the brig and schooner getting away, after a chase of twenty-four hours, by the Hornet and Fanny. We found remaining in the bay, one brig privateer of 12 guns, an English captured ship, a merchant-brig, four small schooners, and a sloop; the particulars of which my time

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time would not allow me to collect, as I began to embark the troops, ordnance, &c. &c. the next morning, the 25th, and sailed for St. Thomas's the afternoon of the 26th, leaving the Proselyte, Hornet, and Drake, to assist in the arrangements necessary for the security of the island, and two transports to embark the garrison in, which consisted of between 3 and 400, besides nearly a similar number which got away in the brig, &c.

I have ordered the Proselyte to relieve L'Unité, keeping with her the Drake for the assisting protection of the two islands, and L'Unité to conduct the prisoners to Martinique, arranging and getting ready to convoy the trade home.

I cannot conclude this account of our successful proceedings, for their lordships' information, without paying that grateful tribute which is due to lieutenant-general Trigge for his kind support and concurrence in every instance, and for his anxious endeavours to preserve that particular harmony and unanimity between the army and navy, which must always contribute to the success of every undertaking. I should not do justice to the officers and men serving under my command, if I was to omit assuring their lordships they have performed the harassing and laborious service they have been employed in highly to my satisfaction, and with an alacrity characteristic of British seamen; and I have the honour to be, sir, &c. &c. &c.

J. T. Duckworth.

By Lieutenant-General Thomas Trigge and Rear-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Land and Sea Forces employed at the Windward and Leeward Islands, &c. &c. &c.

The king, our master, having viewed with the deepest concern the unjust combination lately entered into between the courts of Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, to support the principles of an armed neutrality, contrary to the law of nations and the positive stipulations of treaties; his majesty, therefore, feels himself called upon to adopt such measures, as a conduct so hostile to the just and ancient privileges of the British flag requires, on his part, for the maintenance and preservation of the best rights of his people, and in support of the most solemn treaties, thereby violated, and to consider, though with the greatest reluctance, those courts as enemies of Great Britain.

Feeling that resistance on your part would only tend to increase the calamities of war, which it is our most earnest desire to alleviate, we have sent this summons by brigadier-general Fuller, of the land forces, and captain King, of the royal navy, requiring you to surrender the island of St. Bartholomew, together with all ships and vessels, stores, and public property of every description.

Knowing how ardently it is the desire of our royal master to avert the sufferings of individuals, and it being no less our own disposition and wish to soften their distresses, we take this opportunity to declare, that the private property of the inhabitants will be respected, as well as whatever belongs to the subjects of the United States of America; and in case of immediate submission, that the laws, customs, and religious usages

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usages of the island shall not be infringed.

Dated on board his majesty's ship Leviathan, this 20th day of March, 1801.

(Signed) Thomas Trigge, lieutenant-general.
J. T. Duckworth, rear-admiral.

His excellency the governor of St. Bartholomew.

His Majesty's Ship Leviathan, March 20.

Sir,

His majesty's friendly disposition towards the interests of the United States of America, and their inhabitants, corresponding so perfectly with our own, we, in order the more certainly to prevent any cause of misunderstanding on the present occasion, have taken this opportunity to express our just expectation, that the subjects of America, at present residing in the island of St. Bartholomew, will not lend themselves to any collusive transactions, with a view of preventing such property from coming into possession of the forces under our command, as of right ought to be forfeited to the crown of Great Britain. As whatever reluctance we might feel in adopting a measure so extremely disagreeable to us, it nevertheless would be our duty, not only to resist, in every instance, such unbecoming proceedings, but be the means of obliging us to act against whoever might be concerned in a transaction of so improper a nature, in a manner which we would ever wish to avoid. At the time of making this communication, we hope not to be understood as conceiving any thing of the nature now alluded to, at all likely to occur. We feel satisfied of the contrary, and have noticed it merely as a measure of precaution, to those who might otherwise have been unwarily led into a step, without being aware of the consequences attendant.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Thos. Trigge, lieutenant-general.
J. T. Duckworth, rear-admiral.

Whereas war between Great Britain and Sweden being announced by the arrival of an armament at this island, summoning it to surrender to his Britannic majesty, I do hereby agree to deliver it up to the British on the following conditions:

Art. I. That all his Swedish majesty's property, now delivered, shall, according to inventory, be restored when the colony is returned to his majesty the king of Sweden.

Answer.—All his Swedish majesty's property must be delivered up to the British unconditionally.

Art. II. That all the inhabitants of this colony, of what nation soever, shall be protected in their persons and property, and at liberty to leave the island, or remain here; and in the first case, to take with them their property, without confiscation or other hindrance. Whereunder is comprehended goods, merchandize, and vessels.

Answer. — All Swedish inhabitants, and those of the United States of America, shall be protected in their persons and property, and be at liberty to leave the island, or remain on it, while they do not act inconsistently with the interests of the

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British: by property is to be understood goods and merchandize on shore.

Art. III. That all military and civil officers, as well as the garrison, shall, when desired, be transported to Sweden at the expense of his Britannic majesty, without being considered prisoners of war, and at liberty to take their property with them.

Answer.—The garrison must be considered as prisoners of war; every possible indulgence will be granted them, and their property respected.

Art. IV. All public papers and documents to be respected, and allowed to be sent to Sweden.

Answer.—All public papers and documents must be submitted to the inspection of the British.

Art. V. Religion, laws, and customs, shall remain in the same state as they now are.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. VI. The papers and documents belonging to the French delegation here to be suffered to be sent away unmolested.

Answer.—All papers belonging to the enemies of Great Britain must be delivered up.

Art. VII. That six days be allowed to deliver up whatever may belong to his Swedish majesty, and for an inventory to be made of the same; during which space of time I desire to be guarded by my own troops.

Answer.—Every protection is ensured to the person of the governor; but the troops of his Swedish majesty must be disarmed immediately after the surrender of the place; and his Swedish majesty's property must be delivered up to the British as soon as possible, and likewise all the forts and strong posts must be surrendered to the British troops as soon as these articles are ratified by the commander-in-chief.

Gustavia, in the island of St. Bartholomew, the 20th day of March, 1801.

H. Ankarheim.
Francis Fuller, brig. general.
E. D. King, capt. royal navy.

Confirmed and ratified by us, the commanders-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's forces. Dated on board his majesty's ship Leviathan, this 20th day of March, 1801.

Thomas Trigge, lieutenant-general.
John Thomas Duckworth rear-admiral.

By their Excellencies Lieutenant-General Thomas Trigge, and Rear-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, Commanders-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces, &c. &c.

The superiority of the force which it has pleased his Britannic majesty to place under our joint command, rendering every hopeof resistance, on your part, altogether ineffectual, we, in order to avert the consequences that so evidently would attend any opposition which, from a vain expectation of success, you might be induced to make, and to give you the only opportunity in our power to afford, of avoiding the effects so certainly to be apprehended, have taken this means of manifesting the moderation with which it is our desire to proceed.

And we do therefore require you, in the name of the king our master, immediately to surrender into our possession the island of St. Martin, as

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as likewise all stores and vessels, together with the property of every description.

Done on board his Britannic majesty's ship Leviathan, this 24th day of March 1801.

(Signed) Thomas Trigge, lieutenant-general.
J. T. Duckworth, rear-admiral.

To his excellency the governor of St. Martin.

Capitulation of the Island of St. Martin.

Art I. That all property, both French and Dutch, shall be respected

Answer.—All public property, military and naval stores, must be delivered up; as likewise all ships and vessels, with their cargoes, belonging to the enemies of Great Britain and Ireland. The private property of the ancient inhabitants, both French and Dutch, is to be respected; but we reserve to ourselves the right to determine with respect to such property as has been acquired of late years.

Art. II. The French troops shall march out at eight o'clock to-morrow morning with their arms, drums beating, and be allowed to take their baggage.

Answer.—Granted.

Art. III. The French delegate, the commandant, and the officers composing the garrison of St. Martin, shall be embarked with their effects and arms, which they are to be allowed to keep in their possesion.

Answer.—Granted.

Art. IV. The officers of the civil department shall be treated as the military, and a vessel shall be granted to convey them to Guadaloupe, where they shall remain on parole until exchanged.

Answer.—Granted.

Art. V. The sick and wounded shall be treated with humanity, and all possible assistance given to them.

Answer.—Granted.

Art VI. All papers of the French delegation shall be given up to the delegate.

Answer.—Granted.

Philipsburg, 24th March, 1801.

(Signed) Bresson, delegate.
Bannier, commandant of military.
(Signed) Thomas Trigge, lieutenant-general.
J. T. Duckworth, rear-admiral.

Leviathan, St. Thomas, March 30.

Sir,

Having had the honour of stating to you, for the information of the lordscommissioners of the admiralty, the successful proceedings of this armament to the 27th, I have now farther to add, that we arrived off this island at daylight of the 28th, having previously concerted with the general the arrangement for landing at Black Point Bay, about three miles to the westward of the town; but from the wind blowing off the land we were not able to obtain anchorage till noon, when I directed captain Bradby, in the Andromeda, with the Alexandria tender, to place themselves as close to the beach as the water would admit to cover the landing; which service was ably executed: I also ordered the Southampton, Diana, and Amphitrite, (which had been previously directed here to prevent succour from being thrown in,) to anchor close off the

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town, to be in readiness to attack the forts, if requisite. This service performed, and the troops all ready to land, lieutenant-general Trigge and self were of opinion it would promote his majesty's service to summon the island, which was sent by brigadier-general Maitland, and captain King of the Leviathan, when a capitulation was agreed on for this island, St. John's, and its dependencies (with the delay only of the governor being permitted to send officers to ascertain that our force was as formidable as represented); and yesterday morning we took possession of the forts, &c., since when I have been constantly employed in landing a garrison, and forming temporary regulations, to move for our next object, Santa Cruz, this evening, that my time will not admit of my giving their lordships an exact detail of the vessels in harbour; but there was one man of war brig, of 18 guns, which appears a very fine vessel, and fit for his majesty's service. Herewith I send a copy of the capitulation. This, with my other dispatches of the 27th, I forward by my first lieutenant, Charles Marshall Gregory, an officer of great merit and activity, who has been recently employed as acting captain of the Amphitrite, and to whom I must refer their lordships for farther particulars; and I have the honour to be, sir, &c. &c. &c.

J. T. Duckworth.

Capitulation of the Island of St. Thomas.

Art. I. The islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and their dependencies, are hereby placed under the protection of his Britannic majesty, until, by a conclusion of peace, it shall be settled whether they are to be Danish or English property.

Answer. — The islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and their dependencies, must be surrendered to the forces of his Britannic majesty on the conditions which follow.

Art. II. Military honours are to be shown by the surrender. The officers to keep and continue to carry their swords.

Answer.—Agreed.

Art. III. All inhabitants of the said islands are to enjoy the fullest security for their persons and property and other rights, as well as a free exercise of religion.

Answer.—All Danish inhabitants, and the subjects of the United States of America, shall enjoy the fullest security for their persons and properties, as well as the free exercise of their religion, provided they do not endeavour collusively to cover the property of the enemies of Great Britain and Ireland. By property is to be understood all goods and merchandize now on shore.

Art. IV. Arms and ammunition to be delivered by a commission composed of officers of both parties; also the magazines and provisions, and what else may be found in the fort to-day, according to returns to be drawn up.

Answer.—Agreed.

Art. V. All Danish officers, the garrison, naval officers and sailors, to be conducted conveniently and safely to their native country, and those that might desire to proceed *via* America, or elsewhere, to be provided with proper passports.

Answer.—The garrison must be considered as prisoners of war, and will be conveyed to Europe as speedily as possible, and every indulgence shown them.

Art.

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Art. VI. No military to be quartered in houses, but in barracks and decent rooms to be assigned by the burgher council, and a commission appointed to that end.

Answer.—Agreed.

Art. VII. The Danish laws and ordinances to remain in force. All courts and juridical offices to be occupied by the present officers. In case no appeal can take place to the high court of justice at Copenhagen, one is to be established here by the English government, to consist of three of the most able candidates in law, and two respectable citizens, acquainted with the Danish language.

Answer.—The Danish laws and ordinances will remain in force as at present; but the persons filling civil offices must be subject to the approbation of their excellencies the commanders-in-chief. In the event of appeal from the courts here, the appeal to lie to his Britannic majesty in council.

Art. VIII. The king's and public treasures, all public book-keepings and accounts, archives, and protocols, remain unmolested, under the hands of the respective officers, for mutual security and use.

Answer.—All property belonging to the king or the government must be given up to his Britannic majesty; and all public papers and records be submitted to the inspection of the British, and the records and papers will afterwards be allowed to remain in the proper offices.

Art. IX. His majesty the king of Denmark having advanced loans to the planters, the said planters continue to pay off according to the method regulated unto his said majesty the king of Denmark (who retains the right of mortgage on the said estates,) with the exception that the proprietors, in consideration of precedent unfavourable commercial conjunctures, and the present circumstances, make no payments this year upon the royal loan which has been effected for the benefit of the planters.

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Answers.—Answered in the last article. But with respect to the payments to be made upon the loan advanced by the king of Denmark to the planters, it is agreed to be left to the determination of the king of Great Britain and Ireland in council how they are to be made and applied.

Art. X. No inhabitant shall be compelled to carry arms, or perform duty, when he has made his oath of neutrality.

Answer.—Agreed to; but they will be required to take an oath of allegiance to the British government, expressing that they will not, either openly or secretly, do any thing hostile to the British government.

Art. XI. The Americans shall be permitted, without constraint, to export the produce of the islands, and provide them with necessaries; the inhabitants also to ship to America.

Answer.—These colonies must trade under the same laws as govern the British West India islands.

Art. XII. A secret and separate convention to permit the inhabitants from the neighbouring islands, or from the main, to trade hither, in order to provide the country with fresh provisions.

Answer.—The affirmative to this proposition must depend upon the decision of his majesty the king of Great Britain and Ireland.

Art. XIII. The free coloured people of this island shall be pro-

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tected and regarded as heretofore under the Danish government, and they shall not be forced to do any military duty.

Answer.—The Danish free coloured people will be protected as heretofore, and will not be forced to do military duty; but they must take the oath of allegiance conformably to the tenth article.

Art. XIV. The preliminary article, on which this proposed capitulation depends, is, that the report of the officers sent on board of the fleet, ascertains the number of British troops to be 3,000 men at least.

Answer.—His excellency the Danish governor is not expected to sign the capitulation until the return of the officers he has sent to see the British troops.

Art. XV. In the general claim of Danish and neutral property to be respected as belonging to the lawful owners, is also comprehended the vessels and all property afloat in this harbour, or what might arrive during the time the Danish colonies may remain in possession of his Britannic majesty.

Answered by the reply to the third proposition.

Additional.

All the forts, military posts, and vessels of war, must be given up as soon as this capitulation is ratified by the commander-in-chief.

St. Thomas, the 28th of March, 1801.

(Signed) C. W. Von Schotten,
Fred. Maitland, brigadier-general.
E.D. King, captain royal navy.

(Ratified) Thomas Trigge, lieutenant-general.
J. T. Duckworth, rear-admiral.

Leviathan, off Christianstadt, Santa-Cruz, April 2.

Sir,

My letters of the 27th and 30th ult. (of which I now transmit duplicates) having given you information for the lords commissioners of the admiralty of our fortunate and successful proceedings in the execution of their lordships' orders to the surrender of St. Thomas's, (with the deviation of venturing to attack St. Martin's,) and my intentions of leaving St. Thomas's for Santa Cruz that evening, the 30th, I now have the farther pleasure to acquaint you that we were off the town of Christianstadt at daylight of the 21st, and having formed the arrangements for landing, and sounded to the eastward of the town, to ascertain that it could be safely effected, lieutenant-general Trigge and myself thought proper to send a summons similar to that of St. Bartholomew; upon which confidential officers were sent off by the governor-general Lindemann, and the accompanying capitulation entered into, the whole of which, I hope, will meet with his majesty's and their lordships' approbation; and as I consider an expeditious account thereof, under the present circumstances with the northern powers, may be very desirable, I dispatch the Fanny hired armed brig, and must defer giving any detail of the vessels in the ports, as I have not yet been able to get any exact list. Captain Ekins, of the Amphitrite, having been much reduced from a fever, and by his exertions again brought on violently his complaint, I have thought it humanity to intrust that valuable officer with my dispatches, and beg leave to refer their lordships to him for any farther particulars.

I in-

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I intend giving an acting order to captain John Miller Garnier, of the Hawke, and my first lieutenant, George William Blamey, an officer whose exertions in the present expedition entitle him to my warmest support.

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I should feel very remiss were I to close this without mentioning to their lordships the aid I have received from my captain E. D. King, in this harassing service; and I have the honour to be,

Sir, &c. &c. &c.

J. T. Duckworth.

Articles of Capitulation proposed by Governor-General Lindemann to their Excellencies Lieutenant-General Thomas Trigge, and Rear-Admiral John Thomas Duckworth, Commanders-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces.

Art. I. The garrison shall evacuate the forts, and all the troops of the island give up their respective quarters. They shall march out of the said forts with their arms and baggage, and all the honours of war, with two field-pieces, colours flying, drums beating; but previous to the evacuation they will discharge all their guns, and the officers will keep their side-arms.

Answer.—Granted.

Art. II. Proper ships will be provided at the expense of his Britannic majesty to convey directly to Copenhagen all his Danish majesty's officers of the army, navy, and of the civil establishment, with their domestics and baggage, and also to convey the garrison and seamen; but should any of those officers wish to go to America in their way home, they will be provided with passports to that effect.

Answer.—The garrison and seamen must be considered as prisoners of war, and will be conveyed to Europe as speedily as possible; but such officers as may desire it will be allowed passports to go by the way of America, on their parole of honour not to serve until regularly exchanged; and must depart from the island in the course of two months from the signing of this capitulation.

Art. III. Such of his majesty's officers who should wish to remain on the island are to be at liberty so to do.

Answer.—The officers of the army and navy cannot be permitted to remain on the island.

Art. IV. All churches and religious congregations in the island shall be supported in their respective rights and privileges.

Answered.—Granted.

Art. V. The Danish laws, and the special ordinances of this country, shall remain in full and uncontrolled vigour and execution as hitherto, and justice be administered by the persons now in office: the appeals from the upper court to go as usual in the last instance to the high court of justice in Copenhagen, or to a high court to be nominated by the British governor, to consist of three able Danish lawyers, and two respectable inhabitants who understand the Danish language, and to be presided by the British governor.

Answer.—The Danish laws and ordinances will remain in force as at present, but the persons filling civil offices must be subject to our approbation; and in the event of appeal from the courts here, the appeal must be made to his Britannic majesty in council.

Art.

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Art. VI. All the inhabitants of this island, present and absent, of every denomination, to remain in full and uncontrolled possession of their property of every description; and they shall meet with no impediment in the administration thereof.

Answer.—The property of all inhabitants will be respected, except the French, Spanish, and Dutch, who have become residents since the 1st of January, 1794.

Art. VII. Absent officers in his Danish majesty's service, as well as other absentees, to be maintained in the possession of their property, which shall be administered by their attorneys.

Answer.—The officers in his Danish majesty's service, and other absentees, except French, Spanish, and Dutch, as specified in the foregoing article, provided they are not serving those governments, shall continue possessed of their landed property, which shall be administered by their attorneys. But if any person, resident in Denmark, shall have warehouses or other depots of goods in the island, they must be sequestered until his Britannic majesty's pleasure shall be known respecting them.

Art. VIII. No inhabitant shall be compelled, on any pretext whatsoever, to bear arms against his Danish majesty, or any other power, or perform any military duty of any denomination. Those who may wish to remain on the island shall swear to observe a strict neutrality; and those who may wish to quit the island shall be allowed to dispose of their property, or to appoint attorneys for the administration of the same.

Answer.—Granted; but they will be required to take an oath of allegiance to the British government, expressing that they will not, either openly or secretly, do any thing hostile to the British government. No Frenchman, Dutchman, or Spaniard, who has become a resident since the 1st of January, 1794, can be permitted to remain on the island.

Art. IX.—The free people of colour shall continue to enjoy their freedom and property, and in every respect to be considered on the same footing as the other inhabitants, as stipulated in the eighth article.

Answer.—Granted; on the terms specified in the answer to the eighth article.

Art. X. No officers nor soldiers to be billetted on the inhabitants; every assistance shall be given to procure proper quarters.

Answer. — Granted; provided proper quarters are procured.

Art. XI.—The inhabitants concerned in his majesty's loan shall not be compelled to make any payments on account of the same, as long as the colony continues subjected to his Britannic majesty.

Answer.—The inhabitants concerned in his Danish majesty's loan must make their payments to his Britannic majesty as they become due, whilst the colony remains under the British government.

Art. XII. All public books, registers, archives of government, the burgher council, and all other public offices, shall, as well as private property, be held sacred and unmolested in the respective offices, under the care of the present officers.

Answer.—All public books and records, of whatever denomination, must

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must be submitted to our examination, but will afterwards be allowed to remain in the proper offices.

Art. XIII. The ports of the colony shall be opened to all American vessels, who shall be permitted to import provisions and supplies, and to export produce; the inhabitants shall enjoy the same liberty of importation and exportation in their own vessels.

Answer.—The same indulgences will be granted to all American vessels, as in the islands under his Britannic majesty's government. The inhabitants taking the oath of allegiance will enjoy the same privileges, with respect to trade, as in the British colonies.

Done on board his Britannic majesty's ship Leviathan, off St. Croix, the 31st of March, 1801.

(Signed) Thos. Trigge, lieutenant-general.
J. T. Duckworth, rear-admiral.
(Signed) J. C. Mot, chamberlain to his Danish majesty.
S. Krause, major of infantry.
(Ratified) W. A. Lindemann, governor-general over the Danish West India colonies.

Secret.

Art. XIV. As it is impossible for the inhabitants to procure fresh provisions and certain indispensable supplies for their estates, but from the Spaniards, either from the Main or Porto Rico, the ports of St. Croix shall be opened to all Spanish vessels bringing such supplies.

Answer.—Granted; until his Britannic majesty's pleasure shall be known.

(Signed) Thos. Trigge, lieutenant-general.
J. T. Duckworth, rear-admiral.
(Signed) J. C. Mot, chamberlain to his Danish majesty.
(Signed) S. Krause, major of infantry.

London Gazette, June 2, 1801.

Extract from a Dispatch, addressed to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, from Lieutenant-General Trigge, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces in the Leeward and Windward Charibbee Islands.

Martinique, April 27.

Sir,

I lose not a moment in having the honour to communicate the information which has been just now received, of the islands of St. Eustatius and Saba having surrendered, on the 21st instant, to a detachment of the 3d regiment of foot, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Blunt, and captain Perkins, of his majesty's ship Arab.

The enclosed extract of a letter from Mr. President Thomson, commanding at St. Christopher's ordering lieutenant-colonel Blunt to proceed on that service, and of lieutenant-colonel Blunt's official letter, acquainting me with the result, will explain to your satisfaction all such circumstances as you may wish to be informed of.

I have only to add, that the officers charged with the conducting of the service, have acquitted themselves

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selves with such judgment and promptitude as to merit and receive my entire approbation.

I have the honour to enclose to you herewith, a copy of the terms on which these islands were surrendered, and have been placed under his majesty's government; but am unable to transmit by this opportunity the return of ordnance, as there is not sufficient time at present to have it made out correctly.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Tho. Trigge,
lieutenant-general.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Blunt, of the 3d Regiment of Foot, to Lieutenant-General Trigge; dated St. Eustatius, 22d April.

I have the honour to enclose an order addressed to me by the president of St. Kitt's, in consequence of which I embarked on board his majesty's ship Arab, captain Perkins, and an armed schooner, his prize, 100 men of the Buffs, with lieutenant Brown, and ten men of the royal artillery. We summoned the island of St. Eustatius on the morning of the 21st, which surrendered by capitulation; the terms of which accompany this, and I hope will not be disapproved by your excellency. They had no provisions in the garrison, and very little in possession of the inhabitants. From the extent of the batteries it will not be in my power to forward, by this opportunity, lieutenant Brown's report of the ordnance.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Richard Blunt,
Lieutenant-colonel, Buffs.

Extract of a Letter from the President of St. Kitt's to Lieutenant-Colonel Blunt, of the 3d Regiment of Foot; dated Bassaterre, 20th April.

I have just received information that the island of St. Eustatius was evacuated by the French on the 16th instant.

Under these circumstances, and considering that a favourable opportunity presents itself to acquire the possession of that island, and thereby give security to the islands in its neighbourhood, and recover a number of negroes who have eloped from hence, and which may be lost by delay; you will therefore embark with 100 men of the Buffs, on board his majesty's ship Arab, captain Perkins, and take possession of the island of St. Eustatius, which you will retain until his excellency general Trigge's pleasure thereon be known.

I have, &c.

(Signed) Rob. Thomson.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation.]

London Gazette, August 1, 1801.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir James Saumarez, to Evan Nepean, Esq; dated on board his Majesty's ship Cæsar, at Gibraltar, the 6th July.

Sir

I have to request you will be pleased to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, conformably to my letter of yesterday's date, I stood through the Straits, with his majesty's squadron under my orders, with the intention of attacking

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attacking three French line of battle ships and a frigate, that I had received information of being at anchor off Algeziras: on opening Cabareta Point, I found the ships lay at a considerable distance from the enemy's batteries, and having a leading wind up to them, afforded every reasonable hope of success in the attack.

I had previously directed captain Hood, in the Venerable, from his experience and knowledge of the anchorage, to lead the squadron, which he executed with his accustomed gallantry; and although it was not intended he should anchor, he found himself under the necessity so to do, from the wind's failing, (a circumstance so much to be apprehended in this country,) and to which circumstance I have to regret the want of success in this well intended enterprise. Captain Stirling anchored opposite to the inner ship of the enemy, and brought the Pompée to action in the most spirited and gallant manner, which was also followed by the commanders of every ship in the squadron.

Captains Darby and Ferris, owing to light winds, were prevented for a considerable time from coming into action; at length the Hannibal getting a breeze, captain Ferris had the most favourable prospect of being alongside one of the enemy's ships, when the Hannibal unfortunately took the ground, and I am extremely concerned to acquaint their lordships, that, after having made every possible effort with this ship and the Audacious, to cover her from the enemy, I was under the necessity to make sail, being at the time only three cables' length from one of the enemy's batteries.

My thanks are particularly due to all the captains, officers, and men under my orders; and although their endeavours have not been crowned with success, I trust the thousands of spectators from his majesty's garrison, and also the surrounding coast, will do justice to their valour and intrepidity, which were not to be checked by the fire from the numerous batteries, however formidable, that surround Algeziras.

I feel it incumbent upon me to state to their lordships the great merits of captain Brenton, of the Cæsar, whose cool judgment and intrepid conduct I will venture to pronounce were never surpassed. I also beg leave to recommend to their lordships' notice, my flag lieutenant, Mr. Philip Dumaresq, who has served with me from the commencement of this war, and is a most deserving officer. Mr. Lamborne and the other lieutenants are also entitled to great praise, as well as captain Maxwell of the marines, and the officers of his corps serving on board the Cæsar.

The enemy's ships consisted of two of 84 guns, and one of 74, with a large frigate: two of the former are aground, and the whole are rendered totally unserviceable.

I cannot close this letter without rendering the most ample justice to the great bravery of captain Ferris; the loss in his ship must have been very considerable both in officers and men; but I have the satisfaction to be informed that his majesty has not lost so valuable an officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

James Saumarez.

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The hon. captain Dundas, of his majesty's polacre the Calpe, made his vessel as useful as possible, and kept up a spirited fire on one of the enemy's batteries. I have also to express my approbation of lieutenant Janverin, commander of the gun-boats, who, having joined me with intelligence, served as a volunteer on board the Cæsar.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir J. Saumarez; dated on board his Majesty's Ship Cæsar, Gibraltar Mole, July 10, to Evan Nepean, Esq.

Sir,

I herewith enclose the copy of a letter from captain Ferris, of his majesty's late ship Hannibal, which I request you will please to lay before their lordships; and I have only to express my deep regret that his well meant endeavours to bring his ship to close action should have occasioned so severe a loss.

J. Saumarez.

Algeziras, July 7.

Sir,

I have little more to tell you of the fate of his majesty's ship Hannibal, than yourself must have observed, only, that from the number of batteries and ships, gun-boats, &c. we had to encounter, our guns soon got knocked up; and I found it was impossible to do any thing either for the preservation of the ship, or for the good of the service, our boats, sails, rigging, and springs, being all shot away; and so many killed and wounded, which will appear by the annexed list, I thought it prudent to strike, and thereby preserve the lives of the brave men that remained.

Had I been successful in the view before me, previous to the ship's taking the ground, my praises of the conduct of my officers and ship's company could not have exceeded their merits; but I have, notwithstanding, the satisfaction to say, that every order was observed and carried into execution with that promptitude and alacrity becoming British officers and seamen.

I am, &c.

S. Ferris.

Rear-admiral sir James Saumarez.

London Gazette Extraordinary, August 3, 1801.

Admiralty Office, August 3.

Lieutenant Philip Dumaresq, of his majesty's ship Cæsar, arrived last night with dispatches from rear-admiral sir James Saumarez, bart., of which the following are copies:

Cæsar, off Cape Trafalgar, July 13.

Sir,

It has pleased the Almighty to crown the exertions of this squadron with the most decisive success over the enemies of their country.

The three French line of battle ships, disabled in the action of the 6th instant off Algeziras, were, on the 8th, reinforced by a squadron of five Spanish line of battle ships, under the command of Don Juan Joaquin de Moreno, and a French ship of 74 guns, wearing a broad pendant, besides three frigates, and an incredible number of gun-boats and other vessels, and got under sail yesterday morning, together with his

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his majesty's late ship Hannibal, which they had succeeded in getting off the shoal on which she struck.

I almost despaired of having a sufficient force in readiness to oppose to such numbers, but, through the great exertions of captain Brenton, the officers and men belonging to the Cæsar, the ship was in readiness to warp out of the Mole yesterday morning, and got under weigh immediately after with all the squadron, except the Pompée, which ship had not had time to get in her masts.

Confiding in the zeal and intrepidity of the officers and men I had the happiness to serve with, I determined, if possible, to obstruct the passage of this very powerful force to Cadiz. Late in the evening I observed the enemy's ships to have cleared Cabareta Point, and at eight I bore up with the squadron to stand after them. His majesty's ship Superb being stationed ahead of the Cæsar, I directed captain Keats to make sail and attack the sternmost ships in the enemy's rear, using his endeavours to keep in shore of them. At eleven the Superb opened her fire close to the enemy's ships, and on the Cæsar's coming up, and preparing to engage a three decker that had hauled her wind, she was perceived to have taken fire, and the flames having communicated to a ship to leeward of her, both were seen in a blaze, and presented a most awful sight. No possibility existing of offering the least assistance in so distressing a situation, the Cæsar passed to close with the ship engaged by the Superb, but by the cool and determined fire kept upon her, which must ever reflect the highest credit on that ship, the enemy's ship was completely silenced, and soon after hauled down her colours.

The Venerable and Spencer having at this time come up, I bore up after the enemy, who were carrying a press of sail, standing out of the Straits, and lost sight of them during the night. It blew excessively hard till daylight, and in the morning the only ships in company were the Venerable, and Thames ahead of the Cæsar, and one of the French ships at some distance from them standing towards the shoals of Conil, besides the Spencer astern, coming up.

All the ships immediately made sail with a fresh breeze; but, as we approached, the wind suddenly failing, the Venerable was alone able to bring her to action, which captain Hood did in the most gallant manner, and had nearly silenced the French ship, when his mainmast (which had been before wounded) was unfortunately shot away, and it coming nearly calm, the enemy's ship was enabled to get off without any possibility of following her.

The highest praise is due to captain Hood, the officers and men of the Venerable, for their spirit and gallantry in the action, which entitled them to better success. The French ship was an 84, with additional guns on the gunwale.

This action was so near the shore, that the Venerable struck on one of the shoals, but was soon after got off and taken in tow by the Thames, but with the loss of all her masts.

The enemy's ships are now in sight to the westward, standing in for Cadiz. The Superb and Audacious, with the captured ships, are also in sight, with the Carlotta Portuguese frigate, commanded by captain

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tain Crawfurd Duncan, who very handsomely came out with the squadron, and has been of the greatest assistance to captain Keats, in staying by the enemy's ship captured by the Superb.

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I am proceeding with the squadron for Rosier Bay, and shall proceed, the moment the ships are refitted, to resume my station.

No praises that I can bestow are adequate to the merits of the officers and ships' companies of all the squadron, particularly for the unremitted exertions in refitting the ships at Gibraltar, to which, in a great degree, is to be ascribed the success of the squadron against the enemy.

Although the Spencer and Audacious had not the good fortune to partake of this action, I have no doubt of their exertion, had they come up in time to close with the enemy's ships.

My thanks are also due to captain Hollis of the Thames, and to the hon. captain Dundas of the Calpe, whose assistance was particularly useful to captain Keats in securing the enemy's ship, and enabling the Superb to stand after the squadron.

I herewith enclose the names of the enemy's ships.

I have the honour to be. &c.

(Signed) J. Saumarez.

Evan Nepean, esq.

List of the Spanish Squadron that arrived at Cadiz from Ferrol, on the 25th of April, under the Command of Don Joaquin de Moreno, (Lieutenant-General,) as Vice-Admiral, and proceeded to Algeziras Bay, the 9th of July.

Real Carlos, of 112 guns, captain don J. Esquerra.

San Hermenegildo, of 112 guns, captain don J. Emparan.

San Fernando, of 94 guns, captain don J. Malina.

Argonaut, of 80 guns, captain don J. Harrera.

San Augustin, of 74 guns, captain don R. Jopete.

San Antonio, of 74 guns, under French colours, taken by the Superb.

Wanton French lugger, of 12 guns.

The admiral's ship, the Real Carlos, the San Hermenegildo, were the two ships that took fire and blew up.

(Signed) J. Saumarez.

Cæsar, off Cape Trafalgar,
Sir, *July* 14.

I herewith enclose, for their lordships' farther information, the statement I have received from captain Keats, to whom the greatest praise is due for his gallant conduct on the service alluded to.

Captain Hood's merits are held in too high estimation to receive additional lustre from any praises I can bestow; but I only do justice to my own feelings when I observe, that in no instance have I known superior bravery to that displayed by him on this occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. Saumarez.

Evan Nepean, esq.

Superb, off Cape Trafalgar,
Sir, *July* 13.

Pursuant to your directions, to state the particulars of the Superb's services last night, I have the honour to inform you, that, in consequence of your directions to make sail up to, and engage the sternmost of the enemy's ships, at half past eleven I found myself abreast of a Spanish three-

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three-decked ship, (the Real Carlos, as appears by report of some survivors,) which, having brought in one with two other ships nearly line abreast, I opened my fire upon at not more than three cables' length; this evidently produced a good effect, as well in this ship as the others abreast of her, which soon began firing on each other, and at times on the Superb.

In about a quarter of an hour, I perceived the ship I was engaging, and which had lost her fore-topmast, to be on fire, upon which we instantly ceased to molest her, and I proceeded on to the ship next at hand, which proved to be the San Antonio, of 74 guns and 730 men, commanded by the chef de division Le Rey, under French colours, wearing a broad pendant, and manned nearly equally with French and Spanish seamen, and which, after some action, (the chef being wounded,) struck her colours.

I learn from the very few survivors of the ships that caught fire and blew up, (who, in an open boat, reached the Superb at the time she was taking possession of the San Antonio,) that, in the confusion of the action, the Hermenegilde, (a first rate also,) mistaking the Real Carlos for an enemy, ran on board her, and shared her melancholy fate.

Services of this nature cannot well be expected to be performed without some loss; but though we have to lament that lieutenant E. Waller, and 14 seamen and marines, have been wounded, most of them severely, still there is reason to rejoice that this is the extent of our loss.

I received able and active assistance from Mr. Samuel Jackson, the first lieutenant; and it is my duty to represent to you, that the officers of all descriptions, seamen and marines, conducted themselves with the greatest steadiness and gallantry.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. G. Keats.

Sir James Saumarez, bart.
rear-admiral of the blue,
&c.

London Gazette, August 18, 1801.

Admiralty-Office, August 18.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Viscount Nelson, K. B., Vice-Admiral of the Blue, &c., to Evan Nepean, Esq.; dated on board the Medusa, off Boulogne, August 16.

Sir,

Having judged it proper to attempt bringing off the enemy's flotilla, moored in the front of Boulogne, I directed the attack to be made by four divisions of boats for boarding, under the command of captains Somerville, Cotgrave, Jones, and Parker; and a division of howitzer-boats, under captain Conn. The boats put off from the Medusa at half past eleven o'clock last night in the best possible order, and before one o'clock this morning the firing began, and I had, from the judgment of the officers, and the zeal and gallantry of every man, the most perfect confidence of complete success; but the darkness of the night, with the tide and half tide, separated the divisions, and from all not arriving at the same happy moment with captain Parker, is to be attributed the failure of success; and I beg to be understood, that not the smallest blame attaches itself to any person; for although the divisions did not arrive together, yet each (except the fourth division, which

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which could not be got up before day) made a successful attack on that part of the enemy they fell in with, and actually took possession of many brigs and flats, and cut their cables; but many of them being aground, and the moment of the battle's ceasing on board them, the vessels were filled with vollies upon vollies of musketry, the enemy being perfectly regardless of their own men, who must have suffered equally with us; it was therefore impossible to remain on board, even to burn them: but allow me to say, who have seen much service this war, that more determined persevering courage I never witnessed, and that nothing but the impossibility of being successful, from the causes I have mentioned, could have prevented me from having to congratulate their lordships; but although in value the loss of such gallant and good men is incalculable, yet, in point of numbers, it has fallen short of my expectations. I must also beg leave to state, that greater zeal and ardent desire to distinguish themselves by an attack on the enemy was never shown than by all the captains, officers, and crews, of all the different descriptions of vessels under my command.

The commanders of the Hunter and Greyhound revenue cutters went in their boats in the most handsome and gallant manner to the attack. Amongst the many brave men wounded, I have with the deepest regret to place the name of my gallant good friend and able assistant captain Edward T. Parker; also my flag lieutenant Frederic Langford, who has served with me many years; they were both wounded in attempting to board the French commodore. To captain Gore, of the Medusa, I feel the highest obligations; and when their lordships look at the loss of the Medusa on this occasion, they will agree with me, that the honour of my flag, and the cause of their king and country, could never have been placed in more gallant hands. Captain Bedford, of the Leyden, with captain Gore, very handsomely volunteered their services to serve under a master and commander; but I did not think it fair to the latter, and I only mention it to mark the zeal of those officers. From the nature of the attack only a few prisoners were made; a lieutenant, eight seamen, and eight soldiers, are all they brought off. Herewith I send the reports of the several commanders of divisions, and a return of killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Nelson and Bronte.

P. S. Captain Somerville was the senior master and commander employed.

Eugene, off Boulogne,

My lord, *August* 16.

In obedience to your lordship's direction to state the proceedings of the first division of boats, which you did me the honour to place under my command, for the purpose of attacking the enemy's flotilla in the bay of Boulogne, I beg leave to acquaint you, that, after leaving the Medusa last night, I found myself, on getting on shore, carried considerably, by the rapidity of the tide, to the eastward of the above-mentioned place; and finding that I was not likely to reach it in the order prescribed, I gave directions for the boats to cast each other off. By so doing, I was enabled to get to the enemy's flotilla a little before the dawn of day, and in the best order possible attacked, close to the pier-head,

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head, a brig, which, after a sharp contest, I carried. Previous to so doing, her cables were cut; but I was prevented from towing her out by her being secured with a chain, and, in consequence of a very heavy fire of musketry and grape shot that was directed at us from the shore, three luggers, and another brig within half pistol shot; and not seeing the least prospect of being able to get her off, I was obligated to abandon her, and push out of the bay, as it was then completely daylight.

The undaunted and resolute behaviour of the officers, seamen, and marines, was unparalleled; and I have to lament the loss of several of those brave men, a list of whom I enclose you herewith.

I have the honour to be, &c.

P. Somerville.

Lord viscount Nelson, K. B.,
vice-admiral of the blue,
&c. &c. &c.

Medusa, off Boulogne,
August 16.

My lord,

After the complete arrangement which was made, the perfect good understanding and regularity with which the boats you did me the honour to put under my command left the Medusa, I have an anxious feeling to explain to your lordship the failure of our enterprise, that, on its outset, promised every success.

Agreeable to your lordship's instructions, I proceeded with the second division of the boats under my direction (the half of which were under the direction of lieutenant Williams, senior of the Medusa) to attack the part of the enemy's flotilla appointed for me, and at half past twelve had the good fortune to find myself close to them, when I ordered lieutenant Williams, with his subdivisions, to push on to attack the vessels to the northward of me, while I, with the others, run alongside a large brig off the Mole Head, wearing the commodore's pendant. It is at this moment I feel myself at a loss for words to do justice to the officers and crew of the Medusa who were in the boat with me, and to lieutenant Langford, the officers and crew of the same ship, who nobly seconded us in the barge, until all her crew were killed or wounded; and to the honourable Mr. Cathcart, who commanded the Medusa's cutter, and sustained the attack with the greatest intrepidity, until the desperate situation I was left in, obliged me to call him to the assistance of the sufferers in my boat.

The boats were no sooner alongside than we attempted to board; but a very strong netting traced up to her lower yards, baffled all our endeavours, and an instantaneous discharge of her guns and small arms, from about 200 soldiers on her gunwale, knocked myself, Mr. Kirby, the master of the Medusa, Mr. Gore, a midshipman, with two thirds of the crew, upon our backs into the boat, all either killed or wounded desperately; the barge and cutter being on the outside, sheered off with the tide; but the flat boat in which I was hung alongside, and, as there was not an officer or man left to govern her, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not Mr. Cathcart taken her in tow and carried her off.

Mr. Williams led his subdivision up to the enemy with the most intrepid gallantry, took one lugger, and attacked a brig, while his crews, I am concerned to say, suffered

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equally with ourselves, nearly the whole of his boat's crew were killed or wounded; lieutenant Pelley, who commanded the Medusa's launch, and the honourable Mr. Maitland, midshipman, were severely wounded; and Mr. William Bristow, master's mate, in the Medusa's cutter, under lieutenant Stewart, was killed.

I now feel it my duty to assure your lordship, that nothing could surpass the zeal, courage, and readiness, of every description of officer and man under command; and I am sorry that my words fall short of their merits, though we could not accomplish the object we were ordered to.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Edward T. Parker.

Lord viscount Nelson, vice-admiral of the blue, commander-in-chief, &c. &c.

Gannet, August 16.

My lord,

On the night of the 15th instant, the third division of boats which I had the honour to command, assembled onboardhis majesty's shipYork, agreeable to your lordship's directions, and at eleven P. M. by signal from the Medusa, proceeded without loss of time to attack the enemy's flotilla off Boulogne, as directed by your lordship; and as I thought it most advisable to endeavour to reduce the largest vessel first, I lost no time in making the attack; but in consequence of my leading the division, and the enemy opening a heavy fire from several batteries, thought it advisable to give the enemy as little time as possible, cut the tow rope, and did not wait for the other boats, so that it was some little time before the heavy boats could get up; received so many shots through the boat's bottom, that I soon found her in a sinking state, and as it was not possible to stop so many shot holes, was obliged, with the men, to take to another boat, and have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that I received particular support from the boats of his majesty's ship York, which soon came up with the rest of the division I had the honour to command; but finding no prospect of success, and the number of men killed and wounded in the different boats, and the constant fire from the shore, of grape and small arms, thought it for the good of his majesty's service to withdraw the boats between two and three in the morning, as we could not board her, although every effort was made.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Isaac Cotgrave.

The right hon. lord viscount Nelson, K.B., commander-in-chief, &c. &c.

His Majesty's Ship Isis, Sunday, August 16.

My lord,

In consequence of directions received from your lordship, I last night, on the signal being made on board the Medusa, left this ship with the boats of the fourth division, formed with two close lines, and immediately joined the other divisions under the stern of the Medusa, and from thence proceeded to put your lordship's order into execution, attacking the westernmost part of the enemy'sflotilla; but notwithstanding every exertion made, owing to the rapidity of the tide, we could not, until near daylight, get to the westward of any part of the enemy's line; on approaching the easternmost part of which, in order to assist the first division then engaged, we met them returning,

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turning. Under these circumstances, and the day breaking apace, I judged it prudent to direct the officers commanding the different boats to return to their respective ships.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Rob. Jones.

P. S. None killed or wounded on board any of the fourth division.

Right hon. lord viscount Nelson, K.B., commander-in-chief, &c. &c.

Discovery, off Boulogne, August 16.

My lord,

I beg leave to make my report to your lordship of the four howitzer boats that I had the honour to command, in the attack of the enemy last night.

Having led in to support captain Parker's division, keeping between his lines until the enemy opened their fire on him, we keeping on towards the pier until I was aground in the headmost boat, then opened our fire, and threw about eight shells into it; but, from the strength of the tide coming out of the harbour, was not able to keep our station off the pier-head, but continued our fire on the camp until the enemy's fire had totally slackened, and captain Parker's division had passed without me. I beg leave to mention to your lordship, that I was ably supported by the other boats. Captain Broome and lieutenant Beam, of the royal artillery, did every thing in their power to annoy the enemy. The other officers of artillery were detached in the other four howitzer boats.

I have the honour to be, &c.

John Conn.

Right hon. lord viscount Nelson, K. B., &c. &c.

London Gazette, August 25, 1801.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Nelson, to Evan Nepean, Esq.; dated Downs, 23d instant.

Sir

Herewith I transmit you a letter which I have received from captain Rose, giving me an account of the boats of the several vessels under his orders having burnt a quantity of pitch, tar, and turpentine, destroyed three gun-boats, taken two launches, and a flat boat, about forty-five feet long, and eighteen or twenty feet wide, mounted with one brass eight-inch howitzer: this boat sunk astern of the Hound. The business, on the part of our boats, was conducted with much spirit; and much praise is due to lieutenant Agassiz, of the Hound, and lieutenant L. Vescont, of the Jamaica, for their brave example on this occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Nelson and Bronte.

The Jamaica, at Sea, August 21.

My lord,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that yesterday evening, at eight o'clock, being at anchor off Estaples, I observed a large fire to the S.S. E., and at the same time a very heavy cannonade. I immediately got under way with the vessels under my orders, and ran down to it. About ten I spoke captain Sauadine, of the Hound, who informed me that the fire proceeded from a cargo of pitch and tar, belonging to a vessel wrecked on the coast some time ago, which the boats of the Hound and Mallard had set fire to; and that six flat boats had come out of Saint Vallery that afternoon, which he forced on shore, and then lay hauled upon the beach,

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I accordingly this morning sent the boats of the Jamaica, Gannet, and Hound, together with those of the gun-brigs, to endeavour to cut them out, under the direction of lieutenant James Agassiz, of the Hound, at the same time standing in with the different vessels, in order to cover the boats from the fire of the military, and five field-pieces posted behind the sand-hills on shore.

I am happy to acquaint your lordship that they succeeded in bringing off three; the others had been previously scuttled, so as to render it impossible to remove them; however, the boats damaged them as much as the time would admit of.

I cannot sufficiently praise the gallantry and zeal of lieutenant Agassiz, of the Hound, and lieutenant L. Vescont, of the Jamaica, with the officers and men employed on this service.

Annexed I transmit a list of our loss; and have the honour to be, &c.

Jonas Rose.

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An Account of all Grain, Meal, Flour, and Rice, imported into Great Britain, between October 1, 1800, and October 1, 1801; distinguishing the Countries whence, and the Ports into which, imported.

	BARLEY.			BEANS.			OATS.		
	England.	*Scotland.*	*Great Br.*	*England.*	*Scotland.*	*Great Br.*	*England.*	*Scotland.*	*Great Br.*
	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.
Denmark . . .	537	781	1319				1063	1096	2160
Russia	1070	255	1325				8521	1369	9891
Sweden	4628		4628				9014	72	9086
Poland	1796		1796				5644		5644
Prussia	15848	3466	19315	3496		3496	53749	20236	73986
Germany . . .	102537	5663	108201	8417	5	8422	280986	43487	324473
Holland . . .	38347		38347	6390		6390	257024	2675	259699
Flanders . . .									
France				351		351	70		70
Portugal . . .									
Spain									
Gibraltar . . .	1		1						
Italy							70		70
Malta									
Ireland								366	366
Isles									
States of America	390		390	8	11	20	8		8
British Cont. Col.									
West Indies . .									
Africa									
Total .	165156 *6	10166 6	175323 4	18663 5	16 7	18680 4	616152 4	69304 7	685457 3

* In all the Tables, odd Bushels come into Totals.

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THE PRECEDING ACCOUNT CONTINUED:

	PEASE.			RYE.			RYE MEAL.		
	England.	*Scotland.*	*Great Brit.*	*England.*	*Scotland.*	*Great Brit.*	*England.*	*Scotland.*	*Great Brit.*
	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Cwt. Qrs. lbs.	Cwt. Qrs. lbs.	Cwt. Qrs. lbs.
Denmark . .	18	132	150	678		678			
Russia . . .	33		33	10275		10275			
Sweden . . .	590		590	39		39			
Poland . . .	1136		1136	15235		15235			
Prussia . . .	5138	554	5692	9385	4	9385			
Germany . .	35208	3153	38361	42806		42806	364 2		364 2
Holland . . .	2541		2541	15978		15978	7 0		7 0
Flanders . . .	1		1				28 0		28 0
France . . .									
Portugal . . .									
Spain									
Gibraltar . . .									
Italy									
Malta . . .									
Ireland . . .									
Isles									
States of America	73	7	80	1622		1622	149084 0 20	13571 2 14	162655 3
British Cont. Col.		139	139						
West Indies .									
Africa . . .									
Total .	44742 3	3987 0	48729 3	96021 7	0 4	96022 3	149483 2 20	13571 2 14	163055 1 6

Denmark

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THE PRECEDING ACCOUNT CONTINUED.

	WHEAT.			WHEAT FLOUR.			INDIAN CORN.		
	England.	*Scotland.*	*Great Brit.*	*England.*	*Scotland.*	*Great Brit.*	*England.*	*Scotland.*	*Great Brit.*
	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Cwt. Qr. Bu.	Cwt. Qr. Bu.	Cwt. Qr. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.
Denmark . . .	4194	606	4800						
Russia	140351	1838	142190	656 0	18 0	674 0			
Sweden	13034	15	13049						
Poland	224939	1635	226574	169 3		169 3			
Prussia	314345	35113	349458	2 2		2 2			
Germany . . .	315378	23922	339300	4010 2	6 2	4017 0			
Holland . . .	124713		124713	6163 3	0 2	6164 1			
Flanders . . .				6 0		6 0			
France				1 0		1 0			
Portugal . . .	102		102	54 0		54 0	1		1
Spain				30 3		30 3			
Gibraltar . . .	3		3						
Italy	1		1						
Malta	2000		2000	216 1		216 1			
Ireland				1368 0	5 3	1373 3			
Isles									
States of America	16292	4396	20689	658725 1	66049 2	724775 0	26435	14804	41239
British Cont. Col.	19880	24070	43950	23028 2	6728 3	29757 1			
West Indies . .							1		
Africa									
Total .	1175235 2	91598 0	1266833 2	694433 0 19	72809 2 19	767242 3 10	26436 1	14804 2	41240 3

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THE PRECEDING ACCOUNT CONTINUED:

NAMES	INDIAN MEAL.									RICE.								
	England.			*Scotland.*			*Great Britain.*			*England.*			*Scotland.*			*Great Britain.*		
	Cwt.	Qrs.	lbs.	Cwt.	Qrs.	lbs.	Cwt.	Qrs.	lbs.	Cwt.	Qrs.	lbs.	Cwt.	Qrs.	lbs.	Cwt.	Qrs.	lbs.
Denmark . . .																		
Russia . . .																		
Sweden . . .																		
Poland . . .																		
Prussia . . .																		
Germany . .										75	3					75	3	
Holland . . .										14	1					14	1	
Flanders . . .																		
France . . .																		
Portugal . . .																		
Spain																		
Gibraltar . . .																		
Italy																		
Malta . . .																		
Ireland . . .				5	1		5	1		5	2					5	2	
Isles																		
States of America	61700	3		47065	0		108766	0		237269	1		21027	0		258296	1	
British Cont. Col.										1627	1		120	0		1747	1	
West Indies .	6	0					6	0		45	0		6	0		51	0	
Africa . . .										192	0					192	0	
Total .	61707	0	19	47070	1	9	108777	2	0	239229	3	24	21153	0	17	260383	0	13

Oatmeal.—England, 2 bolls, 107 pounds.—Scotland, 48 bolls, 88 pounds.—Great Britain, 57 bolls, 55 pounds.

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Names of the Ports in ENGLAND.	Barley.	Beans.	Oats.	Oatme.	Peas.	Rye.	Rye Meal.	Wheat.	Whe. Flour.	Ind.Corn.	Ind. Meal.	Rice.
	Qrs. B.	Qrs. B.	Qrs. B.	Boll. lb.	Qrs. B.	Qrs. B.	Cwt. qr. lb.	Qrs. B.	Cwt. qr. lb.	Qrs. B.	Cwt. qr. lb.	Cwt. qr. lb.
Berwick .			1485		5			561				
Bristol . .	1198			1 61	154	45	31056 0 0	27544	78591 2 21	1743	6045 1 25	9293 3 23
Chester .	847	70										
Chichester			1458					5420				
Colchester	326							132				
Cowes . .					2			2683				748 1 11
Dartmouth								952				99 1 0
Dover . .	487	107	233		8			2044		4		
Exeter . .	134							1298				
Falmouth .		1					117 2 8		26401 3 23	546	797 0 12	139 2 0
Harwich .								2393				
Hull. . .	11363	3065	39130		3238	5491	2891 0 25	5497	10920 3 4	252	351 2 25	3127 3 3
Lancaster .								53	13 3 9	262	135 3 7	1548 2 9
Liverpool .	26285	5418	7544		5301	3912	90410 1 22	172284	289890 3 20	21624	32932 1 7	53322 1 25
Lynn . .	1309	320	5357		203			9937				
Newcastle.	10877	994	23441		1821	57576	242 2 0	36771				
Penzance .									17 2 0		29 2 0	
Plymouth .			258					624	238 0 0	25		
Poole . .			1270		94			3653				
Portsmouth	1643		1997		4			5238				
Rochester .				1 28				23				
Rye . . .	126				95	200		105				
Sandwich .								2479				
Shoreham .			492									
Southampton	325	41	2913		184	29		6007				
Stockton .						350						
Sunderland	362		938		1	131		407				
Weymouth	180		1618					599				
Whitby .			19					743				
Whitehaven					9			1155	180 1 15	67		
Yarmouth .	377	696	2307		50			404				
London .	109312	7949	525684	0 18	33473	28286	24765 3 23	806215	288178 0 11	1913	21415 0 27	170950 0 9
Total .	165156 6	18663 5	616152 4	2 107	44742 3	36021 7	149483 2 20	1175235 2	694433 0 19	26436 1	61707 0 19	239229 3 24

NAMES

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Names of the Ports in SCOTLAND.	Barley.	Beans.	Oats.	Oatme.	Peas.	Rye.	Rye Meal.	Wheat.	Whe. Flour.	Ind.Corn.	Indian Meal.	Rice.
	Qrs. B.	Qrs. B.	Qrs. B.	Boll. lb.	Qrs. B.	Qrs. B.	Cwt. qr. lb.	Qrs. B.	Cwt. qr. lb.	Qrs. B.	Cwt. qr. lb.	Cwt. qr. lb
Aberdeen .			1629		5			245	17 2 0			
Air . . .					2			2309	2297 3 0	10	43 0 0	29 2 0
Alloa . . .	1494		700					4031	875 0 0			
Anstruther .			773									
Borrowstoness	876	5	18069		895	0 4		9810	18 2 0			
Dundee . .	590		7148		4			980				
Dumfries .								23				
Glasgow . .		11	366	48 88	133		13436 3 14	23443	63676 0 20	9308	44030 2 13	21042 1 14
Irvine . .								1797	753 2 10			
Kirkaldy .	830		3787					1088				
Leith . . .	5463		30523		2938		134 3 0	42680	5171 0 17	5485	2996 2 24	81 1 5
Montrose .	255		2843					4391				
Perth . .	658		3464					798				
Rothsay .					10							
Total Scotland	10166 6	16 7	69504 7	48 88	3987 0	0 4	13571 2 14	91598 0	72809 2 19	14804 2	47070 2	21153 0 17
England brot. forward .	165156 6	18663 5	616152 4	2 107	44742 3	96021 7	149483 2 20	1175235 2	694433 0 19	26436 1	61707 0 19	239229 3 24
Great Britain	175323 4	18680 4	685457 3	51 55	48729 3	96022 3	163055 1 6	1266833 2	767242 3 10	41240 3	108777 2 0	260383 0 13

Inspector-general's Office, Custom House, London, 14th January, 1802.

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector-general of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.

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An Account of the Amount of Bank of England Notes in Circulation, on an Average of every Month, from the 25th of October, 1800; distinguishing the Amount of Notes below the Value of Five Pounds.

Amount of Bank of England Notes of Five Pounds each and upwards.

From 25th October to 25th November, 1800	£13,816,700
25th November to 25th December	13,133,500
25th December to 25th January, 1801	13,845,800

Amount of Bank of England Notes of Two Pounds and One Pound each.

From 25th October to 25th November, 1800	£2,061,700
25th November to 25th December	2,148,700
25th December to 25th January, 1801	2,519,400

William Warton, accountant-general.

Bank of England, Feb. 6, 1801.

An Account of the Nett Revenue of the Post Office paid into the Exchequer, exclusive of Parliamentary Pensions and Grants, from the Year 1760 to 1800, both inclusive, distinguishing each Year.

[The years ending 5th April.]				[The years ending 5th April.]			
1761 . .	£36,400	0	0	1781 . .	£142,400	0	0
1762 . . .	36,400	0	0	1782 . . .	103,100	0	0
1763 . . .	36,400	0	0	1783 . . .	148,400	0	0
1764 . . .	46,400	0	0	1784 . . .	177,400	0	0
1765 . . .	88,100	0	0	1785 . . .	225,100	0	0
1766 . . .	100,400	0	0	1786 . . .	264,000	0	0
1767 . . .	105,400	0	0	1787 . . .	254,000	0	0
1768 . . .	109,400	0	0	1788 . . .	274,000	0	0
1769 . . .	110,400	0	0	1789 . . .	300,000	0	0
1770 . . .	105,400	0	0	1790 . . .	361,000	0	0
1771 . . .	100,100	0	0	1791 . . .	325,000	0	0
1772 . . .	118,400	0	0	1792 . . .	340,484	3	9¼
1773 . . .	149,400	0	9	1793 . . .	384,000	0	0
1774 . . .	147,400	0	0	1794 . . .	392,000	0	0
1775 . . .	153,400	0	0	1795 . . .	421,000	0	0
1776 . . .	165,100	0	0	1796 . . .	442,000	0	0
1777 . . .	141,400	0	0	1797 . . .	500,000	0	0
1778 . . .	118,400	0	0	1798 . . .	632,000	0	0
1779 . . .	121,400	0	0	1799 . . .	683,000	0	0
1780 . . .	121,400	0	0	1800 . . .	699,000	0	0

And taking a whole year, to 5th January, 1800, 716,000*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

An Account of annual Average Remittances from Scotland, from the Year 1760 to 1800.

The 1st ten years average remittances from Edinburgh,	to 5th April, 1770	£9,534	15	10
2d ditto,	to 5th April, 1780	13,649	10	5
3d ditto,	to 5th April, 1790	25,815	7	1
4th ditto,	to 5th April, 1800	51,420	4	3

March 20, 1801. Thomas Church, deputy accountant-general.

Account

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Account of the total Produce of the Tax upon Income, for the Year ending the 5th of April, 1801, *as far as the same can be made up and estimated: distinguishing the Amount in consequence of Assessments by the Commercial Commissioners.*

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Amount of assessments, as far as the same can be made up and estimated—

By commissioners for general purposes, and commissioners of appeal	£4,348,313	0	0
By commercial commissioners	1,394,837	0	0
Amount of voluntary contributions, received from the 1st January, 1800, to the 1st January, 1801 .	79,591	19	4
	£5,822,741	19	4

About one-fifth of the sum assessed by commercial commissioners arises from property not derived from trade.

Office for Taxes, March 23, 1801. H. Parker.

An Account of the actual estimated Expense of collecting the Tax on Income, for the Years 1799 *and* 1800.

Poundage to the clerks, collectors, and receivers, computed on 4,540,747*l.*, being the amount of the assessments by the commissioners for general purposes	£99,504	0	0
Sum paid for incidental expenses in the execution of the act under the commissioners for general purposes .	5,334	0	0
Sum paid for incidental expenses, including the allowances to officers and clerks under the commercial commissioners, and expenses of collection and receipt .	18,756	0	0
Amount of incidental expenses incurred under the commissioners of appeal, as far as the same can be made out from the accounts hitherto received	3,580	0	0
Probable amount of farther expenses under the commissioners of appeal from accounts not yet received .	1,000	0	0
Sums paid to assessors	4,620	0	0
Estimated amount of farther sums to be paid to assessors	600	0	0
Allowances to surveyors in England	4,180	0	0
Amount of certificates for allowances to surveyors and assessors in Scotland	3,196	0	0
Printing, stationary, and other incidental expenses in this office, in the execution of the acts, are estimated at	11,850	9	3
Total, not amounting to 6½*d.* in the pound on the whole sums assessed	£152,620	9	8

The

The subsequent year being just expired, no accounts have been received at this office, from which any statement of the actual expenses of collecting the income tax for the year 1800 can be made up; but, from the best judgment we can form, there seems no reason to suppose that the amount will exceed the charges of management for the year 1799, as above stated.

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William Lowndes.
Barne Barne.
Edward Meadows.
Horace Hayes.

Office for Taxes, April 1801.

Account of the Nett Produce of the permanent Taxes, &c. of Great Britain, taken for two Years, ending respectively the 5th January, 1800, *and 5th January,* 1801.

	1800.			1801.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Total of customs, excise, stamps, and incidents, prior to the year 1793 . . .	14,117,698	14	7¼	12,358,158	2	11½
Add proportionate part of duties on sugar now annually granted	1,141,317	13	2¾	1,236,455	1	1
Additional duty on malt, do.	222,145	0	0	155,986	0	0
Duty on tobacco	261,948	0	0	443,940	0	0
	15,743,109	7	10	14,194,539	4	0½
Total of duties 1793 . . .	314,086	6	7½	294,260	7	6
Ditto . . . 1794 . . .	689,433	6	1½	655,297	3	9½
Add proportionate part of duties on sugar now annually granted	246,771	7	8¾	267,341	12	8¼
Total of duties 1795 . . .	1,611,424	11	11¼	1,452,691	11	3½
Ditto . . 1796 . . .	1,334,444	8	4¾	1,315,421	9	6
Ditto . . 1797 . . .	2,628,109	9	3½	2,642,708	4	7½
Add proportionate part of duties on sugar now annually granted	231,348	3	6	250,632	15	7¼
Total of duties 1798 . . .	732,576	7	10½	730,207	19	3¼
Ditto . . . 1799 . . .	260,491	5	9	186,462	9	7½
Ditto . . . 1800 . . .	. . . . .			284,052	13	4
	23,791,794	15	0¾	22,273,615	11	4½

In order to show the real amount of the taxes imposed before and since the war, the produce of the duties on sugar, tobacco, and malt, now annually voted, are added to the old duties, and to the new ones of which they were respectively a part while they were perpetual.

Account

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Account of Monies advanced for public Services from the Civil List, (not being Part of the ordinary Expenditure of the Civil List,) and which had not been replaced by Parliament on the 5th of January, 1801; *specifying the general Heads of Service for which any of the said Monies were advanced, and the total Amount of the Advance on each Head respectively.*

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To Bernard Cobbe, esq., for additional allowance to clerks in the office for auditing the public accounts .	£1,655	4	0
Matthew Martin, esq., towards carrying into effect a plan for inquiring into the mendicity of the metropolis . .	500	0	0
Edward Ogle, esq., et al. for expenses incurred upon a plan for the improvement of the port of London . .	253	12	7
Thomas Brodie, esq., for continuing the index to the journals of the house of lords	116	16	0
Bernard Cobbe, esq., to discharge fees on passing public accounts	3,500	0	0
George Rose, esq., for expenses at the parliament office in session 1800	374	4	8
William Chinnery, esq., to pay bills drawn on account of New South Wales, due in the year 1800, being the excess of the sum granted by parliament for that service	6,756	10	5
James Wyatt, esq., to pay artificers employed in various works about the houses of parliament	2,000	0	0
William Pollock, esq., to pay fees on passing a commission, appointing commissioners to inquire into the state of the Cold Bath Fields prison	175	3	2
William Chinnery, esq., for medicines sent to New South Wales	895	16	0
Lord Walsingham, for his attendance as chairman of the committee of the house of peers, in the session 1799-1800	2,701	9	0
Thomas Foden, esq., towards enabling him to prosecute a discovery made by him, of a paste as a substitute for wheat flour	500	0	0
Charles Abbot, esq., for sundry persons employed by the select committee of the house of commons to inquire into the state of the public records	1,095	0	0
George Whittam, esq., for making an index to the votes of the house of commons	220	0	0
Samuel Dunn, esq., for making an index to the journals of the house of commons	300	0	0
John Clementson, esq., for his attendance in the house of commons, in the session 1799-1800	224	10	0
Carried forward	£21,268	5	10

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Brought forward	£.21,268	5	10
To Jeremiah Dyson, esq., to make good the deficiency of his allowance as clerk assistant of the house of commons during the session 1799-1800	385	2	0
Henry Thornton, esq., for the relief of the poor of the parishes of St. Matthew, Bethnall Green, Mile End New Town, and Christ Church, Spital Fields	4,115	0	0
Charles Rossi, being the second payment, for erecting a monument in St. Paul's cathedral to the memory of captain Faulkener	1,480	14	0
Charles Bragge, esq., for his service to the house of commons	1,301	9	0
	£.28,550	10	10

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
15th April, 1801.

N. Vansittart.

Account of the Distribution of the Sum of 1,395,414*l.* 2*s.*, *being Part of the Sum of* 1,400,000*l. granted to his Majesty, to enable his Majesty to fulfil such Engagements, and to take such Measures, as the Exigency of Affairs may require; paid by the Right Honourable the Paymaster-General of his Majesty's Forces.*

Remitted to Mr. Wickham, on account of his majesty's service abroad				£.200,000	0	0
Remitted abroad, to enable his imperial majesty to replace magazines which have been taken by the enemy				150,000	0	0
To bills of exchange drawn by Daniel Bayley, esq., from Petersburgh, for public services				68,363	12	0
To C. R. Broughton, esq., for the service of the queen of Portugal .	116,293	13	4			
To William Smith, esq., treasurer of the ordnance, for gunpowder delivered from the ordnance stores, for the service of ditto	27,675	0	0			
To Joseph Rademaker, esq., for the purchase of sundry articles of stores	10,000	0	0			
				153,968	13	4
To bills of exchange drawn by John Erskine, esq., commissary-general in the Mediterranean, for public services				82,841	19	11
To ditto drawn by George Warden, esq., deputy commissary-general in Portugal and the Mediterranean, for do.				114,500	0	0
Carried over				£.769,674	5	3

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Brought over	£.769,674	5	3
To bills of exchange drawn by Alexander Fernandes, esq., assistant commissary-general in Portugal and the Mediterranean, for public services	81,492	3	5
To ditto drawn by George Burgman, assistant commissary-general in ditto, for ditto	38,450	7	4
To ditto drawn by Henry Motz, commissary-general in ditto	31,410	0	0
To H. Motz, esq. commissary-general to the forces under sir Ralph Abercromby, for contingent expenses	5,000	0	0
To dollars consigned to Mr. Commissary Motz, for public services	20,000	0	0
To bills of exchange drawn by Messrs. Thornton and Power, from Hamburgh, for public services	51,017	6	0
To ditto drawn by Alexander Cockburn, esq., consul at Hamburgh, for ditto	6,810	0	0
To ditto drawn by general T. Trigge, for the expenses incident to public service within his command	250,000	0	0
To ditto drawn by colonel Ramsay, on account of the Swiss corps	141,560	0	0
	£.1,395,414	2	0

Account of the several Sums of Money advanced, by Way of Loan or Subsidy, to different States, from the Commencement of the present War: together with an Account of the Interest received on such Sums as have been advanced by Way of Loan.

Issued for the service of Prussia, in 1794	£.1,223,891	10	6
Ditto of Sardinia, in 1793, 4, 5, and 6	*500,000	0	0
Ditto of the emperor, in 1795 and 6	†6,220,000	0	0
Ditto, ditto, in 1797	700,000	0	0
Ditto of Portugal, in 1797	247,205	0	0
Ditto, ditto, in 1798	120,013	13	0
Ditto of Russia, in 1799	825,000	0	0
Ditto of the emperor, elector of Bavaria, &c.	500,000	0	0
Ditto of the emperor	1,066,666	13	4
Ditto of Russia	545,494	0	0
Ditto of Bavaria	501,017	6	0
Ditto of the emperor, to enable his imperial majesty to replace magazines which had been taken by the enemy at Stockach	150,000	0	0
	£.12,599,288	2	10

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
June 29, 1801.

N. Vansittart.

* The subsidies voted for the king of Sardinia amounted to 600,000*l.*; of which 100,000*l.* remaining unissued, a payment has been made, since the month of October, 1800, to the agent of his Sardinian majesty, at the rate of 4,000*l.* per month.

† The interest received on the above-mentioned loans to the emperor of Germany, amounts to 935,573*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*

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Memorandum—A sum of 153,968*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which appears, in the account presented to the house of commons, of the distribution of the vote of credit for 1,400,000*l.*, for the year 1800, to have been issued for the service of the queen of Portugal, was furnished in various supplies of military stores.

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Account of all subsisting Pensions, granted by the Crown during Pleasure or otherwise, and payable at the Exchequer; specifying the Amount of such Pensions respectively, and the Times when, and the Persons to whom, and for whose Benefit, such Pensions were granted.

Pensions formerly paid by the Paymaster of Pensions.

		£.		
Andrews, Catharine (now Nott) . . .	per annum	100	0	0
Aspenwall, Magdalen		150	0	0
Arnold, Margaret		500	0	0
Burwell, Mary (now lady Mary Churchill)		200	0	0
Brudenell, Robert		131	0	0
Brudenburgh, Dorothy		40	0	0
Barlow, Sophia		50	0	0
Barlow, Maria		50	0	0
Barlow, Louisa		50	0	0
Barlow, Catharine (now Mrs. Thistlethwayte)		50	0	0
Buckworth, John		131	0	0
Brudenell, Augusta		131	0	0
Blake, Robert		125	0	0
Bishopp, colonel Thomas		400	0	0
Balcarras, earl of		300	0	0
Chamberlayne, Betty Clerk		66	13	4
Chamberlayne, Caroline		66	13	4
Cowper, Spencer, representatives of, for the life of his daughter Jane Cowper		230	0	0
Cressaner, Elizabeth		500	0	0
Colebrook, dame Mary		400	0	0
Clarke, Frances		100	0	0
Corbett, major Moses		250	0	0
Carver, Mary		50	0	0
Dent, Catharine (widow)		80	0	0
Dent, Catharine (spinster)		30	0	0
Dent, Sophia		30	0	0
Dent, Caroline		30	0	0
Dent, Cotton		30	0	0
Dutton, Patientia		131	0	0
Dunmore, countess of		400	0	0
Elliot, Robert, in trust for Eleanor Eden, now lady Auckland		796	0	0
Foldesey, Michael		40	0	0
Faquier, Francis		300	0	0

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Falkland, lord, and John Law, or either of them; in trust for the four daughters of the late colonel Carey	£.400	0	0
Faucett, Susannah, during the lives of her two daughters	400	0	0
Fraser, William	200	0	0
Greville, Fulk	730	0	0
Gardener, Charlotte	65	0	0
Howard, Mary	100	0	0
Howard, lady Mary	150	0	0
Howard, lady Elizabeth	150	0	0
Hope, Hen	200	0	0
Hill, Frances	80	0	0
Harnage, Dorothea	20	0	0
Harnage, Ann	20	0	0
Harnage, Mercy	20	0	0
Harnage, Mary	20	0	0
Jenkinson, Elizabeth (now Cornwall)	250	0	0
Jean, Thomas	200	0	0
Knyphausen, general William	393	0	0
Knox, Lætitia	600	0	0
Lausac, Henrietta	20	0	0
Laurenzie, Ernestine	200	0	0
Laye, Ann	120	0	0
Meuron, Susan de	393	0	0
Middleton, Elizabeth	195	0	0
Onslow, Arthur, in trust for Poley, George, Walton, and Arthur Onslow	300	0	0
O'Hara, Jemima	100	0	0
Popham, Catharine	200	0	0
Peyton, Sir Yelverton	250	0	0
Porten, Mary	300	0	0
Pownall, Mary	600	0	0
Palmer, William Finch, in trust for the hon. Brydget Byng	131	0	0
Randall, Susannah, Martha, and Elizabeth	50	0	0
Renard, Louis Peter	200	0	0
Rochford, earl of	1000	0	0
Schutz, George	500	0	0
Salgas, Maria, Louisa, and Rose	60	0	0
Schaw, James	150	0	0
Skinner, Hester	100	0	0
Smith, John	100	0	0
Serle, Ambrose (for 31 years, from the 5th of July, 1776)	393	0	0
Ditto	131	14	0
Swanton, Anna	300	0	0
Sussex, lord, representative of, and Robert Burton, in trust for Mrs. Durell	500	0	0
St. John, Henry	131	0	0
Thomas, Gertrude	100	0	0
Vernon, Charles	300	0	0

Walters,

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Walters, Margaret	£.200	0	0
Wettestein, Luke, in trust for sir Luke Schaub's daughters	200	0	0
Willis, James	150	0	0
Williams, Charles	263	0	0
Yates, lady	250	0	0

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In lieu of Apartments at Somerset Place.

Burdon Elizabeth	33	15	0
Freemantle, Maria	45	0	0
Faucett, general sir William	57	10	0
Holt, Jane	33	15	0
Melborne, Christopher	45	0	0

Pensions formerly paid at the Treasury.

Alt, Christiana	50	0	0
Alt, Henrietta	50	0	0
Alt, Maria	50	0	0
Audley, lord	500	0	0
Bliss, Joseph	40	0	0
Broughton, Bryan	100	0	0
Bradshaw, Elizabeth	500	0	0
Bradshaw Lawrence	100	0	0
Bradshaw, Augustus Hill	100	0	0
Bliss, Jonathan	150	0	0
Burdett, sir Charles	200	0	0
Bowlby, lady Mary	200	0	0
Beawes, Mercy	100	0	0
Cawthorne, Joseph	100	0	0
Clark, Harley	40	0	0
Cockburne, dame Augusta Ann	600	0	0
Chambers, Frances	18	18	0
Delaval, Edward Hussey	300	0	0
Dodd, John	150	0	0
Durant, William	54	12	0
Davies, Henry	70	0	0
Davies Esther	40	0	0
Faddy Peter	50	0	0
Fielding, Mary	50	0	0
Forbes, Lucy	20	0	0
Finch, Ann	50	0	0
Fawkener, Elizabeth	200	0	0
Goldie, Sophia	100	0	0
Gower, countess (marchioness of Stafford)	300	0	0
Green John	200	0	0
Gunn, Ann	20	0	0
Guy, John	160	0	0

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Hay, Elizabeth	£.25	0	0
Hamilton, James	200	0	0
Jeans, reverend Thomas	200	0	0
Kelly, Elizabeth	100	0	0
Kelynge, James	50	0	0
Kilshaw, reverend Richard	100	0	0
Lind, Maria Henrietta	30	0	0
Lind, Mary	50	0	0
Lloyd, Ann (spinster)	50	0	0
Lennox, Alexander	100	0	0
Lake, Ann	50	0	0
Luxmore, Henry	100	0	0
Lind, Lætitia	50	0	0
Mayor, John	650	0	0
Master, Mary	50	0	0
Miller, John	25	0	0
Morrison, Mary	300	0	0
Macdonald, Roderick	18	18	0
Mein, John	200	0	0
Maclean, col. Allen, in trust for Mrs. Hawkins's children	50	0	0
Machie, Charlotte	25	0	0
Nicolaides, Stephanus	80	0	0
Otway, Meliora	100	0	0
Petch, Mary	80	0	0
Pierard, Francis	50	0	0
Planta, Joseph	120	0	0
Richmond, Robert	40	0	0
Ramus, George	200	0	0
Robinson, Lucy	30	0	0
Roche, Elizabeth	50	0	0
Reid, George	200	0	0
Speer, William	200	0	0
Speed, Mary Ann	100	0	0
Stonehewer, Richard	600	0	0
Smith, Frances Richmond	25	0	0
Villion, Elizabeth	100	0	0
Venner, Samuel	200	0	0
Vacchini, John	30	0	0
Watson, Elizabeth	20	0	0
Whitefoord, Caleb	200	0	0
Williams, lieutenant William	100	0	0
Watkins, John	150	0	0

Pensions to the late Queen Caroline's Servants.

Alms-house at Hanover	10	3	8
Gibson, George	100	0	0
Hoyn, countess	50	0	0

Pensions

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Pensions to the late Princess of Wales's Servants.

	£	s.	d.
Bridge, William	19	9	6
Brett, William	50	0	0
Bowlby, lady Mary	285	0	0
Bully, John	100	0	0
Cadman, Richard	56	14	0
Cameron, Dougald	39	0	0
Dalton, Thomas	30	0	0
Duval, Philip	250	0	0
Davies, Jane	10	0	0
Evelyn, Augusta (now Mrs. Jenkins)	412	0	0
Egerton, Uriana Margaret	372	10	0
Egerton, Mary	131	10	0
Griffiths, John	200	0	0
Ditto	100	0	0
Heineker, Dorothy (now Mrs. Munroe)	121	13	0
Harris, John	42	15	0
Hutchinson, Thomas	39	0	0
Hand, John	31	0	0
Hamilton, Philippa (now lady Fust)	31	10	0
Irby, A. G. E. (now lady Walsingham)	372	10	0
Jackson, Jane	65	0	0
Love, Richard	3	0	0
Ludby, Edward, for Edward and Thomas Godfrey, 10*l.* each	20	0	0
Maitland, hon. Alexander	200	0	0
Muller, Christopher	25	4	0
Metan, William	27	6	0
Newton, Sarah	50	0	0
Neville, Catharine	372	10	0
Nicolay, Christopher	173	10	0
Paschall, Ann Elizabeth	21	0	0
Ramus, Charles	28	10	0
Rushton, Henry	52	14	6
Rushton, James	19	9	6
Ritso, George	50	0	0
Ditto	100	0	0
Scott, William	475	0	0
Short, Edward	33	0	0
Street, Anthony	38	0	0
Schawer, John	39	0	0
Scott, Henrietta	12	12	0
Thomas, Charles Nassau	131	10	0
Viney, Walter	42	16	0
White, Peggy	2	12	6
Watts, William	300	0	0
Ditto	80	0	0
Ditto	80	0	0

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Watson, Elizabeth	£.20	0	0
Ward Robert	95	0	0

Pensions by Sign Manual, with their Dates.

Antrobus, Edmund, and Coutts Trotter, in trust for Eleanor Molleson, July 20, 1793	300	0	0
Arnold, Benedict, and Thomas Morrison, esqrs., in trust for Edward Shippen Arnold, James Robertson Arnold, Sophia Matilda Arnold, and George Arnold, 100*l.* each, do.	400	0	0
Allen, Frances Anne, Jan. 20, 1795	65	0	0
Boland, Quashy, July 26, 1783	27	0	0
Brooksbank, Ann, March 4, 1788	200	0	0
Barnes, John, and Joseph White, in trust for Theodore Rose, Feb. 9, 1785	300	0	0

This Pension was granted in consideration of George Rose, esq., having relinquished the yearly sum of 400*l.* nett, granted to him in pursuance of an address to the house of lords.

Brown, Charlotte, Dec. 11, 1786	100	0	0
Bremer, Ann, do.	53	16	0
Brooks, Lydia, July 6, 1798	100	0	0
Bates, Ann, March 14, 1787	11	16	0
Butler, Elinor, July 2, 1788	50	0	0
Beauclerk, Henrietta, Sept. 4, 1789	100	0	0
Beauclerk, Charlotte, do.	100	0	0
Beauclerk, Martha, do.	100	0	0
Beauclerk, Ann, do.	100	0	0
Bunbury, Henry, Feb. 24, 1795	500	0	0
Butler, lady Elinor, Nov. 6, 1792	100	0	0
Bulmer, Dorothy, July 9, 1795	50	0	0
Burghall, George, March 13, 1793	300	0	0
Burke, right hon. Edmund, represent. of, during the life of Mrs. Burke, Sept. 20, 1794	1200	0	0
Browel, Henry, and Robert Henderson, in trust for the six children of James Fallowfield, July 9, 1795	56	0	0
Burges, sir James Bland, July 1, 1796	1200	0	0
Byron, Catharine Gordon, Oct. 2, 1799	300	0	0
Bearcroft, Clare St. George, May 9, 1800	200	0	0
Call, sir John, and John Roberts, esq., in trust for Sarah Bates, July 20, 1793	500	0	0
Cathcart, Elizabeth, baroness, Oct. 16, 1798	500	0	0
Cooke, Penelope Ann, July 20, 1793	150	0	0
Cooke, Eliza, do.	175	0	0
Cooke, Maria, do.	175	0	0
Christie, Ann, June 14, 1783	31	0	0
Ditto, April 16, 1794	18	11	0

Cumberland

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Cumberland, lady Albinia, July 1, 1794	£400	0	0
Chamberlayne, Thomas Clerk, March 3, 1783	250	0	0
Chamberlayne, Betty Clerk, and Caroline Chamberlayne, July 6, 1793	66	13	4
Colleton, Lucy Cordelia, June 27, 1789	25	0	0
Coulson, Mary, (widow,) Jan. 20, 1795	35	0	0
Coutts, Thomas, esq., in trust for lady Augusta Murray, July 27, 1796	1,200	0	0
Cranston, Henry, in trust for James lord Cranston, March 6, 1799	300	0	0
Davies, Mary, May 2, 1798	16	0	0
Davy, Elizabeth, July 20, 1793	32	10	0
D'Ivernois, sir Francis, Oct. 7, 1800	200	0	0
Edgcombe, Peggy, March 29, 1797	196	0	0
Eden, dame Caroline, Dec. 23, 1785	100	0	0
Eden, sir Frederick, Dec. 11, 1786	100	0	0
Elliot, Mary, Dec. 9, 1789	69	0	0
Elphinstone, lady, for herself and two daughters, June 25, 1790	300	0	0
Ewart, Elizabeth, (widow,) Nov. 10, 1794	645	0	0
Ditto, in trust for John Ewart, do.	121	0	0
Ditto, in trust for Elizabeth Ewart, do.	121	0	0
Ditto, in trust for Mary Ewart, do.	121	0	0
Erskine, Mary Henrietta, July 11, 1797	400	0	0
Folger, Timothy, and his wife, May 21, 1793	169	0	0
Francis, Frances, Oct. 9, 1793	60	0	0
Francis, Elizabeth, do.	60	0	0
Fordyce, John, and William Fullarton, esqrs., in trust for George Hamilton Gordon, July 20, do.	200	0	0
Fawkener, William, Sept. 6, do.	300	0	0
Flint, Ann, (widow,) Oct. 9, do.	66	0	0
Ditto, in trust for the two eldest of her eight children, do.	66	0	0
Fitzgerald, lord Robert, March 12, 1801	800	0	0
Greeme, Mary, June 27, 1789	100	0	0
Gilbert Etienne Clerk, Aug. 23, 1791	100	0	0
Goddard, Charles, esq., to be wholly or proportionately suspended, agreeable to the amount of any office he may hold, April 3, 1799	850	0	0
Gower, earl, and sir Archibald M'Donald, in trust for Gertrude Philipine de Kutzleben, May 12, 1801	130	0	0
Green, Elizabeth, (widow,) March 12, 1801	200	0	0
Haslam, Sarah Ann, Dec. 11, 1786	32	14	0
Hamilton, dame Cassandra, June 29, 1787	100	0	0
Holdsworth, Elizabeth, June 27, 1789	300	0	0
Hamilton, Mary, May 7 1790	80	0	0
Halifax, Robert, and Catharine Halifax, widow, in trust for Gertrude, Charlotte, Marianne, Caroline, Catharine, and Elizabeth Halifax, 60*l.* per ann. each, Sept. 2, 1793	360	0	0

Hobart,

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Hobart, Henry, and Richard Cumberland, esqrs., and the survivor of them, in trust for Elizabeth Margaret Cumberland, July 1, 1794	£100	0	0
Ditto . . . . . Ditto, in trust for Albinia Elizabeth Cumberland, do.	100	0	0
Hollingsworth, John, and Andrew Hollingsworth, in trust for Sarah Adams, Dec. 22, 1795	300	0	0
Hort, sir John, Sept. 28, 1796	1,000	0	0
Hyde, rev. George Hooton, July 19, 1797	50	0	0
Howell, Anne, June 10, 1799	16	0	0
Hereford, lord and lady, and the survivor of them, May 29, 1800	900	0	0
Hewgill, Elizabeth, March 14, 1801	300	0	0
Huskisson, William, May 17, 1891	1,200	0	0
Johnstone, Deborah Charlotte, (now Nugent,) July 2, 1788	300	0	0
Jardine, Christine, Oct. 7, 1800	125	0	0
Kyte, Loretta Maria, (widow) April 21, 1790	150	0	0
Lloyd, Ann, (spinster,) April 2, 1788	50	0	0
Lockman, Arabella Dorothea, Feb. 4, 1792	33	10	0
Lampriere, John, and Elizabeth Bandinell his wife, severally and successively, Oct. 24, 1798	200	0	0
Llewellin, Ann, May 2, 1798	16	0	0
Leslie, lord, Aug. 14, 1799	500	0	0
Livingston, Edmund, Oct. 7, 1800	500	0	0
Lloyd, John, May 4, 1801	50	0	0
Moncton, Susanna, April 29, 1785	200	0	0
Maclean, Jane, Nov. 10, 1785	150	0	0
Maclean, Jane, Sept. 28, 1786	150	0	0
Moyle, Isabella and Mary, Aug. 7, 1789	150	0	0
Maclain, rev. Archibald, and Henrietta Ann Maclean, Nov. 13, 1790	100	0	0
Morland, William, for the life of Harriet Bernard, Oct. 2, 1792	554	0	0
Miles, William Augustus, July 20, 1793	300	0	0
Morlay, Jane, (widow,) Jan. 20, 1794	50	0	0
Mudge, Thomas, Jan. 13, 1798	130	0	0
Maclaine, Harriet Anne, Feb. 7, 1798	200	0	0
Mordaunt, Lady Mary, Sept. 2, 1797	400	0	0
Maclaine, Charles Anthony, esq., June 11, 1800	130	0	0
Mordaunt, lady Mary, Oct. 24, 1800	200	0	0
Mitchell, rev. William, Jan. 19, 1801	130	0	0
Maurice, Robert Clerk, Oct. 14, 1800	300	0	0
Mallet du Pan, Mrs. Frances, Oct 9, 1800	200	0	0
Montford, lord Thomas, Oct. 8, 1800	600	0	0
Munday, rev. Robert, Oct. 20, 1800	90	0	0
Miller, Ann, (widow,) March 12, 1801	130	0	0
Noel, Maria, June 27, 1789	100	0	0
Nott, Charlotte Georgiana Augusta, Oct. 2, 1799	150	0	0

Nott,

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Nott, Augusta, do.	£150	0	0
Osborn, sir George, and John Ley, esq., in trust for Jane Wraxhall, July 20, 1793	400	0	0
Pierson, Sarah, June 21, 1786	27	10	0
Pierson, Frances, do.	27	10	0
Pierson, Mary, do.	27	10	0
Pierson, Diana Ann, do.	27	10	0
Ponsonby, Sarah, July 2, 1788	50	0	0
Poole, sir Ferdinando, Dec. 24, 1782	670	0	0
Pierson, rev. Thomas, March 14, 1801	130	0	0
Ramsden, Frecheville, March 4, 1783	300	0	0
Reidefell, Frederick Adolphus baron de, Feb. 9, 1785	265	0	0
Ritso, Louisa, June 27, 1787	250	0	0
Robinson, Catharine Gertrude, Oct. 9, 1793	500	0	0
Rivers, James, Apil 21, 1794	446	0	0
Rowe, Suckey, Dec. 24, 1782	270	0	0
Ross, James Tyrrel, Nov. 17, 1797	250	0	0
Scarsdale, lord, May 7, 1790	1,200	0	0
Sundius, Christopher, July 4, 1790	100	0	0
Sneyd, Jeremy, Sept. 18, 1793	336	0	0
Sneyd, Elizabeth, Sept. 18, 1793	336	0	0
Sutton, Captain Evelyn, Jan. 20, 1794	250	0	0
Starbuck, Samuel, and his wife, May 21, 1793	169	0	0
Sutton, Thomas Manners, George Dawning, and Matthew Beachcroft, esqrs., in trust for Mary Ann Herries, April 17, 1799	300	0	0
Ditto, in trust for Isabella Maria Herries, do.	150	0	0
Ditto, in trust for Catharine Herries, do.	150	0	0
Ditto, in trust for Julia Mary Herries, do.	150	0	0
Swinburn, Mary, Oct. 16, 1800	60	0	0
Spiegel, Van de Digna Johanna, March 14, 1801	500	0	0
Smith, Ann, May 4, 1801	50	0	0
Villiers, right hon. John and William Garthshore, in trust for lady Louisa Paget, Feb. 1, 1801	300	0	0
Webster, William, his wife and the survivor, Sept. 25, 1794	65	0	0
Woodcock, Elborough, in trust for lady Margaret Fordyce, representatives of, July 2, 1788	150	0	0
Woodford, sir Ralph, baronet, Aug. 22, 1798	200	0	0
Williams, Mary, Sept. 4, 1789	100	0	0
Wrightson, John, and the representatives of Thomas Gibbons, in trust for dame M. J. Perriot, Sept. 7, 1789	60	0	0
Willis, Thomas Clerk, Nov. 5, 1790	400	0	0
Walters, Margaret, Oct. 9, 1793	248	0	0
Walpole, honourable Thomas, July 20, 1793	500	0	0
Whitefoord, Caleb, do.	200	0	0
Walsingham, lord, in trust for George and Thomas de Grey, and the survivor, July 27, 1794	1,200	0	0
Wilson, Dr. James, Dec. 21, 1798	250	0	0

Pensions

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Pensions by Patent.

Ainslie, sir Robert, Sept. 8, 1796	£1,000	0	0
Douglas, right hon. Sylvester, (contingent pension,) March 21, 1795	600	0	0
Ditto, during the life of himself and Frederic Sylvester North Douglas, and the survivor of them	600	0	0
Fraser, William, Dec. 12, 1789	1,200	0	0
Hamilton, sir Charles, June 11, 1790	200	0	0
Knox, William, Dec. 10, 1790	600	0	0
Morgan, Maurice, Nov. 25, 1782	350	0	0
Robinson, John, April 1, 1782	1,000	0	0
Sutton, sir Richard, (baronet,) Jan. 5, 1769	564	0	0
St. Albans, duke of, (from 16th February, 1787, to 10th October, 1803,) May 9, 1789	1,000	0	0
Skinner, sir John, March 14, 1800	2,000	0	0
Watson, Brook, in trust for his wife, Sept. 19, 1788	557	10	0
Willis, John, M. D. Jan. 29, 1791	717	0	0
Willis, rev. Francis, do.	1,000	0	0

Pensions to late Foreign Ministers.

William Money, for services performed in foreign parts, Feb. 2, 1776	100	0	0
John Osborn, late envoy extraordinary to Dresden, Dec. 26, 1775	800	0	0
Sir Robert Gunning, late do. and plenipotentiary to Petersburgh, Nov. 20, 1776	1,000	0	0
Horace, St. Paul, late envoy extraordinary to Stockholm, July 9, 1779	600	0	0
Joseph Fry, chargé d'affaires at Brussels, Dec. 24, 1781	200	0	0
Benjamin Langlois, secretary of embassy at Vienna, March 9, 1782	875	0	0
John Millequet, chargé d'affaires at Dresden, August 27, 1784	250	0	0
George Cooke, consul-general at Tripoli, Nov. 24, 1785	248	0	0
Nathaniel Davidson, do. ..... Algiers, Jan. 27, 1786	360	0	0
Lewis Dutens, charge d'affaires at Turin, Feb. 16, 1787	300	0	0
Sir J. Stepney, envoy extraordinary at Berlin, July 15, 1788	800	0	0
Lord Torrington, minister plenipotentiary at Brussels, May 17, 1793	1,684	0	0
Charles Keene, charge d'affaires at Stockholm, June 26	250	0	0
Sir Ralph Woodford, envoy extraordinary at Copenhagen, Dec. 8, 1774.			
Charles Logie, consul-general at Algiers, May 30, 1794	460	0	0

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The following are to continue until otherwise provided for in his Majesty's Service, or until determined by Warrant from his Majesty.

Lord Malmesbury, late ambassador extraordinary to the states general of the United Provinces, Jan. 28, 1797	£. 2,300	0	0
Thomas Walpole, late envoy extraordinary to the elector Palatine, June 26, 1797	800	0	0
Major-general Gardner, late minister plenipotentiary to the court of Warsaw, Feb. 7, 1798	600	0	0
Francis James Jackson, late secretary of embassy, and minister plenipotentiary to Spain, and nominated ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, Oct. 23	1,000	0	0
Charles Henry Fraser, late resident with the Hans Towns, April 3, 1799	900	0	0
John Coleman, esq., late chargé d'affaires at Hamburgh, Dec. 23	120	0	0
Right honourable John Trevor, late envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Turin, May 9, 1800	1,200	0	0
Lord Henley, late envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, Jan. 20, 1801	2,000	0	0
Lord Whitworth, late envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Petersburgh, March 12, 1801	2,000	0	0
Sir William Hamilton, late do. at Naples, do..	2,000	0	0
Honourable Robert Walpole, late do. at Lisbon, do.	2,000	0	0
Daniel Hailes, late envoy extraordinary at the court of Stockholm, do.	800	0	0

Recapitulation.

Amount of pensions formerly payable by the late paymaster of pensions	£. 18,039	0	8
Ditto . . Ditto . . at the treasury	9,762	8	0
Ditto . . Ditto . . to the servants of the late queen Caroline and late princess of Wales	5,387	8	8
Ditto . . Ditto . . by sign manual	37,804	10	4
Ditto . . Ditto . . by patent	11,388	10	0

* These pensions were transferred to the exchequer by the act of the 22d of his present majesty, ch. 82.

* It is very probable that several of the persons whose names appear on these lists are dead; but that can only be ascertained from time to time, as the certificates are delivered by their representatives at the exchequer.

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Total amount of the pensions having reference to the 6th class of civil-list payments, as directed by the act of 22d of his present majesty, ch. 82	£.82,381	17	8
Amount of pensions to late foreign ministers	24,447	0	0
	£.106,828	17	8

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Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 29th June, 1801. N. Vansittart.

Memorandums: Amount of pensions payable at the Exchequer out of the duties of 4½ per centum, as per account presented to the house of commons, on the 14th day of May last	£.9,513	0	0

The pensions granted by authority of parliament, and charged upon the consolidated fund, are not included in this account.

Account of all Pensions charged upon his Majesty's Civil Establishment for Scotland; specifying the Times when granted, and the Persons to whom they are or may be payable; made up by the Barons of Exchequer, at Edinburgh.

Mrs. Christian Campbell, Dec. 6, 1763	£.200	0	0
Ann Mary, baroness Forrester, May 30, 1764	600	0	0
Lieutenant James Sutherland, April 29, 1769	100	0	0
Walter, lord Aston, Jan. 23, 1769	100	0	0
Mrs. Marion M'Kay, Jan. 15, 1770	100	0	0
Colonel James Seton, Nov. 3, 1770	150	0	0
John, lord Colvin, of Culross, June 25, 1771	200	0	0
Lady Elgin, Nov. 12, 1771	300	0	0
Elizabeth Norris, Feb. 3, 1772	50	0	0
Margaret Winchester, Jan. 6, 1772	20	0	0
Lady Borthwick, Oct. 28, 1772	100	0	0
Sir Peter Inglis, trustee for behoof of the children of sir Archibald Primrose, Nov. 8, 1774	200	0	0
Dr. James Beattie, Aug. 25, 1773	200	0	0
Lord Kirkcudbright, Aug. 15, 1774	200	0	0
Mrs. Elizabeth Stewart, Sept. 12, 1774	50	0	0
Mrs. Lucy Kennedy, Feb. 23, 1775	160	0	0
Allan M'Dougall, esq., writer to the signet, in trust for the widow and children of John Hay, of Newhall, esq., June 1, 1775	400	0	0
Mrs. Jane Campbell, March 2, 1775	100	0	0
Lord Cathcart, and other trustees, for behoof of lord Napier's children, Sept. 20, 1775	300	0	0

Katharine,

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Katharine, lady Morton, Sept. 1, 1775	£.200	0	0
Mrs. Elizabeth Sinclair, Dec. 30, 1775	150	0	0
John Stirling, do.	100	0	0
Margaret and Jean Law, Nov. 29, 1776	50	0	0
Alexander Burnet, esq., do.	200	0	0
Elizabeth Dunbar, May 1, 1777	20	0	0
William Muir, esq., Nov. 15, 1777	300	0	0
James Francis Erskine, esq., June 26, 1777	200	0	0
Misses Janet and Ann Dick, Feb. 20, 1778	100	0	0
Charles St. Clare, esq., Aug. 14, 1778	200	0	0
Mrs. Margaret Mansfield, May 28, 1779	150	0	0
Lady Ann Erskine, Feb. 24, 1779	100	0	0
Lady Mary Cochrane { 100*l.* Dec. 2, 1779; 100*l.* Aug. 9, 1781 }	200	0	0
Lady Wallace, June 14, 1780	150	0	0
Lady Ann Gordon, do.	150	0	0
Mrs. Hannah Falconer, Nov. 24, 1780	45	0	0
Francis Anderson, esq., Aug. 9, 1781	100	0	0
Isabella, countess dowager of Errol, March 19, 1782	300	0	0
Elizabeth, Jane, Margaret, and Ann Watson, do.	100	0	0
Mrs. Allan Grant, March 19, 1782	100	0	0
Lady Ann Lindsay { 150*l.* do.; 150*l.* Dec. 14, 1782 }	300	0	0
Mrs. Ann Fraser Rose, Feb. 24, 1788	100	0	0
Lady Mary Home, formerly lady Mary Hay, Feb. 26, 1783	100	0	0
Miss Janet Keith, do.	100	0	0
Miss Ann Kieth, do.	100	0	0
Miss Dorothy Dalrymple, Feb. 26, 1783	100	0	0
Frances Maria Murray, do.	150	0	0
Lady Harriet Boyce, do.	200	0	0
Isabella Kirkpatrick, March 15, 1782	50	0	0
Mrs. Penelope Maitland, Feb. 26, 1783	170	0	0
Mrs. Margaret Stewart Gordon, do.	50	0	0
Katharine Don, Oct. 25, 1786	50	0	0
James Rochead, esq., of Inverlieth, and others, trustees for behoof of the widow and children of George M'Kay, of Reay, May 10, 1785	315	0	0
Miss Sophia Jane Grant, Dec. 28, 1784	50	0	0
Miss Charlotte Grant, ditto	50	0	0
Mary Cockburn, Aug. 31, 1786	60	0	0
Margaret, Catherine, and Elizabeth Buchannan, Aug. 30, 1786	100	0	0
Ann and Elizabeth Forbes, Sept 4, 1786	20	0	0
Margaret Mary Nimmo, do.	50	0	0
Mrs. Ann Burnett, April 5, 1787	50	0	0
Mrs. Janet Tait, April 5, 1787	100	0	0
John Leslie, baron Lindores, do.	150	0	0

James

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	£.		
James Dundas, esq., for Mr. Erskine's trustees, for behoof of Charles James Gardner, July 5, 1787	50	0	0
Jean and Elizabeth Mercer, Sept. 24, 1787	40	0	0
Mrs. Anne Forrest, July 5, 1787	60	0	0
Maria Margaret, lady Napier, May 4, 1789	200	0	0
William lord Gray, May 23, 1789	200	0	0
Mrs. Grizel Hamilton, May 4, 1789	50	0	0
Mrs. Jane Cockburn, Aug. 8, 1789	200	0	0
George Home, esq., in trust for Jane and Cecilia Telfer, May 11, 1789	100	0	0
Jean and Lilias Stewart, Aug. 8, 1789	50	0	0
Ann, Jean, and Christian Seton, March 17, 1790	60	0	0
Miss Mary Campbell, May 28, 1790	100	0	0
Mrs. Elizabeth Dalrymple, ditto	100	0	0
James lord Torpichen, March 18, 1790	300	0	0
Mrs. Jane Carre, May 28, 1790	100	0	0
Mrs. Susan Williamson, May 28, 1790	100	0	0
Miss Ann Colvill, July 1, 1790	100	0	0
Miss Katharine Colvill, ditto	100	0	0
Mrs. Isabel Gardner, July 2, 1790	50	0	0
Margaret, Katharine, Ann, Harriot, and Caroline Grant, ditto	100	0	0
Miss Marion Dalrymple, ditto	100	0	0
Mrs. Betty Dickson, ditto	30	0	0
Mr. William Baron, ditto	100	0	0
Miss Johanna Ferguson, ditto	70	0	0
Miss Elizabeth, Ann, Margaret, and Robina Cullen, July 3, 1790	200	0	0
Mrs. Eleonora Russell, ditto	100	0	0
Dame Magdalane Maxwell, July 31, 1790	100	0	0
Elizabeth Sutherland, June 26, 1789	100	0	0
Mrs. Elizabeth Wardlaw, for behoof of her four children, June 7, 1788	100	0	0
Mrs. Ann Hall, Sept. 29, 1789	35	0	0
Lady Isabella Sinclair, July 2, 1790	150	0	0
Mrs. Jean Currie, ditto	40	0	0
Mrs. Agnes Simpson, May 28, 1790	30	0	0
Fletcher Norton and Adam Pearson, esqrs., in trust for behoof of Mrs. Balmain and children, Oct. 21, 1790	100	0	0
Mrs. Helen Hay, Aug. 13, 1790	100	0	0
Elizabeth Jemima, countess of Errol, Feb. 7, 1791	300	0	0
Miss Mary Cockburn, March 14, 1791	100	0	0
Miss Fanny Cockburn, ditto	100	0	0
Miss Harriott Cockburn, ditto	100	0	0
Lady Dalzell, July 8, 1790	200	0	0
Elizabeth Dunbar, Sept. 7, 1791	100	0	0
Miss Catharine Sinclair, Oct. 1, 1791	37	10	0
Miss Margaret Sinclair, ditto	37	10	0

Miss

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Miss Ann Sinclair, Oct. 1, 1791	£.37	10	0
Mary Bertram, Aug. 1, 1791	25	0	0
Henry Scott, earl of Delorain, Sept. 7, 1791	300	0	0
Lady Sinclair, of Longformacus, ditto	100	0	0
Mrs. John Robinson, ditto	100	0	0
Lady Livingston, ditto	100	0	0
Misses Ann and Elizabeth Livingston, ditto	100	0	0
Mrs. John Stewart or Crawford, Oct. 1, 1791	100	0	0
Mrs. Henry Mackenzie, and Hannah Mackenzie her daughter, ditto	100	0	0
Misses Margaret and Mary Mackenzie, ditto	100	0	0
Miss Hope Mackenzie, ditto	100	0	0
Miss Ann Houston, ditto	100	0	0
Mrs. Colonel Cunningham, ditto	100	0	0
Misses Susan and Grizel Sandilands, ditto	100	0	0
Miss Margaret Haldane, ditto	66	0	0
Miss Euphemia Haldane, ditto	66	0	0
Miss Elizabeth Hope Carnegie, Dec. 19, 1791	100	0	0
Mrs. Maxwell, Dec. 1, 1791	100	0	0
Miss Esther Orr, ditto	100	0	0
Mrs. Mary Sutherland, Dec. 30, 1791	100	0	0
Miss Mary Sutherland, Dec. 30, 1791	100	0	0
Miss Louisa Sutherland, ditto	100	0	0
Mrs. Margaret Haldane, and Elizabeth Haldane her daughter, ditto	100	0	0
John Drummond, esq., in trust for lady Irvine and her two daughters, March 13, 1792	100	0	0
James Robertson, esq., for behoof of the four younger children of captain George Robertson, March 21, 1792	100	0	0
Kirkpatrick Williamson, esq., in trust for Elizabeth and Helen Williamson, ditto	100	0	0
Ann, baroness Elphinstone, and Ann and Clementina Elphinstone, her daughters, June 24, 1791	300	0	0
Ann Stewart, March 1, 1792	50	0	0
Mary Ann Hamilton, Nov. 14, 1791	70	0	0
Lady Louisa Kerr, June 16, 1792	200	0	0
Lady Staney Kerr, ditto	200	0	0
Lady Elizabeth Kerr, ditto	200	0	0
Agnes Lumsden, Nov. 14, 1791	30	0	0
William lord Home, Aug. 3, 1792	300	0	0
Lady Foulis, Aug. 23, 1792	100	0	0
Miss Isabella Kirkpatrick, ditto	100	0	0
Miss Ann Cramond, ditto	60	0	0
Miss Elizabeth Fleming, ditto	50	0	0
Miss Catharine Fleming, ditto	50	0	0
Miss Jean Fleming, ditto	50	0	0
Miss Eugenia Leslie, Oct. 9, 1792	60	0	0
Agnes Shaw, wife of George Shaw, Nov. 16, 1792	50	0	0

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Charlotte Simpson, Dec. 30, 1791	£.100	0	0
Caroline Mary Cooper, May 15, 1793	200	0	0
Elizabeth Ann Cooper, ditto	200	0	0
Jean, Barbara, and Charlotte Legertwood, ditto	100	0	0
Lady Mary Martin, ditto	200	0	0
Lady Emelia Cook, ditto	200	0	0
Elizabeth Maxwell, July 18, 1793	100	0	0
Jean, Margaret, and Douglas Moncrieffe, June 19, 1793	200	0	0
James Lord Forbes, Nov. 16, 1793	100	0	0
Lady Forbes, ditto	300	0	0
John Campbell, of Stonefield, esq., Oct. 21, 1793	300	0	0
Henry Woodcock, and other trustees of Elborough Woodcock, for behoof of lady Margaret Fordyce, Feb. 9, 1788	150	0	0
Agnes Maxwell, Jan. 20, 1796	50	0	0
David Cathcart, and others, in trust for John Wylde, esq., March 16, 1796	150	0	0
Mary Henrietta Erskine, July 21, 1797	400	0	0
William Cuthill and Henry Scot Alves, for the child or children of Ann Wilson, by her husband Richard Wilson, July 11, 1797	300	0	0
Andrew Drummond, esq., for lady Dunmore, Aug. 7, 1798	200	0	0
Lady Virginia Murray, Aug. 7, 1798	200	0	0
Lady Elizabeth Murray, ditto	100	0	0
Crawfurd Tait, for Mrs. Henrietta Lindley, ditto	50	0	0
Charlotte Murray, ditto	50	0	0
Dr. Adam Ferguson, March 8, 1799	100	0	0
Isabella, Mary, and Margaret Ferguson, his daughters, ditto	200	0	0
Mary Clara, lady Elibank, Aug. 6, 1799	300	0	0
Mrs. Barbara Hay, and six daughters, May 19, 1800	600	0	0
Jean, countess of Caithness, July 1, 1800	200	0	0
John, baron Elphinston, ditto	300	0	0
Agnes, Jean, Grace, and Mary Campbell, July 2, 1800	200	0	0
Mrs. Margaret Swinton, and Margaret, Mary, Isabella, Harriott, and Ann Swinton, her daughters, July 4, 1800	300	0	0
Mrs. Emelia Elder, and at her death to her son, Oct. 24, 1800	300	0	0
Dr. Thomas Sommerville, Oct. 6, 1800	100	0	0
Dame Helen Dalrymple, Oct. 24, 1800	200	0	0
Mary, John, Amelia, and Janet Campbell, ditto	200	0	0
Lady Elizabeth Eleonora Dundas, and at her death to her six daughters, Feb. 14, 1801	300	0	0
Robert and Coutts Trotter, esqrs., for Mrs. Maria Cochrane, Oct. 24, 1800	200	0	0
Total charge	£.24,864	10	0

Exchequer Chambers, Edinburgh, 13th June, 1801.

Examined and certified by Francis Anderson, dep. auditor.

General

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General View of the financial Affairs of India, from the Budget opened by Mr. Dundas, in the House of Commons, 12th June 1801.

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Result of the Year 1799-1800, collectively.

Revenues — Bengal		£6,504,738	
Madras		2,822,536	
Bombay		415,663	
	Total revenues		9,742,937
Charges — Bengal		4,332,991	
Madras		3,132,919	
Bombay		1,495,270	
	Total charges		8,961,180
Net revenue of the three presidencies			781,757
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c.			171,363
	The remainder is		610,394
And deducted from interest paid on the debts,			
At Bengal		642,818	
Madras		253,667	
Bombay		82,371	
			978,876
The deficit of revenue from the territories, &c., is			368,462
And deducted from the amount sales of imports			706,495
	The remainder		338,033

is the amount applicable to the purposes of commerce.

Amount advanced for purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of China investments:		
At Bengal	1,197,764	
Madras	851,483	
Bombay	315,995	
Bencoolen	30,502	
Total advances for investment		2,395,744
Cargoes invoiced from India to Europe in 1799-1800, with charges		2,168,302

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Result of the Estimates 1800-1801, *collectively.*

Revenues — Bengal		£6,339,204	
Madras		3,273,071	
Bombay		300,475	
	Total revenues		9,912,750
Charges — Bengal		4,422,048	
Madras		3,723,112	
Bombay		1,051,693	
	Total charges		9,196,853
Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies			715,897
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c.			82,360
	Remainder		633,537
Deducted from interest on debts			1,082,042
Shows the net deficiency of the revenues from the territories to be			448,505
Which deducted from the estimated amount of sales of imports			591,975
	The remainder is		143,470

and is the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1800-1801 to the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.

The home accounts furnished much cause for satisfaction.

Aggregate amount of sales, 1800-1801		10,323,452
More than last year	162,842	
Excess on the company's goods alone	234,314	
Excess on private trade goods	45,112	
Deficiency on neutral property	116,584	
The sale of the company's goods estimated at		6,675,000
Actually amounted to		7,602,041
Being more than estimated		927,041
The receipts on sales of company's goods estimated at		6,201,000
Actually amounted to		7,382,849
Being more than estimated		1,181,849
Charges and profit on private trade estimated at		100,000
Actually amounted to		133,429
Being more than estimated		£33,429

GENERAL

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GENERAL RESULT.

Although the actual receipts have fallen short of the estimate upwards of 800,000*l.*, from a disappointment in an expected payment from government, and from deferring the disposal of the loyalty loan; and although the payments have been exceeded by an enlarged supply to India, yet the very favourable produce from the sales of goods, and the extension of time for the liquidation of debts to the bank, have so operated, that the balance of cash estimated to be on the 1st of March against the company is	£368,013
Actually proved to be in their favour to the amount of . .	930,590
Being more favourable than estimated by	1,298,603

He next came to the state of the

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year	12,995,526
Amount this year	14,640,401
Increase	1,644,875
Debts transferred in the year	345,307

Debts bearing Interest.

Amount last year	10,190,528
Amount this year	12,301,570
Increase of debts bearing interest	2,111,042
Amount of interest payable by the account of last year . .	915,687
Amount of interest payable by the account of this year . .	1,082,042
Increase of interest payable annually	166,355

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c., last year	10,259,107
Ditto, ditto, by the present statement	11,569,558
Increase of assets	1,310,446
Deduct — Increase of assets from increase debts, the state of the company's affairs in India will appear worse by . .	334,430

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Although the state of the concern at home was worse this year by 344,981*l.* on the particular ground of deducting increase of debts from decrease of assets, yet the nett improvement at China and St. Helena was no less than 1,442,232*l.* He should proceed to the consideration of debts and assets both in India and at home.

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GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India		£.1,644,876	
Decrease of debts at home		436,233	
Nett increase of debts		1,208,643	
Increase of assets in India		1,310,446	
Decrease of assets at home		781,214	
Increase		529,232	
Add nett improved balance at China and St. Helena as follows:			
China	1,446,101		
Deduct St. Helena	3,869		
		1,442,232	
Total increase of assets			1,971,464
Deducting the above increase of debts from the increase of assets, an improvement would appear to have been made in the company's affairs in the course of the year to the amount of			762,821
But the following sums remain to be deducted for bills on account of India, adjusted but not included in the Indian debt, or in that at home .		391,915	
For the value of cargoes to India included in the home assets, but arrived so as to form part of the stock there on the 30th of April, 1800 . . .		280,441	
			672,356
The remaining total			£.90,465

is the amount in which the general state of the whole concern has amended during the last year, subject, however, to such adjustments as may result from the settlement of the account between government and the company.

The

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The average Price of Wheat in each Year, from 1595 *to* 1800, *inclusive.*

Years.	Wheat per Qr. £.	s.	d.	Years.	Wheat per Qr. £.	s.	d.	Years.	Wheat per Qr. £.	s.	d.	Years.	Wheat per Qr. £.	s.	d.
1595	2	0	0	1647	3	13	8	1699	2	4	0	1751	1	18	6
1596	2	8	0	1648	4	5	0	1700	2	0	0	1752	2	1	10
1597	3	9	6	1649	4	0	0	1701	1	17	8	1753	2	4	8
1598	2	16	8	1650	3	16	8	1702	1	9	6	1754	1	14	8
1599	1	19	2	1651	3	13	4	1703	1	16	0	1755	1	13	10
1600	1	17	8	1652	2	9	6	1704	2	6	6	1756	2	5	3
1601	1	14	10	1653	1	15	6	1705	1	10	0	1757	3	0	0
1602	1	9	4	1654	1	6	0	1706	1	6	0	1758	2	10	0
1603	1	15	4	1655	1	13	4	1707	1	8	6	1759	1	19	10
1604	1	10	8	1656	2	3	0	1708	2	1	6	1760	1	16	6
1605	1	15	10	1657	2	6	8	1709	3	18	6	1761	1	10	3
1606	1	13	0	1658	2	5	0	1710	3	18	0	1762	1	19	0
1607	1	16	8	1659	3	6	0	1711	2	14	0	1763	2	0	9
1608	2	16	8	1660	2	16	6	1712	2	6	4	1764	2	6	9
1609	2	10	0	1661	3	10	0	1713	2	11	0	——	0	0	0
1610	1	15	10	1662	3	14	0	1714	2	10	4	1766	2	3	1
1611	1	18	8	1663	2	17	0	1715	2	3	0	1767	3	4	6
1612	2	2	4	1664	2	0	6	1716	2	8	0	1768	3	0	6
1613	2	8	8	1665	2	9	4	1717	2	5	8	1769	2	5	8
1614	2	1	8½	1666	1	16	0	1718	1	18	10	1770	2	9	0
1615	1	18	8	1667	1	16	0	1719	1	15	0	1771	2	7	2
1616	2	0	4	1668	2	0	0	1720	1	17	0	1772	2	10	8
1617	2	8	8	1669	2	4	4	1721	1	17	6	1773	2	11	0
1618	2	6	8	1670	2	1	8	1722	1	16	0	1774	2	12	8
1619	1	15	4	1671	2	2	0	1723	1	14	8	1775	2	8	4
1620	1	10	4	1672	2	1	0	1724	1	17	0	1776	1	18	2
1621	1	10	4	1673	2	6	8	1725	2	8	6	1777	2	5	6
1622	2	18	8	1674	3	8	8	1726	2	6	0	1778	2	2	0
1623	2	12	0	1675	3	4	8	1727	2	2	0	1779	1	13	8
1624	2	8	0	1676	1	18	0	1728	2	14	6	1780	1	15	8
1625	2	12	0	1677	2	2	0	1729	2	6	10	1781	2	4	8
1626	2	9	4	1678	2	19	0	1730	1	16	6	1782	2	7	10
1627	1	16	0	1679	3	0	0	1731	1	12	10	1783	2	12	8
1628	1	8	0	1680	2	5	0	1732	1	6	8	1784	2	8	10
1629	2	2	0	1681	2	6	8	1733	1	8	4	1785	2	1	10
1630	2	15	8	1682	2	4	0	1734	1	18	10	1786	1	18	10
1631	3	8	0	1683	2	0	0	1735	2	3	0	1787	2	1	2
1632	2	13	4	1684	2	4	0	1736	2	0	4	1788	2	5	0
1633	2	18	0	1685	2	6	8	1737	1	18	0	1789	2	11	2
1634	2	16	0	1686	1	14	0	1738	1	15	6	1790	2	13	2
1635	2	16	0	1687	1	5	2	1739	1	18	6	1791	2	7	0
1636	2	16	8	1688	2	6	0	1740	2	10	8	1792	2	2	4
1637	2	13	0	1689	1	10	0	1741	2	6	8	1793	2	8	8
1638	2	17	4	1690	1	14	8	1742	1	14	0	1794	2	11	0
1639	2	4	10	1691	1	14	0	1743	1	4	10	1795	4	2	0
1640	2	4	8	1692	2	6	8	1744	1	4	10	1796	3	12	4
1641	2	8	0	1693	3	7	8	1745	1	7	6	1797	2	12	0
1642	wanting in			1694	3	4	0	1746	1	19	0	1798	2	9	8
1643	the account			1695	2	13	0	1747	1	14	10	1799	3	7	4
1644	ditto			1696	3	11	0	1748	1	17	0	1800	5	12	8
1645				1697	3	0	0	1749	1	17	0				
1646	2	8	0	1698	3	8	4	1750	1	12	6				

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Variations in the Price of the Quartern Loaf, during 1801.

N. B. The Quartern Loaf weighs 4lb. 5¾ oz.

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		s.	d.
Jan.	1.	1	9¾
	15.	1	8
	29.	1	9
Feb.	2. Brown bread	1	7¾
	5. Ditto	1	7¾
March	5.	1	10½
	26.	1	9½
April	2.	1	9¾
	16.	1	9
	23.	1	8½
	30.	1	8
May	7.	1	6¾
	14.	1	4¾
	21.	1	3½
	28.	1	4½
June	4.	1	4¾
	11.	1	5¾
	18.	1	5
	25.	1	4¾
July	9.	1	5¾
	16.	1	6¾
	23.	1	8
August	7.	1	7
	13.	1	6¾
	20.	1	4½
	27.	1	2½
September	3.	1	0½
	10.	1	0¾
	17.	1	0½
October	8.	1	1
	22.	0	11¾
	29.	0	11¾
November	5.	0	10½
	12.	0	10¾
	26.	0	11¾
December	10.	1	0
	17.	0	11½
	24	1	0
	31	1	0½

Abstract

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Abstract of the Enumeration of England and Wales, taken in 1801, *in Conformity to an Act of Parliament, and copied from the Report.*

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Counties of England.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Bedford	11,888	13,980	185	30,523	32,870	63,393
Berks	20,573	23,416	622	52,821	56,394	109,215
Buckingham	20,443	23,834	543	52,094	55,350	107,441
Cambridge	16,139	19,262	312	44,081	45,265	89,346
Chester	34,480	37,613	1,139	92,759	98,992	191,751
Cornwall	32,906	39,040	1,472	89,868	98,401	188,269
Cumberland	21,573	25,893	872	54,377	62,353	117,230
Derby	31,822	33,660	1,369	79,401	81,741	161,142
Devon	57,955	72,559	3,235	157,240	185,761	343,001
Dorset	21,437	24,142	825	53,667	61,652	115,319
Durham	27,195	38,109	1,171	74,770	85,501	160,361
Essex	38,371	46,784	1,027	111,356	115,081	226,407
Gloucester	46,457	55,133	1,715	117,180	133,629	250,809
Hereford	17,003	18,822	941	43,955	45,236	89,191
Hertford	17,681	20,092	491	48,063	49,514	97,577
Huntingdon	6,841	8,150	135	18,521	19,047	37,568
Kent	51,585	65,967	1,413	151,374	156,250	307,624
Lancaster	114,270	132,147	3,394	322,356	350,375	672,731
Leicester	25,992	27,967	742	63,943	66,138	130,081
Lincoln	41,395	42,629	1,094	102,445	106,112	208,557
Middlesex	112,912	199,854	5,171	373,655	444,474	818,129
Monmouth	8,948	9,903	417	22,173	23,409	45,582
Norfolk	47,617	57,930	1,523	129,842	143,529	273,371
Northampton	26,665	29,361	738	63,417	68,340	131,757
Northumberland	26,518	35,503	1,534	73,357	83,744	157,101
Nottingham	25,611	30,081	542	68,558	71,792	140,350
Oxford	20,599	23,750	594	53,786	55,834	109,620
Rutland	3,274	3,563	87	7,978	8,378	16,356
Salop	31,182	34,501	929	82,563	85,076	167 639
Somerset	48,040	57,013	2,136	126,927	146,823	273,750
Southampton	38,345	45,331	912	105,667	113,989	219,656
Stafford	45,198	48,185	1,995	118,698	120,455	239,153
Suffolk	32,253	43,481	552	101,091	109,340	210,431
Surrey	46,072	63,673	1,514	127,138	141,905	269,043
Sussex	25,272	30,755	721	78,797	80,514	159,311
Warwick	40,847	44,028	2,936	99,942	108,248	208,190
Westmoreland	7,897	9,026	315	20,175	21,442	41,617
Wilts	29,462	30,527	1,127	87,380	97,727	185,107
Worcester	26,711	29,741	1,109	67,631	71,702	139,333
York. East Riding	25,781	31,544	681	67,457	71,976	139,433
York. North Riding	31,512	34,542	1,014	74,904	80,602	155,506
York. West Riding	111,146	117,379	4,723	276,005	287,948	563,953
	1,467,870	1,778,420	53,965	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434

Anglesey

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Counties of Wales.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Anglesey	6,679	7,058	127	15,775	18,031	33,806
Brecon	6,315	6,800	479	15,303	16,242	31,630
Cardigan	8,819	9,435	221	20,403	22,548	42,956
Carmarthen	13,449	14,876	371	31,430	35,878	67,317
Carnarvon	8,504	8,796	129	19,586	21,935	41,521
Denbigh	12,621	13,765	427	29,247	31,105	60,352
Flint	7,585	8,216	194	19,577	20,045	39,622
Glamorgan	14,225	16,596	537	34,190	37,335	71,525
Merioneth	5,787	6,576	193	13,896	15,610	29,506
Montgomery	8,725	9,750	223	22,914	25,064	47,978
Pembroke	11,869	12,448	398	25,406	30,874	56,280
Radnor	3,675	3,987	212	9,317	9,703	19,050
	108,053	118,303	3,511	257,178	284,368	541,546

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Abstract of the Enumeration of England and Wales, taken in 1801, *in Conformity to an Act of Parliament.*

SUMMARY.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
England	1,467,870	1,778,420	53,965	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434
Wales	108,053	118,303	3,511	257,178	284,368	541,546
Army				198,351		198,351
Navy				126,279		126,279
Seamen in registered vessels				144,558		144,558
Convicts				1,410		1,410
Grand Total . . .	1,575,923	1,896,723	57,476	4,715,711	4,627,867	9,343,578

In England 1,524,227 persons are employed chiefly in agriculture, and 1,789,532 in trade, manufactures, and handicraft. In Wales 189,062 are employed in agriculture, and 53,822 in trade, &c.

It will be observed, that when the army and navy are added to the males, there is a total excess of the number of males over that of females of 88,844.

List

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List of all the Cities and Towns in England and Wales, whose Population exceeds Five Thousand.

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Cities and Towns.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
London	121,229	216,073	5,185	393,369	471,476	864,845
Manchester	12,547	18,560	279	39,110	44,910	84,020
Liverpool	11,446	16,989	338	34,367	43,286	77,653
Birmingham	14,528	15,303	1,875	34,716	38,954	73,670
Bristol	10,403	14,413	493	26,943	36,702	68,645
Leeds	11,258	11,790	341	25,504	27,658	53,162
Plymouth	4,447	10,708	89	18,016	25,178	43,194
Newcastle	4,190	8,844	198	16,343	20,620	36,963
Norwich	8,016	9,093	747	15,810	21,044	36,854
Bath	4,289	6,510	174	12,441	19,759	32,200
Portsmouth	5,310	6,937	30	14,309	17,857	32,166
Sheffield	6,518	6,754	643	15,483	15,831	31,314
Hull	4,649	7,449	118	13,051	16,465	29,516
Nottingham	4,977	6,707	100	13,729	15,132	28,861
Exeter	2,692	3,947	144	7,314	10,084	17,398
Leicester	3,205	3,668	85	7,921	9,032	16,953
York	2,407	3,841	72	7,018	9,127	16,145
Coventry	2,930	3,548	204	7,672	8,362	16,034
Chester	3,109	3,427	85	6,492	8,560	15,052
Dover	3,339	3,834	231	7,187	7,658	14,845
Yarmouth	3,081	3,541	78	6,463	8,382	14,845
Shrewsbury	2,775	3,300	88	6,647	8,092	14,739
Greenwich	2,067	3,215	54	7,323	7,016	14,339
Sunderland	1,365	3,372	14	4,902	7,510	12,412
Oxford	1,827	2,230	82	5,920	5,774	11,694
Colchester	1,959	2,829	38	5,012	6,508	11,520
Worcester	2,237	2,627	133	4,909	6,443	11,352
Ipswich	2,170	2,738	51	4,984	6,293	11,277
Wigan	2,177	2,277	59	5,068	5,921	10,989
Derby	2,144	2,441	26	4,982	5,850	10,832
Huddersfield	1,873	1,873	101	5,240	5,431	10,671
Chatham	1,715	2,665	14	4,699	5,806	10,505
Carlisle	1,314	2,303	24	4,479	5,742	10,221
Lynn	1,965	2,437	47	4,540	5,556	10,096
Cambridge	1,691	2,078	42	4,064	5,123	10,087
Reading	1,751	2,135	32	4,642	5,100	9,742
Lancaster	1,598	1,998	13	3,999	5,031	9,030

Canterbury

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Cities and Towns.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Canterbury	1741	2276	58	3805	5195	9000
Macclesfield	1426	1539	101	3979	4764	8743
Whitehaven	1176	2103	47	3348	5394	8742
Maidstone	1330	1742	16	3835	4192	8027
Southampton	1509	1876	73	3390	4523	7913
Devizes	1552	1728	41	3624	4285	7909
Salisbury	1489	1833	45	3412	4256	7668
Bury	1360	1641	37	3399	4523	7655
Gloucester	1325	1732	43	3428	4151	7579
Durham	1024	1930	30	3319	4211	7530
Whitby	1596	1992	108	3271	4212	7483
Lincoln	1516	1619	58	3474	3924	7398
Brighthelmstone	1282	1380	142	3274	4065	7339
Bradford	1254	1551	34	3473	3829	7302
Berwick	930	1791	35	3009	4178	7187
Northampton	1322	1652	49	3244	3776	7020
Grantham	1385	1456	72	3377	3637	7014
Kendall	1394	1671	30	2950	3942	6892
Hereford	1392	1715	68	3023	3805	6828
Rochester	1136	1553	14	3071	3746	6817
Newark	1376	1487	14	3098	3632	6730
Scarborough	1615	1769	50	2730	3958	6688
Sandwich	1287	1407	111	2966	3540	6506
Kidderminster	1251	1405	44	3020	3090	6110
Swansea	1182	1504	21	2529	3570	6099
Beverly	1300	1432	35	2734	3267	6001
Boston	1221	1364	31	2698	3228	5926
Winchester	791	902	19	2767	3059	5826
Taunton	1146	1308	48	2450	3344	5794
Warwick	1055	1142	29	2709	3066	5775
Doncaster	1186	1261	60	2477	3220	5697
Holywell	1093	1189	53	2566	3001	5567
Carmarthen	930	1737	15	2338	3210	5548
Deal	906	1107	11	2484	2936	5420
Stockport	2572	2965	126	6983	7847	14,830
Bolton, Great	2454	2509	56	5924	6625	12,594
Wolverhampton	2344	3087	190	6207	6358	12,565
Oldham	1212	1464	19	5946	6078	12,024
Blackburn	2339	2405	13	5559	6421	11,980
Preston	2169	2347	62	5415	6472	11,887
Quick (Yorkshire)	1215	1873	92	5496	5169	10,665
Warrington	2258	2315	38	4780	5787	10,567
Walsal	1984	2084	185	5274	5125	10,399
Dudley	1922	2170	118	4909	5198	10,107
Woolwich	1341	2556	21	4476	5350	9826
Spotland (Lancashire)	1672	1707	123	4430	4601	9031
Hallifax	1913	1935	62	3976	4910	8886
Frome	1653	1853	56	4084	4664	8748
Wakefield	1721	1792	81	3701	4430	8131
Shields, South	1260	2225	3	3274	4834	8108
Wellington	1467	1576	13	3796	3735	7531

Shields

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Cities and Towns.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Shields, North	891	2024	3	2972	4308	7280
Huddersfield	1476	1506	22	3619	3649	7268
Bury	1341	1400	43	3442	3630	7072
Bilston	1246	1268	55	3453	3481	6914
Tiverton	1221	1397	101	3001	3504	6505
Bradford (Yorkshire)	1517	1593	51	2987	3406	6393
Barton	1051	1150	22	3070	3127	6197
Bishop Wearmouth	844	1603	46	2706	3420	6126
Mansfield	1201	1258	44	2798	3190	5988
Trowbridge	1018	1073	67	2552	3247	5799
Hunslet	1205	1258	64	2828	2971	5799
Croydon	1020	1115	54	2761	2982	5743
Workington	1160	1375	21	2453	3263	5716
Ellesmere	1009	1117	26	2733	2820	5553
Stroud	1033	1355	15	2602	2820	5422
Shepton Mallet	1105	1191	49	2310	2794	5104
Hinckley	919	966	11	2597	2473	5070

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A List of the County Towns in England and Wales, whose Population is less than Five Thousand.

County Towns.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Chichester	821	1017	10	2091	2653	4744
Bedford	783	975	17	1712	2236	3948
Stafford	710	802	13	1921	1977	3898
Launceston	465	917	3	1466	2218	3684
Hertford	529	666	13	1762	1598	3360
Monmouth	658	743	39	1512	1833	3345
Dolgelly (Merioneth)	650	730	28	1326	1623	2949
Haverfordwest	593	722	20	1097	1783	2880
Pool (Montgom.)	530	661	13	1305	1567	2872
Cardiff	314	413	13	852	1018	1870
Guilford	464	579	19	1242	1312	2634
Buckingham	551	617	14	1180	1425	2605
Brecon	499	586	41	1123	1453	2576
Dorchester	344	515	9	1078	1324	2402
Denbigh	534	590	18	1061	1330	2391
Huntingdon	350	350	6	993	1042	2035
New Radnor	359	390	20	951	970	1921
Cardigan	415	430	20	789	1122	1911
Carnarvon	304	336	0	828	942	1770
Beaumaris	267	288	2	650	917	1576

First

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First Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons, relative to treasonable Practices in Great Britain and Ireland.

The committee of secrecy, to whom the several papers, which were presented (sealed up) to the house, by Mr. chancellor of the exchequer, upon the 1st and 2d days of this instant April, by his majesty's command, were referred; and who were directed to examine the matters thereof, and report the same, as they shall appear to them, to the house:—

Have proceeded with the utmost diligence to the consideration of the matters referred to them; but, from the extent and variety of the information respecting different parts of the united kingdom, which has been laid before them, they are under the necessity of requesting the indulgence of the house for a short time, before they can submit the result of their investigation on all the points to which it has extended.

Your committee, however, think it incumbent upon them to state, without delay, that they have received the fullest proofs that the dangerous and treasonable conspiracy for the subversion of the constitution and government, which, in the year 1798, in concert with a foreign enemy, produced the horrid and sanguinary rebellion in Ireland, and the progress and extent of which in Great Britain are detailed in the report of the committee of secrecy in the year 1799, has never been abandoned. The hopes and activity of their disaffected were checked, and the intentions frustrated, by the vigilance of government, and by the effect of the laws which were adopted: but their principles and designs remained unchanged, and they have for some time, and more especially of late, been endeavouring to take advantage of the distress occasioned by the high price of provisions, for carrying those wicked designs into effect. It has particularly appeared to your committee, that the instigators of these proceedings have, on repeated occasions, secretly expressed their wish for the aggravation of those evils, which they every where endeavour to use as a pretext and engine for exciting popular discontent: they appear to have derived their principal encouragement from the pressure arising from the scarcity; from the hopes of assistance from a foreign enemy upon the invasion of Great Britain or Ireland; and from the expiration of the laws before referred to, which, from the concurrent testimony from different parts of the kingdom, they acknowledge and declare to have been the principal obstacle to their measures.

Within a few weeks past, and to the latest period to which the information received by your committee can apply, their activity has been great and increasing in the metropolis and in other parts of the kingdom; every effort is employed that can tend to disturb the public tranquillity; and recent intelligence has been received from different quarters, which justifies your committee in believing, that at this moment the immediate object of the disaffected is to endeavour, by a sudden explosion, to avail themselves of the interval which may still take place before those laws can be renewed. The dangerous system of a secret confederacy, under the obligation of an unlawful oath, which prevailed in Ireland, and afterwards extended itself to Great Britain, has been revived, with additional precautions, for

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for the purpose of eluding detection, and of ensuring concert, secrecy, and dispatch: and it appears to be in agitation, suddenly, by these means, to call numerous meetings, in different parts of the country, at the same day and hour, to an extent, which, if not prevented, must materially endanger the public peace; and that among the persons most forward in instigating these criminal proceedings, are some of those who had been detained under the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and who have been recently released from confinement.

These considerations your committee have felt themselves bound to submit, in the first instance, to the wisdom of the house, believing that any delay in so doing would be attended with material danger to the country; and, for the same reason, they feel it a duty incumbent on them, to take the first moment of stating to the house their strong and unanimous opinion, grounded on the information which they have received, that no time ought to be lost in renewing those measures of precaution which the wisdom of the legislature has before adopted; parcularly the act for the suspension of the provisions of the habeas corpus act, and the act to prevent seditious meetings, which, while they remained in force, were attended with the happiest effects in preserving the public tranquillity, and which your committee have the most confident hope would have the same salutary operation, under the present circumstances.

Second Report.

After some preliminary observations upon the means by which information had been obtained, the report states.

"It was not to be expected that persons who had deeply imbibed the principles of the French revolution, who were inflamed with the most sanguinary animosity against all the existing establishments of church and state; that such of them, particularly of the lower orders of society, whose hopes were instigated by the prospect of the plunder of the rich, and the partition of the landed property of the country, and who had been taught to abjure all the restraints which divine or human laws have imposed on the passions of men, should be induced, by any change of circumstances, or legal coercion, suddenly to abandon those principles, and to return to the duties of loyal and peaceable subjects. It accordingly appears manifest, that, though the exertions of the disaffected in this country were suppressed by the vigilance of government, acting under the powers intrusted to them by parliament, and by the fear of detection and immediate apprehension: yet their disposition remained unaltered. That from the month of May, 1799, notwithstanding the detention of several of the most active members of the late corresponding society, others have continued occasionally to meet, without any form of regular association, and studiously avoiding any constant place of assembling, or written memorial of their transactions. A principal object at first was the collection of money for the relief of the persons confined under charges of treasonable and seditious practices, with whom they seem constantly to have preserved their former connexion. On the 5th of November, 1799, when they began to derive fresh encouragement from the

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the unfavourable events on the continent, and the evacuation of Holland by the British troops, a party of them assembled to celebrate the anniversary of Hardy's acquittal, on which occasion they appear first to have ventured on a more open avowal of their opinions, and to have indulged in the most treasonable and seditious toasts and songs. As yet, however, the mischief went no farther; and indeed, during all this period, till late in the last year, they seem to have despaired of any immediate success in their projects, for which some of them supposed no favourable opportunity would occur till the restoration of peace should, as they hoped, have at once removed the legal restraints which now impeded their operations, and brought home such an addition of unemployed hands, as would increase the existing scarcity, and add to the prevailing discontents. They felt themselves, and lamented the effect of the powers intrusted to government by the act for suspending the habeas corpus act: their former leaders were dispersed and secluded, and they apprehended for themselves a similar fate. Particular events, however, of the nature before alluded to, had at different times given some encouragement to their views, and diminished their apprehensions: the successes of the enemy in the last campaign, the disappointments of our allies, still more of any enterprise in which this country was more particularly concerned, or any danger which threatened the life or health of their sovereign, were, as they occurred, a constant source of satisfaction, and of renewed hope and expectation. The health of the chief consul of France, the success of his arms, when opposed to those of their country; the progress of the rupture with the northern powers, as a means of impoverishing our merchants, and creating distress and discontent among the manufacturers, were among the first wishes that marked the complexion of their convivial meetings, or expressed the malignity of their private reflections. The dearth of provisions, early in the last year, opened a new field for similar speculations, and the return of it after the last harvest, increased the inducements and the hope of converting it to their views: of this, as well as of other public calamities, they were disposed to avail themselves in a way that marks sufficiently the character of those principles which lead the revolutionary enthusiast to overlook, or make him seek to augment the miseries, however extended, of individuals, in the hope of deriving from them the means of subverting existing establishments. They affected indeed, openly, much feeling for the sufferings of the people, and fomented their complaints against the supposed authors of them; but in private they expressed their satisfaction at the continuance of the distress, and were only apprehensive that the cause of the complaint might cease by a return of plenty; they hoped particularly that the scarcity would press hard upon the soldiery, and produce discontent and insubordination; and the better to serve their cause, they did not scruple to hold out the most unwarrantable hope of success in their extensive plans of meditated seduction. They disapproved, indeed, of the disposition to riot, which appeared in some places on account of the scarcity in the month of September last, as leading to partial and premature insurrection, not sufficiently connected with their own more large and

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and revolutionary views; but they thought a period somewhat later more favourable to their designs, which might be better advanced by a different line of conduct. Under this impression, they promoted a meeting of a most dangerous nature, to be held at Kennington Common, on the 9th of November, by public advertisement, which was stated to government at the time to be issued under their direction; this fact has since been confirmed by positive depositions upon oath, and by concurrent testimony, which has been obtained in consequence of some of the late apprehensions; from all which it also appears that several of the persons above referred to attended, and that the state of the weather alone prevented their being present in great numbers. Other meetings were concerted, in different parts of the metropolis or its vicinity, with a view to distract the attention of the magistrates, and harass the operations of the military. The first of these, however, failed, in consequence of the information previously afforded to the officers of government, and the presence of magistrates; and the others were prevented by the apprehension of detection, from the reward offered for the conviction of the persons concerned in convening the first. Similar plans were still in agitation in the following month, when a seditious and treasonable hand-bill, in the form of a proclamation, was prepared and circulated by a person lately a leading member of the disaffected societies, and who your committee have reason to believe was principally concerned in convening the meeting at Kennington Common; a copy of which is annexed to this report."

The report then proceeds to state the arrival of United Irishmen, and the fabrication of pikes and daggers. The expiration of the act suspending the habeas corpus encouraged them to renew their designs at the commencement of the present year. Their plan, as stated in the report of the house of lords, was to have an executive committee of ten, and sub-agents for the different districts. To conceal their designs, they formed themselves into clubs, called benefit societies, where private assassination of certain individuals was recommended. Another society, called Spensonians, was formed, merely to discuss public affairs, they agreeing with a book published by Spence recommending an agrarian law, the destruction of the nobility, &c. Upon the release of their leaders by the expiration of the act for suspending the habeas corpus, a supper was given, at which seditious and treasonable language was held.

"This meeting seems to have occasioned a more confident opinion of their strength, and of the success of their schemes of seduction. They boasted of the extension of their society over different and remote districts of the metropolis. They were not, however, insensible to the proceedings of parliament on the subject of the martial law bill in Ireland, which they were apprehensive might be applied to the suppression of their enterprises here, or if not, at least, that the suspension of the habeas corpus act would be renewed, and effectually operate to counteract their designs. Under this impression, a particular degree of caution was recommended by the executive as to the persons to whom the oath should be administered; they suspected they were observed, and were afraid of being apprehended before their plan was

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was ripe for execution, which they admitted it would not be till they should be provided with arms sufficient for their purpose. The same apprehension operated differently on some of the most ardent spirits of the confederacy, who were still more sanguine as to the numbers who would join them, and who were desirous of striking the blow before measures could be taken for their suppression, and who thought they might supply the want of which they complained, by a desperate attack on several repositories of arms, which would at once deprive the military of the means of resistance, and furnish themselves with weapons for attack; others, not admitted to the secrets of the executives, accused them of tardiness in their operations, and were impatient to be called into action. The more cautious counsels, however, prevailed, which were perhaps promoted by mutual suspicion, and by the reluctance of some, when it came near the point, to engage in outrages of such atrocity.

Other meetings were held in different parts of the town, and at one of them, the Spensonians, the following toasts were drank:

May the last of kings be strangled in the bowels of the last of priests!

A speedy amalgamation of party with the mass of the people.

Religion without priests, and governments without kings.

A dish of fish for the English, and may they always relish an Irish pike.

Vinegar Hill, and may the foes of the people meet with sour sauce.

The heroes of Wexford.

The rights of the people, and may the people never want spirit to maintain their rights.

Honest men at the head of affairs, and those at the head of affairs without heads at all.

No lord, nor landlord, but the Lord God, our only Lord.

May the usurpation of the great landholders be speedily destroyed, and every man recover his original share of land.

May the age of superstition be annihilated, and the age of reason be established in its stead.

"At one of the most recent meetings a supper was given, at the expense of some unknown patron, to celebrate again the release of the champions of their cause; when they were still entertained with the most seditious songs and toasts, sufficiently descriptive of their attachment to our foreign enemy, and abhorrence of the form of our own constitution; such as

"Buonaparte, and success to the army of Egypt.

"The guillotine, a cure for the king evil."

The disaffected take steps to win over religious enthusiasts, as well as visionary reformers, though they despise religion. The report next proceeds to state, that societies on similar principles were formed in the chief towns, and that the great object and hope of all was to foment rebellion by means of the scarcity of provisions. They represented their numbers trained to arms at 60,000, sometimes double that number; one of their plans was to seize the arms of the loyal associations. They connected themselves with a religious sect (the Jerusalemites) in Yorkshire, whose creed was the 25th, 26th, and 27th of the 21st chapter of Ezekiel. In Lancashire their numbers were great and bold, and an insurrection was proposed for the seed-time. A secret convention sat for six different divisions of the kingdom, and a general meeting was actually held

held early in April, near Manchester, which was dispersed. The disaffected held out encouragement to the enemy to invade this country, by representing they would be joined by great numbers. The report then describes a new plot lately discovered in Ireland, for forming the disaffected into regiments, a seditious address to the Irish sailors in our fleet, and solicitations of assistance from France; but the agent who asks this, it is said, "Stipulates, however, with his proposed allies, for the assurance of their property to all the present possessors, in opposition to any claim of the catholics, whom he states still to look forward with hopes of establishing a popish ascendancy; and it appears that he has been given to understand, that both the late directory, and one of the principal ministers of the present government of France, had coincided in the justice and propriety of that stipulation."

The report next details the rebellious and atrocious proceedings in Ireland, at considerable length, the plans of assassination, &c. Persons are flogged, to compel them to sell cheap provisions; cattle are destroyed; horses are stolen, to facilitate the designs of the rebels; a general tendency to insurrection exists among the lower class, and the rebellion is not quenched.

"That in one county, for a year past, one whole barony has been tributary to and in possession of an armed banditti of about fifty persons, under two known leaders, who regularly exercise their men, station their pickets, and march to the sound of a horn, to the commission of all sorts of outrages, and declare their intention of persisting till a general rising may enable them to overturn the existing constitution and government.

"The robbery of the mail in Kildare, in the month of April last, by a gang of eighteen or nineteen armed men, who commenced their attack by a volley of musketry, is a striking instance of the manner in which these outrages are committed; and a recent and well-known transaction of the most atrocious nature, in the county of Tipperary, proves that the system of secret proscription and delegated assassination is still in force, supported either by the concurrence of extensive confederacy, or the effects of general intimidation. Your committee refer to the murder of Mr. Price, who, having taken a farm against the wishes of those who take upon them to regulate the rents of land, received a written intimation, which appears, from the evidence of a member of this house, to have been to the following effect:

" 'Liberty Hall.

" 'Take notice, that you have been 'tried and convicted of having taken '—— farm — you have been sen-'tenced to death — you are to give 'up the farm, otherwise the war-'rant for your execution is in the 'hands of the executioner.

'Given at the council
'chamber.'

"This account, the member received from the brother of the deceased, who showed him another letter to the same effect, which was served on a tenant of Mr. Price at the same time, who, in consequence, fled the country. Mr. Price was, within a few days, in the open fields at noon, fired at and murdered by a single individual, who was suffered to depart at his leisure, without any endeavour being made to detain him, though many people were at work at no great distance."

The report here describes and justifies

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tifies the conduct of the Irish courts martial.

The report next states the impossibility of disclosing the means by which government has obtained its information, without endangering the persons, and ruining their channels of intelligence. It notices the small number of persons imprisoned under the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and sanctions their imprisonment, after having inquired the motives. The report concludes with this paragraph:

"Under these circumstances, your committee cannot forbear submitting to the wisdom of the house the propriety of such an act of indemnity, as may protect all persons concerned in these commitments from the effects of any legal proceeding, without subjecting them to the necessity, either of suffering for a conduct in itself meritorious, or of disclosing, in their own defence, those particulars, which every consideration of humanity, good faith, and policy, must render it their duty to conceal."

The appendix consists of the handbill calling the meeting at Kennington Common; papers inflaming the minds of the people on account of the high price of provisions; oaths binding to maintain the rights of man; an extract from Spence's pamphlet, recommending that land should not be the property of individuals, but of parishes, and the rents common to all, and that a convention should meet to enforce the plan. There are also several inflammatory papers from the United Irish, and an address to the Irish sailors of the same nature, together with long depositions of persons employed on courts martial in Ireland; and depositions, and other evidence, respecting the general state of that country.

A GENERAL

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A GENERAL BILL

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OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 9, 1800, to DECEMBER 15, 1801.

Christened { Males 9400, Females 8414 } 17814. Buried { Males 9661, Females 9713 } 19374.

Decreased in the burials this year, 3694.

Died under 2 years	5395	30 and 40	1924	80 and 90	484	107	0
Between 2 and 5	2063	40 and 50	2123	90 and 100	64	118	0
5 and 10	843	50 and 60	1817	100	1	120	0
10 and 20	639	60 and 70	1482	101	5		
20 and 30	1481	70 and 80	1047	102	1		

DISEASES.

ABORTIVE and still born	407	Croup	14	Palpitation of the heart	1	Bruised	4
Abscess	24	Despair	1	Palsy	79	Burnt	7
Aged	1562	Diabetes	1	Pleurisy	22	Choaked	1
Ague	4	Dropsy	865	Quinsy	5	Drowned	120
Apoplexy and suddenly	238	Eaten by Lice	1	Rash	0	Excessive drinking	5
Asthma and Phthisic	437	Evil	7	Rheumatism	5	Executed	*11
Bedridden	2	Fevers of all kinds	2908	Rickets	0	Found dead	9
Bleeding	14	Fistula	3	Scurvy	4	Fractured	3
Bursten and rupture	21	Flux	10	Small pox	1461	Frighted	0
Cancer	57	French pox	14	Sore throat	4	Frozen	0
Chicken Pox	2	Gout	84	Sores and ulcers	6	Killed by falls and several other accidents	59
Childbed	170	Gravel, stone, and strangury	12	Spasm	4	Killed themselves	31
Cold	6	Grief	5	Stoppage in the stomach	6	Murdered	4
Cholick, gripes, and twisting of the guts	8	Headmouldshothorse shoe head, and water in the head	72	Surfeit	1	Poisoned	3
Consumption	4695	Head-ach	0	Swelling	3	Scalded	5
Convulsions	3931	Jaundice	79	Swine pox	0	Shot	0
Cough, and hooping-cough	428	Jaw locked	4	Teeth	333	Smothered	0
Cramp	1	Inflammation	557	Thrush	28	Starved	5
		Lethargy	0	Tympany	0	Sprain	0
		Livergrown	4	Vomiting and looseness	1	Strangled	0
		Lunatic	127	Worms	9	Suffocated	1
		Measles	136			Total	269
		Miscarriage	1				
		Mortification	225				

CASUALTIES.

BIT by a mad dog 0
Broken limbs 1

* There have been executed, in Middlesex and Surrey, 23; of which number 11 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

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Average Prices of Corn, for the Year 1801.

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	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
January . . .	17	2	10	1	5	5	9	9
February . .	17	8	10	5	5	7	10	1
March . . .	9	3	11	0	5	9	10	0
April	18	11	11	0	5	8	9	6
May	16	3	9	7	4	11	8	3
June	16	1	9	0	4	7	7	10
July	16	10	8	10	4	8	7	8
August . . .	15	2	7	6	4	5	6	11
September . .	11	1	6	3	3	8	6	4
October . . .	9	11	5	10	3	3	5	11
November . .	8	10	5	5	3	1	5	6
December . .	9	5	5	6	3	0	5	6
General Average	13	5	8	3	4	4	7	9

List of French, Spanish, and Dutch Ships, lost, taken, and destroyed, from the Commencement of the War in 1793, *to October,* 1801.

	French.	*Dutch.*	*Spanish.*	*Total.*
Ships of the Line .	45	25	11	81
Fifties	2	1	0	3
Frigates	133	31	20	184
Sloops	161	32	55	248
			Grand Total	516

PRICES

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PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1801.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr. Ct. Reduc.	3 pr. Ct. Consol.	4 per Ct. Consol.	5 per Ct. Navy.	5 per Ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock	India Bds.	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Omnium	Irish 5 per Ct.	Imp. 3 per Ct	Eng. Lot. Tickets.
Jan. .	162¾	62½	62	80¼	96½	97	18½	5½	205½		63½	—	62⅞	1s. pr.	2 pr.	94	61½	17 5 0
	149½	55⅛	54¾	73¼	86½	87¼	16½	5	187	5 pr.	62	—	57½	1 dis.	3½ dis.	86	54	17 0 0
Feb. .	153¾	58⅛	57	77¼	91½	92¼	17¾	5⅜	189	7	62¼	56½	57	par.	—	88½	57	17 9 0
	150	56¼	55⅛	75⅜	89¾	90¾	17⅛	5¼	184	3 dis.	61¾	55	55½	8 dis.	—	87	54¾	17 2 0
March	162½	56¼	58½	75½	96½	91¾	17½	5½	194½	3	62¼	56½	55½	12	7 pr.	88¼	57½	21 5 0
	153	55¾	55½	75	90½	90⅜		5⅜	183½	2	—	56⅜	—	3	1½	88	55	17 8 0
April.	170	—	61½	78½	97¾	94½	18⅛	5⅛	200½	2 pr.	66	—	59½	12	10½	91	57½	26 10 0
	159	—	57¼	77¼	94½	92⅞	17⅞		192½	—	65¾	—	—	2	3½	90⅜	56¾	15 0 0
May .	169¾	60½	61⅝	79⅝	96⅞	95	18⅛	5⅛	202½	—	67½	59⅞	60¼	7	10¼	92½	58¾	15 12 0
	166	59½	60⅛	77¼	96⅛	93⅞	18⅛		199½	—	65¾	—	—	3	8¾	90¼	57½	—
June .	168½	61⅛	62⅝	80	96¾	96	18½	5⅛	203¾	—	66¾	60⅞	—	4	10½	92	60	15 15 0
	166¾	60	60⅞	78¼	95⅜	93⅞	18⅛		200	—	—	—	—	3	8¾	90¾	58¾	15 12 0
July .	168	61⅜	62½	80⅞	94	96¾	18½	5¼	201¾	3 pr.	—	61	57⅞	2	10½	93½	60¼	15 15 0
	165¾	58⅛	58	78	92	93	17⅞	5⅛	192	—	—	58⅜	57¾	1	6¼	90	57	—
Aug .	169½	61½	61⅛	81	96¾	97¾	17⅞	5⅜	199	8 pr.	—	60⅛	59½	4	10¼	93½	60⅜	16 0 0
	167	59½	58⅛	79¼	93	94½	18⅛	5⅛	193	6	—	59½	58¼	1	7	90	58¾	15 15 0
Sept .	168½	61⅛	60⅝	81¼	96⅞	97⅜	18¾	5⅜	195¼	—	—	—	—	2	9¾	—	60	16 0 0
	177	—	58¼	81	93½	97¼	18⅝		191½	—	—	—	—	—	6¼	—	57¼	—
Oct. .	190	68⅛	69¼	86½	103	100¼	20	5¼	221	—	73	67½	—	12	25¼	100	67¾	16 4 0
	177¾	67¼	59¼	85	94	98¼	—	5⅛	209½	—	—	—	—	1	7½	98½	59	16 0 0
Nov. .	190¾	67⅞	68⅝	85	103¼	99⅞	19⅞	5¼	215¾	—	—	—	68⅛	16	23	97½	—	16 6 0
	187	66⅜	67⅛	83¾	99	98	19⅝	5⅛	213	—	—	—	67¼	7	95½	—	—	16 4 0
Dec. .	188½	67½	69¼	85⅜	100¼	98¾	19⅞	5¼	218½	—	73¼	—	—	8½	22¼	97⅛	66⅛	16 10 0
	187¼	66¾	67¼	83¾	99¾	97⅝	19½	5⅛	216	—	—	—	—	1	21¼	96	63⅝	16 6 0

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SUPPLIES

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Granted by Parliament for the Year 1801.

NAVY, &c.

February 17, 1801.

	£.	s.	d.
That 135,000 seamen be employed for ten lunar months, commencing 26th March, 1801, including 30,000 marines.			
For wages for ditto	2,497,500	0	0
For victuals for ditto	2,565,000	0	0
For ordnance sea service on board the ships in which they are to serve	337,500	0	0
For wear and tear of such ships	4,050,000	0	0
For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to sea and marine officers	637,418	5	8
For buildings and repairs of ships, and other extra works	733,900	0	0
For the expense of the transport service, and for the maintenance of prisoners of war in health at home and abroad	1,445,718	14	6
For the care and maintenance of sick prisoners of war	155,000	0	0
	£12,422,037	0	2

ARMY.

February 17, 1801.

That 58,387 men be employed for land service, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, including 5,797 invalids, from 25th March, 1801, to 24th December following.			
That 17,232 men be employed for land service in Ireland, including 661 invalids, from 1st January, 1801, to 24th December following.			
For guards, garrisons, and other land forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney	1,653,878	6	5
For land forces in Ireland	576,593	12	7
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Minorca, and other stations in the Mediterranean, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	1,724,377	0	4

For

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	£.	s.	d.
For four troops of dragoons, and seventeen companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain for recruiting regiments serving in East India	38,003	9	2
For recruiting and contingencies for land forces, and extra forage for the cavalry	352,500	0	0
Ditto . . . . ditto . . . . in Ireland	319,748	13	5
For general and staff officers, and officers of hospitals in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey	86,522	6	8
Ditto . . . . ditto . . . . in Ireland	48,197	5	4
For full pay to supernumerary officers	25,662	8	2
For allowances to the paymaster-general, commissary-general of the musters, &c. &c. in Great Britain	116,088	14	5
For allowances to the muster-master-general, judge-advocate-general, &c. &c. in Ireland	6,416	0	6
For subsistence to innkeepers, &c. on quartering soldiers, and allowance to the land forces in Great Britain for small beer	255,000	0	0
For allowances to the land forces in Ireland for small beer, &c.	115,384	12	4
For reduced officers of land forces and marines . .	138,979	7	1
For allowances to one private of reduced horse guards, and to one superannuated gentleman of the horse guards	20	12	11
For half pay to regimental and warrant officers of land forces, and for allowance to retired chaplains in Ireland	14,855	2	5
On account of officers late in the service of the states general	1,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . of reduced officers of British American forces	52,500	0	0
For allowances to several reduced officers of ditto . .	7,500	0	0
For the in and out pensioners of Chelsea hospital, and the expenses of the hospital	148,382	0	6
Ditto . . . . of the royal hospital near Kilmainham, and for ditto	35,923	1	0
For pensions to widows of officers of the land forces in Great Britain	20,227	10	0
Ditto . . . . ditto . . . . in Ireland	5,042	4	3
For the barrack department in Great Britain . . .	293,929	0	0
Ditto . . . . ditto . . . . in Ireland	339,708	13	5
For foreign corps in the service of Great Britain . .	303,391	4	5
For an augmentation to the land forces in Great Britain of 10,321 men, including 1,257 invalids . .	656,388	8	6
For medicines, bedding, and hospital contingencies, for the forces in Ireland, and for the royal military infirmary in Dublin	21,372	19	9

June

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June 9.

	£.	s.	d.
On account of the purchase of land, and construction of buildings, for a royal military college . .	30,000	0	0
For defraying the expenses on account of certain premises at Chelsea, intended for a royal military asylum for the reception of the children of soldiers .	8,400	0	0

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June 11.

To defray the extraordinary services of the army in Great Britain	2,500,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . ditto . . . . in Ireland	600,000	0	0
	£.10,495,992	13	7

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

February 17, 1801.

For the embodied militia and corps of fencible infantry in Great Britain, from 25th March, 1801, to 24th December following	973,431	8	9
Ditto . . . . ditto . . . . in Ireland	1,381,017	10	11
For contingencies for the embodied militia and corps of fencible infantry in Great Britain	50,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . ditto . . . . in Ireland	34,451	3	0
For clothing for the embodied militia of Great Britain	122,667	1	3
For the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry in Great Britain	455,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . ditto . . . . in Ireland	425,139	1	7

April 27.

For additional field officers to the several corps of militia in Ireland	11,167	6	11
Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia of England.			
Ditto . . . . for allowances to adjutants, sergeant-majors, and sergeants of the militia, disembodied in pursuance of act 39, and 40 Geo. III.			
Ditto . . . . for allowances to subaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace.			
	£.3,452,873	12	5

ORDNANCE.

February 17, 1801.

For ordnance land service, for nine months, from 1st April to 31st December, 1801	1,083,375	17	7

For

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	£.	s.	d.
For ordnance land service, not provided for in 1799	39,972	15	0
Ditto . . . . not provided for in 1800	58,706	14	0
For ordnance services in Ireland, from 5th January, 1801, to 4th January, 1802	299,907	9	5
	£.1,481,962	16	0

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MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

March 31, 1801.

To be applied in payment of a like sum borrowed in Ireland on treasury bills . . . (*Irish currency*)	522,200	0	0
To be paid to the accountant-general, for preparing and stating the public accounts of Ireland, laid before the house	313	16	11
Ditto . . . . to the deputy accountant-general, for preparing the same for parliament	221	10	9
Ditto . . . . to the paymaster of corn bounties . . .	738	9	0
Ditto . . . . to the examinator of ditto	184	12	4
To be paid to the inspector-general of imports and exports in Ireland, for preparing accounts	184	12	4
Ditto . . . . to the first clerk in his office for ditto .	129	4	7
Ditto . . . . to the examinator of excise in Ireland, for ditto	129	4	7
For defraying the expense of pratique in the port of Dublin	966	18	7½
Ditto . . . . of civil buildings in Ireland . , . . .	29,538	9	3
Ditto . . . . of apprehending public offenders in Ireland	2,307	13	10
Ditto . . . . of the office of solicitor of criminal causes in Ireland	23,076	18	6
Ditto . . . . of proclamations and advertisements in the Dublin Gazette	6,485	10	9
Ditto . . . . of printing certain statutes in Ireland .	3,477	2	4
Ditto . . . . of printing, stationary, and other disbursements, for the public offices in Ireland	18,166	11	10
For defraying the incidental expenses of the board of treasury in Ireland	1,846	3	1
For defraying the expense of building farther offices for the records of Ireland, and to discharge sums due for building courts of justice	5,538	9	3
To be applied in working a gold mine in the county of Wicklow	923	1	6
For clothing the battle-axe guards in Ireland . . .	683	1	6
For clothing the officers of arms and state trumpeters in Ireland	1,002	9	3

To

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	£.	s.	d.
To be paid to the trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures in Ireland	19,938	9	3
Ditto . . . . to the board of first fruits in Ireland, for building and rebuilding churches	4,615	7	8
Ditto . . . . to the Dublin society, for promoting husbandry and other useful arts	5,076	18	6
Ditto . . . . to the corporation, for paving, cleansing, and lighting the city of Dublin	9,230	15	5
Ditto . . . . to the commissioners for making wide and convenient streets in ditto	4,153	16	11
For defraying the charge of the incorporated society in Dublin for promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland	18,213	4	7
For defraying the charge of the foundling hospital in Ireland	13,846	3	1
Ditto . . . . of the Hibernian marine nursery for sailors' children	1,846	3	1
Ditto . . . . of supporting the Westmorland Lock hospital in Dublin	6,183	13	10
Ditto . . . . of the Hibernian school for soldiers' children	3,655	7	9
Ditto . . . . of the Roman Catholic seminary in Ireland	7,384	12	4
Ditto . . . . of supporting the house of industry for relief of the poor in Dublin	15,594	9	3
Ditto . . . . of the society for promoting the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion in Ireland	276	18	6
Ditto . . . . of the female orphan house near Dublin, for deserted female children	461	10	9
April 14.			
To be applied in promoting the purposes of the farming societies of Ireland	1,846	3	1
Ditto . . . . towards completing additional buildings at the repository of the Dublin society, and botanic garden	4,153	16	11
April 27.			
Plantations. For the civil establishment of Upper Canada	7,950	0	0
Ditto . . . . of Nova Scotia	5,915	0	0
Ditto . . . . of New Brunswick	2,420	10	10
Ditto . . . . of Prince Edward Island	1,900	0	0
Ditto . . . . of the island of Cape Breton	957	16	0½
Ditto . . . . of Newfoundland	1,641	8	5
Ditto . . . . of the Bahama islands	4,100	0	0
Ditto . . . . of the Bermudas, or Somers islands	301	18	4¼
Ditto . . . . of the island of Dominica	600	0	0
Ditto . . . . of New South Wales	7,146	0	0

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	£.	s.	d.
For defraying the charge of the superintendance of aliens	7,620	0	0
Ditto . . . . of the extraordinary expenses incurred for prosecutions relating to the coin	2,270	18	2
Ditto . . . . of the expenses likely to be incurred for confining and maintaining convicts at home	37,317	6	5
For defraying the expenses likely to be incurred for printing the journals, &c. of the house of commons	10,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . the charge of the works and repairs of the military roads and bridges in North Britain	5,000	0	0
To discharge the probable amount of bills expected from, or on account of New South Wales, exclusive of the civil establishment	25,000	0	0
For defraying the expenses of the commission under the seventh article of the American treaty	3,550	0	0
To make good money issued pursuant to addresses	21,808	6	3
For relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France, Toulonese, and Corsican emigrants, certain St. Domingo sufferers, and American loyalists	208,772	0	0
For foreign and other secret services	15,000	0	0
To make good money issued for additional allowances to clerks in the office for auditing public accounts	2,482	16	0
Ditto . . . . towards carrying into effect a plan for inquiring into the mendicity of the metropolis	500	0	0
Ditto . . . . for expenses incurred upon a plan for the improvement of the port of London	253	12	7
Ditto . . . . for continuing the index to the journals of the house of lords	116	16	0
Ditto . . . . to discharge fees on passing public accounts	3,500	0	0
Ditto . . . . for expenses at the parliament-office	374	4	8
Ditto . . . . to pay bills drawn on account of New South Wales, due in 1800	6,756	10	5
Ditto . . . . ditto, which became due in 1801	7,901	10	4
Ditto . . . . to pay artificers employed in various works about the houses of parliament	2,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . to pay fees on passing a commission appointing commissioners to inquire into the state of the Cold Bath Fields prison	175	3	2
Ditto . . . . for medicines sent to New South Wales	895	16	0
To make good the sums paid for discount on prompt payments to the loan and lottery for 1800	177,330	18	10
To the bank for receiving the contributions to ditto	17,518	14	7
To make good money paid for salaries of officers, and incidental expenses of the commission for reduction of the national debt	902	14	6

To

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	£.	s.	d.
To make good money paid to the officers of the exchequer for extra trouble in making out exchequer bills	1,000	0	0
Ditto . . . for a clerk employed on various businesses relative to American claims	132	3	6
For the board of agriculture	3,000	0	0
For support of the veterinary college	1,500	0	0
For supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	20,000	0	0
May 19.			
To enable his majesty to afford assistance to the queen of Portugal	300,000	0	0
June 11.			
Towards enabling the trustees of the British Museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them by parliament	3,000	0	0
To make good money issued to the chairman of the committees of the house of lords	2,701	9	0
For assisting the Levant company in carrying on their trade	5,000	0	0
To make good money issued pursuant to addresses	10,891	11	10
Ditto . . . . for additional allowances to clerks in the office for auditing public accounts	827	12	0
Ditto . . . . to complete the purchase of houses necessary for carrying on the works at the new Marshalsea	528	9	0
Ditto . . . . for premiums to be paid for essays on breaking up of grass lands	800	0	0
For the civil establishment at Sierra Leone	4,000	0	0
Sterling	£.1,155,752	18	3¼
	and		
Irish currency	£.522,200	0	0

NATIONAL DEBT.

June 11, 1801.

To the bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commissioners for reduction of the national debt	£.200,000	0	0

EXCHEQUER

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EXCHEQUER BILLS.

February 21, 1801.	£.	s.	d.
For paying off exchequer bills, made out on credit of the duties on income, granted by act 39 Geo. III.	1,100,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . made out on credit of the duties on goods imported and exported, granted by act 38 Geo. III.	250,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . made out by virtue of act 39 and 40 Geo. III, on credit of the supplies granted for 1800 . .	4,000,000	0	0
April 27.			
For paying interest on sundry exchequer bills, made out by virtue of several acts of 39 and 40 Geo. III.	305,484	7	2
June 11.			
For paying off exchequer bills, made out by virtue of act 39 and 40 Geo. III, for raising £.3,500,000 thereby	3,500,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . by virtue of act for raising £.3,000,000	3,000,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . by virtue of act for raising a farther sum of £.3,000,000	3,000,000	0	0
	£.15,155,484	7	2

VOTE OF CREDIT.

June 11, 1801.			
To enable his majesty to take such measures as the exigency of affairs may require	£.2,000,000	0	0

RECAPITULATION.

Navy	12,422,037	0	2
Army	10,495,992	13	7
Militia and fencibles	3,452,173	12	5
Ordnance	1,481,962	16	0
Miscellaneous services	1,677,952	18	3
National debt	200,000	0	0
Exchequer bills	15,155,484	7	2
Vote of credit	2,000,000	0	0
Total of supply	£.46,886,303	7	7

WAYS

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WAYS and MEANS for raising the SUPPLY.

GRANTS.

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February 19, 1801.

For raising £.28,000,000 by annuities, whereof the charges of £.25,500,000 are to be defrayed on the part of Great Britain, and £.2,500,000 on the part of Ireland . . . . . £.28,000,000 0 0

February 21.

For granting an additional principal sum of five shillings in £.3 *per centum* reduced annuities, for every £.100 contributed towards the loan of £.28,000,000.

April 2.

For applying part of the supplies granted by the parliament of Ireland, for the service of the year, ending at Lady-day, 1801.

For establishing in Ireland one or more lottery or lotteries, under such regulations as shall be appointed by the lord-lieutenant, &c.

For raising £.701,250 by a lottery. . . . . £.701,250 0 0

April 30.

That the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia in England be defrayed out of the land tax.

That the allowances to adjutants, &c. of the militia, disembodied in pursuance of act 39 and 40 Geo. III, be defrayed out of the same.

That the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia in time of peace be defrayed out of the same.

June 16.

	£.	s.	d.
For applying £.4,000,000 out of the moneys arising by virtue of act 39 Geo. III, for granting certain duties on income	4,000,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . £1,200,000 out of the moneys arising by virtue of act 38 Geo. III, for granting certain duties on goods imported and exported, and on tonnage of ships and vessels	1,200,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . £.3,100,000 out of the moneys that shall arise of the surplus of the consolidated fund . . .	3,100,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . £.433,333 6*s.* 8*d.* remaining of the sum granted in 1800, to fulfil engagements with the emperor of Germany	433,333	6	8

For

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	£.	s.	d.
For applying 65.671*l.* 4*s.* remaining of the sum granted in 1800, for charge of the troops of the elector of Bavaria	65,671	4	0
Ditto . . . . 65,837*l.* 19*s.* 7½*d.* being the surplus of the grants for 1800	65,837	19	7½
Ditto . . . . 50,000*l.* out of the moneys that shall arise from interest of land-tax contracted for	50,000	0	0
Ditto . . . . 4,080*l.* 11*s.* 6¾*d* reserved in the exchequer for particular services since the 10th of May, 1787	4,080	11	6¾
Ditto . . . . 8,280*l.* 16*s.* 11¼*d.* remaining in the exchequer of contributions to lotteries granted prior to 1799	8,280	16	11¼
For raising an additional sum of 2,000,000*l.* by exchequer bills	2,000,000	0	0
For raising 3,500,000*l.* by ditto	3,500,000	0	0
For raising 3,000,000*l.* by ditto	3,000,000	0	0
For raising a farther sum of 3,000,000*l.* by ditto .	3,000,000	0	0
Total Ways and Means . .	£48,427,203	18	10

Taxes imposed in the Year 1801.

1. *Duties on Timber, Sugar, &c.*

February 19, 1801.

For charging additional duties on timber, &c., imported into Great Britain from any part of Europe; except on goods, wares, or merchandize, the growth or produce of Ireland, and imported directly from thence.

For repealing certain duties on sugar imported into Great Britain — charging additional duties thereon — and, allowing a drawback and bounties on exportation.

For charging an additional duty on raisins imported into Great Britain.

For charging a duty on pepper delivered out of warehouse, to be used and consumed in Great Britain.

For charging an additional duty on lead exported from the united kingdom.

February 21.

For charging a duty on pepper, which shall have been warehoused in Great Britain, and exported from thence.

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2. *Duties on Tea, Paper, and Printed Stuffs.*

February 19.

For charging an additional duty of excise on tea sold by the East India company—and, granting a drawback thereof on exportation.

For charging additional duties of customs on paper, pasteboard, millboard, and scaleboard, imported into Great Britain, except from Ireland.

For charging additional duties of excise on ditto, made in Great Britain; or made in Ireland, and imported from thence.

For charging an additional duty of customs on printed, painted, or stained paper for hangings, imported into Great Britain, except from Ireland.

For charging a duty of excise on Irish printed, painted, or stained paper, imported into Great Britain from Ireland.

For charging an additional duty of customs on books imported into Great Britain, except from Ireland.

For charging an additional excise duty on books, and on maps or prints, imported into Great Britain from Ireland.

For allowing the said duties of excise on paper to be drawn back on exportation—and, a certain drawback on the exportation of printed and ruled books.

For charging an additional excise duty on linens and stuffs wove in Great Britain, which shall be printed, painted, stained, or dyed.

Ditto . . . . . on Irish printed, painted, or dyed, Irish-made linens and stuffs, imported into Great Britain from Ireland—and,

Allowing the same to be drawn back on exportation.

3. *Duties on Horses.*

February 19.

For charging additional duties upon persons keeping and using horses.

4. *Duties of Postage.*

February 19.

For repealing the rates of postage now payable—and,

Charging new duties for the port and conveyance of letters by the general post within Great Britain—

Ditto . . . . sent by the penny post within the cities of London and Westminster.

For charging additional duties upon the port and conveyance of letters by the post to or from any part of the united kingdom, from or to any places out of the said kingdom not within his majesty's dominions.

For charging additional duties upon the port and conveyance of letters by packet boats from or to the ports of Holyhead and Milford Haven.

5. *Duties*

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5. *Duties on Bills of Exchange, Notes, Deeds, &c.*

February 19.

For charging additional stamp duties on bills of exchange, promissory or other notes and insurances, and on certain indentures, leases, bonds, and other deeds.

February 21.

For granting a farther allowance by way of discount on the sum paid for duties imposed on newspapers.

6. *Duties on Tea, Sugar, and Coals, in Ireland.*

April 2.

For repealing the duties now payable on tea imported into Ireland, and granting other duties.

For charging additional duties on sugar imported into Ireland.

For charging an additional duty on all British coals imported into Ireland.

For allowing a drawback of the said duties on tea, sugar, and coals, on the exportation thereof from Ireland.

7. *Duties on Spirits in Ireland.*

April 2.

For charging a duty on spirits or strong waters made in Great Britain from sugar or sugar wash, and imported into Ireland.

For repealing a certain duty on spirits made or distilled from sugar in Ireland—and, charging a new duty on strong waters, or spirits, made and distilled in Ireland from sugar or sugar wash.

For repealing the drawback now allowed on sugar used in making sugar wash.

April 28.

For allowing a drawback on the exportation of spirits made or distilled from sugar or sugar wash in Ireland.

April 30.

For charging an additional countervailing duty upon spirits distilled from wash made from sugar in Ireland, and imported into England.

8. *Duties on Bonds, Bills of Exchange, &c., in Ireland.*

May 14.

For charging additional stamp duties in Ireland upon every contract, bond, or other obligatory instrument, conditioned for the payment of money.

Ditto . . . . upon bills of exchange, promissory notes, &c.

Ditto . . . . upon insurances for insuring ships, goods, &c., from the danger of, or other perils at, sea.

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9. *Duties on Wills, &c. and on Dice, Cards, and Ale Licences.*

May 21.

For charging additional duties on probates of wills or letters of administration—also on deeds, dice, playing cards, and ale licences.

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10. *Duties on Cards.*

June 16.

For charging an additional duty on playing cards imported into Great Britain (except from Ireland).

For charging a duty on cards imported into Great Britain from Ireland.

Public Acts passed in the First Session of the First Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

41 *George* III. 1801.

An act to suspend, until the 25th day of March, 1801, so much of an act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act to prevent, until the 6th day of November, 1801, and from thence to the end of six weeks from the commencement of the then next session of parliament, the manufacturing of any fine flour from wheat or other grain, and the making of any bread solely from the fine flour of wheat; and to repeal an act passed in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of his present majesty, for permitting bakers to make and sell certain sorts of bread, and to make more effectual provision for the same;" as relates to other grain than wheat; and for indemnifying persons who may have dressed, sold, or used any meal or flour of such other grain, finer than is prescribed by the said act.

To repeal an act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act to prevent, until the 6th day of November, 1801, and from thence to the end of six weeks from the commencement of the then next session of parliament, the manufacturing of any fine flour from wheat or other grain, and the making of any bread solely from the fine flour of wheat; and to repeal an act passed in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of his present majesty, for permitting bakers to make and sell certain sorts of bread, and to make more effectual provision for the same;" and to indemnify millers and other persons who have dressed, sold, or used any meal, or flour of a finer description than allowed by the said act.

For raising the sum of twenty-eight millions, by way of annuities.

To enable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury to issue exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament, for the service of the year 1801.

To enable his majesty to grant a certain annuity to captain sir Sidney Smith, in consideration of the eminent

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nent services which he has rendered during his command on the coast of Egypt.

For increasing the number of field officers of the several regiments of militia in Ireland.

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For repealing the rates and duties of postage in Great Britain, and granting other rates and duties in lieu thereof, and on letters conveyed to or from any part of the united kingdom from or to any place out of the said kingdom, and by packet boats from or to the ports of Holyhead and Milford Haven.

For granting to his majesty certain additional duties on paper, pasteboard, millboard, and scaleboard, made in or imported into Great Britain; and on tea imported into and sold in Great Britain.

For granting to his majesty certain additional duties on horses in Great Britain; and for exempting from duty horses kept for the purpose of husbandry, by persons holding farms under a certain value.

For granting to his majesty additional stamp duties on bills of exchange, promissory notes, and insurances; and on certain indentures, leases, bonds, or other deeds.

For punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

To amend an act made in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to permit bakers to make and sell certain sorts of bread."

For increasing the bounties granted by an act of the last session of parliament, on flour imported from America, in ships which shall have cleared out between certain periods.

For amending and farther continuing, until the 24th day of June, 1801, two acts, passed in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present majesty, for the suppression of the rebellion which still exists within that kingdom, and for the protection of the persons and properties of his majesty's faithful subjects within the same.

To continue, until the 24th day of of June, 1801, an act, made in the last session of parliament of Ireland, intituled, "An act to empower the lord-lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, to apprehend and detain such persons as he or they shall suspect for conspiring against his majesty's person and government."

To prohibit, until the 25th day of March, 1802, the making of malt, and the distilling of spirits, from corn or grain in Ireland.

For continuing, until the 25th day of March, 1802, certain acts of the last session of the parliament of Ireland, for granting duties to his majesty.

For the regulation of his majesty's marine forces while on shore, until the 25th day of March, 1802.

For reviving and continuing, until the 1st day of October, 1801, so much of an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present majesty, as relates to the reducing and better collecting the duties payable on the importation of starch; for reviving, continuing until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, and amending, an act made in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of his present majesty, for enabling his majesty to permit goods to be imported into Great Britain in neutral ships; for reviving, and

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continuing until the 25th day of March, 1804, and from thence until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the then next session of parliament, an act made in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present majesty, for authorizing his majesty to make regulations respecting the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope; and for reviving and making perpetual an act, made in the thirty-third year of the reign of his present majesty, for preventing offences in obstructing, destroying, or damaging ships, and in obstructing seamen and others from pursuing their lawful occupations.

To extend, until the 29th day of September, 1801, the provisions of an act, made in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the better cultivation, improvement, and regulation of the common arable fields, wastes, and commons of pasture, in this kingdom," and for encouraging the cultivation of potatoes in open and common field lands.

For permitting East India goods prohibited to be worn or used in Great Britain, and warehoused, in pursuance of an act made in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of his present majesty, to be removed by land carriage to certain ports, for the purpose of being exported to the British colonies or plantations in the West Indies.

To render valid indentures of apprenticeship of poor children and others, made upon improper stamps, upon certain conditions; and to indemnify all persons who may have incurred penalties thereby.

For the better collection of rates made for the relief of the poor.

For the indemnifying of persons injured by the forcible pulling down and demolishing of mills, or of works thereunto belonging, by persons unlawfully and riotously assembled.

For the better regulation of the office of master of the rolls, in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and for augmenting the salary annexed to the said office.

For reviving and farther continuing, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, several acts, made in the thirty-eighth, thirty-ninth, and fortieth years of his present majesty's reign, and in the last session of parliament, for empowering his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government.

For granting to his majesty a certain sum of money for the service of Great Britain, to be raised by a lottery.

For granting to his majesty certain duties of customs on timber, sugar, raisins, and pepper, imported into, and on lead exported from, Great Britain.

For granting an additional duty on English spirits imported into Scotland, and for allowing, until forty days after the commencement of the next session of parliament, the distillation of spirits in Scotland, from melasses or sugar, at a lower rate of duty.

To revive and continue, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, an act made in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies."

To revive and continue, until the 5th

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5th day of July, 1801, an act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for shortening, until the 25th day of March, 1801, the time of keeping in steep, for malting, barley damaged by rain in the last harvest."

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For granting to his majesty several sums of money for defraying the charge of certain permanent services in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

For repealing certain duties upon tea imported into Ireland, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof; and for granting additional duties on sugar and coals imported into Ireland.

For granting bounties on the importation into Ireland of wheat, barley, rye, oats, and Indian corn, and of barley, rye, oats, Indian meal, and wheaten flour and rice.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers.

For enabling the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, to prohibit, for a limited time, so as such prohibition shall not endure beyond the expiration of six weeks from the commencement of the next session of parliament, the exportation from Ireland of corn or potatoes, and of all provisions whatsoever, and to permit, for such limited time, the importation into Ireland of corn and fish, and all provisions whatsoever, without payment of duty; and for indemnifying such persons as have acted for the service of the public, in advising or carrying into execution certain proclamations of the lord-lieutenant and council of Ireland.

For making provision for the entry and return voyages of certain ships which may import rice or other grain from the East Indies, and to authorize the importation of rice or other grain into Ireland, in ships coming directly from the East Indies.

To amend so much of an act passed in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to repeal an act passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, 'An act to prevent unlawful combinations of workmen,' and to substitute other provisions in lieu thereof;" as relates to the forms of conviction therein referred to.

For the more effectually preventing the forgery of bank notes, bank bills of exchange, and bank post bills.

To permit persons in holy orders to keep one horse only for the purpose of riding, without being subject to the duty granted by an act of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of his present majesty, under certain limitations.

For allowing, until the 20th day of August, 1801, the importation into Ireland of British and foreign hops, at a like duty as is payable in Great Britain for the same.

To exempt elephant oil, sold by auction in Great Britain, from the duty imposed on such sales.

For defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia in England, for the year 1801.

For reviving, continuing until the 20th day of May, 1802, and amending an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to repeal the duties on sugar and coffee exported, granted by an act

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passed in the thirty-ninth year of his present majesty's reign, for allowing British plantation sugar to be warehoused; for reviving so much of an act made in the thirty-second year of the reign of his present majesty, as relates to the ascertaining the average price of sugar, and regulating the allowance of drawback, on the exportation thereof; and for allowing certain drawbacks on sugar exported, until the 10th day of May, 1801.

To continue, until the 29th day of September, 1802, several laws passed in the parliament of Ireland, relating to the regulating and extending the tobacco trade, and securing the duties payable on tobacco; to the collecting and securing the duties upon malt; to the securing the duties on auctions and glass bottles, and on paper printed, painted, or stained, to serve for hangings; to the regulating the trade of rectifying spirits and preventing frauds by rectifiers; to the farther improvement of the fisheries on the coasts of Ireland; to the better collection of the duties on tanned hides and skins, and on vellum and parchment; to the better regulating the granting of permits and certificates for the conveyance of exciseable goods; to the regulating the payment of bounties on the exportation of certain manufactures; to the better securing the duties on licences to persons engaged in certain trades; to the better regulating the collection of his majesty's revenue, and preventing frauds therein; and to revive and continue until the said 29th day of September, an act passed in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, for granting annuities in manner therein provided.

To render valid all acts done in execution of three several orders of his majesty in council, relating to bills of exchange, drawn by persons in Russia, and to freight of Russian, Swedish, and Danish ships.

To amend and continue until the 29th day of September, 1802, an act passed in Ireland, in the fortieth year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for regulating the trade of a distiller, and for securing the duties payable on home-made spirits."

To continue until the 29th day of September, 1802, and amend the several laws in Ireland, to regulate the issuing of licences for the sale of wine, ale, beer, cyder, and spirituous liquors by retail, and for preventing the immoderate use of spirituous liquors.

To indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices or employments in Ireland, according to law.

For granting to his majesty a certain sum of money for defraying the charge of the workhouse and foundling hospital in Dublin, for the year 1801; and for amending an act, passed in the parliament of Ireland, in the fortieth year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the better management, support, and maintenance of the foundling hospital in Dublin; and for amending and farther continuing an act, passed in the thirty-eighth year of his present majesty's reign, intituled, "An act for the better management of the workhouse and foundling hospital in Dublin."

To permit Portugal wine to be landed

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landed and warehoused without payment of duties, under certain restrictions, for a limited time.

For declaring what persons shall be disabled from sitting and voting in the house of commons of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and also for carrying into effect, part of the fourth article of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, by providing in what cases persons holding offices of places of profit under the crown of Ireland, shall be incapable of being members of the house of commons of the parliament of the said united kingdom.

To explain and amend an act, passed in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to repeal so much of an act, passed in the second year of king James I, as prohibits the use of horse hides in making boots and shoes, and for better preventing the damaging of raw hides and skins in the flaying thereof."

To continue, until the 5th day of July, 1802, an act passed in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of his present majesty, for the farther encouragement of the trade and manufactures of the Isle of Man, and for improving the revenue thereof; and also to repeal and amend certain of the provisions of the said act.

To revive and continue, until the 25th day of March, 1802, so much of an act, made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present majesty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants, sergeant-majors, and sergeants of militia, disembodied under an act of the same session of parliament, and to amend the said act.

For making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the militia in time of peace.

For the better prevention of the forgery of the notes and bills of exchange of persons carrying on the business of bankers.

For granting to his majesty, until the 25th day of March, 1802, additional stamp duties in Ireland, on bonds, bills of exchange, and promissory notes, and on certain insurances therein mentioned; and for the relief of persons in Ireland, holding obligatory instruments called kerry bonds, which have been executed without being duly stamped.

For settling and securing a certain annuity on lady Abercromby, baroness Abercromby of Aboukir, and the two next persons to whom the title of baron Abercromby shall descend, in consideration of the eminent merits of the late right honourable general sir Ralph Abercromby.

To explain and amend an act, passed in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to enable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, to ascertain what sum shall be paid into his majesty's exchequer, in full satisfaction of the debt due on the mortgage made by the late John Gardner Cemeys, esquire, in trust for the late right honourable Richard Rigby, in case it shall appear to the said lords commissioners that it will be necessary to resort to the mortgaged premises, in order to recover the balance due from the said Richard Rigby to his majesty.

For farther continuing, until the 25th day of March, 1802, an act, passed in the present session of parliament, intituled, "An act for amending

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amending and farther continuing, until the 24th day of June, 1801, two acts, passed in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present majesty, for the suppression of the rebellion which still exists within that kingdom, and for the protection of the persons and property of his majesty's faithful subjects within the same.

To exempt from the payment of certain duties, such members of both houses of parliament serving for that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and such other persons herein described, as may have only an occasional residence in Great Britain.

To remove doubts respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the house of commons.

For the farther relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons.

For granting to his majesty the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, to be issued and paid to the governor and company of the bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt of Great Britain.

For indemnifying such persons, as, since the 1st day of February, 1793, have acted in the apprehending, imprisoning, or detaining in custody, in Great Britain, of persons suspected of high treason or treasonable practices.

To amend several acts for raising a militia force in Scotland.

For altering the laws now in force, relating to the importation and exportation of copper; for repealing certain duties and drawbacks on such importation and exportation; and for substituting new duties and drawbacks in lieu thereof.

For transferring the receipt and management of certain duties on certificates for wearing hair-powder, or using armorial bearings, from the commissioners of stamps to the commissioners for the affairs of taxes; and also for making farther provisions in respect to the said duties so transferred.

For the relief of certain insolvent debtors.

For transferring the receipt and management of the duties on licences for using and exercising the trade and business of a horse-dealer from the commissioners of stamps to the commissioners for the affairs of taxes; and also for making farther provisions in respect to the said duties so transferred.

For extending the period of preference granted and continued by several acts to bodies corporate and persons for the redemption of the land-tax, and to amend an act of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of his present majesty, for granting an aid to his majesty by a land-tax.

For directing the application of several sums granted by parliament to the Dublin society, and to the farming societies in Ireland.

For regulating, until the 20th day of May, 1802, the allowance of drawback on the exportation from Ireland of British plantation sugar; and for allowing certain drawbacks on sugar exported from Ireland; and for allowing British plantation sugar to be warehoused in Ireland.

To permit the exportation of tea to Ireland without payment of any duty, under certain restrictions.

To

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To authorize the issuing of commissions and letters of marque and reprisal against his majesty's enemies, to such ships and vessels, belonging to his majesty, as are or may be employed in the service of the boards of customs and excise, and other public boards in this kingdom.

For allowing, until the 1st day of August, 1802, the importation of certain fish from Newfoundland, and the coast of Labrador, and for granting a bounty thereon.

To extend the powers of an act, passed in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his late majesty king George II, intituled, "An act for the better securing to constables and others, the expenses of conveying offenders to gaol, and for allowing the charges of poor persons bound to give evidence against felons;" and for allowing to high constables, in that part of the united kingdom, called England, their charges in certain cases.

For the better regulation of public notaries in England.

To indemnify all persons who have printed, published, or dispersed, or who shall publish or disperse, any papers printed under the authority of any head officer of state, or of public boards, or other public authorities, from all penalties incurred by reason of the name and place of abode of the printer of such papers not being printed thereon.

For enabling his majesty to raise the sum of two millions, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned.

For raising the sum of six millions five hundred thousand pounds, by loan, or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1801.

For raising the sum of three millions, by loans, or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1801.

For granting to his majesty certain sums of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and out of the consolidated fund of Ireland; for applying certain moneys therein mentioned, for the service of the year 1801; and for farther appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

For better payment of fines and forfeitures imposed by justices out of session in England.

For granting to his majesty additional stamp duties on cards and dice; on probates of wills; on certain indentures, leases, bonds, or other deeds; and on ale licences.

For granting unto his majesty certain duties on playing cards imported into Great Britain.

For providing accommodations in assize towns for the judges in Ireland, where such accommodations are not already provided.

For repealing the duty now payable on the importation of statues, wrought stone, and marble, and granting another duty in lieu thereof.

For the more speedy and effectual recovery of debts due to his majesty, his heirs and successors, in right of the crown of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and for the better administration of justice within the same.

For the better regulation and collection of certain duties of excise.

To alter the bounties payable on wheaten flour and Indian corn imported into Ireland; and for providing a method for recovering the forfeitures created by an act of this session of parliament to prohibit the making

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making of malt, and distilling of spirits from corn or grain in Ireland.

To continue, until the 25th day of March, 1802, so much of an act, made in the present session of parliament, as permits British hops to be imported into Ireland, at a low rate of duty.

To empower the importers or proprietors of rum or spirits of the British sugar plantations to land the same in Ireland, before payment of the duties of excise charged thereon, and to lodge the same in warehouses, at their own expense, until the 25th day of March, 1808.

To facilitate the trade and intercourse between Ireland and the United States of America, during the continuance of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his majesty and the said states.

For the better regulation of his majesty's prize courts in the West Indies and America, and for giving a more speedy and effectual execution to the decrees of the lords commissioners of appeals.

To continue several laws relating to encourage the fisheries carried on at Newfoundland and parts adjacent, from Great Britain, Ireland, and the British dominions in Europe, until the 1st day of January, 1803; to the farther support and encouragement of the fisheries carried on in the Greenland seas, and Davis's Straits, until the 25th day of December, 1802; to the making the port of St. John's, in the island of Antigua, a free port, until the 10th day of July, 1805; and to the permitting the importation of goods and commodities from countries in America, belonging to any foreign European sovereign or state, in neutral ships until the end of the war, and six months after the signing the definitive treaty of peace; for reviving and farther continuing, until the 24th day of June, 1806, an act, made in the twenty-ninth year of his late majesty, king George II, for granting a bounty upon certain species of British and Irish linens exported, and taking off the duties on importation of foreign raw linen yarns made of flax; for reviving, continuing, until the 5th day of April, 1802, and amending an act, made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present majesty, for the more effectual encouragement of the British fisheries; and for making perpetual so much of an act, made in the 27th year of the reign of his present majesty, as relates to ascertaining the strength of spirits by Clarke's hydrometer.

For defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland, for one year, from the 25th day of March, 1801.

For granting bounties for taking and bringing fish to the cities of London and Westminster, and other places in the united kingdom.

To repeal the tax on salaries, profits of employment, fees, and pensions in Ireland, of persons not resident in Ireland for a certain period.

For regulating, until the 1st day of May, 1802, the trial of controverted elections or returns of members to serve in the united parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, for that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and for regulating the qualifications of members to serve in the said united parliament.

To stay, until the 25th day of March, 1802, proceedings in actions, under the statute of king Henry VIII, "for abridging spiritual

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ritual persons from having pluralities of livings, and from taking of serms."

To empower his majesty to regulate the trade and commerce to and from the isle of Malta, until the signing a definitive treaty of peace, and from thence until six weeks after the next meeting of parliament; and to declare the isle of Malta to be part of Europe.

For indemnifying such persons as have acted since the 25th day of March, 1799, for the preservation of the public peace, and suppression of insurrections and rebellion prevailing in several districts of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

To authorize the judges to whom petitions for certain bills shall be referred, to examine witnesses upon oath.

To secure certain persons, born within the territories of France, and other persons therein described, from imprisonment for debts contracted in parts beyond the seas, other than the dominions of his majesty.

For the farther encouragement of learning in the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by securing the copies and copyright of printed books, to the authors of such books, or their assigns, for the time herein mentioned.

For enabling his majesty to grant commissions for executing an act, made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the better preservation of timber in the New Forest, in the county of Southampton, and for ascertaining the boundaries of the said forest, and of the lands of the crown within the same.

For consolidating in one act, certain provisions usually inserted in acts of inclosure; and for facilitating the mode of proving the several facts usually required on the passing of such acts.

METEOROLOGICAL

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METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1801.

	Thermometer without.			*Thermometer within.*			*Barometer*.*			*Hygrometer.*			*Rain.*
	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	
1799.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches
January. .	52	25	42,0	58	49	53,7	30,21	29,30	29,84	90	66	78,3	1,226
February .	56	27	40,7	60	47	53,1	30,26	29,16	29,77	85	62	73,9	0,544
March . .	59	31	46,4	61	52	56,4	30,43	29,12	29,87	84	62	73,0	1,108
April . . .	65	32	48,9	62	52	57,6	30,38	29,38	30,04	78	50	65,9	0,376
May . . .	71	44	56,7	64	57	60,0	30,16	29,44	29.82	86	52	66,9	1,509
June . . .	80	50	62,3	69	61	63,7	30,20	29,76	30,04	80	53	64,7	0,791
July. . . .	79	52	63,9	70	61	65,9	30,12	29,38	29,77	94	57	69,0	3,524
August . .	79	54	66,1	72	65	68,2	30,24	29,57	30,06	90	55	68,7	1,569
September	73	47	61,3	66	58	62,8	30,30	29,38	29,89	92	57	73,7	1,264
October. .	65	34	53,2	64	56	60,6	30,34	29,04	29,83	90	63	75,1	1,474
November	60	26	42,5	62	49	54,8	30,33	28,83	29,71	95	61	79,6	3,294
December.	50	24	38,1	55	45	50,9	30,22	28,65	29,48	94	70	81,2	2,518
Whole Year			51,8			59,0			29,84			72,5	19,197

* The quicksilver in the basin of the barometer is 81 feet above the level of low water spring-tides at Somerset House.

STATE

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His Majesty's Speech to both Houses, on opening the Imperial Parliament, 2d February, 1801.

My lords and gentlemen,

AT a crisis so important to the interests of my people, I derive great satisfaction from being enabled, for the first time, to avail myself of the advice and assistance of the parliament of my united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

This memorable æra, distinguished by the accomplishment of a measure, calculated to augment and consolidate the strength and resources of the empire, and to cement more closely the interests and affections of my subjects, will, I trust, be equally marked by that vigour, energy, and firmness, which the circumstances of our present situation peculiarly require.

The unfortunate course of events on the continent, and the consequences which must be expected to result from it, cannot fail to be matter of anxiety and concern, to all who have a just feeling for the security and independence of Europe.

Your astonishment, as well as your regret, must be excited by the conduct of those powers, whose attention, at such a period, appears to be more engaged in endeavours to weaken the naval force of the British empire, which has hitherto opposed so powerful an obstacle to the inordinate ambition of France, than in concerting the means of mutual defence against their common and increasing danger.

The representations which I directed to be made to the court of Petersburgh, in consequence of the outrages committed against the ships, property, and persons of my subjects, have been treated with the utmost disrespect: and the proceedings of which I complained have been aggravated by subsequent acts of injustice and violence. Under these circumstances, a convention has been concluded by that court, with those of Copenhagen and Stockholm; the object of which, as avowed by one of the contracting parties, is to renew their former engagements for establishing by force a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights, and hostile to the interests of this country.

In this situation, I could not hesitate as to the conduct which it became me to pursue. I have taken the earliest measures to repel the aggressions of this hostile confederacy, and to support those principles which are essential to the maintenance

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tenance of our naval strength, and which are grounded on the system of public law, so long established and recognised in Europe. I have, at the same time, given such assurances as manifest my disposition to renew my ancient relations with those powers, whenever it can be done consistently with the honour of my crown, and with a just regard to the safety of my subjects.

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You will, I am persuaded, omit nothing on your part that can afford me the most vigorous and effectual support, in my firm determination to maintain, to the utmost, against every attack, the naval rights and the interests of my empire.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have directed the estimates for the several branches of the public service to be laid before you. Deeply as I lament the continued necessity of adding to the burdens of my people, I am persuaded you will feel with me, the importance of providing effectual means for those exertions which are indispensably requisite for the honour and security of the country.

My lords and gentlemen,

I am confident that your deliberations will be uniformly directed to the great object of improving the benefits of that happy union, which, by the blessing of Providence, has now been effected; and of promoting to the utmost the prosperity of every part of my dominions.

You will, I doubt not, resume the inquiries which were so diligently prosecuted in the last session of parliament, as to the best means of relieving my subjects from the pressure of the present high price of provisions, and of preventing, as far as it can be done by human foresight, the recurrence of similar difficulties. In these endeavours, and in every measure that can contribute to the happiness of my people, the great end of all my wishes, you may be assured of my cordial concurrence.

You may rely on my availing myself of the earliest opportunity which shall afford a prospect of terminating the present contest, on grounds consistent with our security and honour, and with the maintenance of those essential rights on which our naval strength must always depend. It will afford me the truest and most heartfelt satisfaction, whenever the disposition of our enemies shall enable me thus to restore to the subjects of the united kingdom the blessings of peace, and thereby confirm and augment those advantages which result from our internal situation, and which, even under all the difficulties of war, have carried to so great an extent, the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and revenue of this country.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 16th February.

G. R.

HIS majesty being desirous of conferring some signal mark of his royal approbation upon sir Sidney Smith, in consideration of his eminent services, and the valour and abilities he has displayed in various important operations against the enemy, on the coast of Egypt, and particularly for his gallant defence of Acre, recommends to the house of commons to make provision

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provision for securing the sum of one thousand pounds per annum, for the term of his natural life.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 14th May.

G. R.

HIS majesty, taking into his most serious consideration the imminent danger with which the kingdom of Portugal, the ancient and natural ally of his crown, is threatened by the powers now at war with his majesty, as well as the importance of the commercial relations subsisting between the two kingdoms, and relying on the known zeal and affection of his faithful commons, recommends it to them to consider of empowering his majesty to afford, by way of subsidy to the queen of Portugal, such assistance as may enable her most faithful majesty to take such measures for the defence of her dominions against her enemies, as the exigencies of affairs may appear to require.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 3d June.

G. R.

HIS majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of commons, that he has founded an establishment for promoting military science. His majesty thinks it will add to the skill and discipline which, combined with British valour, have been so gloriously displayed in the service of the country; and, therefore, requests the house of commons will make provision, to enable him to accomplish an object of so much importance.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Lords, 8th June.

G. R.

AS the state of public business may soon enable his majesty to put an end to the present session of parliament, his majesty thinks proper to recommend to the house of commons, to make such farther provisions as may be necessary to defray those expenses which have been incurred, and of which no specific estimates have been laid before parliament, and to take such other measures as the exigencies of affairs may require.

Communication read in the House of Lords, by the Lord Chancellor, to both Houses, from his Majesty, for putting a Period, by Prorogation, to the present Session of Parliament, 2d July.

My lords and gentlemen,

WE have it in command from his majesty to acquaint you, that, on account of the advanced period of the season, and the state of public business, he is induced to relieve you from a longer attendance in parliament.

His majesty highly commends the wisdom, temper, and diligence, which have marked all your proceedings; and particularly acknowledges the assiduity and zeal with which you have pursued the investigation of the important subjects brought under your consideration, in consequence of the severe pressure occasioned by the high price of corn,

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The beneficial effects of the measures you have suggested for the alleviation of this calamity, have afforded his majesty great consolation, and he has the utmost satisfaction in indulging the hope, that, under the favour of Providence, the blessings of plenty will be restored by the produce of the ensuing harvest.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

His majesty has directed us to return you his particular thanks, for the liberal provision which you have made for the various branches of the public service. While he regrets the necessity of supplies so large, it is a relief to his majesty to observe, that the resources and continued prosperity of the country have enabled you to distribute the pulic burdens in such a manner as to press with as little severity as possible on his faithful subjects.

My lords and gentlemen,

The brilliant and repeated successes of his majesty's arms by sea and land, important as they are in their immediate consequences, are not less satisfactory to his majesty's mind, as affording fresh and decisive proofs of that vigorous exertion, undaunted valour, and steady perseverance, which distinguish the national character; and on which the chief reliance must be placed for respect abroad, and for confidence and security at home. Events so honourable to the British name derive, at the present moment, peculiar value in his majesty's estimation, from their tendency to facilitate the attainment of the great object of his unceasing solicitude, the restoration of peace on fair and adequate terms. They furnish, at the same time, an additional pledge, that if the sentiments of moderation and justice, which will ever govern his majesty's conduct, should be rendered unavailing, in this instance, by unreasonable pretensions on the part of his enemies, the spirit and firmness of his people will continue to be manifested by such efforts and sacrifices as may be necessary for asserting the honour of his majesty's crown, and for maintaining the permanent interests of the empire.

Then a commission for proroguing the parliament was read. After which the lord chancellor said:

My lords and gentlemen,

By virtue of his majesty's commission under the great seal, to us and other lords directed, and now read, we do, in his majesty's name, and in obedience to his commands, prorogue this parliament to Thursday, the 6th day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the 6th of August next.

Speech of his Majesty, in the House of Lords, on the 29th October, 1801, on opening the second Session of the Imperial Parliament.

My lords and gentlemen,

I Have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the important negotiations, in which I was engaged at the close of the last session of parliament, are brought to a favourable conclusion. The differences with the northern powers have been adjusted by a convention with the emperor of Russia, to which the kings of Denmark and Sweden have expressed their readiness to accede. The essential rights for which we contended are thereby secured, and provision

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provision is made that the exercise of them shall be attended with as little molestation as possible to the subjects of the contracting parties.

Preliminaries of peace have also been ratified between me and the French republic; and, I trust, that this important arrangement, whilst it manifests the justice and moderation of my views, will also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character. Copies of these papers shall forthwith be laid before you; and I earnestly hope that the transactions to which they refer will meet with the approbation of my parliament.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have directed such estimates to be prepared of the various demands for the public service as appear to me to be the best adapted to the situation in which we are now placed. It is painful to me to reflect that provision cannot be made for defraying the expenses which must unavoidably be continued, for a time, in different parts of the world, and for maintaining an adequate peace establishment, without large additional supplies. You may, however, be assured, that all possible attention shall be paid to such economical arrangements as may not be inconsistent with the great object of effectually providing for the security of all my dominions.

My lords and gentlemen,

I cannot sufficiently describe the gratification and comfort I derive from the relief which the bounty of divine Providence has afforded to my people, by the abundant produce of the late harvest: in contemplating the situation of the country at this important conjuncture, it is impossible for me to refrain from expressing the deep sense I entertain of the temper and fortitude which have been manifested by all descriptions of my faithful subjects, under the various and complicated difficulties with which they have had to contend.

The distinguished valour and eminent services of my forces by sea and land, which, at no period, have been surpassed; the unprecedented exertions of the militia and fencibles; and the zeal and perseverance of the yeomanry and volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry, are entitled to my warmest acknowledgments; and, I am persuaded, that you will join with me in reflecting, with peculiar satisfaction, on the naval and military operations of the last campaign; and on the successful and glorious issue of the expedition to Egypt; which has been marked throughout by achievements tending, in their consequences, and by their example, to produce lasting advantages and honour to this country.

It is my first wish, and most fervent prayer, that my people may experience the reward they have so well merited, in a full enjoyment of the blessings of peace, in a progressive increase of the national commerce, credit, and resources; and, above all, in the undisturbed possession of their religion, laws, and liberties, under the safeguard and protection of that constitution, which it has been the great object of all our efforts to preserve, and which it is our most sacred duty to transmit, unimpaired, to our descendants.

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Convention with the Court of London, signed at St. Petersburgh, the 5th (17th) June, 1801.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

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THE mutual desire of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and of his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being not only to come to an understanding between themselves with respect to the differences which have lately interrupted the good understanding and friendly relations which subsisted between the two states; but also to prevent, by frank and precise explanations upon the navigation of their respective subjects, the renewal of similar altercations and troubles, which might be the consequence of them; and the object of the solicitude of their said majesties being to settle, as soon as can be done, an equitable arrangement of those differences, and an invariable determination of their principles upon the rights of neutrality, in their application to their respective monarchies, in order to unite more closely the ties of friendship and good intercourse, of which they acknowledge the utility and the benefits, have named and chosen for their plenipotentiaries, viz. his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the sieur Nikita, count de Panin, his counsellor, &c. and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyne, baron St. Helens, privy counsellor, &c.; who, after having communicated their full powers, and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following points and articles:

Art. I. There shall be hereafter, between his imperial majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic majesty, their subjects, the states and countries under their domination, good and unalterable friendship and understanding; and all the political, commercial, and other relations of common utility between the respective subjects, shall subsist as formerly, without their being disturbed or troubled in any manner whatever.

II. His majesty the emperor and his Britannic majesty declare, that they will take the most especial care of the execution of the prohibitions against the trade of contraband of their subjects with the enemies of each of the high contracting parties.

III. His imperial majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic majesty having resolved to place under a sufficient safeguard the freedom of commerce and navigation of their subjects, in case one of them shall be at war, whilst the other shall be neuter, have agreed:

1. That the ships of the neutral power shall navigate freely to the ports and upon the coasts of the nations at war.

2. That the effects embarked on board neutral ships shall be free, with the exception of contraband of war, and of enemy's property; and it is agreed, not to comprise in the number of the latter, the merchandize of the produce, growth, or manufacture, of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, and should be transported for their account, which merchandize cannot be excepted in any case from the freedom granted to the flag of the said power.

3. That, in order to avoid all equivocation and misunderstanding of what ought to be qualified as contra-

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contraband of war, his imperial majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic majesty declare, conformably to the 11th article of the treaty of commerce concluded between the two crowns on the 10th (21st) February, 1797, that they acknowledge as such only the following objects, viz. cannons, mortars, fire arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, firelocks, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, helmets, pikes, swords, sword belts, pouches, saddles, and bridles, excepting, however, the quantity of the said articles which may be necessary for the defence of the ship and of those who compose the crew; and all other articles whatever, not enumerated here, shall not be reputed warlike and naval ammunition, nor be subject to confiscation, and of course shall pass freely, without being subject to the smallest difficulty, unless they be considered as enemy's property in the above settled sense. It is also agreed, that that which is stipulated in the present article shall not be to the prejudice of the particular stipulations of one or the other crown with other powers, by which objects of similar kinds should be reserved, prohibited, or permitted.

4. That in order to determine what characterizes a blockaded port, that denomination is given only to that where there is, by the disposition of the power which attacks it with ships stationary, or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering.

5. That the ships of the neutral power shall not be stopped but upon just causes and evident facts: that they be tried without delay, and that the proceeding be always uniform, prompt, and legal.

In order the better to ensure the respect due to these stipulations, dictated by the sincere desire of conciliating all interests, and to give a new proof of their loyalty and love of justice, the high contracting parties enter here into the most formal engagement, to renew the severest prohibitions to their captains, whether of ships of war or merchantmen, to take, keep, or conceal, on board their ships, any of the objects which, in the terms of the present convention, may be reputed contraband, and respectively to take care of the execution of the orders which they shall have published in their admiralties, and wherever it shall be necessary.

IV. The two high contracting parties, wishing to prevent all subject of dissention in future, by limiting the right of search of merchant-ships going under convoy, to the sole causes in which the belligerent power may experience a real prejudice, by the abuse of the neutral flag, have agreed,

1. That the right of searching merchant-ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting powers, and navigating under convoy of a ship of war of the same power, shall only be exercised by ships of war of the belligerent party, and shall never extend to the fitters out of privateers, or other vessels, which do not belong to the imperial or royal fleet of their majesties, but which their subjects shall have fitted out for war.

2. That the proprietors of all merchant-ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting sovereigns, which shall be destined to sail under convoy of a ship of war, shall be required, before they receive their sailing orders, to pro-

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duce to the commander of the convoy their passports and certificates, or sea letters, in the form annexed to the present treaty.

3. That when such ship of war, and every merchant-ship under convoy, shall be met with by a ship or ships of war of the other contracting party, who shall then be in a state of war, in order to avoid all disorder, they shall keep out of cannon-shot, unless the situation of the sea, or the place of meeting, renders a nearer approach necessary; and the commander of the ship of the belligerent power shall send a sloop on board the convoy, where they shall proceed reciprocally to the verification of the papers and certificates that are to prove, on one part, that the ship of war is authorized to take under its escort such or such merchant-ships of its nation, laden with such a cargo, and for such a port: on the other part, that the ship of war of the belligerent party belongs to the imperial or royal fleet of their majesties.

4. This verification made, there shall be no pretence for any search, if the papers are found in due form, and if there exists no good motive for suspicion. In the contrary case, the captain of the neutral ship of war (being duly required thereto by the captain of the ship of war, or ships of war, of the belligerent power) is to bring to and detain his convoy during the time necessary for the search of the ships which compose it, and he shall have the faculty of naming and delegating one or more officers to assist at the search of the said ships, which shall be done in his presence on board each merchant-ship, conjointly with one or more officers selected by the captain of the ship of the belligerent party.

5. If it happen that the captain of the ship or ships of war of the power at war, having examined the papers found on board, and having interrogated the master and crew of the ship, shall see just and sufficient reason to detain the merchant-ship, in order to proceed to an ulterior search, he shall notify that intention to the captain of the convoy, who shall have the power to order an officer to remain on board the ship thus detained, and to assist at the examination of the cause of her detention. The merchant-ship shall be carried immediately to the nearest and most convenient port belonging to the belligerent power, and the ulterior search shall be carried on with all possible diligence.

V. It is also agreed, that if any merchant-ship thus convoyed should be detained without just and sufficient cause, the commander of the ship or ships of war of the belligerent power, shall not only be bound to make to the owners of the ship and of the cargo a full and perfect compensation for all the losses, expenses, damages, and costs, occasioned by such a detention, but shall farther be liable to an ulterior punishment for every act of violence or other fault which he may have committed, according as the nature of the case may require. On the other hand, no ship of war with a convoy shall be permitted, under any pretext whatsoever, to resist by force the detention of a merchant-ship or ships by the ship or ships of war of the belligerent power; an obligation which the commander of a ship of war with convoy is not bound to observe towards privateers and their fitters-out.

VI. The high contracting powers shall give precise and efficacious orders

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ders that the sentences upon prizes made at sea shall be conformable with the rules of the most exact justice and equity; that they shall be given by judges above suspicion, and who shall not be interested in the matter. The government of the respective states shall take care that the said sentences shall be promptly and duly executed, according to the forms prescribed. In case of the unfounded detention, or other contravention of the regulations stipulated by the present treaty, the owners of such a ship and cargo shall be allowed damages proportioned to the loss occasioned by such detention. The rules to observe for these damages, and for the case of unfounded detention, as also the principles to follow for the purpose of accelerating the process, shall be the matter of additional articles, which the contracting parties agree to settle between them, and which shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted in the present act. For this effect, their imperial and Britannic majesties mutually engage to put their hand to the salutary work, which may serve for the completion of these stipulations, and to communicate to each other without delay the views which may be suggested to them by their equal solicitude to prevent the least grounds for dispute in future.

VII. To obviate all the inconveniences which may arise from the bad faith of those who avail themselves of the flag of a nation without belonging to it, it is agreed to establish for an inviolable rule, that any vessel whatever, to be considered as the property of the country the flag of which it carries, must have on board the captain of the ship, and one half of the crew of the people of that country, and the papers and passports in due and perfect form; but every vessel which shall not observe this rule, and which shall infringe the ordinances published on that head, shall lose all rights to the protection of the contracting powers.

VIII. The principles and measures adopted by the present act, shall be alike applicable to all the maritime wars in which one of the two powers may be engaged whilst the other remains neutral. These stipulations shall in consequence be regarded as permanent, and shall serve for a constant rule to the contracting powers in matters of commerce and navigation.

IX. His majesty the king of Denmark, and his majesty the king of Sweden, shall be immediately invited by his imperial majesty, in the name of the two contracting parties, to accede to the present convention, and at the same time to renew and confirm their respective treaties of commerce wish his Britannic majesty; and his said majesty engages, by acts which shall have established that agreement, to render and restore to each of these powers, all the prizes that have been taken from them, as well as the territories and countries under their domination, which have been conquered by the arms of his Britannic majesty since the rupture, in the state in which those possessions were found, at the period at which the troops of his Britannic majesty entered them. The orders of his said majesty for the restitution of those prizes and conquests shall be immediately expedited after the exchange of the

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ratification of the acts by which Sweden and Denmark shall accede to the present treaty.

X. The present convention shall be ratified by the two contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburgh in the space of two months at farthest, from the day of the signature. In faith of which, the respective plenipotentiaries have caused to be made two copies perfectly similar, signed with their hands, and have sealed with their arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh the 5th (17th) June, 1801.

(L. S.) N. Count de Panin.
(L. S.) St. Helens.

First separate Article of the Convention with the Court of London, signed the 5th (17th) June, 1801.

The pure and magnanimous intentions of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, having already induced him to restore the vessels and goods of British subjects, which had been sequestered in Russia, his said majesty confirms that disposition in its whole extent; and his Britannic majesty engages also to give immediate orders for taking off all sequestration laid upon the Russian, Danish, and Swedish properties, detained in English ports, and to prove still more his sincere desire to terminate amicably the differences which have arisen between Great Britain and the northern courts; and in order that no new incident may throw obstacles in the way of this salutary work, his Britannic majesty binds himself to give orders to the commanders of his forces by land and sea, that the armistice now subsisting with the courts of Denmark and Sweden shall be prolonged for a term of three months from the date of this day; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, guided by the same motives, undertakes, in the name of his allies, to have this armistice maintained during the said term.

Second separate Article of the Convention with the Court of London, signed at St. Petersburgh the 5th (17th) of June, 1801.

The differences and misunderstandings which subsisted between his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being thus terminated, and the precautions taken by the present convention not giving farther room to fear that they may be able to disturb in future the harmony and good understanding which the two high contracting parties have at heart to consolidate, their said majesties confirm anew, by the present convention, the treaty of commerce of the 10th (February 21, 1797,) of which all the stipulations are here repeated, to be maintained in their whole extent.

Additional Articles to the Convention between England and Russia, of the 17th June, 1801.

It having been resolved, by the 5th article of the convention, concluded on the 17th June, 1801, between his imperial majesty of Russia and his British majesty, that both the high contracting powers should mutually agree upon certain separate articles for the establishing of

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of those rules and principles, which are to be followed with a view to promote a speedy decision in respect to prizes made in the open sea, as well as with respect to the indemnification which is due to the proprietors of neutral ships and cargoes, in case of a groundless detention;—their majesties have for that purpose named and vested with full power; his imperial majesty of Russia, Alexander prince Kurakin, his vice-chancellor, &c. and Victor count Kotschoubey, his actual privy-counsellor, &c.; and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyne, lord baron St. Helens, peer of the said united kingdom, &c.; who, by virtue of their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. In case of a groundless detention, or other transgression of rules mutually established, there shall be paid to the owners of the ships so detained and of their cargo, for each day's delay, a recompense in proportion to the loss sustained, reckoning according to the freight of the ship, and the quality of the cargo.

II. In case the ministers of the contracting parties, or other persons accredited by them, with the belligerent powers, shall happen to complain of the sentence given on such prizes by the respective courts of admiralty, the business shall be immediately referred by appeal, in Russia, to the directing senate, and in Great Britain to the king's council.

III. Both sides shall carefully examine whether the regulations and provisions in the present convention have been observed, which must be done in the speediest manner. Both contracting parties engage farther to adopt the most effectual means to prevent every unnecessary delay in respect to the sentences to be pronounced in the respective tribunals, on prizes made in the open sea.

IV. The effects detained shall neither be sold nor unloaded before a final sentence, unless in the case of a really pressing necessity, shown to the court of admiralty by a commission appointed for that purpose; and it shall by no means be permitted to the captors to unload of their own authority, or to carry away any thing from ships so detained.

These separate articles, which form a part of the convention, signed on the 17th of June, in the names of their imperial Russian and Britannic majesties, shall have the same force and effect as if they were word for word inserted in the said convention.

Signed at Moscow, October 20, 1801.

Prince Kurakin
Count Kotschoubey.
St. Helens.

Declaration explanatory of the second Section of the third Article of the Convention, concluded at Petersburgh the 5th (17th) of June, 1801, between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at Moscow the 8th (20th) October, 1801.

In order to prevent any doubt or misunderstanding with regard to the contents of the second section of the third article of the convention, concluded the 5th (17th) June, 1801, between his Britannic majesty and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the said high contracting parties have agreed and declare, that

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that the freedom of commerce and navigation granted by the said article to the subjects of a neutral power, does not authorize them to carry, in time of war, the produce or merchandize of the colonies of the belligerent power direct to the continental possessions, nor *vice versa*, from the mother-country to the enemy's colonies; but that the said subjects are however to enjoy the same advantages and facilities in this commerce as are enjoyed by the most favoured nations, and especially by the United States of America.

In witness whereof, we plenipotentiaries of their said majesties, have signed the present declaration, and have affixed the seals of our arms thereto.

At Moscow, the 8th (20th) of October, 1801.

(L. S.) St. Helens.
(L. S.) Le prince de Kurakin.
(L. S.) Le comte de Kotschoubey.

Act of Accession of His Majesty the King of Denmark and Norway to the Convention of the 5th (17th) June, 1801, and Acceptance of his Majesty the King of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

In the Name of the Most Holy and undivided Trinity.

HIS majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, having, in pursuance of their mutual desire to terminate, in the most equitable manner, the differences which had arisen between them, as well as between Great Britain and the other maritime powers of the north, respecting the navigation of their respective subjects, concluded a convention, signed by their plenipotentiaries at St. Petersburgh, the 5th (17th) of June of the present year; and their common solicitude extending itself not only to prevent similar altercations in future, and the troubles which might result therefrom, by establishing and applying the principles and rights of neutrality in their respective monarchies, but also to render this system common and equally advantageous to the maritime powers of the north; it was stipulated by the ninth article of the said convention, that his Danish majesty should be invited by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in the name of the high contracting parties, to accede to the said convention; and his majesty the king of Denmark and Norway, animated with the same sentiments of conciliation and peace, and desirous of removing every thing which has interrupted, or might hereafter interrupt, the good understanding between their Britannic and Danish majesties, and to re-establish fully on its former footing the ancient harmony and state of things, such as they existed by his Danish majesty's treaties and conventions with Great Britain, his said majesty has not hesitated to listen to the invitation made to him to accede to the said convention, signed at St. Petersburgh the 5th (17th) of June last.

To effect this salutary purpose, and to give to this act of accession, and to the acceptance of his Britannic majesty, every possible authenticity, and every accustomed solemnity, their said majesties have named for their plenipotentiaries, viz., his majesty the king of the united king-

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dom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyne lord baron St. Helens, a peer of the said united kingdom, one of his said majesty's most honourable privy council, and his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; and his majesty the king of Denmark and Norway, the sieur Francis Xavier Joseph, count de Danneskiold Löwendal, count of the holy Roman empire, knight of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, major-general in the service of his Danish majesty, commander of his marine forces, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; who, after having reciprocally exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have concluded and agreed, that all the articles of the convention concluded between his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the 5th (17th) June of the present year, as well as the separate articles annexed thereto, and the additional ones concluded the 8th (20th) October, 1801, by the plenipotentiaries of their said majesties, in all the clauses, conditions, and obligations, are to be considered as having been agreed upon, done, and concluded, word for word, by their Britannic and Danish majesties themselves, in quality of principal contracting parties, save and except the differences which result from the nature of the treaties and engagements antecedently subsisting between England and Denmark, of which the continuance and renewal are secured by the aforesaid convention; and with the express stipulation on the part of the high contracting and acceding parties, that the stipulation of the second article of the additional articles, signed at Moscow the 8th (20th) October, 1801, by the plenipotentiaries of their Britannic and imperial majesties, which fixes, that the adjudication of causes in litigation shall, in the last resort, be carried by appeal, in Russia, before the directing senate, and in Great Britain, before his majesty's privy council, is to be understood, as with regard to Denmark, that the said adjudications shall be there carried by appeal before the supreme tribunal of that kingdom.

In order to prevent any inaccuracy, it has been agreed, that the said convention, signed the 5th (17th) June, the separate articles annexed thereto, and the additional ones concluded the 8th (20th) October, 1801, should be inserted here, word for word.

[Fiat insertio.]

In consequence of all which, his majesty the king of Denmark accedes, by virtue of the present act, to the said convention and to the said separate and additional articles, such as they are herein before transcribed, without any exception or reserve, declaring and promising to fulfil all the clauses, conditions, and obligations thereof, as far as regards himself; and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland accepts the present accession of his Danish majesty, and in like manner promises, on his part, to fulfil all the articles, clauses, and conditions, contained in the said convention, and the separate and additional articles herein before inserted, without any exception or reserve.

The ratifications of the present act

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act of accession and acceptance shall be exchanged in the space of two months, or sooner if possible; and the stipulations of the said convention shall, at the same time, be carried into execution as speedily as possible, regard being had to the full and entire reestablishment of the state of things, such as it was before the period of the misunderstandings, which are now so happily terminated.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present act, and have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

Done at Moscow, the 11th (23d) October, 1801.

(L. S.) St. Helens.
(L. S.) F. X. Cte de Danneskield-Lowendal.

Act of Accession of his Majesty the King of Sweden to the Convention of the 5th (17th) June, 1801, and Acceptance of his Majesty the King of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

HIS majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, having terminated, by a convention, concluded at St. Petersburgh the 5th (17th) June, 1801, the differences which had arisen between them respecting the rights of neutral navigation in time of war, and his majesty the king of Sweden, equally induced by the desire of removing and conciliating the dissensions which existed on the same subject between his Britannic majesty and himself, having consented, in consequence of the invitation that has been made to him, to accede to the above-mentioned convention; their said majesties have chosen and named as their plenipotentiaries to this effect, viz., his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyne, lord baron St. Helens, peer of the said united kingdom, one of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and his ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; and his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur baron Louis Bogislas Christopher Court de Stedingk, one of the lords of the kingdom of Sweden, his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his imperial majesty of all the Russias, lieutenant-general of his armies, chamberlain, knight, and commander of his orders, knight of the Russian order of St. Andrew, knight grand-cross of his order of the sword, knight of those of Russia, of St. Alexander Newsky, and of St. Anne of the first class, and knight of the French order of military merit; who, after having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have concluded and agreed upon what follows:

Art. I. His majesty the king of Sweden accedes by the present transaction with his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the convention which was concluded between his said majesty and the emperor of all the Russias, the 5th (17th) June, 1801, as well as to the first separate article annexed thereto, and to the additional ones, concluded on the 8th (20th) October, 1801, promising and engaging to observe and fulfil all

all the stipulations, clauses, and articles therein contained, in the same manner as if his majesty had been a principal contracting party thereto, save and except the differences which result from the tenor of the treaties and engagements existing between England and Sweden, and which are to be renewed and confirmed in virtue of the aforesaid convention.

II. His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, acknowledges on his side his majesty the king of Sweden as a contracting party in the convention concluded at St. Petersburgh the 5th (17th) June, 1801, and binds himself in the most formal manner to observe, execute, and fulfil, to their utmost extent, in whatever regards his said majesty, the stipulations, clauses, and articles, of the said convention, and of the said first separate article, and of the additional ones; save and except the differences which result from the tenor of the treaties and engagements existing between England and Sweden, and which are to be renewed and confirmed in virtue of the aforesaid convention.

III. It is agreed that the adjudication, in the last resort of causes in litigation, which, according to the second article of the aforesaid additional articles, are to be brought by appeal before his majesty's privy council in Great Britain, and before the directing senate in Russia, shall, in Sweden, be brought by appeal before the supreme tribunal, in Swedish Hogsta Domstolen.

IV. In order to prevent any inaccuracy, it has been agreed that the said convention, as well as the said separate and additional articles, should be inserted here word for word, and as follows:

[Fiat insertio.]

The present act of accession shall be ratified in good and due form, and the ratifications exchanged at London in the space of two months, or sooner if possible, from the day of its signature.

In faith of which, we the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present act, and have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 18th (30th) March, 1802.

(L. S.) St. Helens.
(L. S.) Court Stedingk.

Convention for the Evacuation of Egypt by the French and auxiliary Troops, under the Command of the General of Division Belliard, concluded between Brigadier-General Hope, on the Part of the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in Egypt, Osman Bey, on the Part of his Highness the Grand Vizier, and Isaac Bey, on the Part of his Highness the Capitan Pacha; the Citizens Dongelot, General of Brigade, Morand, General of Brigade, and Tarayre, Chief of Brigade, on the Part of the General of Division Belliard, commanding a Body of French and auxiliary Troops. The Commissioners above named having met and conferred, after the Exchange of their respective Powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:

ART. I. The French forces of every description, and the auxiliary troops under the command of the general of division Belliard, shall

shall evacuate the city of Cairo, the citadel, the forts of Boulac, Gizeh, and all that part of Egypt which they now occupy.

II. The French and auxiliary troops shall retire by land to Rosetta, proceeding by the left bank of the Nile, with their arms, baggage, field artillery, and ammunition, to be there embarked and conveyed to the French ports of the Mediterranean, with their arms, artillery, baggage, and effects, at the expense of the allied powers. The embarkation of the said French and auxiliary troops shall take place as soon as possible, but at the latest within fifteen days from the date of the ratification of the present convention. It is also agreed that the said troops shall be conveyed to the French ports as above mentioned, by the most direct and expeditious route.

III. From the date of the signature and the ratification of the present convention, hostilities shall cease on both sides. The fort of Sulkosky, and the gate of the Pyramids, of the town of Gizeh, shall be delivered up to the allied army. The line of advanced posts of the armies respectively shall be fixed by commissioners named for this purpose, and the most positive orders shall be given that these shall not be encroached upon, in order to avoid all disputes; and if any shall arise, they are to be determined in an amicable manner.

IV. Twelve days after the ratification of the present convention, the city of Cairo, the citadel, the forts, and the town of Boulac, shall be evacuated by the French and auxiliary troops, who will retire to Ibrahim Bey, the isle of Rhoda, and its dependencies, the fort of Foueroy and Gizeh, from whence they shall depart as soon as possible, and at the latest in five days, to proceed to the points of embarkation. The generals commanding the British and Ottoman armies consequently engage that means shall be furnished at their charge for conveying the French and auxiliary troops as soon as possible from Gizeh.

V. The march and encampment of the French and auxiliary troops shall be regulated by the generals of the respective armies, or by officers named by each party; but it is clearly understood, that, according to this article, the days of march and of encampment shall be fixed by the generals of the combined armies, and consequently the said French and auxiliary troops shall be accompanied on their march by English and Turkish commissaries, instructed to furnish the necessary provisions during the continuance of their route.

VI. The baggage, ammunition, and other articles transported by water, shall be escorted by French detachments, and by armed boats belonging to the allied powers.

VII. The French and auxiliary troops shall be subsisted from the period of their departure from Gizeh to the time of their embarkation, conformably to the regulations of the French army; and from the day of their embarkation to that of their landing in France, agreeably to the naval regulations of England.

VIII. The military and naval commanders of the British and Turkish forces shall provide vessels for conveying to the French ports of the Mediterranean the French and auxiliary troops, as well as all French and other persons employed in the service of the army. Every thing relative to this point, as well as in regard to subsistence, shall be regulated

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gulated by commissaries named for this purpose by the general of division Belliard, and by naval and military commanders-in-chief of the allied forces, as soon as the present convention shall be ratified. These commissaries shall proceed to Rosetta or to Aboukir, in order to make every necessary preparation for the embarkation.

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IX. The allied powers shall provide four vessels (or more if possible,) fitted for the conveyance of horses, water-casks, and forage sufficient for the voyage.

X. The French and auxiliary troops will be provided by the allied powers with a sufficient convoy for their safe return to France. After the embarkation of the French troops, the allied powers pledge themselves, that to the period of their arrival on the continent of the French republic, they shall not be in the least molested; and on his part the general of division Belliard, and the troops under his command, engage that no act of hostility shall be by them committed, during the said period, against the fleet or territories of his Britannic majesty, of the Sublime Porte, or of their allies. The vessels employed in conveying and escorting the said troops or other French subjects, shall not touch at any other than a French port, except in cases of absolute necessity. The commanders of the British, Ottoman, and French troops enter reciprocally into the like engagements, during the period that the French troops remain in Egypt, from the ratification of the present convention, to the moment of their embarkation. The general of division Belliard, commanding the French and auxiliary troops, on the part of his government, engages that the vessels employed for their conveyance and protection shall not be detained in the French ports after the disembarkation of the troops; and that their commanders shall be at liberty to purchase, at their own expense, the provisions which may be necessary for enabling them to return. General Belliard also engages, on the part of his government, that the said vessels shall not be molested on their return to the ports of the allied powers, provided they do not attempt, or are made subservient to, any military operation.

XI. All the administrations, the members of the commission of arts and sciences, and in short every person attached to the French army, shall enjoy the same advantages as the military. All the members of the said administration, and of the commission of arts and sciences, shall also carry with them not only all the papers relative to their mission, but also their private papers, as well as all other articles which have reference thereto.

XII. All inhabitants of Egypt, of whatever nation they may be, who wish to follow the French troops, shall be at liberty so to do; nor shall their families, after their departure, be molested, or their goods confiscated.

XIII. No inhabitant of Egypt, of whatever religion, who may wish to follow the French troops, shall suffer either in person or property, on account of the connexion he may have entered into with the French during their continuance in Egypt, provided he conforms to the laws of the country.

XIV. The sick, who cannot bear removal, shall be placed in an hospital, and attended by French medical

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dical and other attendants, until their recovery, when they shall be sent to France on the same conditions as the troops. The commanders of the allied armies engage to provide all the articles that may appear really necessary for this hospital; the advances to be made on this account shall be repaid by the French government.

XV. At the period when the towns and forts mentioned in the present convention shall be delivered up, commissaries shall be named for receiving the ordnance, ammunition, magazines, papers, archives, plans, and other public effects, which the French shall leave in possession of the allied powers.

XVI. A vessel shall be provided as soon as possible by the naval commanders of the allied powers, in order to convey to Toulon an officer and a commissioner, charged with the conveyance of the present convention to the French government.

XVII. Every difficulty or dispute that may arise respecting the execution of the present convention, shall be determined in an amicable manner by commissioners named on each part.

XVIII. Immediately after the ratification of the present convention, all the English or Ottoman prisoners at Cairo shall be set at liberty, and the commanders-in-chief of the allied powers shall in like manner release the French prisoners in their respective camps.

XIX. Officers of rank from the English army, from his highness the supreme vizier, and from his highness the capitan pacha, shall be exchanged for a like number of French officers of equal rank, to serve as hostages for the execution of the present treaty. As soon as the French troops shall be landed in the ports of France, the hostages shall be reciprocally released.

XX. The present convention shall be carried and communicated by a French officer to general Menou at Alexandria, and he shall be at liberty to accept of it for the French and auxiliary forces (both naval and military) which may be with him at the abovementioned place, provided his acceptance of it shall be notified to the general commanding the English troops before Alexandria, within ten days from the date of the communication being made to him.

XXI. The present convention shall be ratified by the commanders-in-chief of the respective armies, within twenty-four hours after the signature thereof.

Signed in quadruplicate, at the place of conference between the two armies, the 27th of June, 1801, or of the siege of Saaffar, 1216, or the 8th Messidor, 9th year of the French republic.

(Signed) J. Hope, brigadier-general.
Osman Bey.
Isaac Bey.
Dongelot, general de brigade.
Tarayre, chief de brigade.

Approved and ratified the present convention at Cairo, the 9th Messidor, 9th year of the French republic.

(Signed) Belliard, general de division.

Additional

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Additional Note, explanatory of the Convention of the 27th June, 1801, concluded at Cairo.

ART. I. It is understood, that the artillery which the corps of French and auxiliary troops, under the command of general Belliard, is to take with it in its retreat from Cairo, in order to be transported to France, consists of two field-pieces, of from twelve to two pounders for each battalion, and one piece for each squadron, together with the ammunition waggons belonging to them.

II. It is besides understood, that the French troops embarked on board ships of war, shall, from the moment of their going on board, have their arms and ammunition deposited in places appointed for that purpose, which shall be under the inspection of the commander of the vessel; which arms and ammunition shall be restored to them on their landing in France, agreeably to the convention; and that those troops who shall be embarked in vessels not armed, shall, while they remain on board, keep possession of their arms and ammunition, and be under the control of their officers.

III. Women, children, aides-du-camp, and all effects belonging to general Menou, shall be transported from Cairo to Alexandria in vessels furnished for that purpose by the allied powers.

IV. The wives of officers, soldiers, and other Frenchmen, belonging to the garrison of Alexandria, and who are now in Cairo, shall have liberty to go to Alexandria, and for this purpose they shall be furnished with all the necessary means of being sent thither; and in case of their not being received at Alexandria, they shall be conveyed to France with the troops under the command of general Belliard, or as soon as possible, and shall enjoy all the advantages of the said convention.

V. Frenchwomen, as well those belonging to the troops, as to Frenchmen in their employ, shall be embarked with their husbands, and enjoy rations of provisions, and other advantages stipulated in the convention, according to the maritime regulations of England.

VI. Baggage and effects belonging to these troops, as well as to individuals who are in the garrison of Alexandria, if found in Cairo, shall be sent to Rosetta, and embarked if possible.

VII. The director general and accountant of the public revenues, shall have power to go to Alexandria, or to send a person employed by him thither, and for that purpose every possible facility shall be afforded him.

VIII. If among the hostages exchanged between the respective commanders, there shall be land officers, the generals and admirals of the three powers shall be at liberty to replace them by naval officers of the same rank, at the moment of their embarkation.

IX. The horses and camels which the corps under the command of general Belliard shall have left in Egypt, shall, at the moment of the embarkation, be sent back to commissaries appointed by the allied powers for receiving them.

X. It is understood that the fortifications shall be given up without being damaged, and the mines pointed out to officers of skill.

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Done on the 27th of June, 1801, (8th Messidor, 9,) and 16 Saaffar, 1216.

(Signed) Donzelot, general of brigade.
Moraud, general of brigade.
Tareyre, chief of brigade.
John Hope, brigadier-general.
Osman Bey, and Isaac Bey.

Agreed to, (Signed)
J. Heley Hutchinson, general-in-chief.

Agreed to on the part of lord Keith, Signed) Ja. Stevenson, captain in the royal navy.

Agreed to, (Signed)
Hhadjy Youzouf Zia, vizier.

Agreed to, (Signed)
Huffein, pacha capoutan-diryâ.

The present additional articles of the convention were agreed to and ratified the 9th Messidor, year 9.

The general of division,
(Signed) Belliard.

Preliminary Articles of Peace between his Britannic Majesty and the French Republic. Signed at London (in English and French), the 1st of October, 1801, the 9th Vendemiaire, Year 10 of the French Republic.

HIS majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal desire of putting an end to the calamities of a destructive war, and of reestablishing union and good understanding between the two countries, have named for this purpose; namely, his Britannic majesty, the right honourable Robert Banks Jenkinson, commonly called lord Hawkesbury, one of his Britannic majesty's most honourable privy council, and his principal secretary of state for foreign affairs; and the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, citizen Lewis William Otto, commissary for the exchange of French prisoners in England; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, have agreed on the following preliminary articles:

Art. I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be reestablished between his Britannic majesty and the French republic, by sea and by land, in all parts of the world; and, in order that all hostilities may cease immediately between the two powers, and between them and their allies respectively, the necessary instruction shall be sent with the utmost dispatch to the commanders of the sea and land forces of the respective states, and each of the contracting parties engages to grant passports, and every facility requisite to accelerate the arrival, and ensure the execution of these orders.—It is farther agreed, that all conquests which may have been made by either of the contracting parties from the other, or from their respective allies, subsequently to the ratification of the present preliminaries, shall be considered as of no effect, and shall be faithfully comprehended in the restitutions to be made

made after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

II. His Britannic majesty shall restore to the French republic and her allies; namely, to his catholic majesty, and to the Batavian republic, all the possessions and colonies occupied or conquered by the English forces in the course of the present war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon, of which island and possessions his Britannic majesty reserves to himself the full and entire sovereignty.

III. The port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties, who shall enjoy therein the same advantages.

IV. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic majesty, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. For the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty.

V. Egypt shall be restored to the sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the present war.

VI. The territories and possessions of her most faithful majesty shall likewise be preserved entire.

VII. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean, or in the Adriatic.

VIII. The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French republic.

IX. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present preliminary articles, shall take place in Europe within one month; and the continent and seas of America and of Africa, within three months; and in the continent and seas of Asia, within six months after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

X. The prisoners made respectively shall, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the definitive treaty, all be restored, and without ransom, on paying reciprocally the debts which they may have individually contracted. Discussions having arisen respecting the payment for the maintenance of the prisoners of war, the contracting powers reserve this question to be settled by the definitive treaty, according to the law of nations, and in conformity to established usage.

XI. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea after the signature of the preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed that the vessels and effects which may be taken in the British channel and in the north seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the present preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side; that the term shall be one month from the British channel and the north seas as far as the Canary islands inclusively, whether in the ocean, or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary

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islands as far as the equator; and, lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

XII. All sequestrations imposed by either of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts, of any description, belonging to either of the contracting powers, or to their subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of the definitive treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals of the one country against individuals of the other for private rights, debts, property, or effects whatsoever, which, according to received usages and the law of nations, ought to revive at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before the competent tribunals; and in all cases prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries where the claims are made. It is agreed, moreover, that this article, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall apply to the allies of the contracting parties, and to the individuals of the respective nations, upon the condition of a just reciprocity.

XIII. With respect to the fisheries on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, and of the islands adjacent, and in the gulph of Saint Lawrence, the two parties have agreed to restore them to the same footing on which they were before the present war, reserving to themselves the power of making, in the definitive treaty, such arrangements as shall appear just and reciprocally useful, in order to place the fishing of the two nations on the most proper footing for the maintenance of peace.

XIV. In all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may be at the time of the signature of the present treaty, and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation shall remain untouched.

It is farther agreed, that in all the cases of cession stipulated in the present treaty, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of the definitive treaty of peace, for the purpose of disposing of their properties, acquired and possessed either before or during the present war; during which term of three years they may have the free exercise of their religion and the enjoyment of their property.

The same privilege shall be granted in the countries restored, to all those who shall have made therein any establishments whatsoever during the time when those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

With respect to the other inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is agreed that none of them shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested in their persons or properties under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to either of the two powers, nor on any other account except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts posterior to the definitive treaty.

XV. The present preliminary articles shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in London, in the space of fifteen days for all delay; and immediately after their ratification,

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tification, plenipotentiaries shall be named, on each side, who shall repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty of peace, in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

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In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty, and of the first consul of the French republic, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present preliminary articles, and have caused our seals to be put thereto.

Done at London, the 1st day of October, 1801, the 9th Vendemaire, year ten of the French republic.

(L. S.) Hawkesbury.
(L. S.) Otto.

Declaration of the King of Denmark, relative to the maritime Convention.

WE, Christian VII, notify by these presents, that, having been invited to accede, as a principal contracting party, to the convention, concluded the 16th December of the last year, between his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and his majesty the king of Sweden, and ratified by them the 20th of the same month at St. Petersburgh, which convention is entirely conformable to that which has been signed the 16th of December at St. Petersburgh, and which we have ratified the 16th of January of the present year: we formally assure by this declaration, that we have it equally at heart to establish the liberty of commerce of neutral navigation, according to the principles agreed upon and admitted by the same powers, in the year 1800; and that we are animated in that respect with the same sentiments as their majesties.

In consequence, as a contracting party to the said convention, we bind ourselves, for us and our successors, to every thing which has been stipulated; as also to all the articles separate and added since that convention. We expect that his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and his majesty the king of Sweden, shall alike declare, by a formal act, that they have received the present; that they will acknowledge us as a principal contracting party. And as his majesty the king of Sweden, in compliance with a like invitation, has acceded in the same manner, and in the same sense, to the convention concluded and signed the 16th of December of the last year, between us and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, we solemnly declare, that we accept the accession of his majesty, and that we consider him as a principal contracting party.

In faith of which we have signed with our own proper hand this act of accession, and confirmed it with our seal.

Given in our residence at Copenhagen, the 27th of February, in the year of Jesus Christ 1801, and of our reign the thirty-sixth.

(Signed) Christian R.
(Countersigned) C. Bernstorf.

Note from the English Ambassador at Berlin, Lord Carysfort, to the Prussian State and Cabinet Minister, Count Von Haugwitz.

AS the undersigned ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary has been directed by his

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his court to communicate to the Prussian ministry his majesty's note, which, by command of his majesty the king of Great Britain and Ireland, was presented to the ministers of Denmark and Sweden, he cannot discharge this commission without likewise expressing his sincere satisfaction in being authorized to declare how thoroughly his majesty is convinced that Prussia can never have sanctioned the measures which have given rise to the above cited note. Those measures openly disclose an intention to prescribe rules to the British empire, on a subject of the greatest importance; to force those rules upon Great Britain, and for that end, before any of the powers who have concurred in it have given the smallest intimation to his majesty, to enter into a league, the object of which is to renew pretensions which Great Britain at every time has considered hostile to its rights and interests, and so declared whenever an opportunity presented — pretensions which the Russian court has abandoned, not only in fact, but which, by a treaty actually in force, Russia is bound to oppose, and the execution of which treaty his majesty is entitled to insist upon. When a ship of war belonging to his Danish majesty resisted by force the execution of a right, which the king of Great Britain and Ireland, by virtue of the clearest and most express stipulations of his treaties which the court of Denmark had demanded, his majesty, on that occasion, confined himself to the adoption of such measures as the protection of the trade of his subjects required to be given against that measure of hostility, which this conduct on the part of an officer bearing his Danish majesty's commission seemed to show. An amicable arrangement put an end to this dispute, and the king flattered himself, not only that all misunderstanding on that subject was removed, but amity between the two courts was strengthened anew and confirmed. In this situation of affairs his majesty must have learned, with no less astonishment than concern, that the court of Copenhagen was employed in negotiations to renew the hostile confederacy against Great Britain which took place in 1780, and that also great preparations were going on in the ports of Denmark. Under these circumstances the king must have been compelled to call for explanations from the court of Denmark. At this moment he received information that a confederacy was signed at Petersburgh, and the answer of the Danish minister left no doubt respecting the nature and object of this convention, as he declared, in the most express manner, "That these negotiations had in view the renewal of those relations which had been entered into between the same powers in the years 1780 and 1781," adding, "that his majesty the emperor of Russia had proposed to the northern powers the renewal of their connexion in its original form." The engagements alluded to had for their object principles of maritime law which never had been recognized by the tribunals of Europe, and the contracting parties mutually engaged to maintain them by force, and to compel by force other nations to adopt them. They are still more repugnant to the express stipulations of the treaties which subsist between the courts of Stockholm and Denmark, and the

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the British empire. The convention which these engagements were to renew was negotiated at a time when the court of Petersburgh had adopted hostile measures against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, and when nothing but the extraordinary moderation of the king could have authorized other powers not to consider him as at open war with that court. In such a state of things, nothing certainly could be more inconsistent with the ideas of neutrality, and nothing more distinctly indicate a hostile disposition, than that those engagements were not postponed till it was ascertained whether Russia was not to be considered as a belligerent power. Such forbearance was the more to be expected, and particularly from the court of Copenhagen, as, by an express article of the league of 1780, the Danish ports and havens in Norway were placed at the disposal of Russia for the purpose of facilitating the prosecution of hostilities out of the Baltic. When therefore the king was informed by one of the contracting parties that the object of the negotiations which had been begun at Petersburgh, without giving the least intimation, and which at last, according to the information received by the king, had terminated in the conclusion of a convention, was no other than to renew the former confederacy, to press upon his majesty a new code of law to which he had already refused his assent; and when moreover he had the most certain intelligence, and could no longer doubt, that the powers of the Baltic, engaged in this transaction, were pursuing warlike preparations with the utmost activity; when one of those powers had placed itself in a state of actual hostilities with his majesty; no other alternative remained, but either to submit, or to adopt measures which were calculated to put an effectual stop to the hostile operation of a league, which, by the declaration of the Danish court itself, was openly directed against his majesty. Meanwhile his majesty has not omitted on this occasion to display his wonted justice and good will. Although he felt it necessary, for the maintenance of his rights, to secure some pledge against the hostile attacks which were meditated against his rights, yet he has taken the utmost care to guard against loss and injury to individuals. Firmly convinced that his conduct towards neutral states has been conformable to the recognised principles of laws, whose basis and sanction is to be found not in passing interests and momentary convenience, but in the general principle of justice; of laws which have been received and observed by the admiralty courts of all the maritime powers of Europe; his majesty does not yet forego the hope that the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen will not take upon them the responsibility that will fall upon the authors of the war; that particularly they will not expose themselves to that responsibility for the introduction of innovations, the notorious injustice of which has induced those powers, by which they were first broached, to oppose, when they found themselves at war; innovations besides, which are expressly repugnant to those treaties which have been concluded with his majesty. The step on which his majesty has resolved, must have long been foreseen. The British

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government has never concealed that it considered the league of 1780 as hostile, and had never ceased that attention with which it watches over the rights of the nation. It immediately resisted the attempt to renew the principles which at the abovementioned period had been agitated, and the undersigned declared to count Haugwitz, at the first conference he had with him on his arrival at Berlin, "That his majesty would never submit to pretensions which were irreconcilable to the true principles of public law, and which strike at the foundations of the greatness and maritime power of his kingdoms."—Still later, in the beginning of November, the undersigned had the honour to represent to his excellency, as the minister of a power connected with his majesty by the most intimate friendship, what disagreeable consequences must follow from the attempt of the northern powers to press forward those pretensions. He has never ceased to renew this declaration, when, by the command of his majesty, he has been the interpreter of that satisfaction given to the king by the repeated assurances of the friendship of his majesty the king of Prussia, and of those constant sentiments of perfect justice of which his majesty has never for a moment entertained a doubt. His excellency count Haugwitz will likewise easily recollect the time when the undersigned, ultimately convinced of the friendly intentions of the Prussian government, communicated to him, by the command of his Britannic majesty, the king's resolution to allow of no measures which had for their object to introduce innovations in the maritime law now in force, but on the contrary, to defend that system in every event, and to maintain its entire execution, as it had subsisted in all the courts of Europe, prior to the year 1780. If the court of Denmark had announced in the most unequivocal manner the real objects and contents of the engagements into which it had entered, the declaration of that court, that Prussia was one of the powers concerned in the negotiation, would have been sufficient to satisfy the king, and to prove to him that it could have no hostile views against his government; and even still his majesty is convinced that he may implicitly rely on the friendship of his Prussian majesty. It is true, that in relation to Great Britain and Ireland, there can be no similarity between the northern powers and Prussia. Those powers are connected with his majesty by the stipulations of mutual treaties, which are less favourable to their interests, and which, more or less, modify and soften the rigour of the general law; whereas, between his majesty the king of Great Britain and Prussia, no treaty of commerce exists, and all intercourse between them is regulated by the general principles of the law of nations, and established usages. If, however, his majesty were to consider his own sentiments, and the incessant wish he has shown to preserve the friendship of a monarch with whom he is connected by so many ties, he could not at all anticipate the possibility of a difference which might not easily and speedily be terminated by an amicable discussion. The repeated assurances of such sentiments on the part of his Prussian majesty, which the undersigned has been empowered to transmit to his court, confirm this agreeable

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able anticipation; and the known principles which have constantly directed his majesty the king of Prussia, do not tend to countenance the supposition that the latter has entered into the confederacy, or can enter into the confederacy, to support, by force, principles, in common with other powers, whose hostile views against his Britannic majesty have been openly proved. Whatever sentiments the Prussian government may entertain, in regard to the new principles themselves, yet it is too just, and knows too well what sovereigns owe to their people, and to one another, to favour, for a moment, the design to employ force, in order to induce his Britannic majesty to acknowledge a code, which the latter deems inconsistent with the honour and security of his crown.

(Signed) Carysfort.

Berlin, Jan. 27, 1801.

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Substance of the Terms in which Lord Grenville replied to Count Rostopschin, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, in answer to his Representations respecting the Capture of Malta.

THAT all explanations asked by Russia were useless, as the court of London was under the necessity of insisting on the embargo and the sequestration imposed by the emperor Paul being taken off, and upon indemnity for what had passed; that the convention, relative to Malta, the execution of which was demanded by the court of Petersburgh, was merely a plan submitted by that court to the British administration, in answer to which they had sent back their plan; but before the cabinet of London had sent their answer, the court of Petersburgh had dismissed their ambassador, lord Whitworth; that the negotiations of the court of Petersburgh to organize an armed neutrality by sea, had made the greater impression on the court of London, because Russia had proposed to Great Britain to prevent, in conjunction with her, the contraband trade, which was carried on with France, under Danish and Swedish colours; that if a good understanding were to take place between the two courts, the first measure to be taken would be the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, and the mutual interchange of new ambassadors, to be brought about by the mediation of a neutral court friendly to both powers.

Order of Council, laying an Embargo on Russian, Danish, and Swedish Ships.

At the Court at St James's, the 14th January, 1801; present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty, in Council.

WHEREAS his majesty has received advice, that a large number of vessels, belonging to his majesty's subjects, have been, and are detained in the ports of Russia, and that the British sailors, navigating the same, have been, and now are detained, as prisoners, in different parts of Russia; and also, that during the continuance of these proceedings, a confederacy of a hostile nature, against the just rights and interests of his majesty, and his dominions, has been entered into with the court of St. Petersburgh, by the courts of Denmark and Sweden, respectively; his majesty, with the

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advice of his privy council, is thereupon pleased to order, as it is hereby ordered, that no ships or vessels belonging to any of his majesty's subjects be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports of Russia, Denmark, or Sweden, until farther order; and his majesty is farther pleased to order, that a general embargo or stop be made of all Russian, Danish, and Swedish ships and vessels whatsoever, now within, or which hereafter shall come into any of the ports, harbours, or roads, within the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with all persons and effects on board the said ships and vessels; but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships or vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained:

And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the lord warden of the cinque ports, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

W. Fawkener.

Note presented on the 15th January, 1801, by Lord Grenville, to the Danish and Swedish Ambassadors, respecting the Embargo laid on Danish and Swedish Vessels.

THE undersigned, principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has been commanded by his majesty to make the following communication to count von Wedel Jarlsberg, and baron von Ehrensward, Danish and Swedish envoys at this court.

His majesty has heard, with the sincerest concern, that at the moment when the court of Petersburgh had adopted the most hostile measures against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm had concluded a convention with that power for the maintenance of a naval armed confederacy in the north of Europe. If the circumstances under which the convention alluded to was negotiated and concluded, could have left any doubt in his majesty's mind, respecting the objects to which it is directed, that doubt would, by the declarations of the court of Petersburgh, and still farther by the recent and official declarations of the court of Copenhagen, have been completely removed. It is sufficiently known with what hostile intentions an attempt was made, in the year 1780, to introduce a new code of public law against Great Britain, and to support, by force, a system of innovation, prejudicial to the dearest rights of the British empire. But his majesty has hitherto had the satisfaction to see that those arbitrary and injurious measures have been completely given up. At the beginning of the present war, the court of Petersburgh, which had taken a most active part in the establishment of the former alliance, entered into articles with his majesty, which are not merely incompatible with the convention of 1780, but which are directly in the face of it; engagements which are still in force, and the reciprocal execution of which his majesty is entitled to demand upon every principle of good faith, during the continuance of the war. The conduct of his majesty, towards the other powers of the Baltic, and all the decisions of his courts of justice, in regard to prizes, have been uniformly and notoriously

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founded upon those principles which previously to the year 1780 had guided all other European courts of admiralty. Nor had the intention to renew the former confederacy been communicated to his majesty, on the part of any of the contracting powers, till he received information of the actual signing of the convention, and had been apprised by the declaration of one of the parties, that the object of it was to confirm the stipulations entered into in the year 1780 and 1781, in their original shape. No farther doubts, therefore, can remain, that the object of their confederacy, and the naval preparations, which the contracting parties pursue with vigour, is nothing less than to place themselves in a situation to maintain by force, pretensions which are so obviously inconsistent with the principles of justice, that those powers, which, when neutral, brought them forward, were the first to oppose them when they became belligerent, and the establishment of which, if it should be effected, would be one of the principal means of overthrowing the strength and security of the British empire. On the knowledge of these circumstances, his majesty the king would act contrary to the interest of his people, the dignity of his crown, and the honour of his flag (which, by the discipline, courage, and skill of his navy, has risen to so extraordinary a pitch of greatness,) were he to delay the adoption of the most effectual measures to repel the attack he has already experienced, and to oppose the hostile effects of the confederacy armed against him. His majesty has, therefore, authorized the undersigned officially to communicate to count Wedel Jarlsberg and baron von Ehrensward, that an embargo has been laid upon all the Danish and Swedish ships in the ports belonging to his majesty. But in the execution of this measure, his majesty will take care that no violent or severe proceedings shall be exercised, on the part of his majesty, towards innocent individuals. His majesty is still animated by the most anxious desire that the circumstances which have rendered these steps necessary may cease, and that he may be enabled to return to those relations with the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen, which existed between them till that mutual good understanding was interrupted by the present attempts to renew former pretensions.

(Signed) Grenville.

Answer of the Danish Ambassador.

The undersigned, envoy extraordinary from his Danish majesty, will transmit, this day, with regret, to his court, the official communication he had the honour to receive yesterday from lord Grenville, upon the subject of the embargo laid upon the Danish vessels in the British ports.

While he waits until the orders of the king his master, relative to this offensive measure, arrive, he cannot avoid protesting against the validity of the motives alleged in the said note, and against the justice of the consequences which the British government has conceived it could accredit against the court of Copenhagen.

A difference which arose between the courts of Petersburgh and London, during the negotiation, destined solely to the protection of a perfect neutrality in the North, has no relation

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lation whatever with that; and as his imperial majesty of all the Russias has caused to be published a formal declaration on the subject of the motives of the measures adopted on his part, Denmark finds in it a complete refutation of the argument advanced by the British minister.

With respect to the principles of the northern powers respecting the sacred rights of neutrality, they have not been abandoned. Russia, in her belligerent quality, has only suspended the application, and Denmark and Sweden have, by their convention of the 27th March, 1794, (officially communicated to all the belligerent powers,) declared in the face of all Europe, that their system of protection, in favour of innocent commerce, was invariable.

Hence it follows, that his Danish majesty, only, now renews ties which have not ceased to exist. The undersigned thinks himself, in consequence, authorized to protest, formally, against proceedings of so hostile a nature, which the king his master could not but have considered as an open and premeditated provocation, had not the communication been accompanied with the assurance that his Britannic majesty still desires to maintain good harmony with Denmark; a desire which his Danish majesty has constantly professed, and of which he has given the most unequivocal proofs.

The undersigned, who, for a number of years, has felicitated himself upon being the interpreter of the unalterable sentiments of the king his master, is deeply hurt that false impressions have just menaced the good understanding between the two crowns. He wishes that he could still be the instrument of an explanation calculated to do away injurious doubts, and to prevent incalculable consequences to the interests of the reciprocal powers.

It is with these sentiments, and with those of perfect consideration, that he has the honour to renew to his excellency lord Grenville the homage of his respect.

(Signed) Wedel Jarlsberg.

Jan. 16, 1801.

The Answer of Baron Ehrensward to the Notification of Lord Grenville, of the 15th of January, stating, that an Embargo had been laid on the Danish and Swedish Ships in England.

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his imperial Swedish majesty, received the official notification, by which his excellency lord Grenville, first minister of state, signified to the undersigned, that his Britannic majesty had ordered an embargo to be laid on all the Swedish ships that should be found in the harbours within his dominions. So unexpected an event between powers who were in relations of friendship towards each other, was received with astonishment by his imperial majesty, who was not only unconscious of having given his Britannic majesty the least cause of complaint, but, on the contrary, was entitled to have demanded indemnification for repeated aggressions. Actuated by this reflection, he rather expected that the notification was transmitted with the view to bury his grievances in oblivion, than to give occasion for fresh ones, which renew the remembrance of the past.

As the English court has stated, as the ground of this notification, that a maritime convention was in contemplation, it would, doubtless, have

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have acted with more justice, had it waited for an official communication from the Swedish court, which it most assuredly would in proper time have received, of a convention, which is considered in so odious a point of view, as to urge it to an act of violence against a court, whose connexion with England nothing else could have disturbed. As the dispute between the Russian and English courts related to the island of Malta, and the declaration of the Danish court referred to the convention of 1780, the undersigned can see no just reason why the Swedish court, which had given no cause of complaint to the English, and from which no other declaration was required than what related to the note of the 31st of December, which has just been received, should be attacked in so hostile a manner, before any answer had been given to the insinuations contained in that note.

The undersigned, who imparted the contents of the note of his excellency lord Grenville to his court, is obliged, in conformity to the orders of his master, to protest, as far as by the present act he can formally protest, against the embargo laid on the Swedish ships, and all loss or damage that may be thereby occasioned. He demands, in the most forcible and expressive terms, that, in pursuance of the stipulations of the treaty of 1661, the embargo may be taken off, the continuance of which can no otherwise be considered than as a designed and premeditated declaration of war on the part of England, as well by the detention of the convoy, as in respect to the affair at Barcelona. The undersigned, whom the expression of the desire of the British court could not escape, observes, in the hostile determination by which it is accompanied, only to give his imperial Swedish majesty cause of complaint, as well by the detention of the convoy, as in respect to the affair at Barcelona. He wishes the British court had conformed to the truth of its assurances by its actions, in which case this court would have been actuated by corresponding sentiments.

The undersigned has the honour, &c.

(Signed) Baron von Ehrensward.

London, Jan. 17, 1801.

Note presented, on the 1st of February, to his Excellency the State and Cabinet Minister Count Haugwitz.

THE undersigned, ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, has the honour to address himself to count Haugwitz, by command of his court, in order to communicate to him the following particulars:

The spirit of patience and of moderation which prevails in the note of lord Grenville to count Rostopschin, will not escape the notice of his excellency:

A solemn treaty between the two powers had given the respective subjects of each a complete security for the prosecution of their trade; and even, in case of a rupture, it had been agreed, that not only no embargo should be laid, but that the subjects on both sides should have a whole year to carry away their effects, and to arrange their affairs in the country.

Notwithstanding these sacred stipulations, the ships of British subjects in the Russian ports are detained,

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ed, and their property in an extraordinary manner, upon various pretexts, sequestrated or sold. Their persons are likewise put under arrest, and a number of British sailors have been forcibly taken out of their ships, and been sent under guard, and in the midst of winter, into the interior of the country.

In consequence of these new acts of violence, lord Grenville, secretary of state for foreign affairs, received his majesty's order to address a second note to count Rostopschin, in which his majesty stated his having appointed a commissary to superintend the safety and the wants of his unfortunate subjects; a circumstancewhich is usual even among the powers that are actually at war. Lord Grenville, in that paper, likewise formally insisted on the execution of the treaty of 1793. But, though he made the strong and just remonstrances which such circumstances demanded, yet his majesty's constant disposition again to restore the former connexion and good understanding between the two crowns has been in vain.

His Britannic majesty anticipates the sentiments which the king of Prussia will entertain, when he is informed of the unheard of and unjustifiable manner in which his Britannic majesty's remonstrances were heard by the courtof St. Petersburgh. The note of count Rostopschin to lord Grenville, of the 20th of December, O. S. a copy of which the undersigned is ordered to communicate to count Haugwitz, will enable his Prussian majesty to judge whether the undersigned is called upon to make any observations upon it.

The undersigned has received orders to make known to the court of Berlin, that this conduct, on the part of the emperor of Russia, has put an end to all correspondence between the courts of London and St. Petersburgh; and the connexion between the extraordinary violence committed upon the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, and with the conclusion of a hostile confederacy, which the emperor of Russia has formed for the express and avowed purpose of introducing those innovations into the maritime code, which his Britannic majesty has ever opposed, has at length produced a state of open war between Great Britain and Ireland and Russia.

It will not be useless to remark, that the emperor of Russia, at the present crisis, cannot be considered as a neutral power, because he was at war with Great Britain before he himself was at peace with France.

The undersigned shall have done justice to the charge with which he is intrusted, when he declares, in the name of the king his master, that his majesty, on weighing the present circumstances of Europe, is willing to forbear demanding from the court of Prussia that succour which was stipulated by treaty, though he considers the *casus fœderis* as completely coming within those circumstances in which they stand; and that his Britannic majesty cannot doubt that he will receive from his ally all the proofs of friendship which the events of this new war would have required.

The undersigned has the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Carysfort.

Berlin, Feb. 1, 1801.

Note

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Note transmitted, on the 12th of February, by the Prussian Minister Count Haugwitz, to Lord Carysfort, the English Ambassador at Berlin.

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THE undersigned state and cabinet minister, has laid before his Prussian majesty the two notes which lord Carysfort, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from his majesty the king of Great Britain and Ireland, has done him the honour to transmit to him on the 27th of January, and 1st of February last.

The undersigned having it in commission to return an explicit and circumstantial answer, is under the necessity of informing lord Carysfort, that his majesty cannot see, without the utmost grief and concern, the violent and hasty measures to which the court of London has proceeded against the northern naval powers. Error alone can have given occasion to these measures, as the assertions in the note of the 27th sufficiently show. In that it is said, that the maritime alliance "has for its object to annul the treaties formerly concluded with England, and to prescribe laws to her, with respect to the principles of them; that the neutrality is only a pretext to impose these laws on her by force, and to establish a hostile alliance against her."

Nothing, however, is farther from the above mentioned negotiation, than the principles here supposed. It is founded in justice and moderation, and the communication of a copy of the convention to such of the belligerent powers as had the justice and patience to wait for the same, will prove this beyond the possibility of a denial.

When in the beginning of January, the minister of his Britannic majesty officially proposed to the undersigned the question, "whether the northern courts had actually concluded the confederation which had been reported; and whether Prussia had acceeded to it?"—the king conceived that the respect which sovereigns owe to each other, and the liberty possessed by every independent state to consult its own interests, without rendering an account to any other power, authorized him to withhold any communications relative to himself and his allies; and contented himself with answering, that as he had seen, without interfering, the connexions which England had entered into without consulting him, he considered himself entitled to the same confidence; and that if the king of Britain thought it his duty to support the rights and interests of his kingdom, his Prussian majesty considered it as not less his duty to employ every means in the defence of the rights and interests of his subjects.

This answer might have sufficed a few weeks since; but, in the situation in which affairs now are, the king thinks himself called upon to make an explicit declaration to the court of London, relative to the spirit of the treaty, which has probably been attacked because it was not known, and which is far from having the offensive views of which the contracting powers have been arbitrarily accused. They have expressly agreed, that their measures shall be neither hostile nor tend to the detriment of any country, but only have for their object the security of the trade and navigation of their subjects. They have been attentive to adopt their new connexions

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nexions to present circumstances. The strict justice of his majesty the emperor of Russia has, even in the detail, proposed modifications, which alone might be sufficient to indicate the spirit of the whole. It has since been determined, that the treaty shall not be prejudicial to those which had before been concluded with any of the belligerent powers. It was also resolved, that this determination should be candidly communicated to those powers, to prove the purity of the motives and views of the contracting parties. But England would not allow time for this; had she waited this confidential communication, she might have avoided those intemperate measures which threaten to spread the flames of war still wider.

Besides, it only depended on England, previously to draw satisfactory information from the correspondence with Denmark, if, instead of taking hold of two isolated passages, which lord Carysfort, in his first note, extracted from count Bernstorff's note of the 31st of December, the court of London had listened to the solemn declaration which it contained: "That it could never have been supposed for a moment that Denmark had formed projects against England, or plans that could not subsist together with the maintenance of harmony between the two crowns, and that the court of Copenhagen congratulated itself on finding an opportunity for contradicting, in the most positive manner, such unfounded reports." This plain and precise declaration agrees with the language which the undersigned had used more than once to lord Carysfort, when speaking on that subject; and it can scarcely be conceived how the English court, after that declaration had been received, could conclude, from the note of the minister of Denmark, "That the engagements of the contracting powers had for their object the introduction of principles of naval rights, which had never been acknowledged by the tribunals of Europe, and which were of a hostile tendency against England." The conclusion is totally false, and is not authorized even more by the contents of the answer of the Danish court, than the other unmerited reproach made to it, "of having renewed an alliance of a hostile tendency against England, and of being actively employed in armaments with that view." Never were measures more evidently defensive, than the measures of the court of Copenhagen, and their spirit will be misconceived still less, when it is considered what menacing demonstration that court had experienced from the British government, on occasion of the affair with the Freya frigate, before the above measures were resorted to. England's arbitrary conduct on this occasion is naturally explained by the pretensions which it had made for some time past, and which it has repeatedly renewed in the notes of lord Carysfort, at the expense of every commercial and naval power. The British government has, in the present more than in any former war, usurped the sovereignty of the seas; and by arbitrarily framing a naval code, which it would be difficult to unite with the true principles of the law of nations, it exercises, over the other friendly and neutral powers, an usurped jurisdiction, the legality of which it maintains, and which it considers as an imprescriptible right, sanctioned by all the tribunals of

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of Europe. The sovereigns have never conceded to England the privilege of calling their subjects before its tribunals, and of subjecting them to its laws, but in cases where the abuse of power has got the better of equity, and which, alas! are but too frequent. The neutral powers have always had the precaution of addressing to it the most energetic reclamations and protests, but experience has ever proved their remonstrances fruitless; and it is not surprising, that, after so many repeated acts of oppression, they have resolved to find a remedy against it, and for that purpose to establish a well-arranged convention, which fixes their rights, and which places them on a proper level even with the powers at war.

The naval alliance, in the manner that it has just been consolidated, was intended to lead to this salutary end, and the king hesitates not to declare to his Britannic majesty, that he has again found in it his own principles, that he is fully convinced of its necessity and utility, and that he has formally acceded to the convention, which has been concluded, on the 16th of December, last year, between the courts of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. His majesty is, therefore, among the number of the contracting parties, and has bound himself, in that quality, not only to take a direct share in all the events which interest the cause of the neutral powers, but also, in virtue of his engagements, to maintain that connexion by such powerful measures as the impulse of circumstances may require. The note of lord Carysfort mentions a subject, to which his majesty believes himself neither obliged to answer, nor even to have a right of entertaining an opinion with respect to it. There exist discussions between the courts of Petersburgh and London, which have by no means any thing to do with the business which the latter has interwoven with it. But in the same measure in which the conduct of Prussia has hitherto been directed by the most blameless impartiality, the king's conduct will henceforth be directed by his regard for engagements, which in themselves are a proof of it. To stipulations which contain nothing hostile, and which the safety of his subjects required, he owes all the means which Providence has laid in his power. Unpleasant as the extremes may be to which England has proceeded, yet his majesty doubts not the possibility of a speedy return to conciliating and peaceable dispositions, and he relies on the sentiments of equity, which, on former occasions, he has had the advantage of meeting with in his Britannic majesty.

It is only by revoking, and by entirely taking of the embargo, that affairs can be brought to their former situation; and it is for England to judge whether it ought to come to that resolution, in order to offer means to the neutral powers for proceeding to those communications which they intended to make.

But while those measures exist, which have been resorted to from hatred against a common principle, and against an alliance which can no longer be shaken, the hostile resolution, which must be the consequence, will be the necessary result of the treaty; and the undersigned is ordered to declare to the minister of his Britannic majesty, that the king, while he expresses his concern at events of which he has not been the cause, will sacredly fulfil the en-

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gagements prescribed to him by treaties. The undersigned, thus executing his orders, has the honour of assuring lord Carysfort of his high esteem.

(Signed) Haugwitz.
12th February, 1801.

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Note from the Danish to the British Minister.

London, February 23, 1801.

THE undersigned, having informed the king his master of the official communication of lord Grenville, dated the 15th January last, has received orders to declare, that his majesty is deeply affected at seeing the good understanding which has hitherto subsisted between Denmark and Britain, suddenly interrupted by the adoption of a measure as arbitrary as injurious on the part of Great Britain; and that he is not less afflicted and alarmed at seeing that measure justified by assertions and suppositions as unjust as ill founded. He remarks, with surprise, that, by confounding the cause of the measures, taken in Russia, against the interests of Great Britain, with the object of the convention relative to neutral navigation, the British government evidently mixes two affairs which have not the least connexion with each other. It is a subject of perfect notoriety, that the incident of the occupation of Malta by the troops of his Britannic majesty, has alone been the occasion of the embargo on the British ships in the ports of Russia, and that the ministers of the neutral courts at Petersburgh acted according to their full powers and instructions anterior to that event. The dispute relating to it is absolutely foreign to the court of Copenhagen. It knows neither its origin nor foundation, or at least but very imperfectly, and its engagements with Petersburgh have no relation whatever to it. The nature of these engagements has been solemnly declared to be only defensive; and it is inconceivable how general principles, conformable to every positive obligation, and modified according to the stipulations of treaties, could be justly considered as attacks on the rights or dignity of any state whatever. While the powers who profess them, require only their acknowledgment, the conflict of principles reciprocally maintained, cannot be provoked but by those means which, operating as a denial of facts, place them in direct and inevitable opposition. The undersigned, by order of the king his master, calls the serious attention of the British government to these reflections, and to these just and incontrovertible truths; they are analogous to the loyal sentiments of a sovereign, the ancient and faithful ally of Great Britain, who is not only incapable of offering, on his part, any injuries, real or voluntary, but who has well founded titles to a return of forbearance and justice. The prompt cessation of proceedings hostile to the interests of Denmark, is a circumstance to which his majesty still looks forward with the confidence he has ever wished to entertain with regard to his Britannic majesty; and it is in his name, and conformably to the instructions expressed on his part, that the undersigned insists on the embargo placed on the Danish vessels in the ports of Great Britain being immediately taken off. By a constant series of moderation on the part of the king, the measures to which the outrageous

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geous proceedings of the British government authorized him to have had recourse, have been suspended, his majesty deeming it an act of glory to give, by this means, a decisive proof of the falsehood of the suspicions advanced against him, and of the doubts thrown on his intentions. But if, contrary to all expectation, the British government persists in its violent resolutions, he will see himself, with regret, reduced to the urgent necessity of exerting those means which his dignity and the interests of his subjects will imperiously prescribe.

(Signed) Wedel Jarlsberg.

Answer.

Downing Street, Feb. 25, 1801.

Lord Hawkesbury presents his compliments to count Wedel Jarlsberg, and has the honour to inform him, that he shall lose no time in communicating to the Danish government his majesty's sentiments on the contents of count Wedel Jarlsberg's note of the 23d instant. Lord Hawkesbury requests that count Wedel Jarlsberg will accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Note from the Danish to the British Minister.

London, March 4, 1801.

The undersigned has constantly reposed an unlimited confidence in the sentiments and moderation of his Britannic majesty. He has consequently only endeavoured, in the preliminary note of lord Hawkesbury, dated the 25th of last month, in answer to his official note of the 23d, to discover the expression of an assurance of these sentiments which should be transmitted to Copenhagen; and he is persuaded that the effect of them on the part of his Britannic majesty will be manifested, by calling, in the most efficacious and satisfactory manner, the attention of the government to the representations of his Danish majesty, transmitted through the organs and offices of the undersigned. But as the adoption of conciliatory measures is constantly found suspended. and as, on the contrary, those of violence and injustice are daily accumulating, the undersigned cannot acquiesce, in silence, in the continuation of this state of things, which only tends to bar the way to amicable explanations, and to compromise the dearest interests of each nation. He hastens, in consequence, to renew with earnestness the demand made in the name of his court, that the embargo placed on the Danish vessels should be immediately taken off. And, in expectation of a satisfactory answer, he has the honour to assure his excellency lord Hawkesbury of his respectful consideration.

(Signed) Wedel Jarlsberg.

Answer of the British Minister.

Downing Street, March 6, 1831.

The undersigned, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of count Wedel Jarlsberg, his Danish majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, of the 4th instant, and to inform him that he has transmitted to his majesty's chargé d'affaires at Copenhagen, an answer to his former note of the 23d of February, which will be delivered to the Danish government, and

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which will fully explain his majesty's sentiments on the differences subsisting between the two countries. The undersigned requests count Wedel Jarlsberg to accept the assurance of his high consideration

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

Count Wedel Jarlesberg, &c.

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Note transmitted, on the 4th March, by Baron Von Ehrensward, the Imperial Swedish Minister Plenipotentiary at London, to Lord Hawkesbury, the English Secretary of State.

THE undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his Swedish majesty, has the honour to transmit to his excellency lord Hawkesbury, first secretary of state of his Britannic majesty, a printed copy of the naval convention concluded on the 10th December, 1800, between his Swedish majesty and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, as well as a printed copy of the naval regulations which the king has recently ordered to be drawn up.

The undersigned, who, at the command of his court, has the honour to make this communication to the minister of his Britannic majesty, has it likewise in commission expressly to declare, that their majesties, by the said naval convention, have reciprocally determined and settled those rights which, as neutral powers, they believe themselves entitled to, and by the naval regulations have ascertained those duties for the performance and observance of which, on the part of their subjects, they, as neutral powers, make themselves answerable. The object of their majesties is to confirm and strengthen their rights of neutrality, and to promote the repose of their respective states, by the naval convention they have entered into: and nothing is farther from their intention than by such a step to provoke hostilities. The respect which is due to the rights of nations and to treaties, the consciousness that their own interests are inseparably united with the interests and the love of justice and peace, are the only motives by which their majesties have been actuated: they have, therefore, learnt, with the greatest astonishment, that the first news of the conclusion of this convention in England, has been the occasion of so violent a measure as that of laying an embargo on the Swedish ships.

So far from desiring to introduce any innovations with respect to the maritime state of Europe, by the assertion of their rights of neutrality, their majesties are sensible that it gives no power whatever where those rights were not acknowledged by former treaties. England has seen those treaties; England has seen those treaties executed: they were officially communicated to her, and she did not protest against them. In like manner it was, with regard to the convention of 1780 and 1781; and the ministry, who now proceed with so much violence, know that the partial renewal of that convention between Sweden and Denmark in 1794, and the armament that followed, operated during a period of three years, without ever being considered as grounds for hostilities; yet a similar convention is now deemed an hostile confederacy against England. A line of conduct so contradictory, proceeds not from the circumstance of the principles

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principles and claims of neutral rights having been now enforced; but it seems to have its foundation in that maritime system which England has established in the course of the present war. It appears also, that that government, which Europe, from its pacific sentiments, has so often endeavoured to convince of the injustice of its pretensions, has now determined to commence a war for the subjection of the sea, after it has rendered itself so renowned in the war undertaken for the freedom of Europe.

If the British minister will refer to the conduct of England against Sweden, and the neutral powers in general, during this war, he will find the real cause why his Swedish majesty has been induced to believe that the formal alliance of several powers, acting upon the same principles, would more effectually tend to convince the court of London of the validity of those principles than by any one power renewing those reclamations which have hitherto been made in vain; at the same time his majesty never supposed that such an alliance would be considered as an act of hostility. The British minister complains that the court of London was not before instructed of the intention of the respective courts to renew the convention of 1780; but in the same note he states, that England had entered into engagements this war with its allies respecting neutrals; thus the avowal of the British minister is an answer to his own charge.

If his majesty was not fully convinced of the innocence of his intentions, and if he was desirous of deviating from that line of moderation he has ever observed, he might make an invidious and censurable enumeration of the conduct of England; of the unpunished offences of the commanders of English ships of war, even in Swedish harbours; of the inquisitorial examinations to which the captains and crews of the ships detained, as well in the West Indies as in England, have been subject; of the detention of the convoy in 1798; of the deceitful chicanery with which the proceedings of the courts of admiralty were accompanied; of the absolute denial of justice in many instances; and lastly, by the insult offered to the Swedish flag at Barcelona. His Swedish majesty must, doubtless, state among the offences of which he has cause to complain, that after one of his ministers had been sent to the British court, its aggressions, instead of being admitted and remedied, were justified. But he has sought no revenge; his majesty wishes only to procure that security to his flag to which it is entitled. In consequence of this sentiment, the undersigned is empowered to declare, that the British court shall acknowledge the rights of Sweden; that it shall do justice with regard to the convoys detained in 1798, as well as respecting the violence offered to the Swedish flag at Barcelona; and above all, that it shall take off the embargo which has been so unjustly laid on the Swedish ships. His majesty will, with the greatest pleasure, see his ports again opened to the trade of England, and the ancient good understanding between the two courts renewed. His majesty, impressed with that dignity due to his empire, has, in consequence of the embargo laid upon the Swedish ships, placed a similar embargo on all English vessels in the harbours of Sweden.

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As the pacific tendency of the present convention has been proved to a demonstration, his majesty therefore hopes that no consideration, respecting any accidental occurrence which may have taken place between the ally of his majesty, the emperor of Russia, and the court of London, will be introduced. The act of the convention itself proves, that its bases are the rights of neutrality, and that it is in its nature unconnected with every other subject of dispute.

While the undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Swedish majesty recommends the contents of this present note to the earnest consideration of the minister of his Britannic majesty, he has the honour to entreat that his excellency lord Hawkesbury will transmit him an answer, which he hopes will speak the sentiments of the king his master.

His majesty has commanded the undersigned to present this to his excellency. Should the conciliatory views with which it was dictated, prove fruitless, it is his majesty's opinion, that the presence of the undersigned, at the court of London, will no longer be of any advantage.

The undersigned has the honour to assure his excellency lord Hawkesbury of his highest esteem.

(Signed)

The Baron Von Ehrensward.

London, March 4, 1801.

Copy of Lord Hawkesbury's Reply to the Note of the Swedish Ambassador.

The undersigned, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of baron Ehrensward, his Swedish majesty's minister plenipotentiary, of the date of the 4th instant; his majesty has already repeatedly communicated his fixed unalterable determination, to maintain those established principles of maritime law, which have been found, by the experience of ages, best calculated to afford equal security to the just rights and interests as well of neutral as of belligerent powers.

The explanations attempted to be given to the present convention, have in no degree weakened the impression which the first perusal of it produced, that the views and motives of the contracting powers were hostile to his majesty's dominions; and this impression is most fully confirmed by the consideration, that the northern courts have recurred to the principles of the convention of 1780, at a moment when the circumstances of the war, and the relative state of the navies of the belligerent powers, convert that which was pretended to be a measure of common equity to all countries, into an instrument of exclusive injury to Great Britain.

Under these circumstances, the embargo on Swedish vessels can be considered in no other view than as an act of just and necessary precaution, which will not be revoked, so long as the court of Stockholm continues to form a part of a confederacy, which has for its object to impose by force on his majesty a new system of maritime law, inconsistent with the dignity and independence of his crown, and the rights and interests of his people.

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The undersigned requests baron Ehrensward will accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

Downing Street, March 7, 1801.

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Proclamation published at Riga, 12th February, 1801.

HIS excellency the civil governor and counsellor of state, chevalier Von Richter, has received the following communication from the commercial college of the empire: "That his imperial majesty, being convinced, by experience, that the productions and merchandize of his empire were exported by Prussia into England, his said majesty has thought proper to order, that the transportation of these productions and merchandizes through Prussia, whether by land or sea, shall be severely prohibited; and that, in order to accomplish this sovereign order, the most severe inspection shall take place, in conformity with the ukase of the 15th of December, 1800. The commercial college has, in consequence, required all civil governors, 1st, To communicate, through the medium of the magistrates, this order to the body of the merchants. 2dly, To order the magistrates to instruct their brokers to insert, as a stipulation in their contract, whether made with foreign or Russian merchants, that the articles bought or sold shall not, under any pretence, be sent into Prussia by any channel. The two parties shall bind themselves to this. The magistrates are also bound to suffer none of the merchandizes to pass thither on any pretence; and if any one shall refuse to obey this order, they are to seize the articles, and to send advice thereof forthwith."

In consequence, this order, after having been transmitted by his excellency the civil governor in council, in order to its being correctly executed, is, by these presents, communicated to the knowledge of all the merchants in this city.

Dated Riga, Feb. 12, 1801.

Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander, on his Accession to the Throne of Russia.

WE, by the grace of God, Alexander the First, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, &c. declare to all our faithful subjects,

It has pleased the decrees of the Almighty to shorten the life of our beloved parent sovereign emperor Paul Petrovitz, who died suddenly by an apoplectic stroke, at night between the 11th and 12th days of this month. We, on receiving the imperial hereditary throne of all the Russias, do receive also at the same time the obligation to govern the people committed unto us by the Almighty, according to the laws, and the heart of her who rests in God, our most august grandmother, sovereign empress Catharine the Great, whose memory will be dear for ever to us, and the whole country. Following the steps of her wise intentions, we hope to arrive at the object of carrying Russia to the summit of glory, and to procure an uninterrupted happiness to all our faithful subjects, whom we do hereby invite to seal their fidelity to us by oath, before the face of all seeing God, whose assistance we implore to

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grant us power to support the weight now resting upon us.

Given at St. Petersburgh, the 12th March, O. S. 1801.

Alexander.

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Russian Imperial Ukase relative to the Order of Malta.

WE Alexander the First, by the grace of God, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias,

Inasmuch as we are desirous of affording a proof of our affection, and of our particular regard towards the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem, we therefore declare, that we take it under our imperial protection, and that we will employ our utmost means to reinstate it in all its rights, honours, privileges, and immunities.

To this end, we command our field marshal Bailli, count Nicolas Soltikoff, to exercise the functions and authority of lieutenant, or vicar, of the grand master of the order, and to convoke an assembly of the great council, and to make known to the same, that it is our intention that this our imperial residence shall be considered as the capital of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem, till circumstances shall admit of its having a grand master appointed according to its ancient forms and statutes.

In expectation of that epoch, we command, in our character of protector, that the same council shall maintain the government of the order; make known this our determination to all nations and prioriates; and invite them, for their own advantage, to submit to the decrees of the council.

We confirm, by the present declaration, our two Russian and catholic grand prioriates, constituted within our empire, in the enjoyment of all the properties, privileges, and administrations conferred upon them; and we ordain, that they, in our name, as protector, shall act in obedience to the directions of our field marshal general Bailli, count Nicolas Soltikoff, vicar or substitute of the office of grand master.

As soon as an agreement shall have been concluded with other courts for appointing a proper place, and the necessary means, a general chapter of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem shall be convened; and it shall be one of the first endeavours of our proclamation, that such chapter shall proceed to the election of a grand master, who is worthy to preside, and capable of restoring to the order its ancient constitution.

Given in our imperial residence at St. Petersburgh, the 16th March (O. S.) of the year 1801, and the 1st of our reign.

(Signed) Alexander.

(Countersigned) Count Pahlen,

(Magnus Cancellarius.)

Russian Ukases issued by the Emperor Alexander, March 28, 1801.

1. ALL prisoners of state are set at liberty.

2. All the late laws relative to contraband are abolished.

3. The tariff of tolls and customs of 1782 is reintroduced.

4. The English seamen are released from confinement.

5. All societies and clubs are permitted.

6. The order of Malta is to be nearly suppressed.

7. The order of St. Wladimer is restored.

8. Every

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8. Every body may dress as he pleases, provided he does not violate common decorum.

9. The importation of books and literary productions of every sort is again permitted.

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10. The regiments are to bear their old names, and the former regiments of guards are to be reorganized.

11. Every person, whether native, foreigner, or exile, shall freely enter or quit the Russian dominions, without any molestation or difficulty on the frontiers.

12. Alexander, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas our manufacturers have not yet gained the necessary perfection, nor are sufficient to supply the exigence of our empire, we do hereby command, that the prohibition against the importation of china, earthen and glass wares, steel tools and instruments, hardwares, silks, cottons, and linens, be from this moment suppressed, and that for the present year the tariff of 1797 be in force.

St. Petersburgh, March 28th, 1801.

Proclamation published by the Senate of Hamburgh, the 29th March, 1801.

As circumstances of a political nature have created the necessity for the imperial Danish troops to remain in the neighbourhood of this city, and as nothing is to be apprehended on that account, either with respect to the freedom and independence of the state, or the property and safety of the inhabitants; therefore the most illustrious senate exhort all citizens and inhabitants to confide in their present intercessions upon the occasion; and that, with the assistance of the college of citizens, they will do their utmost for the advantage and safety of the state. And the most illustrious senate trust that every one will demean himself peaceably and obediently, and especially with decency and propriety, towards the foreign military; by which alone the general safety can be insured, and those inconveniences avoided, to which any inconsiderate and opposite conduct would inevitably subject the city.

Given at our senate-house, the 29th March, 1801.

Manifesto of his Highness Field Marshal Prince Charles, Landgrave of Hesse.

By the express command of his majesty the king of Denmark and Norway, it is hereby declared:

The attacks made by the English government, in opposition to all the principles of the laws of nations, against the navigation and trade of those powers that have confederated together for the purpose of securing and maintaining the rights of neutral flags; and the arbitrary and powerful measures adopted by that government, notwithstanding the most pressing and continued remonstrances; have imposed on these powers the disagreeable necessity of taking every previous step that may serve to bring the said government to a more just way of thinking.

As the exclusion of the English navigation and trade from the Elbe, must be an effectual means of promoting this object; and as the possession, for a time, of the imperial city of Hamburgh has been considered as unavoidably necessary for that purpose;

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purpose; his Danish majesty, unwilling as he is to adopt a measure of this kind, has been obliged to give way to a crowd of imperious circumstances; and consequently has charged me to carry the measure into execution with the troops under my command.

Conformably to the positive orders enjoined me, I will most vigilantly take care, that the strictest discipline shall be observed by the troops that enter the city, while they remain there; and that the tranquillity, the property, and municipal rights of the inhabitants, shall not only be undisturbed and unmolested, but that the same shall be most carefully preserved and guarded for them. I expect, therefore, that all persons shall conduct themselves peaceably and friendly towards the royal troops commanded by me; and that nobody shall find fault with that necessary severity which must be put in force in case of a contrary behaviour.

Charles, prince of Hesse.

Pinneberg, March 28, 1801.

Ordinance for laying an Embargo on English Ships and Goods, published by the Authority of the King of Denmark.

WE Christian VII, &c. declare as follows: Whereas all amicable means for taking off the embargo laid on the ships and property of our subjects in the English ports, have proved fruitless; we have been obliged to give directions that all ships and goods belonging to the subjects of the British government, and which are now in our ports, shall be detained and laid under an embargo. All magistrates of towns, and officers of our customs, are directed to assist in carrying this measure into effect.

The same persons are to prepare every thing that is necessary for the preservation of the goods and ships so detained; and every care must be taken of the crews of the ships.

Given under our hand and seal at Copenhagen, on the 29th of March, 1801.

Christian R.

[A similar edict was issued by the king of Sweden.]

Declaration of the King of Prussia to the Royal and Electoral College at Hanover, and to the Commanders of the Hanoverian Troops.

IN consequence of the oppressions which neutral navigation and commerce have sustained on the part of the English navy, since the commencement of this war, the different powers therein interested could no longer abstain, after so many ineffectual complaints, from protecting their violated rights with a greater degree of energy.

The result was the convention formed on the 16th of December, 1800, at St. Petersburgh, between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, the just and moderate principles of which had formerly been adopted and followed by the court of London itself; and his majesty the king of Prussia, who had likewise felt this violence injurious to his states and his flag, did not hesitate to accede to that treaty.

The contracting courts were on the point of communicating to the belligerent powers the convention they had agreed to, and of forming arrangements with them, when England, by an unexpected proceeding, disconcerted

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disconcerted this amicable design, by laying an embargo on all the vessels of the naval powers of the North in her ports, and thus declaring herself their enemy.

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It might have been expected that his majesty the king of Prussia would not regard this conduct with satisfaction or indifference. Accordingly he soon after transmitted to the court of London the declaration already known, of the 12th of February formally and publicly avowing his accession to the convention of St. Petersburgh, and indicating, at the same time, the means by which the differences that had taken place might be accommodated, and a total rupture avoided.

But, instead of adopting the proposed expedient, England passed over in silence the answer transmitted to lord Carysfort, at Berlin. She continued to treat the flags of the north in a hostile manner; and in a note transmitted by the secretary of state, lord Hawkesbury, to the Swedish envoy, baron Ehrensward, dated the 7th of March, at London, she has once more manifested those false principles which have been so often refuted:

"Under these circumstances, the embargo on Swedish vessels can be considered in no other view than as an act of just and necessary precaution, which will not be revoked, so long as the court of Stockholm continues to form a part of a confederacy, which has for its object, to impose by force on his majesty a new system of maritime law, inconsistent with the dignity and independence of his crown, and the rights and interests of his people."

A similar declaration was soon after sent to the court of Denmark, adding, that she must abandon the coalition of the North, and enter into a separate negotiation with England. After receiving a negative answer the English chargé d'affaires, Drummond, and the plenipotentiary extraordinary, Vansittart, left Copenhagen on the same day; and in the mean time the English fleet, under the orders of admiral sir Hyde Parker, destined for the Baltic sea, had actually arrived on the coasts of Zealand.

It appears from all these events, that the court of London has no inclination to desist from her inadmissible demands, and accept the proposed means of amicable conciliation. His majesty the king of Prussia therefore feels himself compelled, in conformity to the obligations he has contracted, to take the most efficacious measures in support of the convention attacked, and to retaliate for the hostile proceedings against it: for this purpose, he will not only shut the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, but likewise take possession of the states belonging to his majesty the king of England, as elector of Brunswick-Lunenberg, situate in Germany.

His majesty the king of Prussia accordingly demands and expects from the electoral college of privy councillors at Hanover, and from the board of generals, that they will submit to this disposition without delay or reply; and that they will voluntarily obey the orders which shall be given relative to the occupation of the electorate by the Prussian troops, and likewise with respect to the electoral countries. His majesty principally demands that the Hanoverian corps which has hitherto occupied part of the northern line of demarkation, shall be disarmed and be disbanded, with a proportional

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portional part of the other troops. His majesty requires that the generals and other officers shall engage in writing, not to serve against his majesty the king of Prussia; but, on the contrary, to follow strictly his orders until the present affair be brought to a conclusion. The troops which shall continue embodied, shall be cantoned, part on the right bank of the Leine, and part on the left bank of the Aller, and behind the Luhe as far as the Elbe, where they shall remain distributed among the towns of Hanover, Gifhorn, Velgen, Lunenberg, and the other smaller towns and villages of that district. All the other places, including the fortress of Hameln, shall be delivered up to the Prussian troops, under the orders of lieutenant-general Klein. His majesty declares, at the same time, that the Prussian troops shall be subsisted at the expense of the electoral territory, commencing from the end of the month of April. His majesty has sent his cabinet minister, count Schullenburg, to notify the present declaration to the electoral college of privy councillors and commanders of troops. In these circumstances, all connexion between the electoral college and his majesty the king of England will cease; and the authorities are, in consequence, responsible to his majesty the king of Prussia for their administration and the revenues. In case, as it is to be hoped, of a voluntary submission, his majesty is disposed, and ready to promise solemnly, as well to the nobility as to the burgesses and to all the inhabitants of the electorate, the complete enjoyment of tranquillity, and the security of their property.

But, on the contrary, should the government and the general officers attempt to impede the execution of the measures taken, and oppose the entrance of the Prussian troops, his majesty would be obliged, though against his inclination, to revoke his promises, and to treat the electoral states in a hostile manner. The civil and military officers are therefore responsible for the fatal consequences which may in this case result from their conduct. For this reason his majesty advises them to submit to this summons, and to prevent the rigorous measures which will inevitably be adopted in case of a refusal.

By order of his majesty.

(Signed) Haugwitz.

Berlin, March 30, 1801.

Official Account of the Possession of Hamburgh by the Danes. Dated March 31.

IT was on the 24th instant that the Hamburgh envoy, at Berlin, received the unexpected intelligence that his majesty the king of Prussia had felt himself necessitated, from political considerations, to announce his intention to cause a part of the territory of Hamburgh to be taken possession of by the troops of his majesty, and that within a very short period.

The assurances which were communicated to the deputies of Hamburgh, were of that consoling nature as to leave no doubts on the part of the deputies from Hamburgh relative to the preservation of the independence, the trade, and commerce of that city. They concluded that the necessity of its possession would be alleviated by every possible means, especially as this city had no resource, its commerce excepted. The senate also conceived the prejudice too great to suffer a moment to

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to be lost in making the most pressing representations to his Prussian majesty; and their hopes of success were the more flattering, from the circumstance of the assurances received by the Hamburgh deputies on the 26th instant, by which they were again informed that the execution of the views of his Prussian majesty would be such as to secure them from every species of alarm, and were by no means so near as might be expected.

But in proportion as these assurances were confided in, so much the greater was the mortification experienced by the senate on the 28th, when they learned from his excellency prince Charles of Hesse, that it was his intention to occupy this city with the troops quartered in its environs. In consequence of this notification, it was determined to send deputies to his highness at Pinneberg, to make the strongest representations against a measure so violent and unexpected. These representations, however, were fruitless, as the deputies, upon their return, reported that it was the intention of his highness to summon the city the next morning with his troops, and even to use force in case of resistance. At the same time the deputies received the most satisfactory assurances that no fears ought to be entertained for the independence of the city of Hamburgh, or the property of individuals; and farther, that his royal highness would be satisfied with the possession of the gates and walls of the city, without requiring any troops to be quartered in the city.

Under this imperious situation of affairs, the senate were convoked in the night, and it was the unanimous result of their consultations, that it was better to yield to force, than to expose the city to greater evils in consequence of any resistance.

In consequence of this determination, yesterday morning, at eight o'clock, and of the summons above mentioned from prince Charles of Hesse, and the most solemn and satisfactory assurances given to the deputies then sent out to him respecting their liberty, the preservation of their property, &c., the gate called the Millenthor, and a part of the fortifications, were immediately given up to a corps of Danish troops, and without the least interruption of the public tranquillity.

On the same morning appeared the following publicandum:

"Since the present situation of public affairs has occasioned the unavoidable approach of the Danish troops, which ought not to create the least alarm respecting the security of property, or the preservation of public tranquillity, the most noble burgomasters seriously admonish the citizens and inhabitants to conform themselves in every respect to such measures as may tend to the preservation of the public peace, and especially to good behaviour towards the Danish troops; and by so doing, to diminish the disagreeableness of the circumstance; as otherwise the well-being of the city might be committed to the conduct of the obstinate and unwary."

Given in a full assembly of the council, March 29, 1801.

Notification published at the Exchange of Hamburgh, April 3.

Whereas his majesty the king of Denmark and Norway has found it necessary, for the stopping of the British

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British navigation and trade on the Elbe, to take possession, for a time, of the free and imperial city of Hamburgh, by the troops under the command of his highness general field-marshal prince Charles, landgrave of Hesse, and has required, that from the first of April an embargo shall attach upon all British property, whether ships, commodities, or any other; it is hereby ordered, by consent of the council and citizens, that all persons shall detain such property, and notice will immediately be given to all merchants, captains, &c. of the time, place, and manner, in which it shall be delivered up.

Given in council, April 3, 1801.

Convention, concluded on the 3d April 1801, between the Regency of Hanover and the Envoys of his Majesty the King of Prussia.

HIS majesty the king of Prussia having caused to be communicated to us, by the count de Schulembourg, general of cavalry, minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, and his envoy here, a declaration, written and dated at Berlin, on the 30th of March, 1801, respecting the measures which his said majesty has resolved to pursue in regard to the German states belonging to his majesty the king of Great Britain and Ireland, our most gracious sovereign, in his quality of elector of Brunswick and Lunenbourg: his Prussian majesty having besides invited us repeatedly, and in a positive manner, to conform to the present circumstances, to enter without delay into the new engagements which he has proposed, and for that purpose to draw up a convention in the most obligatory form, otherwise his said majesty would find himself obliged to treat in a hostile manner the German states of the king, our most gracious sovereign: we have, agreeably to circumstances, promised and declared as follows:

The entrance of the Prussian troops into the German states of his Britannic majesty shall take place without their experiencing any resistance, in the hopes, however, that the number will be diminished as much as possible, to ease the country and the inhabitants: they shall consequently observe, in their full extent, all the ordinances and dispositions of his Prussian majesty, both in regard to the entry of his troops and to the electoral states. The Hanoverian troops, which have hitherto been employed in the army on the line of demarkation in the north of Germany, shall be disbanded, as well as a proportionate number of the other troops of the electorate. The regency of this country, the commander-in-chief, and the different officers of these troops, shall engage not to employ the said troops, nor to suffer them to serve against his said Prussian majesty, but to make them strictly observe the royal ordinances, according to the different measures which it may be necessary to pursue. The said troops shall be distributed in the cities of Hanover, Lunenbourg, Gisborn, Welzen, and in the places and garrisons on the right of the Leine, on the left of the Aller, and behind the Luhe, as far as the Elbe. All the other places, without exception, comprehending the fortress of Hameln, shall be evacuated and delivered up to the Prussian troops. Particular measures shall be taken that

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that all deliveries in kind shall be made by the said country of Hanover, dating from the 1st of May this year. In regard to whatever concerns the administration of this state, nothing shall be undertaken prejudicial to the present dispositions and engagements; on the contrary, the statutes and orders of the king, in regard to them, shall be punctually observed.

For these reasons we here accept, in the most solemn manner, the supreme promise made by his Prussian majesty, that he will guaranty to the German states of his Britannic majesty, their ancient constitution, their safety, and their repose; and that all their property and possessions shall be protected by every means possible.

Done at Hanover, the 3d April, 1801.

(Signed) Count de Kilmannsegge.
De Arnswaldy.
De Steinberg.
De Decken.
De Walmoden.
Simborn, field-marshal.

Letter from the Royal College of Commerce at Copenhagen, dated the 4th of April, 1801, to M. M. Muldrup and Salveson, his Danish Majesty's Consuls for Scotland, residing in Leith.

Gentlemen,

WE judge it necessary to make you acquainted with the actual situation of our affairs, as well for your government as for the information of those of our nation who may be at present in your consulage district.

You must have heard that a British fleet of 54 sail, under command of admirals sir Hyde Parker and lord Nelson, had proceeded to the straits of the Sound, with an intention to enter the Baltic. The fleet actually appeared, and having advanced towards Cronberg, admiral Parker declared to the commandant that hostilities would commence; upon which the fleet began to pass the fortress on the 30th of March, exposed to an obstinate fire from our batteries, which was returned with equal spirit, but without material damage to either party, as the fleet kept so close to the Swedish side that it was with difficulty our balls could reach them. After having cleared the straits, the British formed themselves in a line, in sight of our floating batteries and the ships placed for our defence at the entrance of our port. There they remained tranquil until the evening of the 1st instant, when they assumed a more threatening position. On the following day (2d April) at half past ten o'clock in the morning, the most bloody and obstinate engagement took place in our roads that has ever been remembered. Our sailors have gained themselves honour and glory, and if the force of defence had been equal to that of the attack, the success would have been doubtful; but, after five hours fighting, the most part of our crews were either killed or wounded, the ships much shattered, and the floating batteries dismounted; so that it became at last necessary to yield to superior force, at least triple to that which we could employ at the point of defence. The right wing of our defence was broken through by Nelson's squadron; some of our floating batteries and ships of inferior size have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Before the engagement had seriously commenced with the

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the fleet under admiral Parker's orders, Nelson sent a flag of truce to propose a suspension of hostilities, in order to transport the wounded on shore, which was agreed to; and the suspension of arms has been prolonged, and hostilities have not yet recommenced. Nelson was on shore yesterday, and a negotiation is at present going forward, and every thing for the moment tranquil. We do not know precisely how much the enemy have suffered, nor the number of their slain; but, according to information from some of their officers, their ships have been considerably damaged, and their loss of men very numerous.

This, gentlemen, is the result of a day ever memorable to Denmark, and honourable for the intrepidity and bravery of our warriors, whose conduct even the enemy has allowed to have been most glorious. Make these facts known to their countrymen, and inform them at the same time, that we shall not fail so acquaint them of the ultimate result of these events.

(Signed) Schimmelman.
Schestted.
Smidt.
Phisseldeck, &c.

Ukases published by the Emperor Alexander, of Russia, shortly after his Accession to the Throne, prior to the 7th of April, 1801.

IT is ordered by us, that the British sailors and masters that were taken from the several British ships in a state of sequestration, and sent to various towns throughout our dominions, shall be set at liberty, and carefully conducted to the several ports from whence they were taken.

(Signed) Alexander.

As we wish to afford our faithful subjects all means of extending their trade, which is the source of prosperity, as well for the state as individuals; we order, that all the prohibitions hitherto made against the exportation of corn shall be removed; and we permit the exportation of all kinds of grain, conformable to the principles of the tariff of 1797.

(Signed) Alexander.

Russian Imperial Declaration to Sir Hyde Parker, the Admiral of the British Fleet in the Baltic.

BY the decease of his majesty the emperor Paul I, of glorious memory, the sceptre of the Russian empire has descended by right of birth into the hands of his imperial majesty, Alexander I. One of the first events under the government of this monarch has been, that he has accepted the offer which the British court had made to his illustrious predecessor to terminate the disputes which threatened the speedy breaking out of a war in the north of Europe, by an amicable convention. Faithful to the engagements which he has entered into with the courts of Stockholm, Berlin, and Copenhagen, his imperial majesty has signified to them his resolution not to act but in conjunction with his allies in whatever may concern the interest of the neutral powers. His imperial majesty could not have expected that the British court would have undertaken a hostile attack upon

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upon Denmark, at the very time when its envoy at Berlin was authorized anew to enter into conferences with the Russian minister residing there.

The measures taken by his imperial majesty were only in consequence of his wish for peace, and the welfare of mankind, and to avoid a destructive misunderstanding between the contending powers. The hostilities commenced against Denmark, and the arrival of a hostile fleet, would have frustrated the wish of his imperial majesty to maintain peace, had not this attack upon his allies been before his proposals were known to the court of London; but as the British fleet had sailed for the Sound before his majesty ascended the throne, he will wait the measures of the British court, when it shall be informed of the event.

The undersigned general of cavalry, and minister of state for foreign affairs, desires, therefore, in the name of his illustrious sovereign, that the admiral in chief of the fleet of his Britannic majesty shall desist from all farther hostilities against the flags of the three united powers, till his excellency shall have received farther directions from his sovereign; otherwise the admiral must be personally responsible for the consequences that may ensue from the prosecution of the war.

Though prepared to repel force with force, his imperial majesty persists in his pacific sentiments; but the justice and moderation of the cabinet of London must enable him to reconcile the demands of humanity with the duties which he owes to the honour of his crown, and the interests of his allies.

(Signed) Pahlen.

Substance of the Declaration of the Russian Envoy to the Deputies of the Elector of Hanover, on the 27th of April, 1801.

THAT the sentiments of the new emperor of Russia being entirely conformable to the views of the king of Prussia, and the principles which dictate his conduct, it had been resolved on both parts to put an end to all hostile measures against England, and to terminate amicably the disputes which have arisen between the court of London and the allied powers of the North; and that to this effect he had dispatched a courier to Copenhagen, to invite his Danish majesty to order his troops to evacuate the town and territory of Hamburgh, and to establish the freedom of navigation on the Elbe. The Prussian minister at the same time declared to M. Pelrich, deputy from Bremen, that the Prussian troops would evacuate the territory of Bremen and the electorate of Hanover, as soon as it should be ascertained that a certain power would not occupy those countries.

Decree published by Order of his Swedish Majesty, at Stockholm, on the 20th of May, 1801.

WE, Gustavus Adolphus, &c. make known by these presents, that, having been induced to break off all commercial intercourse, by the unfriendly measures of the English government, and its acts of hostility against the Swedish flag, we have hitherto, and as long as there appeared no prospect for a change, faithfully adhered to that resolution, founded on such firm principles, in order that we might

 faithfully

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faithfully observe the engagements entered into, and, on every occasion, watch over the honour and dignity of our kingdoms. Having, however, now learned, that our allies have resumed their former commercial intercourse with England at an earlier period, and the commander of the English fleet in the Baltic having likewise solemnly declared, that the Swedish merchant vessels shall not be molested in the Baltic and the Cattegat, we find ourselves no longer bound, circumstances being thus changed, to persevere in a resolution which at present would merely tend to impede the navigation and commerce between our subjects and those of his Britannic majesty. We, therefore, hereby not only revoke the prohibition of trading with England, issued by our college of commerce on the 30th of March, but grant permission to all English merchant ships to sail to and from the Swedish ports without molestation, and export and import all permitted commodities, paying the customary tolls and duties which were in force before the late misunderstanding between England and Sweden; and we expect that the English government will by this measure be convinced of the justice and moderation of our sentiments, and be induced to treat our subjects with similar moderation and justice.

Given at our palace at Stockholm, May 19, 1801.

(Signed) Gustavus Adolphus.

Order in Council of the 4th of June, 1801, revoking the Order of Embargo upon Russian and Danish Vessels.

At the Court at the Queen's House, the 4th of June, 1801; present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

WHEREAS information has been received from vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson, commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Baltic, that a notification has been made to him by the Russian government, that his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias has directed that the embargo on British vessels detained in the ports of his dominions should be taken off, and that the crews thereof should be released: and whereas the government of Denmark has lately manifested the most conciliatory dispositions towards his majesty, and has declared its readiness to concur in any amicable arrangements which might be agreed upon between his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, is thereupon pleased to order that the order made by his majesty in council, on the 14th of January last, directing that no ships or vessels belonging to any of his majesty's subjects should be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports of Russia, Denmark, or Sweden, be revoked and discharged, so far as relates to ships and vessels belonging to any of his majesty's subjects entering and clearing out for any of the ports of Russia or Denmark.

And his majesty is hereby farther pleased to order, that the general embargo, or stop, directed by his majesty's order in council, of same date, to be made of all Russian, Danish, or Swedish vessels, then within any of the ports, harbours,

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bours, or roads of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or which should thereafter arrive in any of the said ports, harbours, or roads, or in the ports, harbours, or roads of any of the forts and settlements belonging to the crown of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or of any of his majesty's colonies, islands, and plantations, together with all persons and effects on board such ships and vessels; and also all other orders made by his majesty in council, touching the said embargo, or stop, upon the ships and vessels aforesaid, be in the like manner revoked and discharged, so far as relates to the ships and vessels, persons, and effects, belonging to the subjects of Russia and Denmark.

And his majesty, with the advice aforesaid, is also farther pleased to order, that the order made by his majesty in council, on the 16th of the said month of January, directing that no bills drawn since the 29th of November last, O. S., (corresponding with the 10th of December, N. S.,) by or on behalf of persons being subjects, or residing in the dominions of the emperor of Russia, should be accepted or paid, without licence from one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, or until farther signification of his majesty's pleasure, be, and the same is hereby revoked and discharged.

And his majesty is hereby farther, pleased to order, that the order made by his majesty in council, on the 28th of the said month of January, forbidding the payment of any money or bills due or payable to or on behalf of any person or persons being subjects of, or residing within the dominions of the emperor of Russia, or the kings of Denmark or Sweden, or any of them, for the freight of merchandise imported in any Russian, Swedish, or Danish ship, detained under the embargo, be, and the same is hereby revoked and discharged, so far as relates to the payment of any money or bills due or payable for freight to the subjects of Russia or Denmark.

And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, the lords of the admiralty, and the lord warden of the cinque ports, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

W. Fawkener.

Letter from Sir James Craufurd to the Prince of Hesse.

Hamburgh, May 7th, 1801.

Sir,

IN order to prevent all possibility of mistake or misconception, I think it proper to state to your serene highness in writing the different points agreed upon between us this morning, in presence of the Prussian minister, who assured us of the concurrence of his court.

Your serene highness declares,

1st. The neutrality of the Elbe completely reestablished from the date hereof; that consequently all ships, of whatever nation, are free to navigate this river as heretofore; that even, in the unfortunate event of the recommencement of hostilities between Great Britain and Denmark, all ships at that time in the Elbe, or which may arrive on the faith of this convention, shall be free to return, and shall not, in any case whatever, be subject to embargo or molestation of any kind.

2dly. That no British property

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which shall arrive in the Elbe from the date hereof shall in any case whatever be subject to sequestration or embargo.

3dly. That if the court of Copenhagen should at any time be disposed to cancel this convention, six weeks notice of such intention shall be given. Till the expiration of these six weeks this convention shall remain in full force.

On the other hand, I engage on my part to give such passports to Danish vessels sailing from the ports of the Elbe to the Greenland fishery, and to those bound to Norway with provisions, as may be necessary to ensure them against all molestation from British ships of war during their voyage, and their return to the Elbe.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) James Craufurd.

[The prince of Hesse returned an answer, agreeing to the above conditions.]

Declaration delivered in Writing by his Highness Field-Marshal Prince of Hesse, to the Most Noble Council of Hamburgh, on the 20th May, 1801.

AN essential alteration having taken place in political relations in consequence of late events, the king my master has been induced likewise to make changes in the measures he had adopted.

His majesty has thought proper to remove the obstruction to the English navigation and trade on the Elbe, which he had considered as necessary to oppose the hostilities commenced by England; and in consequence of a convention concluded between me and the English envoy, residing in the circle of Lower Saxony, and which has been made public, the free navigation of the Elbe is already restored. The present change of circumstances has however removed the necessity of the object which his majesty proposed in the occupation of Hamburgh by his troops, that is, the obstruction of the trade and navigation of England on the Elbe; and as his majesty, when he resolved on this measure, solemnly and publicly declared by me, that he only yielded to the imperious and unavoidable pressure of circumstances, he is the more readily inclined to limit its enforcement to the duration of those relations which produced its necessity.

His majesty has therefore commanded me to withdraw the troops under my command, from the free imperial city of Hamburgh and its territory. On this occasion, it is my duty to testify the particular satisfaction of his majesty, and my own acknowledgments for the orderly and peaceable behaviour of the inhabitants of this city, both at the time of their entrance, and during their stay, and for the suitable regulations made by the magistracy and senate in that respect.

Note from the Hanoverian Ministry to the Royal Prussian Directorial Counsellor Von Dohm, respecting the withdrawing of the Prussian Troops from the Electorate of Hanover.

Hanover, June 14, 1801.

HIS majesty the king of Prussia having, in the beginning of April of the present year, unexpectedly ordered the corps of his troops

troops hitherto acting with the army of observation, formed for the general defence, to take possession of the districts in Germany belonging to his Britannic majesty, as elector of Brunswick and Luneburg, the causes and motives which induced his majesty the king of Prussia to resort to this extraordinary and unexpected measure, were stated to the German ministry of his Britannic majesty, in a written declaration of the 30th of March of the present year, on the part of his Prussian majesty, by his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, count Sculenberg, sent to Hanover for that purpose. These causes and motives were founded on the differences that had arisen between his Britannic majesty and the crowns of Denmark and Sweden, on account of the Petersburgh convention of the 16th of December, 1800; on the proceedings of England against Denmark and Sweden; on the engagements of his Prussian majesty with his allies, agreeably to his accession to the Petersburgh convention, and particularly on the circumstance that England would not resort to means for an amicable settlement of these differences. Hence his Prussian majesty deduced his resolution "not only to shut up the mouths of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems, but also to take possession of the states of his majesty the king of the united islands of Great Britain and Ireland, situated in Germany, and belonging to him as elector of Brunswick and Luneburg." His Prussian majesty added in his letter addressed to his Britannic majesty's German ministers at Hanover, "that the said declaration related to the differences that had arisen between England and the northern powers, and was to be considered merely as a necessary consequence of the disagreeable circumstances that had taken place." By the circumstances and causes therefore, assigned as the reason on the part of Prussia, the agreement was relative, which his Britannic majesty's German ministry, together with the general commanding his German troops, were obliged to enter into on the 3d of April of the present year, and whereby, under the existing circumstances, the entrance of the Prussian troops, and their maintenance by the king's German possessions, were agreed to.

It is now well known that the circumstances and causes formerly existing have been entirely changed and removed in the course of the month of April, and still more in the course of the month of May; so that circumstances, at present, are rather the reverse. Hostilities have ceased between England and the northern powers; and so far from rejecting means for an amicable settlement, immediate friendly missions have even taken place on both sides; and the crowns of Denmark and Sweden, imitating the wise sentiments of his majesty the present emperor of Russia, are actually engaged in amicably settling the differences with the British government. The happy issue of these peaceable negotiations not being doubted by any of the parties, the British government began rendering commerce free in the Baltic; Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, have restored the commercial intercourse by public declarations; and the embargo formerly laid on English ships in Russia is again taken off. His

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majesty the king of Prussia having, during the course of these successive changes, permitted all commercial and other intercourse with his Britannic majesty's subjects, which has likewise remained undisturbed by England, with respect to the Prussian states, it is evident that his Prussian majesty has no longer any cause for allowing measures to be taken, on his part, against the crown of England. But his majesty the king of Prussia has also declared already that the measures which had been formerly taken, could now no longer be deemed applicable and expedient; so that, on the part of Prussia, the shutting up of the rivers is entirely annulled, and the navigation of the Elbe and Weser has been again declared free. His majesty the king of Prussia, from the same consideration, has likewise demanded from the crown of Denmark, and effected, the evacuation of Hamburgh and Lubeck, and withdrawn the troops that had been stationed in the dutchy of Oldenburg, for the purpose of occupying the left banks of the Weser.

It is impossible, therefore, that the occupation of his Britannic majesty's dominions, which had been connected with the shutting up of the rivers, and grounded on the same causes, can alone remain and continue. On the contrary, it appears evidently, from the whole course of the proceedings, that the causes no longer anywhere exist which furnished the ground of the letter addressed to the king's ministry here by the king of Prussia, on the 30th of March, the declaration made by his majesty in consequence thereof, and the agreement afterwards entered into. It is impossible to consider this agreeably to his majesty's wisdom and justice, but as something which cannot be mistaken by him, and which, in the events already stated, has already been admitted and acknowledged by his majesty. The sentiments which his majesty the king of Prussia entertains for his Britannic majesty, and the friendly relations subsisting between him and the crown of England, will, therefore, leave no doubts on this subject, without being under the necessity of recurring to the nature of the constitution of the German empire, and the union of its states with each other, with respect to this business, which relates entirely to a foreign kingdom, and which has always been, and will ever remain, foreign to the dominions which his majesty possesses as elector, and as a state of the German empire.

All this is grounded on the firm confidence which his Britannic majesty here wishes to manifest, that his majesty the king of Prussia will not hesitate to withdraw his troops from his majesty's German dominions; and that maintenance will no longer be demanded for these troops, which has been so burdensome to the country. The king's minister has, for this purpose, addressed this note to the Prussian directorial counsellor, Von Dohm, entreating him, at the same time, to forward it to his court, and to effect a speedy resolution in consequence.

(Signed) L. S. by the royal and electorial ministry.

To the royal Prussian directorial counsellor, Von Dohm, at Horneburgh.

Correspondence

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Correspondence of Mr. King, the American Minister, with Lord Hawkesbury.

Great Cumberland Place, March 13, 1801.

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My lord,

THE decree of the vice-admiralty court of Nassau, a copy of which is annexed *; condemning the cargo of an American vessel, going from the United States to a port in the Spanish colonies, upon the ground that the articles of innocent merchandise composing the same, though *bona fide* neutral property, were of the growth of Spain, having been sanctioned, and the principles extended, by the prize courts of the British islands, and particularly by the court of Jamaica, has been deemed sufficient authority to the commanders of the ships of war and privateers cruising in those seas, to fall upon and capture all American vessels bound to an enemy's colony, and having on board any article of the growth or manufacture of a nation at war with Great Britain.

These captures, which are vindicated by what is termed the belligerent's right to distress his enemy by interrupting the supplies which his habits or convenience may require, have produced the strongest and most serious complaints among the American merchants, who have seen, with indignation, a reason assigned for the capture and confiscation of their property, which is totally disregarded in the open trade carried on between the British and Spanish colonies, by British and Spanish subjects, in the very articles, the supply of which, by neutral merchants, is unjustly interrupted.

The law of nations, acknowledged in the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, allows the goods of an enemy to be lawful prize, and pronounces those of a friend to be free.

While the United States take no measures to abridge the rights of Great Britain, as a belligerent, they are bound to resist, with firmness, every attempt to extend them, at the expense of the equally incontestible rights of nations, which find their interest and duty in living in peace with the rest of the world.

So long as the ancient law of nations is observed, which protects the innocent merchandise of neutrals, while it abandons to the belligerent the goods of his enemy, a plain rule exists, and may be appealed to, to decide the rights of peace and war: the belligerent has no better authority to curtail the rights of the neutral, than the neutral has to do the like in regard to the rights of the belligerent; and it is only by an adherence to the ancient code, and the rejection of modern glosses, that fixed and precise rules can be found, defining the rights, and regulating the duties of independent states.

This subject is of such importance, and the essential interests of the United States, whose policy is that

* In the case of the American brigantine Leopard, Ropes master, laden in part with Malaga wines. The cargo, so far as it consisted of wines, though regularly imported into the United States, was condemned by judge Kensal, on the 20th of October, 1800, "the same being productions of the Spanish territory in Europe, and bound to the Transatlantic part of that empire."

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of peace, are so deeply affected by the doctrines which, during the present war, have been set up, in order to enlarge the rights of belligerents, at the expense of those of neutrals, that I shall, without loss of time, submit to your lordship's consideration such farther reflections respecting the same, as its great importance appears to demand.

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In the mean time, as the decisions referred to cannot, from the unavoidable delay which attends the prosecution of appeals, be speedily reversed, and as the effect of those decrees will continue to be the unjust and ruinous interruption of the American commerce in the West India seas, it is my duty to require that precise instructions shall, without delay, be dispatched to the proper officers in the West Indies and Nova Scotia, to correct the abuses which have arisen out of those illegal decrees, and put an end to the depredations which are wasting the lawful commerce of a peaceable and friendly nation.

With great consideration and respect, I have the honour to be, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

Rufus King.

Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c.

Downing Street, April 11, 1801.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th of last month, and to inform you that, in consequence of the representation contained in it, a letter has been written, by his majesty's command, by his grace the duke of Portland, to the lords commissioners of the admiralty; a copy of which letter I herewith enclose to you, for the information of the government of the United States.

I have the honour to be, with great truth, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Hawkesbury.

Rufus King, esq., &c. &c.

Whitehall, 30th March, 1801.

My lords,

I transmit to your lordships herewith a copy of the decree of the vice-admiralty court of Nassau, condemning the cargo of an American vessel, going from the United States to a port in the Spanish colonies; and the said decree having been referred to the consideration of the king's advocate-general, your lordships will perceive from his report, an extract from which I enclose, that it is his opinion, that the sentence of the vice-admiralty court is erroneous, and founded in a misapprehension or misapplication of the principles laid down in the decision of the high court of admiralty referred to, without attending to the limitations therein contained.

In order, therefore, to put a stop to the inconveniences arising from these erroneous sentences of the vice-admiralty courts, I have the honour to signify to your lordships the king's pleasure, that a communication of the doctrine laid down in the said report should be immediately made by your lordships to the several judges presiding in them, setting forth what is held to be the law upon the subject by the superior tribunals, for their future guidance and direction. I am, &c.

Portland.

The lords commissioners of admiralty.

Extract

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Extract of the Advocate-General's Report, dated March 16, 1801.

I have the honour to report, that the sentence of the vice-admiralty court appears to me erroneous, and to be founded in a misapprehension or misapplication of the principles laid down in the decision of the court of admiralty referred to, without attending to the limitations therein contained.

The general principle respecting the colonial trade has, in the course of the present war, been to a certain degree relaxed, in consideration of the present state of commerce. It is now distinctly understood, and it has been repeatedly so decided by the high court of appeal, that the produce of the colonies of the enemy may be imported by a neutral into his own country, and may be reexported from thence, even to the mother-country of such colony; and, in like manner, the produce and manufactures of the mother-country may, in this circuitous mode, legally find their way to the colonies. The direct trade, however, between the mother-country and its colonies, has not, I apprehend, been recognised as legal, either by his majesty's government, or by his tribunals.

What is a direct trade, or what amounts to an intermediate importation into the neutral country, may sometimes be a question of some difficulty. A general definition of either, applicable to all cases, cannot well be laid down. The question must depend upon the particular circumstances of each case. Perhaps the mere touching in the neutral country to take fresh clearances may properly be considered as a fraudulent evasion, and is, in effect, the direct trade; but the high court of admiralty has expressly decided, (and I see no reason to expect that the court of appeal will vary the rules,) that landing the goods and paying the duties in the neutral country breaks the continuity of the voyage, and is such an importation as legalizes the trade, although the goods be reshipped in the same vessel, and on account of the same neutral proprietors, and be forwarded for sale to the mother-country or the colony.

(A true copy.)

Jas. Wagner, chief clerk.

Correspondence between M. Otto and the Transport Board, respecting the Capture of Fishermen on the Coast of France by the English.

No. I.

The Commissary of the French Republic, residing in England, to Citizen Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I Have this moment received the annexed letter from the commissioners of the transport office, as well as the other enclosed from Mr. Dundas, which informs me of a resolution of again subjecting French fishermen to all the rigours of the British cruizers. This violent and unexpected determination is founded upon allegations so vague, that I cannot refrain from demanding, with great earnestness, a more explicit eclaircissement. In the mean time, it is my duty to transmit you news of this importance as early as possible, that our poor fishermen may be informed thereof, and keep out of the way of the English cruizers, who will not fail to take them wherever

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wherever they may be found. I write at the same time to the commissioners of the marine at Dunkirk, Calais, Dieppe, at Havre, and at Port Maloe, requesting them to make known to the fishermen the danger with which they are menaced, although, in casting my eye over the letter of Mr. Dundas, of the 21st of January, but which has only been delivered to me this day, I have reason to believe that this information will arrive too late, and that a great number of unfortunate persons will have been victims to a measure, the true motives of which I am not able to guess at.

Health and respect,

(Signed) Otto.

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No. II.

Transport Office, Jan. 29, 1801.

The lords commissioners of the admiralty have just transmitted us a copy of the letter of the 21st current, which they have received from the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, intimating that, after the motives therein mentioned, it is his majesty's pleasure that the orders to take or destroy French fishing-boats be again put in execution; and that we do require the return of those fishermen who have been sent home on parole. We herein enclose you the copy of the letter in question, and the relative orders; we demand therefore, through your means, the immediate return into this country of all the fishermen released on their parole; and we farther inform you, that those among them who shall neglect to conform to those orders will be treated with all the rigour of the laws, should they again be made prisoners.

We are, &c.

(Signed) Rup. George.
Amb. Serle.
John Schank.

No. III.

Downing Street, Jan. 21, 1801.

My lords, having received various advices that the French government has abused the favours granted to the fishermen of that nation, according to the letter addressed to your lordships the 30th of May last, by which I informed you, that it was his majesty's pleasure that the orders given to cruisers, to capture all the fishermen, as well as their boats, should be recalled; having even reason to believe, that those fishermen, as well as their boats, are in requisition, and sent to Brest to equip and arm the fleet there; and that those who were released from prison, in order to be sent home under the express condition of not serving again, are comprised in that requisition; I am ordered to signify to your lordships, that it is his majesty's pleasure, that the orders given in consequence of my letter of the 28th January, 1798, be again put in execution, as far as relates to the fishermen and their boats; and that the commissioners charged with the service of the conveyance and guard of prisoners of war be authorized to demand, in the usual mode of communication, that all those set at liberty upon parole, be required to return into this country; and to signify to them, as well as the French government, that those among them who neglect to obey these orders shall be made to suffer all the rigours of the laws of war, in case they should again be

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be made prisoners, while serving the enemies of his majesty. I am, &c.

(Signed) Henry Dundas.

No. IV.

Letter of Citizen Otto, to the Transport Office, dated London, 13 Pluviose, (Feb. 2.)

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Sirs,

I have received the letter which you have done me the honour to address to me, of the 21st of this month, to communicate to me that of the right honourable Mr. Dundas, by which that secretary of state announces to the lords of the admiralty the resolution of government to authorize anew the practice of privateering and cruising against the French fishermen, and its intention to recal those who had been sent home on their parole. Conformably with your desire, I have not lost a moment to communicate this information to my government. In waiting for its orders, I confine myself to a few observations which naturally present themselves upon reading the paper which you have addressed to me.

After having declared that, from various reports, the basis of which is absolutely unknown, the French government had "abused the indulgence granted to fishermen," Mr. Dundas adds, "that there is every reason to fear that the French fishermen and their vessels are now put in requisition to arm the Brest fleet, and that even the fishermen sent back on their parole, are also put in requisition."

I must be equally surprised and pained to see a mere apprehension placed instead of a proof. It is, however, upon this apprehension, that is founded a measure hostile to the peaceable class of fishermen, most of them old men, invalids, or children, and consequently incapable of hurting the enemies of their country. I should think that, to justify an aggression, contrary to a formal convention, and the ordinary usages of war, something more would be necessary than conjectures. But even admitting that the apprehensions of the British ministry were founded, and that they could authorize anticipated reprisals, the rigorous treatment with which all fishermen are menaced, will not reach such of them as could have been hostile to England; for the fishermen who may be taken in consequence of the new orders given by the admiralty, are not certainly those who are supposed in requisition; they are men who, from the simplicity of their manners and industrious habits, cannot give any umbrage, but the unjust persecution of whom will excite upon the whole coast the liveliest sensation. It is upon these unfortunate men that will fall anew all the weight of a war in which they have taken no part. Were it otherwise, and were these men really disposed and capable of bearing arms, the hostility ordained against them would be precisely the means of increasing the number of the sailors of the Brest fleet, since, being unable to continue their fishing, they would be obliged to return to port, where they would find employment and bread. The rigorous determination of the British government would be less surprising, if it were founded upon positive hostilities on the part of the fishermen, or upon a refusal of justice on the part of the French government. But it is consolatory to me to remark, that, since the arrangements made in May last, you have

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have communicated to me but one solitary complaint, stating, that some fishing vessels had been fitted out as fire ships at Flushing. This complaint, (indirectly connected with this discussion, as the question did not relate to fishermen, but only to their vessels,) was immediately redressed. I had the honour to write to you the 7th Vendemaire (29th Sept.) "that without standing upon the incontestible right which a power has to dispose of its vessels at pleasure, the first consul yielding, upon that occasion, to the desire of avoiding every thing that might prove injurious to an arrangement which he wished religiously to observe, had given orders to restore these fishing vessels to their original destination."

The convention relating to the neutrality of the fishermen being reciprocal, would be equally justified in expressing its apprehensions with respect to the employment of the English fishermen. It might fear, with some foundation, that these men are liable to be pressed, that they have been sent to Portsmouth or Plymouth, where their vessels have served for the purpose of carrying military stores and provisions into these ports, and for the same reason it might have ordered the seizure of their persons and property.

The doctrine of treating as enemies those who might become such would be as new as it would be dangerous. It would so confound the public code of nations, that all confidence would be banished for ever from their mutual relations. More natural equity opposes itself to the punishment of a man for what he might do. Those who have submitted to your government the reports on which its late determination is founded, cannot therefore have any other view but to add to the numerous subjects of irritation which a protracted war has produced between two nations, and to multiply the obstacles which oppose themselves to a reconciliation in exasperating a poor but numerous class of inhabitants of the coast.

I must farther observe, gentlemen, that the letter of Mr. Dundas, of the 21st of January, was not transmitted to me until the 30th, and that the communications you have prayed me to make, in consequence of that letter, will be very much subsequent to the orders which appear to have been given to seize the fishermen. If the delay has had for its object to allow the British cruisers time to execute the measures of government, before they who are the object of them could be apprized, I protest, solemnly, against a violation so manifest of the arrangement made between us touching the neutrality of fishermen, and reciprocally observed up to the present day; and I shall earnestly claim the restoration of all those who shall have been taken before the resolution of the British government for exercising hostilities against fishermen, shall have been known on the coast of France.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Otto.

No. V.

The Commissioner of the French Republic in England, to Citizen Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

London, 14th Pluviose, (Feb. 3.)

Citizen minister,

The violent determination taken by the British government against the French fishermen may be attributed to several causes; the apprehensions

hensions with which the preparations of our squadron at Brest inspire it, the anger which it feels at the northern confederacy, and the repugnance with which it finds itself obliged to clothe the French prisoners. While waiting for the orders of my government, I thought it my duty to protest against a measure, so much the more unjust, as it is not founded upon any known fact, and as it appears to have been put in execution before our fishermen had been apprized of the new persecution ordered against them. I joined to this a copy of my letter to the commissioners charged with the exchange of prisoners. I have observed particularly upon the slowness with which these new orders have been communicated to me, as if it were wished to afford the English cruisers time to take our fishermen before they were informed of the danger that threatened them. This gratuitous hostility against peaceful men will not fail to be appreciated, even in England, when the public shall be informed of it. In France it must produce the effect which is feared here; it must really give sailors to the national marine. The neutrality of the fishermen was reciprocal: the French government had, therefore, as much right as the British ministry to complain of the pressing and employing of the fishing boats for the provisioning of the military ports. Not only it has not done so, but upon a mere representation relative to the arming of some French fishing boats at Flushing, it gave immediate orders that they should be employed only for their original destination. It thence results that, far from complaining of the hostile use made of English fishermen, we have, on our side, pushed our scrupulousness so far as not even to arm the vessels built for fishing. The contrast must be remarked; it characterises the spirit and the dispositions of the two governments.

Health and respect,

(Signed) Otto.

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No. VI.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Citizen Otto, at London.

Paris, 27 Pluviose, 9th year.

The first consul, who has been made acquainted with your letter of the 10th inst. and of the letters therein contained, directs me to inform you, that you will have to quit London, and return to France. In preparing so to do, you will address a paper to the British government, in which you will express yourself as follows:

The undersigned having made known to his government the declaration of the British ministry, which signifies, that the French fishermen will be pursued and captured like all other enemies' vessels, a declaration by virtue of which a great many fishing boats have already been taken, the first consul has considered that if, on the one hand, this act of the British government, contrary to all the usages of polished nations, and the common law which governs them, even in times of hostility, should give to the present war an obstinate and ferocious character, which might destroy the very resemblance and remembrance of customs adopted in civilized (loyal) war; on the other, it was impossible not to behold that this conduct in the British government tended still more to exasperate the two nations against each other, and to remove the period of peace to a greater

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a greater distance; that in consequence the undersigned could remain no longer in a country where not only every disposition to peace is abjured, but where the laws and usages of war are disregarded and violated. The undersigned has therefore received orders to leave England, where his stay is found wholly useless: and he is instructed, at the same time to declare, that it having always been the first desire of the French government to contribute to a general pacification, and a maxim with it to soften, as much as possible, the evils of war, the government cannot, on its part, think of making the poor fishermen victims of the prolongation of hostility; it will therefore abstain from all such reprisals, and, on the contrary, it has given orders for all French ships, armed for war, or cruising, to leave the occupation of fishermen uninterrupted.

(Signed) Ch. M. Talleyrand.

No. VII.

Letter to Citizen Otto, in Reply to the above Note, from the Transport Office.

Sir, — Since I had the pleasure of seeing you this morning, I have been informed that the secretary of state has recommended to the lords of the admiralty, to suspend the execution of the order given for taking fishing vessels, until his majesty can be consulted on the subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. George.

Transport Office, 2 P. M.,
March 3, 1801.

Treaty of Peace, concluded at Luneville, Feb. 9, 1801, between the French Republic and the Emperor and the Germanic Body.

HIS majesty, the emperor and king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, having equally at heart to put an end to the miseries of war, have resolved to proceed to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace and amity.

His said imperial and royal majesty, not less anxiously desirous of making the Germanic empire participate in the blessings of peace, and the present conjuncture not allowing the time necessary for the empire to be consulted, and to take part by its deputies in the negotiation; his said majesty having, besides, regard to what has been agreed upon by the deputation of the empire at the preceding congress at Rastadt, has resolved, in conformity with the precedent of what has taken place in similar circumstances, to stipulate in the name of the Germanic body.

In consequence of which the contracting parties have appointed as their plenipotentiaries, to wit,

His imperial and royal majesty, the sieur Louis Cobentzel, count of the holy Roman empire, knight of the golden fleece, grand cross of the royal order of St. Stephen and of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, chamberlain, and privy counsellor of his imperial and royal majesty, his minister for conference, and vice-chancellor of court of state:

And the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, has appointed citizen Joseph Buonaparte, counsellor of state; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art.

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Art. I. There shall be henceforth and for ever, peace, amity, and good understanding, between his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, stipulating, as well in his own name as that of the Germanic empire, and the French republic, his said majesty engaging to cause the empire to give ratification in good and due form to the present treaty. The greatest attention shall be paid on both sides to the maintenance of perfect harmony, to prevent all hostilities by land and by sea, for whatever cause, or on whatever pretence, and by carefully endeavouring to maintain the union happily established. No assistance or protection shall be given, either directly or indirectly, to those who would do any thing to the prejudice of either of the contracting parties.

II. The cession of the ci-devant Belgic provinces to the French republic, stipulated by the 3d article of the treaty of Campo Formio, is renewed here in the most formal manner, so that his imperial and royal majesty, for himself and his successors, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic empire, renounces all his right and title to the said provinces, which shall be possessed henceforth as its sovereign right and property by the French republic, with all the territorial property dependant on it. There shall also be given up to the French republic by his imperial and royal majesty, and with the formal consent of the empire:

1st, The comté of Falkenstein, with its dependencies.

2d, The Frickthall, and all belonging to the house of Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zarzach and Basle; the French republic reserving to themselves the right of ceding the latter country to the Helvetic republic.

III. In the same manner, in renewal and confirmation of the 6th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, his majesty the emperor and king shall possess in sovereignty, and as his right, the countries below enumerated, viz. Istria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian isles in the Adriatic dependant upon those countries, the Bocca de Cattaro, the city of Venice, the canals and the country included between the hereditary states of his majesty the emperor and king; the Adriatic sea and the Adige, from its leaving the Tyrol to the mouth of the said sea; the towing path of the Adige serving as the line of limitation. And as by this line the cities of Verona and of Porto Legnano will be divided, there shall be established, on the middle of the bridges of the said cities, drawbridges to mark the separation.

IV. The 18th article of the treaty of Campo Formio is also renewed thus far, that his majesty the emperor and king binds himself to yield to the duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the countries which this prince and his heirs had in Italy, the Brisgau, which he shall hold on the same terms as those by virtue of which he possesses the Modenese.

V. It is moreover agreed, that his royal highness the grand duke of Tuscany shall renounce, for himself and his successors, having any right to it, the grand dutchy of Tuscany, and that part of the isle of Elba which is dependant upon it, as well as all right and title resulting from his rights on the said states, which shall be henceforth possessed in complete sovereignty, and as his own property,

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perty, by his royal highness the infant duke of Parma. The grand duke shall obtain in Germany a full and complete indemnity for his Italian states. The grand duke shall dispose at pleasure of the goods and property which he possesses in Tuscany, either by personal acquisition, or by descent from his late father, the emperor Leopold II, or from his grandfather, the emperor Francis I. It is also agreed, that the credits, establishments, and other property of the grand dutchy, as well as the debts secured on the country, shall pass to the new grand duke.

VI. His majesty the emperor and king, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic empire, consents that the French republic shall possess henceforth, in complete sovereignty, and as their property, the country and domains situated on the left bank of the Rhine, and which formed part of the Germanic empire: so that, in conformity with what had been expressly consented to at the congress at Rastadt, by the deputation of the empire, and approved by the emperor, the towing path of the Rhine will henceforth be the limit between the French republic and the Germanic empire; that is to say, from the place where the Rhine leaves the Helvetic territory, to that where it enters the Batavian territory.

In consequence of this, the French republic formally renounces all possession whatever on the right bank of the Rhine, and consents to restore to those whom it may belong, the fortresses of Dusseldorff, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburgh, the fort of Cassel, and other fortifications opposite to Mentz, on the right bank, the fort of Kehl, and Old Brisach, on the express condition that these places and fortresses shall continue and remain in the state in which they were at the time of their evacuation.

VII. And as, in consequence of the cession which the empire makes to the French republic, several princes and states of the empire will be dispossessed, either altogether or in part, whom it is incumbent upon the Germanic empire collectively to support, the losses resulting from the stipulations in the present treaty, it is agreed between his majesty the emperor and king, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic empire, and the French republic, that, in conformity with the principles formally established at the congress of Rastadt, the empire shall be bound to give to the hereditary princes who shall be dispossessed on the left bank of the Rhine, an indemnity, which shall be taken from the whole of the empire, according to arrangements which on these bases shall be ultimately determined upon.

VIII. In all the ceded countries, acquired or exchanged by the present treaty, it is agreed, as had already been done by the 4th and 10th articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, that those to whom they shall belong shall take them, subject to the debts charged on the said countries; but, considering the difficulties which have arisen in this respect, with regard to the interpretation of the said articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, it is expressly understood, that the French republic will not take upon itself any thing more than the debts resulting from the loans formally agreed to by the states of the ceded countries, or by the actual administration of such countries.

IX. Immediately after the change of the ratifications of the present treaty, the sequestration imposed on the

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the property, effects, and revenues of the inhabitants or proprietors, shall be taken off. The contracting parties oblige themselves to pay all they may owe for money lent them by individuals, as well as by the public establishments of the said countries, and to pay and reimburse all annuities created for their benefit on every one of them. In consequence of this, it is expressly admitted, that the holders of stock in the bank of Vienna, become French subjects, shall continue to enjoy the benefit of their funds, and shall receive the interest accrued, or to accrue, notwithstanding any sequestration, or any demand, derogatory to their rights, particularly notwithstanding the infringement which the holders aforesaid, become French subjects, sustained by not being able to pay the 30 and 100 per cent. demanded by his imperial and royal majesty, of all creditors of the bank of Vienna.

X. The contracting parties shall also cause all the sequestrations to be taken off, which have been imposed on account of the war, on the property, the rights, and revenues of the emperor, or of the empire, in the territory of the French republic, and of the French citizens in the states of his said majesty or the empire.

XI. The present treaty of peace, and particularly the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 15th articles, are declared to extend to, and to be common to the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics. The contracting parties mutually guaranty the independence of the said republics, and the right of the people who inhabit them to adopt what form of government they please.

XII. His imperial and royal majesty renounces, for himself and his successors, in favour of the Cisalpine republic, all rights and titles arising from those rights, which his majesty might claim on the countries which he possessed before the war, and which, by the conditions of the 8th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, now form part of the Cisalpine republic, which shall possess them as their sovereignty and property, with all the territorial property dependant upon it.

XIII. His imperial and royal majesty, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic empire, confirms the agreement already entered into by the treaty of Campo Formio, for the union of ci-devant imperial fiefs to the Ligurian republic, and renounces all rights and titles arising from these rights on the said fiefs.

XIV. In conformity with the 2d article of the treaty of Campo Formio, the navigation of the Adige, which serves as the limits between his majesty the emperor and king, and the navigation of the rivers in the Cisalpine republic, shall be free, nor shall any toll be imposed, nor any ship of war kept there.

XV. All prisoners of war on both sides, as well as hostages given or taken during the war, who shall not be yet restored, shall be so within forty days from the time of signing the present treaty.

XVI. The real and personal property unalienated of his royal highness the archduke Charles, and of the heirs of her royal highness the archduchess Christina, deceased, situated in the countries ceded to the French republic, shall be restored to them on condition of their selling them within three years. The same shall be the case also with the landed and personal property of their royal highnesses the archduke Fer-

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dinand and the archduchess Beatrice, his wife, in the territory of the Cisalpine republic.

XVII. The 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 23d articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, are particularly renewed, and are to be executed according to their form and effect, as if they were here repeated verbatim.

XVIII. The contributions, payments, and war impositions, of whatever kind, shall cease from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty on the one hand, by his imperial majesty and the Germanic empire, and on the other by the French republic.

XIX. The present treaty shall be ratified by his majesty the emperor and king, by the empire, and by the French republic, in the space of thirty days, or sooner if possible; and it is agreed that the armies of the two powers shall remain in their present positions, both in Germany and in Italy, until the ratification shall be respectively, and at the same moment, exchanged at Luneville.

It is also agreed, that ten days after the exchange of the ratifications, the armies of his imperial and royal majesty shall enter the hereditary possessions, which shall, within the same space of time, be evacuated by the French armies; and thirty days after the said ratifications shall be exchanged, the French armies shall evacuate the whole of the territory of the said empire.

Executed at Luneville, Feb 9, 1801.

Louis Count Cobentzel.
Joseph Buonaparte.

Letter from his Imperial Majesty to the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, 21st Feb. 1801.

THE plenipotentiary of the French government has made to the minister plenipotentiary, whom I have sent to Luneville to negotiate a peace with the French republic, the decided proposition, that, in the treaty to be concluded, I should stipulate also for the peace of the empire, in my quality of supreme chief. The imperial plenipotentiary knew, that the right and cooperation of the electors, princes, and states of the empire, in the objects relative to peace, was fixed in a precise manner by the fundamental laws of the Germanic empire: that also my imperial authority was restricted upon that point by the laws of the Germanic constitution, unless I should have previously received full powers, particularly from the empire, to treat in its name. This consideration, as well as others, entirely opposite to the said proposition, was not received, as my plenipotentiary had a right to expect, from its force and constitutional evidence. On the contrary, the proposition has been insisted upon by express reference to the example of the negotiations for peace at Rastadt and of Baden, in 1714, and its admission has been demanded in a manner so pressing and determined, that the negotiations would have been entirely broken off, if my plenipotentiary, after having in vain exhausted representation, had not at last consented, by referring also to the negotiations of Rastadt and Baden. My perplexity was very great, in my quality of supreme head of the empire, when I learned from my plenipotentiary this state of things, and I considered it a duty of the highest importance to reflect upon it maturely. The idea of approving the step taken by my plenipotentiary, and in conse-

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quence of that approbation of beginning to treat for the peace of the empire, although I had it not by any means in contemplation to withhold the treaty from the examination and ratification of the general diet, was in conflict in my mind with my just respect for the rights and attributes of the states of the empire. But, on the other side, the consideration of the melancholy situation in which a considerable part of Germany now is, that of the still more unhappy fate with which the superiority of the French threatens the empire, should peace be longer deferred; in fine, a regard to the general wish and universal anxiety soon to enjoy the blessings of peace; all these motives combined together, strongly persuaded me not to disapprove of the acquiescence of my minister in the demand of the French plenipotentiary: in consequence therefore of the declaration made by my plenipotentiary, approved by myself, resolved (such being the posture of our affairs) also to determine the conditions of a peace for the empire. Your enlightened and well-known wisdom induces me to believe, that most probably, if under the pressure of similar difficulties, you would have adopted a similar line of conduct.

I feel some consolation in acquainting you by the present, with the true state of affairs, and with the resolution which I have taken; I also derive a still greater consolation from the consciousness of the purity of the motives by which I am actuated, (motives which are justified by several declarations made by the diet, and more particularly by the imperial decree of the 19th May, 1795,) according to which it cannot appear to have been my intention to encroach on the rights of the imperial states. And when the treaty of peace shall be submitted to the electors, princes, and states, and to the general diet, you have the most perfect and consolatory conviction, that in the negotiation of that treaty I previously took every measure and precaution conformably to the above-mentioned example of the negotiations of Rastadt and of Baden, in 1714, to secure the rights of the states of the empire.

Conclusum of the General Diet of the Empire, of the 7th of March, 1801.

His highness the prince Charles Alexander of Tour and Taxis, principal commissary of his imperial majesty to the general diet, &c., he is notified by the present, in the name of the electors, princes, and states of the empire. The general diet of the empire has seen by the most gracious imperial decree of the 21st, published the 25th of February of this year, and by the two pieces thereunto annexed, the important motives which have determined his imperial majesty to acquiesce in the formal demand of the French republic, "to conclude and sign, in his quality of supreme chief, the peace of the empire, after the example of the negotiations of Rastadt and Baden." His majesty having in consequence signed that peace, has deigned to submit it to the general diet, in order that the electors, princes, and states, should ratify it in the name of the empire: and that, upon real and just considerations of the losses which all delay may occasion to Germany, they may accelerate that ratification, and the conclusum to be adopted for that purpose

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pose, which his imperial majesty waits for with impatience. The three colleges of the empire have deliberated upon that imperial decree, with all the attention which the importance of its contents demands, and with as much expedition as the urgency of circumstances prescribes; and as, from the motives amply detailed in the letter of his imperial majesty annexed to the decree of the imperial committee, and from the reiterated assurances of his majesty relatively to the acknowledged and incontestible rights of the empire, they may be entirely upon the right of cooperation in matter of peace, which the Germanic constitution gives to the electors, princes, and states, the force of the reasons which have induced his imperial majesty to conclude the peace in the manner announced, as also the consideration of the melancholy situation of Germany, which so anxiously wishes for peace, and has such pressing need of it, have determined the general diet of the empire to decree, that the peace, concluded the 9th of February, at Luneville, with the French republic, by his imperial majesty, in his quality of supreme chief of the empire, shall be ratified on the part of the emperor and of the empire; that a conclusum on this subject shall be immediately addressed to his imperial majesty, expressive of the lively gratitude which the diet entertains for the cares and patriotic zeal of his majesty in that negotiation; and that his imperial majesty shall be requested to ratify and confirm the treaty of peace in his own name, and in that of the German empire. Wherefore the councillors, ambassadors, and envoys present of the electors, princes, and states of the empire, recommend themselves to his highness the principal commissary.

Signed at Ratisbon, 7th March, 1801.

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Decree of the Imperial Committee, delivered to the Diet of Ratisbon, the 10th March, 1801.

His imperial majesty has seen, by the conclusum of the 7th of this month, the decision taken by the general diet of the empire, after mature and prompt deliberation. It is a great consolation, and a real satisfaction to his imperial majesty, to see that his paternal cares and his efforts to procure a speedy peace for the empire are acknowledged by the diet, and excite its liveliest gratitude. His majesty, having equally at heart to speedily remove the burden of war, which still oppresses a part of the empire, thinks it his duty to give, without delay, his approbation, in his quality of supreme chief, to the aforesaid conclusum; and, in conformity with that approbation, he will transmit, with the utmost dispatch, to Luneville, the formal and solemn act of ratification in his own name, and that of the empire.

Conclusum decreed in the Sitting of the 30th of April, and published on the 1st of May, 1801, at Ratisbon.

His most serene highness Charles Alexander, prince of Tour and Taxis, and principal commissary of his imperial majesty at the diet, the electors, princes, and states of the empire.

The general diet of the empire has observed, with the most lively sentiments of gratitude, in the decree of

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of the imperial commission of the 3d March, published on the 5th, a fresh proof of the constant solicitude of his majesty the emperor for the constitution and rights of each state. It has deliberated as maturely as is required by an object of such extensive interest, and which is to assure the well being and tranquillity of Germany, "on the mode of cooperation of the states of the empire for the completement of the peace concluded on the 9th February, in the present year, at Luneville, with the French republic, for the absolute adjustment of the points on which a particular arrangement was necessary." Actuated by the considerations which result from the state of things, the concurrence of circumstances and relations so various, and, consequently, implicated in an affair so eminently important, the diet has resolved and decreed as follows:

That his imperial majesty shall be most respectfully entreated, in a most humble conclusum, to be pleased to take upon himself the adjustment of all the objects which, according to the treaty of Luneville, of the 9th February, in the present year, were reserved for particular arrangement, and to terminate thereby the work of peace, in conformity to the exact knowledge he possesses of the nature of negotiations, his wisdom, constant solicitude for the well being and general prosperity of Germany, of every state of the empire, of the equestrian order, and the tranquillity and happiness of all the subjects of the empire, and particularly in the case in question, with that attention which characterizes the goodness of heart of his imperial majesty, and which will tend to alleviate as much as possible the damage and loss which will result to the empire, and the individuals, who must inevitably suffer by sacrifices and changes which indispensable necessity, and the love of the general good of the empire, may require. His imperial majesty shall also be entreated to communicate to the diet the result of the steps he shall have adopted, before they shall have been fixed and decreed, in order that it may promptly deliberate on the subject, and submit the decision it shall come to to the ratification of his imperial majesty.

Decree of his Imperial Majesty, relative to the Conclusum of the Empire on the 30th of April, 1801, addressed to the Assembly of the General Diet of the Germanic Empire; dated at Vienna, 26th June, 1801.

HIS majesty having seen, by the conclusum of the empire of the 30th April last, that the general diet of the empire, after having maturely deliberated on the decree of the imperial commission of the 3d of March, relative to the cooperation of the states of the empire in the convention, necessary for terminating entirely the work of peace, has decreed as follows:

[*Here follows the Tenor of the Conclusum of the 30th of April*, 1801.]

The great importance of the object of this conclusum has imposed on his imperial majesty the necessity of examining its contents in all their relations, and in every point of view. The supreme chief has been guided by the most scrupulous attention in making this examination; he presents the result of it to the general

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diet in the following declaration, which is conformable to the constitution of the empire, to the paternal sentiments of its chief, and which displays, at the same time, the characteristics of the most perfect frankness.

His imperial majesty may admit, that the negotiation which he has been charged to prepare, relates to the French government, although there is nothing said of it in the conclusum, and though many votes which have been counted with the majority appear to have a different meaning on the subject of this commencement.

His imperial majesty asserts, therefore, applying to the name of the things the proper and literal meaning, and the accustomed terms of the public law and of negotiations, that the preparation to be made with the French government, taken in its widest extent, does not contain powers for negotiating, still less for concluding and signing.

His imperial majesty was confirmed in this opinion by the consideration that the plenipotentiaries of the states of the diet, to whom the terms of public law and of diplomacy are so familiar, would certainly have made use of the terms usual in affairs of this kind, if the majority of the votes of the states of the empire wished to charge him with more than the preparation.

These considerations suggest the following questions:

Will the French government be disposed to take part in this preparation, when the powers granted for this purpose are so limited? and, if this participation is not declined immediately on the first proposition, will it consent to enter into the material points of such a negotiation, so far as that the result of it may be regarded as a solid basis for a new deliberation of the diet, which may serve to direct the formation of the conclusum which shall be submitted to his imperial majesty?

The example of the congress for peace, held some years since at Rastadt, contradicts the supposition, the government at that time having declined to treat till the deputation of the empire should have received unlimited powers; and what has recently occurred, should, when it is compared with the contents of the conclusum, give such indications of the intentions of the French government, if not amounting to certainty, at least highly probable, that there is no ground to expect, much less to promise, a satisfactory result, conformable to the wishes expressed in the said conclusum. It is for these reasons, to say nothing of others, which arise from the nature of a commission so limited, and from the events which have taken place, that his imperial majesty founds the conviction of which he here declares with the fullest frankness, "That the end which the general diet of the empire proposes, in entreating his imperial majesty to take charge of the preparatory arrangements, will not be attained."

In many of the votes it has been foreseen, that his imperial majesty might have motives sufficiently important to render him scrupulous of accepting such a commission. Actuated solely by the alleged reasons, and to avoid exposing the dignity of the supreme chief to be compromised by an attempt which may be without success, his imperial majesty cannot consent to accept the commission of the general diet, and to give his approbation in the character

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ter of supreme chief, to this part of the conclusum. His imperial majesty, accustomed, and ever anxious not to depart from the line marked by the constitution, gives his consent to the cooperation of the empire in the usual form of deliberation of the diet; inasmuch as the majority of the states of the empire having pronounced their opinions on the different modes of the cooperation of the empire, to wit, in the first place, plenipotentiaries, to give it to his majesty; secondly, an extraordinary deputation of the empire; thirdly, by deliberation in general diet, even laying aside the first modes proposed by many states of the empire (and among them his imperial majesty, also, in the character of a state of the empire) in favour of the cooperation of the diet assembled under its supreme chief: it is therefore no longer within the powers of the supreme chief of the empire, to approve of the first modes of cooperation, which might yet be proper to accelerate the work of peace, which is still to be brought to a termination. The principal objects which are yet to be regulated by a particular convention to terminate the work of peace, are besides known by the treaty of peace of Luneville, reciprocally ratified; and after the knowledge that his imperial majesty has of the negotiations for peace at Luneville, nothing is wanting to examine and judge of these objects but some historical information concerning public law, and some statistical researches equally accessible to all persons, and which may be rectified in the most certain manner by all who have a particular interest in the discussion.

In this state of things, when the diet of the empire has given the preference to the cooperation of the states in diet, by the empire, assembled under its chief, the relations which subsist between the states of the empire and its chief, and the manner of conducting the affairs of the empire, require, (and it will be one of the first operations of the diet of the empire,) that a complete conclusum on the objects to be regulated, in order to perfect the peace by a particular convention, should, as soon as the necessary discussion of the objects will permit, be laid before the emperor to be ratified. His majesty awaits with paternal solicitude the presentation of this conclusum, which will satisfy his expectation, if the general diet, in forming it, will conduct itself according to the general rules which it has already established with much wisdom in the last conclusum.

His imperial majesty is moreover, &c.—(Then comes the protocol usual at the end of the imperial decrees.)

Signed at Vienna, and sanctioned by the secret seal of his imperial majesty, 26th June, 1801.

(Signed) The prince of Colloredo, Mansfield.

(L. S.) Pierre Antoine, baron Defranc.

Official Note from M. Von Dohm to the Chapter of the Bishopric of Munster.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Prussia, at the electoral court of Cologne, privy counsellor, and ambassador to the circles of the lower Rhine and of Westphalia, is charged by his most gracious master to make the following declaration, in

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in his majesty's name, to the reverend chapter of the bishopric of Munster:

By the premature death of his highness the elector of Cologne, sincerely lamented by his majesty, the bishopric of Munster has become vacant, at the very moment when the empire, assembled under its supreme chief, is on the point of entering into considerations and resolutions, in what manner and to what extent the 7th article of the treaty of peace at Luneville is to be carried into execution.—According to this article, and the result of the negotiations of the congress at Rastadt, on which it is founded, it is already settled, that those secular states which have suffered by ceding the left banks of the Rhine, shall receive indemnifications, which are to be effected by secularizations. The confiscation of our higher and lower ecclesiastical foundations is therefore unavoidable; a change which, probably, may be the fate of every individual of them, and only the termination of the business of the peace of the empire will decide which of the ecclesiastical countries will retain their present constitution, and which will receive another. From this situation of affairs it naturally follows, that on ecclesiastical foundations becoming vacant during this state of uncertainty, the elections must provisorily be suspended, lest they might impede the indemnifications stipulated in the treaty of peace, and prevent the final tranquillization of the distracted German empire. A suspension, grounded on such momentous reasons, cannot prejudice the election, if it should afterwards take place, and will evidently promote the welfare of the country, as the election of a regent, probably for a short period only, could not produce any alteration in the decision of a higher authority, and would cause an unnecessary burden to the country. His Prussian majesty has already communicated to the supreme chief of the empire his sentiments on this business, agreeably to the harmony subsisting between them, and rests firmly assured, from some previous intimations of his imperial majesty, and from his wisdom and his care for the welfare of the empire in general, that he will consider this object in the same point of view, which his majesty the king likewise expects from his high coestates, to whom he has also declared himself on that subject, with patriotic frankness, at the diet. His majesty entertains no doubt that the same considerations will not have escaped the enlightened wisdom of the reverend chapter; and from this conviction he declares, by means of the undersigned, his most gracious expectation and desire that the election of a new regent of the bishopric of Munster may be suspended for the present till its future fate shall have been decided agreeably to the treaty of peace. His majesty's sole object in so doing is, to remove all obstacles to a final and general tranquillization of Germany, and to promote the real good of a country for which he is sincerely interested, from neighbourly and other respects, and to which he will farther grant that protection by which it has so happily escaped all the calamities of the late destructive war. His majesty has likewise particularly charged the undersigned to assure the reverend chapter, and all individual members thereof, of his most gracious sentiments under all circumstances. But in return, his majesty expects with confidence, that his

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his well-meant advice and desire will be observed without any difficulty; and that the reverend chapter will, as soon as possible, give his majesty, the assurance that, before the final adjustment of the treaty of peace, and the decision of the future relations of the bishopric of Munster, thereby effected, a fresh election will not be spoken of.

This is the declaration which the undersigned is charged to make. He entertains no doubt that the reply with which he shall be honoured by the reverend chapter, will fully answer his majesty's expectations, which he begs may be speedily addressed to him at Hindesheim. In expectation whereof the undersigned embraces this opportunity of renewing to the reverend chapter his esteem and attachment.

(Signed) Dohm.

Hornburg, Aug. 15, 1801.

Declaration of the Prussian Ambassador at Vienna to the Ministers from the States of the Empire there.

The universally esteemed elector of Cologne and prince bishop of Munster being dead, his Prussian majesty cannot but think it adequate to his own interest, and to that of all the other states of the empire whom it concerns, as well as to the empire in general, on account of its present great embarrassment, that the archbishopric of Cologne, as well as the bishopric of Munster, do remain vacant for the present. His imperial majesty has therefore been requested not to authorize any fresh election, which, if it should nevertheless take place, he would be obliged to declare null and void.

Letter of the Minister Talleyrand to Citizen Bacher, Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic, to the Diet of the German Empire, dated Paris, the 6th of Fructidor, August 24.

Citizen,

THE first consul has received from Berlin a notification of the orders transmitted to count Gortz, to declare to the diet that his Prussian majesty, in consequence of the 5th and 7th articles of the treaty of Luneville, will oppose the election of a new elector of Cologne and bishop of Munster and in general all appointments to any ecclesiastical states and possessions that may become vacant in the empire by death. Such a declaration is in fact too conformable to the spirit and tenor of the treaty of peace, for the French government not to support it with all its power. In whatever manner the regulation of the indemnifications may be definitively settled, the principle by which they are to be adjusted has been prescribed by France, and she will take care that it be carried into effect. You will, therefore, citizen plenipotentiary, officially require, in the name of the French government, and in concurrence with the declaration of his Prussian majesty, that all appointments to ecclesiastical dignities and possessions, and especially the election of a new elector of Cologne and bishop of Munster, be deferred till the indemnifications for the hereditary princes shall be definitively determined. I greet you.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.

Protest of the King of Prussia against the Election of the Archduke Anthony to the Bishopric of Munster, published

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published in the Berlin Gazette, 26th September, 1801.

AFTER the decease of his royal highness the elector of Cologne and bishop of Munster, his majesty the king, in consequence of the principles adopted in the treaty of peace of Luneville, signified to the diet of Ratisbon, and likewise to the two chapters of the electorate and bishopric, that, during the present negotiations, no new elections ought to take place to any dignities of the empire that might become vacant. But as the chapter of Munster has, notwithstanding, proceeded to the election of a new bishop, his majesty has judged it proper to transmit the following protest directly to the assembled states of the empire, and to the two chapters, Munster and Ahrensberg:

"His majesty the king of Prussia has explicitly declared, both to the general assembly of the empire, and in other places, that he considered it as a rational, necessary, and undeniable consequence of the principle of secularization, established by the treaty of Luneville, that during the negotiations relative to the application and carrying into effect of this principle, no new election should take place to any of the superior or inferior dignities of the empire, in case of the decease of the present possessors. Many of the most considerable of the states of the empire, and particularly the powers with which the empire is concluding peace, have publicly approved this consequence. The justice of this measure was equally evident with the important influence which it must have on the regulation of the indemnities; and the more necessary was it to preserve the latter from all new difficulties and perplexities, in order, happily, to restore peace to Germany, and fulfil the wish of every true patriot in the empire. It was, therefore, to have been expected, with confidence, that the two chapters of the electorate of Cologne and bishopric of Munster, lately vacated by a much lamented death, would, with a view to the general good, have deferred proceeding to any new election; as they must have foreseen, that by such election they could in no manner avert their impending fate, but only contribute to clog with difficulties the final settlement of the peace of the empire. His majesty, with great regret, sees that these two chapters have, notwithstanding, proceeded to a new election, and finds himself compelled to renew the declaration which, on the 31st of last month, he made to the diet of the empire in the electoral college, and which he signified to the members of the said two chapters, by his privy directorial counsellor and minister plenipotentiary, Von Dohm, in which he explicitly protests against any new election of an archbishop of Cologne, and bishop of Munster; and declares that he will consider such election as void, and will not acknowledge, or in any manner take cognizance of any pretended new archbishop and bishop, until the affair of the secularizations shall be finally settled."

Protest delivered in by the Electoral Chapter of Cologne, on the 28th September, 1801, *against the Declarations of Prussia and France.*

HIS Prussian majesty having by his plenipotentiary, Von Dohm, in a note, dated the 5th of last

last month, given the episcopal and archiepiscopal chapter of Cologne to understand, that the election of a new head of the high archbishopric should for the present be suspended, and not take place till the conditions of peace are completely carried into execution; but the electoral chapter having, by the before-mentioned minister, caused to be represented to his royal majesty, the actual state of the business of the election, which had already proceeded to a certain extent, at the time of the receipt of the note on that subject, the chapter might have indulged the consoling hope, that this constitutional proceeding, to which they considered themselves not only entitled, but also bound by duty, and which, upon this principle in all its remote consequences, they were no longer in a situation to delay, would be favourably received by his majesty. Nothing could more sensibly increase the deep feeling of grief for the loss of the prince, so much lamented by his country and subjects, than the altogether unexpected proposition, which not only his Prussian majesty caused to be made to the assembled states of the empire, by his ambassador at the diet, in regard to the suspension of the new election, but which was also supported with the like view by the French government, in the most pointed terms, in the note delivered in by the French chargé d'affaires, Bacher. The impression made by these was still farther increased by that measure, which immediately followed, of his electoral highness, the elector Palatine, a prince who has, in the course of upwards of one hundred and eighty years, given five princes to this electoral state of Cologne, whose ancestors, from the earliest time, have invariably been the support and protection of the catholic religion, and of the catholic states. Penetrated by the duties which they owe to the church and the electoral territories, now intrusted to their administration, the cathedral chapter see themselves here reduced to the most melancholy necessity of declaring to the diet, in the very place, where, in consequence of the most unhappy of all wars, every effort was required from the most respectable states of the empire, for the defence of their native country; since the subjects of the electoral state, till the conclusion of the peace of Luneville, have fought, in conjunction with the empire, and that they might fulfil their obligations for the preservation of the country; in sight of this very country, the preservation of which could be only effected by the persevering efforts of united strength; in the presence of those states and subjects, who devoted their utmost strength to this great national end; in the presence of the united states, with whom they have so faithfully cooperated towards the maintenance of their rights and political existence; in the presence of all Europe, as witness of their spirit and true German firmness; and lastly, in the most solemn manner, as an example to future generations: that whatever are and may be the consequences to their individual members, the chapter will not permit themselves to be interrupted in the course of their constitutional duties, from a regard to any circumstances having relation only to themselves as such; that, faithful to the duties which the welfare of the countries committed to them requires; faithful to their relations to the empire, assembled under its supreme head, and to its states; faithful

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faithful to the constitution, and adhering with stedfast regard to the true interest of all the states, strong only by their union, and thereby alone secure—they neither can nor will be prevented by any obstacle, the removal of which lies in their power, from doing that which they are entitled to do, and what they are in duty bound to do; that from the pure consciousness of rectitude, which will be vindicated by the latest generations, unconcerned about those consequences of the future peace, which reach farther than binding restrictions, or extend beyond that line, within which they must, on account of their duty, confine themselves, they will pursue that path alone, which has for its only object, the maintenance of that constitution, which was so sacred to the fathers of the present generation, and under which, sufficiently instructed by a course of experience of all kinds, they lived quiet, happy, and contented, in the enjoyment of an ever improving posterity.

With the most unbounded confidence in the constitution of the country, as the only and broad basis of the purest and most permanent happiness of the German nation, to the maintenance of which, therefore, the latter has the most indisputable right, the chapter see themselves, in the name of that nation, under whose protection the electoral territories of Cologne stand, called upon to add to this solemn declaration, the equally solemn protestation against all those steps, which are incompatible with the spirit and substance of this constitution, and do not find their most evident vindication in the limitations of the already ratified peace of Luneville, but are rather altogether in opposition to the last electoral union, so sacredly sworn to by the high electoral predecessors of his majesty the king of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburgh, and his electoral highness the prince Palatine; to the inviolable maintenance of which all the high members of this first and most reverend college are most pressingly called upon by their princely promises so solemnly pledged, their dignities and their honours, and all that is dear to them.

The chapter see themselves the more imperiously called upon to adopt this proceeding, as neither in this peace, nor in the negotiations of Rastadt, is there a trace to be found of any general result of obligatory force, which imposes as a duty on the chapter, the most unfortunate necessity of putting their hands to the annihilation of the constitution of these countries, and on their part of laying the foundation of a revolution which will destroy the constitution, the catholic religion, and at the same time the states attached to it; and the first step to which, the non-accomplishment of the election, would manifestly lead to the ruin of the state.

Unfortunately, the chapter feels what the pressure of circumstances may do; and that the present situation of things is such, as will render changes necessary: it cannot, however, be unknown, that it is to be lamented that states, which, through the whole course of the war, have devoted all their strength to the service of their country, solely to keep those circumstances at a distance, which are now so pressing; which have done every thing to save their country and its constitution; to which, from their conduct in conformity to their connexion with the empire, not the smallest reproach can be made of any crime, of any

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single intention, directed to any other object than the general welfare; that these states and their subjects, and that too under circumstances, to which they are so utterly strangers in a political and legal sense, in the midst of the negotiations and the conclusion of peace, should be the sacrifice; that instead of enjoying the recompence of their services, even before the peace has definitively decided upon their lot, they must see their apprehensions well founded, and that their relations will be essentially altered, and their constitution destroyed.

Surely it is unjust that those states and subjects, who in the peace of Campo Formio saw their farther existence already secured, to which, in the negotiation of Rastadt, which immediately followed this peace without the intervention of a new war, this existence was also secured, as far as related to the right bank of the Rhine; and, in respect to which, finally, the peace of Luneville, in conformity to these negotiations, does not contain any determination derogatory to this view; which have lately made such a sacrifice, by their retiring from the left bank of the Rhine, as is scarcely the case with the few states which lie on this side, should, at the end of their struggle be altogether overthrown. If justice, without which every state must be ruined, preponderates in the deliberations and resolutions of the diet upon this affair, which, by the proposition of the elector of Brandenburgh, has been committed to their decision; the states of the empire, with only half a look at futurity, cannot concur: should the contrary be the case, the confirmation is not to be expected from the paternal feelings of his imperial majesty; the guarantying powers of the German constitution come thereby within the limits, where the most active participation in its support is the first active duty of their guarantee; even from the peaceful disposition of the government of the French state, which is now the neighbour of the electoral state, it cannot be thought, that it, (the French government,) more correctly informed of the true state of things, will in any manner encroach upon that which, through the peace of Luneville, has been stipulated, by farther pacifications; or, at least, will act from motives which can in no respect operate disadvantageously on the real consequences of the peace, in any other manner, than that which may agree with the true relations of independent and self-existing states, which are already so nearly connected by the ties of friendship and peace: from every circumstance there is so much the less reason to suspect any operation of the French government disadvantageous to the future existence of the electoral state, as the maintenance of its neighbour and her constitution must, considered under all points of view, be more advantageous to it (the French government) than any alteration ever can, which would hurt that neighbour; but more especially, as it must be fresh in the recollection of that government, that the conduct of the deceased prince of this electoral state, from the first occasion of this most unfortunate war, remained unchangeable, confined within the limits of the duties prescribed to him by his relation to the empire.

In this view of the business, on these principles rests the confident hope of the chapter, that in their constitutional path, the only one which

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which is permitted them to tread, from which they neither will nor dare to depart one step, they will not only not be prevented from maintaining the situation of the electoral state committed to them as it was in the lifetime of his late electoral highness, but that, in the farther deliberations upon those circumstances which may yet come in question, in consequence of the arrangement of the peace of Luneville, they shall receive back its whole existence, conformably to the constitution, and to the relations which immediately rose out of the latter.

The chapter of the bishopric and archbishopric of Cologne flatter themselves, that after this declaration and protestation, which has been extorted from them by their duties to the church and to the state, according to the principles here announced with German openness; neither his majesty the king of Prussia, nor the most high states of the empire, will give any farther consequence to the proposition, on the delay of an election of an elector of Cologne, which must be disadvantageous to the maintenance of this electoral state; and so much the more, as this proposition, by prolonging the work of peace, may produce the effect, that the greater part of the German church will remain without a head, not without the utmost prejudice for the catholic religion, and thence must arise a most distracted state, as the present situation of affairs gives reason to expect.

It cannot, certainly, escape the enlightened judgment of the excellent embassy of the elector of Brandenburgh, on a nearer examination, that the *Praegudèz* from the year 1761 to the year 1763, introduced in the farther counter-reservation proposed on the 14th of the present month, as a protocol of the princes of the empire, can have, by no means, any influence on the present case, as at that time the before-mentioned bishopricks were altogether under the power of the enemy, in which case, under such impression, and amid the din of arms, all laws, and the execution of them, must necessarily be silent; but at present, on the contrary, the state of peace, so much wished for by all Germany, has been already long enjoyed; and has even, when the unhappy ensigns of war waved in its southern provinces, the bishopric of Munster enjoyed, at a distance from all the troubles of war, the valuable fruits of a state of peace and neutrality, under the wise protection of his Prussian majesty himself, who most magnanimously secured it against all the events of war and hostility; at the same time it is known to every one, who is acquainted with the circumstances of that time, that in the before-cited case the right of the constitution was in the fullest manner preserved against all force by the supreme court decree of his imperial majesty, of the 8th of May, 1761.

Conclusum of the Diet of Ratisbon. —The Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire to his Serene Highness Charles Alexander, Prince of Tour and Taxis, &c., principal Commissary of his Imperial Majesty at the Diet.

THE three colleges of the empire having taken into deliberation the decree of the imperial commission

commission of the 26th of June of this year, have thought that the arrangement of the different objects which yet remain to be regulated, for the completion of the peace in the general assembly of the empire, would be unavoidably exposed to great and numerous difficulties on account of the usual manner of treating affairs in it. In consequence, it has been decreed,

1. That the right of cooperation on the part of the states of the empire in the work of peace, shall be exercised by means of an extraordinary deputation.

2. That in order to avoid, in this so difficult affair, all delay, as well as a new complication, the said deputation shall be restricted to eight members, observing the equality of rights relative to religion.

3. That to this effect, there shall be elected in the college of electors, Mentz, Saxony, Bohemia, and Brandenburgh; and in that of the princes, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, the grand master of the Teutonic Order, and Hesse-Cassel.

4. That there shall be reserved, nevertheless, in an express manner to the prelates and courts of the empire, as well as to the college of imperial cities, the right which they have of participating in the deputation of the empire.

5. That there shall be conferred on the part of the empire, upon the deputies elected, full and unlimited powers to examine, treat, and regulate, in concert with the French government, the objects which, by the 5th and 7th articles of the treaty of Luneville, have been reserved for a particulur arrangement.

6. That there shall, however, be given to this deputation, express directions, in order that, at the fixing of the indemnities by secularizations, they may have continually before their eyes, and observe exactly as a direct rule for their operations, the restrictive clause by which the deputation of the empire at the congress of Rastadt gave in their note of the 4th of April, 1798, their adherence to these indemnities, and that, conformably to this clause, they proceed in this affair with all the measures, precautions, and reserves, which the maintenance of the Germanic constitution in all its relations requires, together with the reestablishment and affirming the well-being of the states, the immediate nobility and other members of the empire, which rest upon this constitution.

7. Finally, that the said deputation shall present for his imperial majesty's and the empire's ratification, the result of their operations, and the resolution they shall have taken in consequence.

The present resolution shall be addressed to his imperial majesty (as is done by this present) to receive the sanction of the supreme chief of the empire, in the room of the conclusum which he had demanded, and as a modified proposition, for the important motives above mentioned, for the exercise of the right of cooperation of the states of the empire in the completion of peace. There shall be given at the same time to his imperial majesty most humble thanks for the paternal solicitude of which he has given on this occasion fresh proofs for the maintenance of the Germanic constitution and the rights of the empire.

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The conclusum shall be sent to Vienna to-morrow by an extraordinary courier.

October 3, 1801.

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Declaration of the principal Imperial Commissary of his Imperial Majesty, to the Ambassadors, Envoys of the Electors, Princes, and States of the Holy Roman Empire, as follows:

Ratisbon, Nov. 19, 1801.

Scarcely had the treaty of peace, concluded at Luneville by his imperial majesty with the French republic, been communicated to the diet by an imperial decree, of the 21st of February, in order that it might be speedily ratified in a conclusum, when his imperial majesty invited that assembly by a second imperial decree of the 3d of March, to lay before him, as soon as possible, a resolution upon the mode by which the states of the empire were to cooperate in the particular arrangement which still remained to be made, so much had his imperial majesty at heart in his paternal solicitude that the affairs of the peace of the empire should be entirely terminated with all possible speed; but the mode of the cooperation of the states of the empire in that work, which his majesty afterwards acceded to, and in consequence of which the affair in question was to be treated in the usual forms, the deliberations of the diet soon experienced such powerful and multiplied obstacles, that even the diet resolved afterwards to adopt another mode for the exercise of the right of cooperation of the states of the empire, and to submit to the imperial sanction that new mode, instead of the complete resolution which his majesty had demanded by the decree of the 26th June last.—This decision has been, as is known, carried into execution by means of the conclusum of the diet of the 2d of last month, the principal tenor of which imports, that the cooperation of the states of the empire, in the objects which still remained to be regulated by a particular arrangement to terminate the work of peace, should take place by means of an extraordinary deputation of the empire; and that, with the formal reservation of the right of concurrence belonging to the prelates and counts of the empire, as well as to the imperial cities, this deputation should be confined to eight members of the college of electors and college of princes, having regard to the equality of religion; that there should be given to the deputies chosen, unlimited powers to conclude with the French government, *salva ratificatione Cæsaris et Imperii*, the arrangement that remains to be made, enjoining them, however, formally, to observe scrupulously the restrictive clauses that have already been respectively recognised with the bases of indemnities agreed upon in the negotiations of Rastadt by the two parties. His majesty is convinced, with the diet, (as has been seen by the already mentioned decree of imperial commission of the 26th June,) that the mode of cooperation of the empire by means of an extraordinary deputation is more proper to accelerate the affair that remains to be terminated than the concurrence of the empire, in the usual form of the deliberations of the diet. Guided by the paternal intention of ensuring the internal

internal tranquillity of Germany, he approves, in consequence, the conclusum transmitted to him, with the reservation of the prerogatives and attributes, in their whole extent, that belong to him, as well as to the imperial plenipotentiaries, to a deputation of that nature, conformably to the laws, primitive institutions, analogy, and right of nations. In what concerns the necessary ulterior dispositions, relative to the extraordinary deputation of the empire, which has been sanctioned, his majesty will communicate his resolutions on that subject.

Letter of the State and Cabinet Minister, his Excellency Count Cobentzel, to Count Stadion, the Imperial Minister at Berlin.

Vienna, October 14, 1801.

YESTERDAY intelligence was received that his royal highness the archduke Anthony was unanimously proclaimed archbishop and elector of the electoral archbishopric of Cologne, by the electoral cathedral chapter of Cologne, in a free, canonical, and electoral assembly.

While your excellency will not fail to make the friendly communication of this event to his Prussian majesty's ministry, your excellency will, at the same time, in the most efficacious manner, repeat those declarations which his majesty the emperor and king caused to be made subsequent to the election of Munster.

Your excellency will assure his Prussian majesty's ministry, that, with respect to the electorate of Cologne, the election of an archduke may be considered as indifferent; as the natural course of the accomplishing of the indemnities by means of secularization will not be altered from personal consideration, or secondary views. Hence then the court of his Prussian majesty may rest perfectly convinced, that while the imperial court, from love and regard to the old constitution of Germany, according to its internal conviction, can never forbear insisting on the maintenance of the three spiritual electorates, the personal consideration of the archduke having been elected to be elector of Cologne, cannot have the smallest influence on this conduct of the high imperial court.

On this occasion, your excellency will also disclose, in confidence, to count Haugwitz, that although the cathedral chapter of Munster earnestly press that his royal highness the archduke Anthony may repair to Munster and take upon himself the government, yet his imperial majesty, as the head of the house, has not yet given to his royal highness permission to this purpose, but has rather intimated to the cathedral chapter, to continue the government in the mean time, in all respects in the same manner as if the see was vacant.—*Sede Impedita.*

His royal highness, beyond all doubt, is in all respects entitled to the formal assumption of the government, and might, without contradiction, put himself in possession of this ecclesiastical electorate, which at this moment has as much right to its existence as other ecclesiastical electorates.

It is also not to be denied, that his imperial majesty, in this moderation, which he has shown, could have no other view, than thereby to

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to give a proof that in this respect he has been guided by no personal interest.

Lewis Cobentzel.

Note of Count Haugwitz to Count Stadion.

Berlin, October 26, 1801.

The undersigned state and cabinet minister, has informed the king of the communication which count Stadion, minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal majesty, was charged to make to him within these few days. It was intended to make known to his majesty, the election of his royal highness the archduke Anthony, as bishop and elector of Cologne, and was accompanied with the declaration, that this election, as well as that of Munster, was to be considered as indifferent, and unconnected with every personal or farther view, and that it could not in the least alter either the natural course of the secularizations, nor the appropriation of the same to the indemnifications. That, as on the one side the emperor, partly from attachment to the constitution of the empire, partly from internal conviction, could not forbear persisting in the maintenance of the three ecclesiastical electorates, the election which had fallen on the archduke Anthony could by no means, or in any manner, have an influence on the conduct of his imperial majesty: that in order to give a proof of this, his majesty has declined the proposition of the cathedral chapter of Munster, inviting the archduke to repair to that bishopric, and to take possession of it; and that he had, at the same time, given the said chapter to understand, that they should undertake the government themselves in the mean time, in the same manner as if the see were vacant.

If the elections of Munster and Ahrensberg are to be considered as mere formalities, the king was obliged on his part to pursue those formalities which the then present circumstance pointed out, to preserve the general rights; and with this view his majesty caused the well-known protestation against the Munster election, to be delivered to the states of the empire, which, by anticipation, also concerned the election of Ahrensberg, in case such should take place.

His majesty does not the less approve the wise resolution of his imperial majesty to postpone the farther steps which one or both of the chapters might wish to adopt with respect to the introduction of the archduke Anthony; and if the business on both sides is thus to remain in uncertainty, the king will, in like manner, abide by the preliminary measures which he has hitherto taken.

But even if his majesty were agreed on the last point with the court of Vienna, yet he could not grant his approbation to the principle of the maintenance of the three ecclesiastical electorates. This principle is in direct contradiction to those which his majesty has at all times expressed in perfectagreement with the French government as one of the contracting powers, and which are founded on the contracts which are now to be put into execution.

In these is to be found the express and essential determination, that the losses of the parties are to be made up by means of secularizations,

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tions, and that in these the losses of the suffering parties must be reckoned.

1. According to the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, the hereditary princes who have lost their possessions, either in whole or in part, on the left bank of the Rhine.

2. According to the 5th article of the same treaty, the grand duke of Tuscany, and the house of Orange, in which Prussia and France had ensured a suitable indemnity, by a convention concluded much earlier on the 5th of August, 1796, which incontestibly makes the rights and pretensions of the house of Orange equal to those of Tuscany. From the obligations contained in these treaties, it follows, that the powers interested, must endeavour to regulate and to liquidate the mass of the real loss, and to bring it into proportion with the objects which are destined to produce an equivalent for the same. As the indemnification for the claimants, pointed out in the above-mentioned treaties, must be complete, so must it be carefully examined beforehand, how far the mass arising, and presenting itself out of the secularizations, is sufficient to indemnify the parties who have sustained losses.

If, after a calculation made, funds sufficient were found to raise or to restore one or more of the ecclesiastical sees, to which the electoral dignity is applicable, the king, far from opposing it, would take measures to support in this the wishes and views of his imperial majesty; but it would be a contradiction in principle at this time, and before the mass of the losses can be weighed against the mass of the objects of indemnification, to decide beforehand, or to preresolve on the maintenance of the present ecclesiastical electorates.

As the king is accustomed, in all his declarations to the court of Vienna, to be very free, so it is agreeable to him to strengthen anew the principles which he shows in all his transactions, and which he has invariably laid down as the ground of his conduct. His majesty has therefore authorized the undersigned to lay them again before count Stadion in the present note. He fulfils his duty, and repeats to the count the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) Haugwitz.

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Emperor of all the Russias.

THE first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, animated with the desire of reestablishing the relation of good understanding which subsisted between the two governments before the present war, and to put an end to the evils with which Europe is afflicted, have appointed, for that purpose, for their plenipotentiaries, viz.

The first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, citizen Charles Maurice Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the sieur Arcadi count de Markoff, his privy counsellor, and knight of the order of St. Alexander Nevski, and grand cross of that of St. Vladimir of the first class, who, after the verification and exchange of their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

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Art. I. There shall be in future, peace, friendship, and good understanding between the French republic and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

II. In consequence, there shall not be committed any hostility between the two states, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and neither of the contracting parties shall furnish to the enemies of the other, internal as well as external, any succour or contingent, in men or money, under any denomination whatever.

III. The two contracting parties wishing, as much as is in their power, to contribute to the tranquillity of the respective governments, promise, mutually, not to suffer any of their subjects to keep up any correspondence, direct or indirect, with the internal enemies of the present government of the two states, to propagate in them principles contrary to their respective constitutions, or to foment troubles in them; and as a consequence of this concert, every subject of one of the two powers, who, during his residence in the states of the other, shall make any attack upon its security, shall immediately be removed out of the said country, and carried beyond the frontiers, without being able, in any case, to claim the protection of his government.

IV. It is agreed to adhere, with respect to the reestablishment of the respective legations, and the ceremonies to be followed by the two governments, to that which was in use before the present war.

V. The two contracting parties agree, till a new treaty of commerce be made, to reestablish the commercial relations between the two countries, on the footing in which they were before the war, as far as possible, and with the exception of the modifications which time and circumstances may have produced, and which have given rise to new regulations.

VI. The present treaty is declared to be common to the Batavian republic.

VII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in the course of fifty days, or sooner if possible.

In faith of which, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed and sealed the said treaty.

Done at Paris, the 16th Vendemiaire, year 10 of the French republic (8th October, 1801.)

Ch. M. Talleyrand.

The count de Markoff.

Preliminary Articles of Peace between the French Republic and the Ottoman Porte.

THE first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and the sublime Ottoman Porte, wishing to put an end to the war which divides the two states, and to reestablish the connexions by which they were formerly united, have named, with this view, the following plenipotentiaries, viz. the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, the citizen Charles Maurice Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs, and the sublime Ottoman Porte, its former basch muhassebe, and ambassador Esseyd Aly Effendi, who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed on the following preliminary articles:

Art.

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Art. I. There shall be peace and friendship between the French republic and the sublime Ottoman Porte, in consequence of which hostilities shall cease between the two powers, dating from the exchange of the ratifications of the present preliminaries; immediately after which exchange, the entire province of Egypt shall be evacuated by the French army, and restored to the sublime Ottoman Porte, the territory and possessions of which shall be maintained in their integrity, such as they were before the present war. It is understood that after the evacuation, the concessions which may be made in Egypt to other powers, on the part of the sublime Porte, shall be common to the French.

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II. The French republic recognises the constitution of the republic of the Seven Islands, and of the Ex-Venetian territories situated on the continent. It guaranties the maintenance of this constitution. The sublime Porte recognises and accepts to this effect the guaranty of the French republic, as well as that of Russia.

III. Definitive arrangements shall be made between the French republic and the sublime Ottoman Porte, relative to the goods and effects of theircitizens and subjects respectively, which have been confiscated or sequestered during the war. The political and commercial agents, and the prisoners of war of every degree, shall be set at liberty immediately after the ratification of the present preliminary articles.

IV. The treaties which existed before the present war between France and the sublime Ottoman Porte, are renewed altogether. In consequence of this renewal, the French republic shall enjoy, through all the extent of the states of his highness, the rights of commerce and navigation which she formerly enjoyed, as well as those which the most favoured nations may enjoy in future.

The ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris, within the space of 80 days.

Done at Paris, the 17th Vendemiaire (Oct. 9) tenth year of the French republic, or the first of the month Gemasy-ul-ahir, 1216 of the Hegira.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.
Esseyd Aly Effendi.

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Kingdom of Portugal.

THE first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and his royal highness the prince regent of the kingdom of Portugal and Algarva, equally animated with the desire of establishing those relations of commerce and amity which subsisted between both states previous to the war, have determined to conclude a treaty of peace, through the mediation of his catholic majesty, and have appointed, for this purpose, the following plenipotentiaries, viz. the first consul has nominated, in the name of the French people, citizen Lucien Buonaparte; and his royal highness the prince regent of the kingdom of Portugal and Algarva, his excellency Cyprianoibiero Freire, commander of the order of Christ, one of the council of his royal highness, and his minister plenipotentiary to his catholic majesty; which plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their

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respective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. There shall be from henceforth peace, friendship, and good understanding, between the French republic and the kingdom of Portugal. All hostilities, both by land and sea, shall cease immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; that is to say, within fifteen days in Europe and the seas which bound it, and the coast of Africa on this side of the equator; within forty days after the aforesaid ratifications in the territories and seas of America and Africa, on the other side of the equator; and three months after, in all the territories and seas to the westward of Cape Horn, and to the east of the Cape of Good Hope. All the prizes made after these respective periods, in the latitudes mentioned, shall be respectively restored. The prisoners on each side shall be restored, and the same political relations re-established between the two powers as existed before the war.

II. All the ports and roads of Portugal in Europe shall be immediately shut, and continue so, until the conclusion of peace between France and England, against all English vessels, both of war and trade; and the said ports and roads shall be open to all the vessels of war and trade belonging to the French republic and her allies. As to the ports and roads of Portugal in other parts of the world, the present article shall be obligatory within the periods above fixed for the cessation of hostilities.

III. Portugal engages not to furnish, during the course of the present war, to the enemies of the French republic and her allies, any succours in troops, vessels, arms, ammunition, provision, or money of any kind, or in any manner whatever. All anterior acts, engagements, or conventions, contrary to the present article, shall be revoked, and regarded as null and void.

IV. The boundaries of French and Portuguese Guyana, shall be determined, in future, by the river Carapanatuba, which flows into the river Amazon, about a third of a degree of north latitude above fort Macapa. These limits shall follow the course of the river to its source, whence they shall take a direction to the grand chain of mountains which divide the course of the river; they shall follow the windings of that chain to the point nearest to Rio Branco, between the second and third degree north of the equator.

The Indians of the two Guyanas, who, in the course of the war, may have been carried off from their habitations, shall be respectively restored.

The citizens or subjects of the two powers, who may be comprised within the new determination of the limits, may reciprocally retire to the possession of their respective states. They shall likewise have power to dispose of their property, movable and immovable, for a period of two years, to be computed from the day of exchanging the ratifications of the present treaty.

V. A treaty of commerce shall be negotiated between the two powers, to establish, in a definite manner, the commercial relations between France and Portugal: in the mean time it is agreed upon,

First, That the communications shall be reestablished immediately after the exchange of the ratification, and that the agents and factors of commerce shall, on each side, be restored

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restored to the possession of the rights, immunities, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the war.

Secondly, That the citizens and subjects of the two powers shall equally and reciprocally enjoy, in the states of both, all the rights which those of the most favoured nations enjoy.

Thirdly, That the commodities and merchandise, produced from the soil or manufactures, of each of the two powers, shall be admitted reciprocally without restriction, and without being liable to any duty which would not equally affect the commodities and merchandise of a similar nature imported by other nations.

Fourthly, That the French cloths may be immediately imported into Portugal, on the footing of the most favoured merchandise.

Fifthly, That in other points, all the stipulations inserted in the preceding articles, and not contrary to the present treaty, shall be provisionally executed until the conclusion of a treaty of definitive commerce.

VI. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged at Madrid, within the term of twenty days at farthest.

Exchanged by *duplicata*, the 7th Vendemiaire, in the 10th year of the French republic (29th September, 1801.)

(Signed) Lucien Buonaparte.
Cypriano Bibiero Freire.

Treaty of Peace between the First Consul of the French Republic and the King of the Two Sicilies.

THE first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, equally animated with a desire to put a definitive end to the war which exists between the two states, have nominated for their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, citizen Charles Jean Marie Alquier; and his Sicilian majesty, the sieur Antoine de Micheroux, knight of the royal order Constantinien de St. Georges, and of the imperial Russian order of St. Anne, of the first class, and colonel in the service of his majesty, who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between the French republic and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies. All hostilities, by land and sea, shall definitively cease between the two powers, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty; and previously, the armistice concluded at Foligno on the 18th of February last, between the respective generals, shall receive its full and complete execution.

II. All acts, engagements, or anterior conventions, on the one part or the other of the two contracting powers, which may be contrary to the present treaty, are revoked, and shall be considered as null and void.

III. All the ports of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily shall be shut to all ships of war and merchantmen, Turkish and English, until the conclusion, as well of a definitive peace, between the French republic and these two powers, as of the differences which have arisen between England and the pow-

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ers of the north of Europe, and particularly between Russia and England.

The said ports shall remain, on the contrary, open to all the ships of war and merchantmen, as well of his imperial majesty of Russia, and of the states comprised in the maritime neutrality of the North, as of the French republic and its allies. And if, in consequence of this determination, his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies should find himself exposed to the attacks of the Turks or the English, the French republic binds itself to place, at the disposal of his majesty, and upon his demand, to be employed in his states, a number of troops equal to that which shall be sent to him as an auxiliary force by his imperial majesty of Russia.

IV. His majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, renounces, in perpetuity, for himself and his successors, in the first place, Porto Longone, in the isle of Elba, and every thing belonging to it in that island. Secondly, the states of the Presides in Tuscany; and he cedes them, as also the principality of Piombino, to the French government, to be by it disposed of at its pleasure.

V. The French republic and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, bind themselves reciprocally to take off the sequestration from all effects, revenues, and property, seized, confiscated, or detained from the citizens and subjects of the one or the other power, in consequence of the present war, and to admit them respectively to the legal exercise of the rights and claims which may appertain to them.

VI. In order to remove every trace of the private calamities which have marked the present war, and to give peace, reestablish the stability which can only be expected from a general oblivion of the past, the French republic renounces all persecution in respect of facts of which it might complain; and the king, wishing, on his part, to contribute, as much as in him lies, to repair the evils occasioned by the troubles which have taken place in his states, binds himself to pay, within three months, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the present treaty, a sum of 500,000 franks, which shall be distributed among the agents and French citizens who have been particularly the victims of the disorders which have been produced at Naples, Viterbo, and in the other points of the south of Italy, by the conduct of Neapolitans.

VII. His Sicilian majesty binds himself also to permit that all those of his subjects who have not been prosecuted, banished, or forced to expatriate themselves voluntarily, but for acts relating to the residence of the French in the kingdom of Naples, shall return, without molestation, to their country, and be reinstated in their properties. His majesty also promises, that all persons now in custody, on account of political opinions which they have declared, shall be immediately set at liberty.

VIII. His majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, binds himself to restore to the French republic the statues, pictures, and other objects of the arts, which have been carried off from Rome by the Neapolitan troops.

IX. The present treaty is declared common to the Batavian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics.

X. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged

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changed in the space of thirty days without delay.

Done and signed at Florence, the 7th Germinal, 9th year of the French republic, (28th March, 1801.)

(Signed) Alquier.
Antoine de Micheroux.

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Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Elector Palatine of Bavaria.

THE first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and his most serene highness the elector palatine of Bavaria, having at heart to establish, in a solemn and incontestible manner, the old relations of friendship and good neighbourhood which have subsisted between France and the most serene Bavaro-palatine house before the war, which has been terminated between the French republic and the Germanic empire, by the treaty of peace of Luneville, and in which his electoral highness had taken part, not only by means of the succours furnished by virtue of the decrees of the diet, but also in his quality of auxiliary of the allied powers; the contracting parties have agreed to confirm the perfect return of a good harmony between them, by a treaty of and separate peace; and for that purpose have appointed for their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, the first consul, in the name of the French people; citizen Caillard, keeper of the archives of the administration for foreign affairs; and his most serene electoral highness the elector of Bavaria, the sieur Antonine de Cetto, his present counsellor of state and minister plenipotentiary to the electoral circle and to that of the Upper Rhine, who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good neighbourhood between the French republic and the palatine elector of Bavaria, The one and the other shall neglect nothing to maintain this union, and to render reciprocally such services as may be best calculated to draw more and more close the bonds of sincere and durable friendship.

II. His majetsy the emperor and the empire, having consented, by the 4th article of the treaty concluded at Luneville, the 20th Pluviose, year 9 of the republic, or the 9th of February, 1801, that the French republic shall possess in future, in entire sovereignty and property, the countries and domains on the left bank of the Rhine, and which made part of the Germanic empire, his electoral highness the palatine of Bavaria renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, the rights of territorial superiority, ownership, and every other whatever, which his house has hitherto exercised, and which belonged to him over the countries and dominions upon the left bank of the Rhine. This renunciation relates, namely, to the dutchy of Juliers, the dutchy of Deux Ponts, with its dependencies, and all the bailiwic of the palatinate of the Rhine, situate upon the left bank of that river.

III. Convinced that it is her interest to prevent the Bavaro-palatine possessions from being reduced to a state of weakness, and consequently to repair the diminution of force and territory, which results from the above renunciation, the French republic engages to maintain and efficaciously defend the integrity of the aforesaid

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aforesaid possessions upon the right bank of the Rhine, together and in the extent which they have, or ought to have, according to the treaty and the conventions concluded at Teschen, the 13th May, 1799; saving the cessions which may take place with the full will of his electoral highness, and the consent of all the interested parties.

The French republic promises, at the same time, that it shall use all its influence and all its means, in order that the 7th article of the treaty of peace of Luneville, by virtue of which the empire is bound to give to the hereditary princes dispossessed upon the left bank of the Rhine, an indemnification, to be taken in its bosom, should be particularly executed with respect to the electoral palatine house of Bavaria; so as that that house shall receive a territorial indemnity, situated as well as possible for its convenience, and equivalent to the losses of every kind, which have been the consequence of the present war.

IV. The contracting parties shall come to an understanding between themselves at all times, as good neighbours, and follow, on the one part and the other, the principles of perfect equity in regulating the disputes which may have taken or may take place, whether with respect to the course of the Thalweg between the respective states, which, by the terms of the 6th article of the treaty of peace of Luneville, shall hereafter be the limit of the territory of the French republic and of the Germanic empire, or with respect to the navigation of the Rhine and commerce, or with respect to the works to be erected upon the one side or the other of the river.

V. The 8th article of the treaty of peace of Luneville, concerning the debts secured upon the soil of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine, shall serve as a basis for those who find themselves aggrieved in consequence of their possessions and territories being comprised in the renunciation of the 2d article of the present treaty.

As the said treaty of Luneville does not acknowledge as chargeable to the French republic any debts but those resulting from loans, agreed to by the states of the ceded countries, or from expenses incurred by the effective administration of the said countries; and, as on the other side the dutchy of Deux Ponts, as well as the part of the palatinate of the Rhine, ceded by the second article of the present treaty, are not countries of the states; it is agreed that the debts of the said countries, which, at their origin, have been registered by the superior administrative bodies, shall be assimilated to those which have been agreed to by the states in the countries where they have been contracted.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, there shall be appointed, upon the one part and upon the other, commissioners, who shall proceed to the verification and distribution of the debts above mentioned.

VI. The private debts contracted by the communes and the ci-devant bailiwics, under the authority of government, remain at their charge, and shall be paid by them.

VII. All papers, documents, and acts relative to public and private properties of the countries ceded by the said 2d article, shall, within the space of three months, to be dated from the exchange of the ratifications, be delivered faithfully to a commissioner, appointed by the French

French government to receive them. The same shall be done with respect to all the papers, documents, and acts, concerning the objects of administration, which relate exclusively to the said countries. As to those said papers, documents, and acts, which concern the common interest of the states of the palatine house, as well those ceded upon the left bank of the Rhine, as those which it retains upon the right bank, there shall be made, at the common expense, collated copies, which shall be sent to the French commissioner.

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VIII. From the day of the exchange of the ratifications all the sequestrations that have been laid, on account of the war, upon the goods, revenues, and effects of French citizens within the states of his most serene electoral highness, and those which may have been placed within the territory of the French republic, upon goods, revenues, and effects of subjects or servants of his said most serene highness, domiciliated upon the right bank of the Rhine, and proprietors upon the left, are taken off. There is no exception made of the Bavaro-palatine subjects or servants, who, after the entrance of the French armies, withdrew from the left to the right bank of the Rhine.

IX. The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties within the space of twenty days, or sooner if possible; and his most serene highness the elector palatine of Bavaria engages to procure, within the same space of time, an act of accession upon the part of his most serene highness William duke of Bavaria, to the cessions made by the said treaty.

Done at Paris, the 6th Fructidor, year 9 of the French republic (24th August, 1801.)

(Signed) Antoine Bernard Caillard.
Antoine de Cetto.

By the first consul,
The secretary of state,
(Signed) H. B. Maret

Approved,
The first consul,
(Signed) Buonaparte.

By the first consul,
The secretary of state,
(Signed) H. B. Maret.

A true copy,
The secretary-general of the council of state,
(Signed) J. G. Locré.

Treaty between the French Republic and Spain, signed at Madrid, March 21, 1801, by the Prince of Peace and Citizen Lucien Buonaparte.

THE first consul of the French republic, and his catholic majesty, willing to establish, on the most secure footing, the states which the son of the infant of Parma is to receive as an equivalent for the dutchy of Parma, have agreed upon the following articles; and have named as their plenipotentiaries as follows: the first consul names citizen Lucien Buonaparte, the present ambassador of the French republic; and his catholic majesty the prince of peace. These have concluded the following articles:

Art. I. The reigning duke of Parma renounces for ever, for himself and his heirs, the dutchy of Parma, with all its dependencies, in favour of the French republic, and his catholic majesty shall guaranty this renunciation. The grand dutchy of Tuscany, which the grand duke in the same manner renounces equally, and

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and the cession of which is guarantied by the emperor of Germany, shall be given to the son of the duke of Parma, as an indemnification for the countries ceded by the infant his father, and in consequence of another treaty concluded anteriorly between his catholic majesty and the French republic.

II. The prince of Parma will go to Florence, where he will be acknowledged sovereign of all the possessions which belong to the grand dutchy, and receive from the constituted authorities the keys of the forts, and the oath of fidelity will be taken to him as sovereign. The first consul will exert his authority, in order that these acts may be peaceably executed.

III. The prince of Parma will be acknowledged king, with all the honour due to his rank. The first consul shall acknowledge him, and shall cause him to be so considered by the other powers of Europe. The measures necessary for this purpose shall be taken before the prince takes possession.

IV. The part of the isle of Elba which belongs to Tuscany, and depends upon that state, shall remain to the French republic; and the first consul shall give as an indemnity to the king of Tuscany the country of Piombino, which belongs to the king of Naples.

V. As this treaty originates from that which has been concluded between the first consul and his catholic majesty, and by which the king cedes to France the possession of Louisiana, the contracting parties agree to put in execution the articles of the former treaty, and to use their respective rights till the settlement of those differences mentioned in it.

VI. As the new family to be established in Tuscany is of the family of Spain, these estates shall remain for ever united to Spain, and an infant of that family shall be called to that throne, in case the present king or his children have no posterity; in this case, the sons of the reigning family of Spain shall succeed to these estates.

VII. The first consul and his catholic majesty agree to procure for the reigning duke of Parma, in consideration of this renunciation in favour of his son, proportionable indemnities, whether in possessions or revenues.

VIII. The present treaty shall be ratified and exchanged in the course of three weeks.

(Signed) Lucien Buonaparte.
The prince of Peace.

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Regency of Algiers, concluded on the 17th December, 1801.

THE French government and the regency of Algiers are sensible that war is not natural between the two states, and that it imports the dignity, as well as the interests of both parties, to resume their former relations.

Accordingly Mustapha Pacha Dey, in the name of the regency, and citizen Charles François Dubois Thainville, chargé d'affaires, and commissary general of commercial relations from the French republic, furnished with full powers from the first consul to negotiate a peace with the regency, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. The political and commercial relations are reestablished between

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between the two states, on the same footing as before the rupture.

II. The former treaties, conventions, and stipulations, shall be immediately confirmed by the signature of the dey and that of the agent of the republic.

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III. The regency of Algiers restores to the French republic its privileges in Africa, in the same manner and on the same conditions as France enjoyed before the rupture.

IV. The money, effects, and articles of merchandise, seized by the agents of the regency in the factories, shall be restored, after deducting the sums applied to the discharge of the debts due at the period of the declaration of war (viz. Dec. 21, 1799). There shall therefore be drawn out, on both sides, a state of accounts, which shall be mutually admitted.

V. The trade duties shall be demandable from the day only on which the French shall have been reestablished in their factories.

VI. And counting from that epoch, the dey, in order to indemnify the African company for the losses they have sustained, grants them a general exemption from those dues for one year.

VII. Frenchmen cannot be detained as slaves in the kingdom of Algiers in any case, or under any pretext whatsoever.

VIII. Frenchmen taken under the flag of a power at war with the regency cannot be made slaves, even when the vessels on board of which they may be found shall have defended themselves, unless, forming a part of the crew as soldiers or sailors, they shall have been taken in arms.

IX. Frenchmen occasionally or constantly residing in the kingdom of Algiers, are subject in every respect to the authority of the agent of the French government. The regency shall not attempt, and its delegates have no right, to interfere in the internal administration of the French districts in Africa.

X. The captains of French vessels, whether belonging to the state or private persons, cannot be compelled to take on board any thing contrary to their inclination, nor be sent to any port whither they are not disposed to go.

XI. The agent of the French government is not responsible for any debt contracted by private individuals of his nation, unless he has engaged in writing to pay then.

XII. When any difference occurs between a Frenchman and a subject of Algiers, it shall be decided upon by the first authorities only, after the French commissary has been summoned to attend.

XIII. His excellency the dey engages to cause reimbursement to be made of all the sums of money which may be owing to Frenchmen by his subjects; and citizen Dubois Thainville, in like manner, engages, in the name of his government, to effect payment of all those to which the subjects of Algiers are justly entitled.

XIV. The effects of every Frenchman dying in the kingdom of Algiers, are at the disposal of the commissary-general of the republic.

XV. The chargé d'affaires and the agents of the African company choose their own interpreters and brokers.

XVI. The chargé d'affaires and the commissary-general of commercial relations from the French republic, shall continue to enjoy all the honours, rights, immunities, and prerogatives, stipulated in the former treaties. They shall preserve their pre-

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preeminence over the agents of other nations.

XVII. The asylum of the French commissary is sacred; no public force can enter it, unless upon his own application to that effect to the chief of the Algerine government.

XVIII. In case of a rupture, which may God ever prevent, the French shall be allowed three months for the adjustment of their affairs. During this period they shall enjoy the same extent of liberty and protection which is secured to them by treaty in a time of profound peace. It is understood that vessels touching at the ports of the kingdom during those three months, shall participate in the same advantages.

XIX. His excellency the dey appoints Salah Khodjx to proceed to Paris in character of his ambassador.

(Signed) Mustapha, dey of Algiers.
Dubois Thainville, chargé d'affaires and commissary-general of commercial relations from the French republic.

Convention between the French Government and the Pope, Pius VII.—Ratified the 23d Fructidor, Year 9, (10th September, 1801.)

THE chief consul of the French republic, and his holiness the sovereign pontiff, Pius VII, have named as their respective plenipotentiaries.

The chief consul, the citizens Joseph Buonaparte, counsellor of state; Cretet, counsellor of state; and Bernier, doctor of divinity, curate of St. Laud d'Angers; furnished with full powers:

His holiness, his eminence monseigneur Hercule Consalvi, cardinal of the holy Roman church, deacon of St. Agathe *ad Suburram*, his secretary of state; Joseph Spina, archbishop of Corinth, domestic prelate to his holiness, attendant on the pontifical throne; and father Caselli, his holiness's adviser, on points of theology; in like manner furnished with full powers in due form:

Who, after exchanging their full powers, have concluded the following convention:

Convention between the French Government and his Holiness the Pope, Pius VII.

The government of the republic acknowledges that the catholic, apostolical, and Roman religion, is the religion of the great majority of French citizens.

His holiness, in like manner, acknowledges that this same religion has derived, and is likely to derive, the greatest benefit and the greatest splendour from the establishment of the catholic worship in France, and from its being openly professed by the consuls of the republic.

This mutual acknowledgment being made, in consequence, as well for the good of religion, as for the maintenance of interior tranquillity, they have agreed as follows:

Art. I. The catholic, apostolical, and Roman religion shall be freely exercised in France. Its service shall be publicly performed, conformably to the regulations of police, which the government shall judge necessary for the public tranquillity.

II. There shall be made by the holy see, in concert with the government, a new division of French dioceses.

III. His

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III. His holiness shall declare to the titular French bishops that he expects from them, with the firmest confidence, every sacrifice for the sake of peace and unity—even that of their sees.

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After this exhortation, if they should refuse the sacrifice commanded for the good of the church, (a refusal, nevertheless, which his holiness by no means expects,) the sees of the new division shall be governed by bishops appointed as follows:

IV. The chief consul shall present, within three months after the publication of his holiness's bull, to the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the new division. His holiness shall confer canonical institution, according to the forms established in France before the revolution (*avant le changement de gouvernement*).

V. The nomination to the bishoprics which become vacant in future, shall likewise belong to the chief consul, and canonical institution shall be administered by the holy see, conformably to the preceding article.

VI. The bishops, before entering upon their functions, shall take, before the chief consul, the oath of fidelity which was in use before the revolution, expressed in the following words:

"I swear and promise to God, upon the holy Evangelists, to preserve obedience and fidelity to the government established by the constitution of the French republic. I likewise promise to carry on no correspondence, to be present at no conversation, to form no connexion, whether within the territories of the republic or without, which may, in any degree, disturb the public tranquillity: and if, in my diocese or elsewhere, I discover that any thing is going forward to the prejudice of the state, I will immediately communicate to government all the information I possess."

VII. Ecclesiastics of the second order shall take the same oath before the civil authorities appointed by the government.

VIII. The following formula of prayer shall be recited at the end of divine service in all the catholic churches of France:

Domine, salvam fac rempublicam,
Domine, salvos fac consules.

IX. The bishops shall make a new division of the parishes in their dioceses, which, however, shall not take effect till after it is ratified by government.

X. The bishops shall have the appointment of the parish priests.

Their choice shall not fall but on persons approved of by government.

XI. The bishops may have a chapter in their cathedral, and a seminary for the diocese, without the government being obliged to endow them.

XII. All the metropolitan, cathedral, parochial, and other churches; which have not been alienated, necessary to public worship, shall be placed at the disposal of the bishops.

XIII. His holiness, for the sake of peace and the happy reestablishment of the catholic religion, declares, that neither he nor his successors will disturb in any manner those who have acquired the alienated property of the church; and that in consequence that property, and every part of it, shall belong for ever to them, their heirs and assigns.

XIV. The government shall grant a suitable salary to bishops and parish priests, whose dioceses and parishes are comprised in the new division.

XV. The government shall likewise take measures to enable French catholics,

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catholics, who are so inclined, to dispose of their property for the support of religion.

XVI. His holiness recognises in the chief consul of the French republic the same rights and prerogatives in religious matters which the ancient government enjoyed.

XVII. It is agreed between the contracting parties, that in case any of the successors of the present chief consul should not be a Roman catholic, the rights and prerogatives mentioned in the foregoing article, as well as the nomination to the bishops' sees, shall be regulated, with regard to him, by a new convention.

The ratification shall be exchanged at Paris in the space of forty days.

Done at Paris, the 26th Messidor, year 9 of the French republic.

(Signed) Joseph Buonaparte.
Hercules, cardinalis Consalvi.
Joseph, archiep. Corinthi.
Bernier.
F. Carolus Caselli.

Regulations of the Gallican Church.

Of the Regulations of the Catholic Church, as connected with the Policy of the State.

Art. I. No bull, rescript, decree, provision, or any thing in the place of a provision, or, in short, any other dispatch from the court of Rome, even though it should relate to individuals only, shall be received, published, printed, or otherways put in force, without the authority of the government.

II. No individual, assuming the character of nuncio, legate, vicar, or apostolic commissary, or whatever other appellation he may assume, shall be allowed to exercise his functions in France, but with the consent of the government, and in a manner conformable to the liberties of the Gallican church.

III. The decrees of foreign synods, or even of general councils, shall not be published in France before the government shall have examined their form, their conformity to the laws, rights, and privileges of the French republic, and whatever might in their publication have a tendency to alter or to affect public tranquillity.

IV. No national or metropolitan council, no diocesan synod, no deliberative assembly, shall be allowed to be held without the express permission of government.

V. All ecclesiastical functions shall be gratuitous, with the exception of those oblations which shall be authorized, and fixed by particular regulations.

VI. Recourse shall be had to the council of state in every instance of abuse, on the part of superiors, and other ecclesiastical persons. The instances of abuse are usurpation, or access of power; contravention of the laws and institutions of the republic; infraction of the rules consecrated by the canons received in France; any attack upon the liberties, franchises, and customs of the Gallican church; and any attempt, which, in the exercise of worship, can compromise the honour of citizens, arbitrarily trouble their conscience, or lead to oppression, injury, or public scandal.

VII. There shall also be a right of appeal to the council of state, on the ground of any attempt being made to interrupt the exercise of public worship, and to infringe on that liberty which the general laws

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laws of the republic, as well as particular regulations, guaranty to its ministers.

VIII. An appeal shall be competent to any person interested; and in case no complaint is exhibited by individuals, the business shall be taken up officially by the prefects. The public functionary, ecclesiastic, or individual, who shall wish to exercise this right of appeal, must address a signed memorial, containing a detail of the grievance complained of, to the counsellor of state, presiding over religious affairs, whose duty it will then become to make, with the least possible delay, every inquiry into the subject; and upon his report, the affair shall be definitively settled or sent back, according to the urgency of the case, to the competent authorities*.

Articles relative to the Protestant Religion.

General Dispositions applicable to all Protestant Communions.

Art. I. No individual shall officiate as a minister of religion who is not by birth a Frenchman.

II. Neither the protestant churches nor their ministers shall have any connexion with a foreign power or authority.

III. The pastors and ministers of the different protestant communions shall pray for the prosperity of the French republic, and the safety of the consuls.

IV. No doctrinal decision or formulary, under the title of a confession, or under any other title, shall be published or become a subject of instruction, before its publication has been authorized by the government.

V. No change shall take place in the forms of their discipline without the same authority.

VI. The council of state shall take cognizance of all the plans formed by their ministers, and of all the dissensions which may arise among them.

VII. It shall be understood, that to the support of pastors of consistorial churches, the property of these churches shall be applied, as well as the oblations established by usage and by positive regulations.

VIII. The regulations applied to the specific articles of the catholic worship respecting the liberty of endowments, and the nature of the property which can be the object of them, shall be common to the protestant churches.

IX. There shall be two academies or seminaries in the east of France, for the instruction of the ministers of the confession of Augsburg.

X. There shall be a seminary at Geneva, for the instruction of the ministers of the reformed churches.

XI. The professors in all the academies or seminaries shall be nominated by the chief consul.

XII. No person shall be elected a minister or pastor of any church of the confession of Augsburg, who has not studied during a fixed period in one of the French seminaries appointed for ministers of this persuasion, and who shall not produce a certificate in due form of his capacity and regular conduct, during the continuance of his studies.

XIII. No person is to be elected a minister or pastor of the reformed

* The remaining regulations under this head are merely of local and particular detail.

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church, without having studied in the seminary of Geneva, and without producing a certificate of the descriptions pointed out in the preceding article.

XIV. The regulations respecting the administration and internal police of these seminaries, the number and the qualifications of the professors, the mode of instruction, the subjects which are taught, together with the form of the certificates of application, good conduct, and capacity, are to be approved of by the government.

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Of the Organization of the Churches of the Confession of Augsburg.

Section I.—*General Regulations.*

XXXIII. The churches of the confession of Augsburg shall have pastors, local consistories, inspections, and general consistories.

Section II.—*Of the Ministers, Pastors, and local Consistories of each Church.*

XXXIV. With respect to pastors, the regulation of the consistorial churches, which was prescribed by the 2d Section of the preceding title as applicable to the reformed pastors and churches, is to be observed.

Section III.—*Of Inspections.*

XXXV. The churches of the confession of Augsburg shall be subject to inspections.

XXXVI. Five consistorial churches shall form the bounds of an inspection.

XXXVII. Each inspection shall be composed of a minister and an elder from each church of the district. It shall not assemble without the permission of the government. At its first meeting, the oldest of the ministers of the district shall preside. Each inspection shall choose two laymen and one clergyman, who shall take the title of inspector, and whose duty it shall be to watch over the conduct of the ministers, and to preserve good order in the different churches: the choice of the inspector and the two laymen shall be confirmed by the first consul.

XXXVIII. The inspection shall not assemble, without the authority of government, in presence of the prefect or sub-prefect, or without having given previous intelligence to the counsellor of state, whose business it is to watch over religious affairs, of the subjects that are to come under discussion.

XXXIX. The inspector shall visit the churches of his district, and he may adopt the assistance of the two laymen named with him, as often as circumstances shall appear to require. He shall be charged with the convocation of the general assembly of inspection, no decree of which, however, shall be put in force till it has received the approbation of the government.

Section IV.—*Of General Consistories.*

XL. There shall be three general consistories: one at Strasburgh for the protestants of the confession of Augsburg, belonging to the departments of the upper and lower Rhine; the second at Mentz, for those of the departments of Lassare and Mont Tonnerre; and the third at Cologne, for those of the department of the Rhine and Moselle, and la Roer.

XLI. Each consistory shall be formed of one lay president, of two ecclesiastical inspectors, and a deputy from each inspection: the president

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sident and the two ecclesiastical inspectors shall be nominated by the chief consul. The president shall take the same oath before the chief consul, or a public functionary delegated for that purpose, which is imposed upon the ministers of the catholic religion: the two ecclesiastical inspectors and the lay members, shall have the same oath administered to them by the president.

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XLII. The general consistory shall not be permitted to assemble without the consent of the government, and unless in presence of the prefect or sub-prefect, and after a notification of the subjects in discussion, as described in former articles.

XLIII. During the interval between the different meetings, there shall be a directory, composed of the president, of the oldest of the two ecclesiastical inspectors, and of three laymen, one of whom shall be nominated by the chief consul: the two others shall be chosen by the general consistory.

XLIV. The privileges of the general consistory and the directory, shall continue to be directed by the customs and regulations of the churches of the confession of Augsburg, in all points which have not been formally fixed by the laws of the republic, or the present articles.

Approved. The first consul,
(Signed) Buonaparte.

By order of the first consul,
The secretary of state,
(Signed) H. B. Maret.

Circular Letter, addressed by Monsignore Erskine to the French Bishops residing in England.

Illustrious and rev. lord,

IN obedience to the express order which I have received from our most holy father, pope Pius VII, I send you, my lord, the pontifical brief, which you will find annexed hereto. I pray you to inform me of the receipt of it without any delay, and also to send me, without delay, the answer which shall seem fit.

His holiness has not neglected to employ all possible means to preserve you in possession of your see; but he has suffered the most lively regret in finding that the urgency of circumstances renders the resignation of the bishops indispensable; it is necessary for the unity, the peace, and the reestablishment of the catholic religion in France.

His holiness charges me, besides, to assure you, my lord, that he has, in the best manner that he could, recommended your person to the first consul, with the design either of directing his view towards you in the nomination to the sees of the new conscription, or at least to provide for your subsistence; and such, my lord, is the desire of the holy father to contribute to your comfort, in the best manner possible, that he will not neglect any one favourable occasion of lightening the burden which presses on you, and of providing for your personal wants.

Having thus fulfilled the orders given me by the sovereign pontiff, it remains to me to offer you for myself all the services that can depend on me, to assure you that

I am, my lord, &c.
Charles Erskine.

London,
42, Great Mary-le-bone Street,
Sept. 16, 1801.

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The Pope's Brief.

Pius VII, to his venerable Brethren the Archbishops and Bishops of France, having the Communion and Favour of the Apostolic Chair.

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Venerable fathers,

Health and apostolic benediction!

So many and so signal are the services which, both as a general body, and as individuals of the catholic faith, you have performed, that on this account you have ever merited from us and from our predecessor Pius VI, now happily at rest, the highest commendations and the highest praise of your virtue.

But although what you have done for the church, and for the advantage of the faithful, be very great, and highly glorious to you, yet the state of the times forces us to notify to you, that you have not yet fulfilled that meritorious career of glory for which the counsels of divine Providence have reserved your courage in these times. Greater sacrifices, O venerable fathers, still remain to be added to those by which you have distinguished yourselves, and you have still to add higher claims to those which you now have to the gratitude of the holy church.—The preservation of the unity of the holy church, the reestablishment of the catholic religion in France, demand a new example of virtue and of greatness of soul in you, which may teach all nations, that the holy zeal with which you burn for the church has for its object its advantage, and not your own.—Your ecclesiastical seats are voluntarily to be resigned, and the same must be given up freely into our hands. It is requiring much of you, venerable brethren; it is, however, equally necessary, both that we should make this demand, and that you should comply with it, in order to reestablish order in France in the affairs of the church. We feel, indeed, how much it must cost your hearts to abandon those flocks which are so dear to you, to the safety of which you have given so much attention, and which, even in your absence, have been the object of your most tender solicitude, But the more bitter the sacrifice, the more agreeable will it be to God; the reward which you will have to expect from it will be proportioned to your grief and to his benevolence. With the whole energy of our soul, do we call upon your virtue; we call upon you by the blessed name of Jesus, to complete this sacrifice for the preservation of unity.

A knowledge of the distinguished piety, and of the remarkable virtue which we have ever remarked in you in the most trying circumstances of the church, makes us certain that you will immediately forward to us your voluntary letters of abdication. We cannot entertain a doubt that any of the wise and virtuous pastors of the French church can for a moment hesitate to comply with our paternal advice, and to follow the illustrious example of Gregory Nazianzen, when he resigned the bishopric of Constantinople. And certainly, in the situation in which we stand, what reason can we have to suspect that any of you would resist our counsels and our entreaties, if he recollects what the church in general has resolved, and what St. Augustine has said—*Contra Crescentium*, lib. 2, c. xi.—"We are not bishops for our own sakes, but for the sakes of those to whom we administer the sacrament of the Lord; and for these, as necessity shall require, we are either

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ther to be or not to be; as it is not for ourselves, but for them that we govern."

For you know, venerable brethren, that many of the most distinguished prelates of the church, that they might conform to this principle of the church and preserve unity, have voluntarily abdicated their seats; and almost three hundred catholic bishops, a little before the celebrated collation of Carthage, openly professed themselves to be ready, and thought themselves bound to abdicate their bishoprics, if it should be conceived that their abdication would tend to remove the schism of the Donatists. Many of you, indeed, venerable brethren, had before your eyes these examples, and adopted similar sentiments, when, in consequence of the letter of the 3d of May, 1791, of the late Pius VI, of happy memory, our predecessor, you professed yourselves willing and ready to resign your charges, if the good of religion should require it, for which that most wise pontiff bestowed on them the greatest praise. Nor were there wanting some of you lately who signified to us in your letters, that you would cheerfully do the same, if it should seem necessary for the preservation of religion in France. Now since we have arrived at those times, in which the voluntary abdication of your charges is absolutely necessary for the good of the catholic religion, we cannot doubt that you will yield this obedience to God by making this new sacrifice, to offer which to him you know yourselves bound, and have already so laudably professed yourselves ready, should the good of the church require.

Confidently trusting, therefore, in consequence of the opinion which we have always entertained of your religion and virtue, that on perusing our letter, both to increase your merits to the church, and to preserve the unity of it to France, you will, without delay, implicitly comply with our exhortation, we first congratulate you on account of that immortal glory which you will obtain from this splendid testimony of virtue, religion, and obedience, which you are now about to give to the whole church. This glory, indeed, will be so great as to be far superior to the praises you have already obtained, by undergoing so many dangers and enduring so many calamities with so much constancy, for preserving religion in the churches intrusted to your fidelity.— For, according to what the same St. Augustine writes, in his letter to Castorius, "It is far more glorious to have laid down the burden of episcopacy, in order to ward off the dangers of the church, than to have undertaken it for the sake of ruling." We also congratulate you on those ample rewards to which this sacrifice will entitle you from God, the rewarder of the good. For, as the same St. Gregory Nazianzen writes, "Those who abdicate thrones will not lose God, but will acquire a heavenly throne, much higher and safer." In the last place, we congratulate you, considering those advantages the whole priesthood will receive from these memorable examples of minds labouring, not for themselves, but for the things which belong to God and the church: these instances of obedience, humility, faith, and of all episcopal holiness, with which you are about to crown the end of your episcopacy —this virtue of yours, indeed, will shut the mouths of those detractors of the priesthood who calumniate the

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ministers of the sanctuary, by asserting that they find nothing in them but pride, haughtiness, and avarice. This new glory, by which you will render yourselves illustrious, will extort an involuntary admiration of your virtue, from men who will be obliged to confess, in regard to the church, what the same St. Augustine affirms in the above-mentioned letter to Castorius: "That there are some men in its bosom who seek not those things which are their own, but the things of Jesus Christ."

We are compelled by the exigency of the times, which even exercises its violence on us, to signify that it is absolutely necessary for you to give a written answer within ten days, and that your answer be transmitted to the person by whom the present letter will be delivered to you, which you ought to testify by an authentic document that you have received. We must also signify to you, for the same urgent causes, that the answer given must be definitive, not dilatory; so that unless a definitive answer be given within ten days (and that you will do so, we entreat you again and again), if a dilatory answer is returned, we shall be obliged to consider you as having refused to comply with our request.

But that this you will not do, we have reason to hope, from your ardent desire both to preserve religion, and to promote the peace of the whole church; from your obedience to us, which is the peculiar duty of children; and from that anxiety which you have always shown of assisting by your virtue our infirmity, under that great load of cares with which we are oppressed. Nay, we are certain, that, with cheerful and ready minds, you will obey our commands, with which we are obliged to try your virtue, in order to establish the good of the church; especially since you possess too much penetration not to know, that if you refuse to comply with our request, that no obstacles may be opposed by us to preserving the unity of the catholic religion, and restoring the tranquillity of the church (we declare with grief, but we must declare, while so much danger hangs over the Gallican church, from us,) we must necessarily have recourse to that conduct which will remove all impediments, and by which alone the good of religion can be promoted.

By the favour and good will which we have always shewn towards you, venerable brethren, by the opinion we have always had of your virtue, dignity, and merits, we flatter ourselves that you are so persuaded that we do not think it necessary to expend many words in assuring you, that nothing has been omitted on our part which could tend to prevent you from being exposed to this bitterness. But it is with great grief we must confess that all our anxiety, and all our labour to resist the necessity of the times, have been fruitless. We are compelled to yield, that the catholic religion may be benefited by this sacrifice. After maturely weighing these circumstances, we should seem to question the sincerity of your religious profession, if we should conclude that you will prefer your own advantage to the preservation and good order of the church, forgetting what St. Augustine said, in the name of the African bishops, to the tribune Marcellinus, when he declared that those bishops were ready to abdicate their chairs: "Why should we hesitate to make that sacrifice of

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mility to our Redeemer? — Did he descend from heaven in the human form, that we should be members of his body; and shall we fear to descend from our chairs, to prevent his limbs from being torn by cruel division?"

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Personally, we are only faithful and obedient Christians. This we always are, but we were ordained bishops for the Christian people. As bishops, therefore, let us do what may benefit Christian people, by promoting Christian peace. If we are useful servants, why should we prefer our temporal grandeur to eternal gain in the Lord? The episcopal dignity will be more fruitful to us, if by laying it down we collect the flock of Christ, than if we should disperse it by retaining it; for with what face in future can we hope for the honour promised by Christ, if Christian unity is impeded by our worldly honour.

As we cannot therefore doubt, when we reflect on your tried virtue and religion, that you will consult the advantage of the church, and the good of the faithful, while we implore the Almighty God to strengthen your virtue, that with more readiness, as becomes willing givers, you may offer to him this gift; and while we promise, as far as in us lies, to take care that you shall be hereafter provided for, we confer on you our apostolic blessing, as a pledge of our paternal love.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary the Greater, under the Fisherman's seal, August 15, 1801, in the second year of our pontificate.

Pius PP. VII.

Michael, patriarch of Jerusalem.

Monsignore Erskine's second circular Letter to the French Bishops residing in England.

My lord,

In my letter of the 16th instant, with which I had the honour to transmit the brief of the sovereign pontiff, which I sent to you by the express order of his holiness pope Pius VII, as well as to each of your colleagues residing in this kingdom, I solicited your greatness, as well as your colleagues, to transmit to me that answer each individually would think proper to make. I have, however, heard it said, that in consequence of the meeting held by your greatnesses, you intended to answer collectively to the paternal invitation of his holiness; I therefore find myself strictly obliged, my lord, to inform you, and beg of you to intimate the same to your colleagues, that by this means you will not fulfil the intention of his holiness, who has precisely commanded me to transmit his brief to each of you, in order that you might separately, and after you had invoked, by your prayers, the distribution of understanding, make such an answer as you conceive, yourselves in conscience to be inspired with by the Father of Mercies.

I am persuaded, my lord, that you and your colleagues would experience an acute sensation, if in the answer to his holiness you had adopted, even involuntarily, a method little conformable to the desires of the holy father, and which are not entirely congenial to the filial respect which you have constantly manifested towards the sovereign pontiff. I flatter myself there-

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fore that you will accept the present advice.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect consideration, your greatnesses most humble and obedient servant,

C. Erskine.

No. 42, St. Mary-le-bone Street, London, September 22, 1801.

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Letter written by the Thirteen French Bishops resident in London, to the Pope, in Answer to his Brief of the 15th of August, 1801, *dated October,* 1801.

WE will not conceal from your holiness the heavy anxiety which pressed upon our minds when first we received the letter of your holiness, dated on the 15th of August, 1801, in the second year of your pontificate, which is indeed so great, that as we at all times thought nothing more incumbent on us, and had nothing more at heart, than zealously to promote, as far as in our power, your paternal councils, yet they should find us now not only uncertain and fluctuating, but in a duty of this nature, compel us to be even reluctant to obey.

Such is the force of these letters, that if that be done which they enjoins all the episcopal sees in France will be left vacant at one and the same point of time. But by what means this sudden abdication of all the churches of that most extensive empire is to produce, throughout France, the salutary effect of unity, and of preserving or restoring the catholic religion, your holiness has not informed us, nor, to confess the truth, do we as yet sufficiently foresee. Truly, the very experience of all the calamities with which our country has been afflicted for many years, sufficiently shews that it is not without reason we dread, that, by this voluntary and universal abdication of all the churches, more grievous inconveniences would result to the catholic cause; for which, to acquaint your holiness with the means of prevention, belongs only to a convocation of all the bishops of the Gallican church.

Nor indeed do we mean to say this, as if it would seem grievous or a hardship upon us to resign our rank in these melancholy and troublesome times, but rather that it would, as much as possible, conduce to the private happiness of each of us, to have our infirmity relieved from so great a burden, if we may still think any thing of happiness or consolation with minds broken by the weight of so many misfortunes. But the line of our duty seems to us fully to require that we should never suffer that tie which has bound us, and the churches immediately committed by the providence of the most great and good God, to our care, to be broken.

We earnestly beseech your holiness, that, in some writing speedily to be drawn up, we may be permitted to disclose and enter somewhat more at large into the arguments upon which we thought right to act in this manner, and the grounds of our resolution. In the mean time, greatly confiding in the affection of your holiness towards us, we hope it will so happen that nothing farther will be determined in this business before you shall in your

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your consummate equity and prudence, weigh the reasons upon which your children shall plead their cause before their most pious father.

Prostrate at the knees of your holiness, most ardently we invoke the apostolic benediction of your holiness, the most devoted and dutiful sons.

Narbone,	Noyon,
Angouleme,	Periguex,
Arras,	St. Pol de Leon,
Avaranches,	Vannes,
Lombez,	Usez,
Montpelier,	Rhodes,
Nantez,	Moulins.

[All the other bishops acceded to the papal requisition.]

View of the Republic, presented in the Legislative Body, at Paris, on the 23d November, 1801, *by the Counseller of State Thibaudeau.*

IT is with a pleasing satisfaction that the government offers to the nation the picture of the state of France, during the year that has passed over. Every thing at home and abroad has assumed a new appearance, and whatever way we cast our eyes, a long perspective of hope and happiness opens upon us.

In the west and in the south, remnants of banditti infested the roads and desolated the fields, invisible to the armed force which pursued them, or protected against it by the very terror with which they inspired their victims. Even in the bosom of the tribunals, if they happened to be brought before them, their audacity froze with fear the accusers, the witnesses, the juries, and the judges. These monsters rushed unpunished from the hands of justice to the commission of new crimes.

Against this pest, so destructive of all society, it was necessary to make use of other arms than the slow and gradual forms with which public justice pursues solitary criminals, who conceal themselves in silence and in darkness.

Special tribunals were created, whose powers, more rapid and more sure, might overtake and strike them. The great criminals have been seized. The witnesses have ceased to be mute. The judges have obeyed their consciences, and society has been avenged. Those who have escaped from justice, are since flying from one hiding place to another; and the republic every day vomits from its bosom this last scum of the waves with which it has been so long agitated.

Still innocence has had nothing to fear. The security of the citizens has not been alarmed by the measures destined for the punishment of their oppressors; and the unfavourable presages with which it was attempted to intimidate liberty, have been realized only against guilt.

From the month of May, in the 9th year, to the 23d of September, in the 10th year, seven hundred and twenty-four judgments have been pronounced by the special tribunals; nineteen only have been rejected by the tribunal of appeal, on the ground of incompetence. They cannot, therefore, be reproached with excess of power, nor with any violation of ordinary justice.

The government, from the first day of its institution, proclaimed liberty of conscience. This solemn act calmed the minds which had been frightened by imprudent ri-

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gours. The cessation of religious dissension has been since announced, and in fact measures have been concerted with the sovereign pontiff of the catholic church to reunite in the same sentiments those who profess a common belief. At the same time a magistrate, charged with every thing that concerns public worship, has attended to the rights of every sect; he has collected, in conferences with the Lutheran and Calvinistic ministers, the information necessary to prepare regulations, which will secure to all the liberty which belongs to them, and the publicity which the interest of social order gives authority to grant them.

The support of all modes of worship will be provided for by equal means; nothing will be left to the arbitrary disposal of their ministers, and the public treasure will not feel any increase in the burden of the charge.

If some citizens have been alarmed by empty rumours, let them quiet themselves; the government has done every thing to reconcile the minds of the citizens: but it has done nothing that could wound their principles, or the independence of their opinions.

The continental peace set at rest whatever inquietude, whatever vain fears still remained: already blessed with the happiness of which they had so long been in expectation, the citizens reposed on the bosom of the constitution, and attached their whole destiny to it.

Enlightened and faithful ministers have seconded well this disposition of the public mind; every exertion of authority exercised by them has met nothing but zeal, love, and gratitude.

Hence the government has acquired that security which makes its strength; it has no more doubt of the opinion of the public than its own intentions, and has dared to appeal to it without dreading its reply. A prince, issuing from the blood which reigned over France, has traversed our departments, has sojourned in the capital, has received from the government all the honours due to his crown, and from the citizens all the respect that one people owes to another in the person who is called to exercise its government, without a single suspicion to alter the calm of administration, or a single rumour to disturb the tranquillity of the public mind. The countenance of a free, and the affection of a hospitable people, have been seen throughout: foreigners, and the enemies of the country, have perceived that the republic was in the hearts of the French, and that it had already acquired there all the maturity of ages.

The return of our warriors into the French territory has been a succession of fetes and of triumphs. These conquerors, so terrible in battle, have been as friends and brothers among us; blessed in the public happiness, enjoying, without haughtiness, the gratitude that they deserve; and, by the most severe discipline, proving themselves worthy of the victories which they had obtained.

In the war that remained yet to be carried on, events have been checquered with success and reverses. Reduced to the necessity of struggling against the marine of England, with an inferior force, our navy has shown itself with courage in the Mediterranean, when that sea was covered with the fleets of the enemy. On the ocean it has recalled some remembrance of its

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ancient splendour; by a glorious resistance it has astonished England, collected on her coast to be witness of her own defeat; and if peace had not been restored, there was no reason to hope that it would avenge its past misfortunes, as well as the faults that had produced them.

In Egypt, the soldiers of the army of the East have yielded; but they have yielded rather to circumstances, than to the force of Turkey and of England, and certainly they would have conquered, if they had fought united. At length they return to their country, and they return with the glory which is due to four years of courage and of labour. They leave in Egypt an immortal memory, which will, perhaps, one day, revive there the arts and institutions of society. History at least will not pass over in silence all that the French have done to introduce into that country the civilization and improvements of Europe. It will relate by what efforts they conquered it, with what wisdom and what discipline they so long preserved it, and, perhaps, it will deplore their loss of it as a new calamity to mankind.

Twenty-eight thousand Frenchmen entered Egypt for the purpose of conquering it; more have been sent there at different periods since, but others have returned to nearly the same number. Twenty-three thousand reenter France, after the evacuation, without including the foreigners who have followed their fortunes. So that four campaigns, a number of battles, and the effects of diseases, have not altogether carried off one fifth of the army of the East.

After the continental war, every reduction in the army that circumstances would permit, has been carried into effect by the government.

Unconditional discharges are granted; they are granted without preference, without favour, and according to an order irrevocably fixed. Those who have first taken arms in obedience to the laws of the requisition, obtained them first.

In order to fill up the vacancy which these discharges will leave in the army, it will be necessary to call upon the conscripts of the ninth and tenth years; and, in the course of the present session, a project of a law will be proposed to the legislative body to place them at the disposal of the government, but the government will only call upon the number strictly necessary for maintaining the complete peace establishment of the army.

We will enjoy the peace, but the war will leave us a burden, which will, for a long time, weigh heavy on our finances, to pay off expenses which could neither be foreseen nor calculated, to recompense the services of our defenders, and to reanimate the works of our arsenals and our ports, to restore the French marine, to create anew all that the war has destroyed, all that time has consumed, in fine, to carry all our establishments to the point which the greatness and the security of the republic require; all this cannot be done without an increase of revenue. The revenues will increase of themselves with the peace. The government will manage them with the most strict economy; but, if the natural increase of the revenues, if the most strict economy, should not be sufficient, the nation will judge the wants, and the government

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vernment will propose the resources which circumstances shall render necessary.

During the whole course of the ninth year, scarcely were a few imperfect communications maintained between the mother country and the colonies.

Guadaloupe has preserved some remnant of culture and prosperity; but the sovereignty of the republic has received more than one outrage. In the eighth year, a single agent commanded there; he was banished by a faction. Three agents succeeded him, two of them banished the third, and replaced him with a man of their own choice; another dies, and the two that remain invest themselves solely with the power that should be exercised by three. Under this mutilated and illegal agency, anarchy and despotism reigned by turns. The colonists and the allies, accuse and charge it with errors and crimes. The government tried to organize a new administration. A captain-general, a prefect, a commissary of justice, subordinate among themselves, but succeeding each other as occasion may require, present a singular power possessing a sort of check, but no rivalship that could impede its action, or paralyse its strength. This administration exists, and it will soon be known if it justifies the hopes that have been conceived of it.

From the moment of his arrival, the captain-general had to combat the spirit of faction. He thought it his duty to send to France thirteen individuals, contrivers of disturbance and promoters of banishments.

The government conceived that such men would be dangerous in France, and ordered that they should be sent to any of the colonies that they may choose, Guadaloupe excepted.

At St. Domingo some irregular acts have given alarm for its allegiance. The government has not chosen to see under equivocal appearances any thing but that ignorance which confounds names and things, and usurps, when it thinks it is only obeying; but an army and a fleet, which are preparing to set out from the ports of Europe, will soon have dissipated all these clouds, and St. Domingo will return entirely under the laws of the republic.

At St. Domingo and at Guadaloupe there are no longer any slaves, all are free, and all shall remain free. Prudence and time will restore order in them, and reestablish cultivation and industry.

At Martinique different principles will prevail. Martinique has kept up slavery, and slavery shall still be kept up there. Humanity has already suffered too much to attempt a new revolution in this part.

Guiane has prospered under an active and vigorous governor; it will prosper still more under the empire of peace, and by the addition of a new territory, which calls for cultivation, and promises wealth.

The isles of France and Reunion have remained faithful to the mother country in the midst of factions and under an administration feeble and unsettled, such as chance made it, and which has received from the government neither her impulse nor assistance. These colonies, so important, are confirmed; they no longer fear that the mother country, by giving liberty to the blacks, will establish the slavery of the whites.

In our foreign relations, the government will not fear to develop their principles and their maxims.

Fidelity

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Fidelity to our allies, respect for their independence, frankness and loyalty towards our enemies; such has been the policy of government.

Batavia reproached her political organization with not having been conceived for her.

But for some years that organization governed Batavia. The principle of the government is, that nothing is more fatal to the happiness of a people than the instability of their institutions; and when the Batavian directory endeavoured to ascertain their opinion respecting alterations, they constantly reminded them of this principle.

But at length the Batavian people wished to alter their organization, and they have adopted a new constitution. Government have acknowledged that constitution; and it was their duty to acknowledge it, because it was the will of an independent people.

Twenty-five thousand men were to remain in Batavia, according to the terms of the treaty of the Hague, until the general peace. The Batavians desired this force to be reduced; and in virtue of a recent convention, they have been reduced to 10,000 men.

Helvetia has afforded, during the year nine, the spectacle of a people torn by parties, each of those parties invoking the power and sometimes the arms of France.

Our troops have received orders to return to our territories; 4,000 men alone still remain in Helvetia, by the wish of all the local authorities who have claimed their remaining among them.

Often has Helvetia submitted to the first consul plans for organization; often has she asked his advice; he has always recalled her to the recollection of her independence: "Remember only," he has sometimes said, "the courage and virtues of your fathers; have an organization simple as their manners. Think of those different religions, and those different languages, which have their limits marked out; think of those vallies, of those mountains, that separate you, of so many recollections attached to their natural boundaries; and let there remain of all that an impression in your organization.—Above all, as an example to the people of Europe, preserve liberty and equality to that nation, which first taught them to be free and independent."

These were but counsels, and they were coolly heard. Helvetia remains without a pilot in the midst of storms. The minister of the republic has been nothing more than a conciliator amidst the divided parties, and the general of our troops has refused to sanction the support of his force.

The Cisalpine and Liguria have at length decreed their organization. Both fear, in the movements of the first appointments, the revival of rivalships and hatred. They have appeared to desire that the first consul should take these appointments upon himself.

He will endeavour to reconcile this wish of two republics so dear to France, with the more sacred functions which his office imposes upon him.

Lucca has expiated, in the agonies of a provisionary regime, the errors that deserved the indignation of the French people. She is now employed in giving herself a definitive organization.

The king of Tuscany, tranquil upon his throne, has been acknowledged

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ledged by great powers, and will soon be by all.

Four thousand French are guarding Leghorn for him, and will evacuate it when he shall have organized a national army.

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Piedmont forms our 27th military division, and under a milder regime, forgets the miseries of a long anarchy.

The holy father, sovereign of Rome, possesses his states in their integrity. Pesaro, Fano, Castel St. Leone, which had been occupied by Cisalpine troops, have been restored to him.

Fifteen hundred French troops are still in the citadel of Ancona, and in order to ensure the communication with the army of the South.

After the peace of Luneville, France might have fallen with her whole weight upon the kingdom of Naples, have punished the sovereign for having first broken the treaties, and have made him repent the affront the French had received in the very port of Naples; but the government thought themselves revenged as soon as they had the power of being revenged; they felt nothing more than the desire and the necessity of peace; to give it, they demanded only the port of Otranto, necessary to their designs in the East, as Malta had been occupied by the British.

Paul the First loved France; he wished for the peace of Europe; he wished, above all, for the freedom of the seas. His great soul was moved by the pacific sentiments which the first consul had manifested; it was afterwards moved by our successes and our victories: and hence the first ties that attached him to the republic.

Eight thousand Russians had been made prisoners in fighting with the allies; but the administration that then directed England had refused to exchange them for French prisoners. The government was indignant at this refusal; they resolved to restore those brave warriors, abandoned by their allies, to their country; they restored them in a manner worthy the republic, of themselves, and of their sovereign. Hence closer ties and more intimate approximation.

On a sudden Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia united; a coalition was formed to guaranty the freedom of the seas; Hanover was occupied by the Prussian troops; great and vast operations were preparing; but Paul died suddenly.

Bavaria hastened to revive the ties that united her to France. That ally, so important to us, has sustained great losses on the left bank of the Rhine; the interest and the desire of France are, that Bavaria shall obtain a just and full indemnity.

Great discussions have taken place at Ratisbon upon the execution of the treaty of Luneville; but those discussions do not immediately concern France. The peace of Luneville, concluded with the empire, and ratified by the diet, has irrevocably fixed on that side all the interests of the republic. If the republic still take part in the discussions of Ratisbon, it is only as guaranty of the stipulations contained in the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, and for the purpose of maintaining a just equilibrium in Germany.

Peace has been signed with Russia; and nothing will hereafter disturb the relation of two great people, who, with so many reasons for loving, have none for fearing each other; and whom nature has placed at the two extremities of Europe,

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to be the counterpoise of the north and the south.

The Porte, restored to her real interests, and her inclinations for France, has again found her most faithful and ancient ally.

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With the United States of America all difficulties have been removed.

Finally, the preliminaries of peace with England have been ratified.

Peace with England must have been the produce of long negotiations, maintained by a system of war, which, though slow in its preparation, was infallible in its result.

Already the greater part of her allies had abandoned her. Hanover, the sole possession of her sovereign upon the continent, remained in the power of Prussia; the Porte, menaced by our important positions on the Adriatic, had entered upon a private negociation.

Portugal remained to her; having been so long under the influence of the exclusive commerce of the English, Portugal was, in fact, no more than a province of Great Britain. It was there that Spain was to find a compensation for the cession of Trinidada. Her army advances; a division of the troops of the republic encamp upon the frontier of Portugal to support her operations; but, after the first hostilities and some light skirmishes, the Spanish minister ratifies separately the treaty of Badajoz. From that time the loss of Trinidada to Spain was to be predicted; from that time, in fact, England considered it as a possession acquired to her, and removed out of the negotiation every thing that could suppose the restitution of it possible.

Before the ratification of the particular treaty of France with Portugal, the government made known to the cabinet of Madrid that determination of England.

England refused, with the same inflexibility, the restoration of Ceylon. But the Batavian republic will find, in the numerous possessions that are restored to her, the reestablishment of her commerce and her power.

France has supported the interests of her allies with as much strength as her own: she has done it to the extent of sacrificing greater advantages than she could have obtained for herself; but she was forced to stop at the point in which all negotiation became impossible. Her exhausted allies afforded her no more resources for the continuance of war; and the objects, the restitution of which was refused them by England, did not balance to them the chances of a new campaign, and all the calamities with which it might overwhelm them.

Thus, in all parts of the world, the republic has only friends or allies, and her commerce and her industry are returning to their accustomed channels.

In the whole course of the negotiations, the present administration of England have shown a frank desire to put an end to the miseries of war; the English people have embraced peace with enthusiasm; the hatred of rivalship is extinguished; the emulation of great actions and useful enterprises will only remain.

The government have made it their ambition to replace France in her natural relations with all nations; they will make it their glory to maintain their work, and to perpetuate a peace which shall constitute their happiness

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happiness as well as the happiness of humanity.

The first consul,

Buonaparte.

The secretary of state.

H. B. Maret.

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Constitution of the Batavian People.

General Principles and Dispositions.

ART. 1. The happiness of the whole is the first of laws. Consequently, no member, nor any section of society, can receive advantage by any particular law to the prejudice of others.

2. All the members of society are equal in the eye of the law, without distinction of rank or birth.

3. Each citizen may do what he pleases; but remains responsible to, and according to the law, both for his actions and the sentiments he propagates.

4. The law establishes the necessary dispositions for ensuring to every citizen an honest subsistence, but all privileged bodies and exclusive affiliations are abolished.

5. Every inhabitant is maintained in the peaceable possession and enjoyment of his property. No one can be deprived of any part of his possessions, unless the general good imperiously requires it; and in that case, he shall receive a just and proper indemnity.

6. Every inhabitant is inviolable in his habitation; no one can enter it without his consent, and in virtue of an order issued by the proper authority.

7. No one can be arrested but according to the law. No one can be tried or condemned but by the judge acknowledged by the constitution or the law, and until after being summoned agreeably to what they prescribe, and having obtained all the means of defence which they determine.

8. Every citizen must be heard in three days after he has been delivered into the hands of his natural judge. A copy of the motives of his arrestation cannot be refused to him: the law determines the punishment of the judge who shall offend against these dispositions. If the examination and motives of arrestation have not been communicated within the time above prescribed, the prisoner has a right to be released, and without any delay.

9. All useless severity in the guarding of prisoners is forbidden. All violent means for extorting confession are abolished.

10. Every citizen has a right to address, in writing, petitions and propositions to the constituted authorities, provided they are signed individually; in any other case they cannot be made but by the bodies constituted by the law, and must relate only to objects which have relation to the functions which they discharge.

11. All religious societies, which acknowledge a Supreme Being, and rendering homage to him, tend to favour virtue and good morals, are equally protected by the law. Every religious society publicly professes its opinions, and grants free access to the places consecrated to the exercise of its worship.

12. Every head of a family, and every independent person of either sex, who has attained to the age of fourteen, must inscribe their names in one of these religious societies, which

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which they may freely quit to enter into another. Every society requires from its members an annual contribution for the maintenance of its ministers and of its property. This contribution, however, can never exceed the sum stipulated for that purpose by the law.

13. Every religious society shall remain irrevocably in possession of what it possessed at the commencement of the present century.

14. No exclusive civil rights can be attached to any of them. The teachers, ministers, and ecclesiastical servants of the reformed religion, therefore, the prevailing religion, who being paid salaries or pensions from the public treasures, are actually in exercise, shall continue to enjoy their incomes and pensions until the full execution of the dispositions prescribed by article 12.

15. All the laws and dispositions, which, since the commencement of the year 1795, have lessened the value of property or possessions legally acquired, are subject to revision. Whoever has been injured by these laws, may apply to the regency of the state, which, according to the exigency of the case, shall propose to the legislative body either a repeal of the law, or its revision, or a just and proper indemnity.

16. Feudality is abolished; all fiefs are declared allodial. The law provides an indemnity for the possessors of lordships.

17. The Batavian people desire that the national guard, established for the purpose of ensuring liberty and maintaining the national independence, shall be encouraged by every proper means. No citizen, forming part of that guard is obliged to serve beyond the territory of the republic. He is not bound to any service beyond his department, without a decree of the legislative body, and only in the case of an attack from the enemy. The active service of the national guard in each department is farther determined by the law.

18. The same kinds of money shall be coined and circulated throughout the whole republic, according to the manner and value which the law shall establish.

19. The weights and measures already known in the republic shall be uniformly regulated. The law shall fix the mode and the period when this disposition shall be carried into execution.

Of the Division of the Territory and the Right of Suffrage.

20. The Batavian republic is one and indivisible.

21. Its European territory remains divided into eight departments, the limits of which shall be those of the ancient provinces; the modifications under mentioned remain: the country of Drenthe shall be united to the province of Overyssel; and Batavian Brabant shall form an eighth department; Ameland shall form part of Friesland; Wedde and West Woldingerland of Groningen; Ysselstein of Holland; Vlane of Utrecht; and Kuilenburg and Buren of Guelderland. The law shall farther determine to what department the countries, which are already or may hereafter be annexed to the territory of the republic, shall belong.

22. Each department shall be, in regard to its limits, divided into a certain number of districts. It is according to this regulation that the election of the members of the departmental

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partmental administration shall take place.

23. The present division of the primary assemblies is maintained for the election of the members of the legislative body.

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24. Those who unite the following qualities are active citizens:—1st, Those who have inscribed the place of their habitation in the national register.—2d, Those who have attained to the full age of twenty-one, or who form a part of the national guard.—3d, Those who have resided without interruption in the republic for one year, if natives of the country, or six years if foreigners.—4th, Those who can read and write Dutch, a disposition which, however, cannot be applicable to citizens inscribed before the 23d of April, 1799.—5th, Those who have made the following declaration: "I promise fidelity to the constitution, and submission to the law."

25. The following are excluded from voting:—1st, Those who are in the service of any foreign power, or who receive from it a pension; 2d, Domestics who receive wages attached to personal household service; 3d, Those maintained in the houses of charity, orphan-houses, and hospitals; 4th, Those who, during the last six months, have been maintained from the poor's box; 5th, Those under tutorship on account of bad conduct, dissipation, or mental derangement; 6th, Bankrupts, as well as those who have given up their property, until their creditors are paid; 7th, Those who are in a state of accusation, or who in justice are known to be infamous.

26. The law fixes the manner in which the right of suffrage ought to be exercised, and the qualification in regard to property required in the person to be elected.

27. The ministers of any worship are not eligible to functions depending on the government.

28. The military cannot exercise their functions, but in the place of their residence, and in so far as it is distinct from that where they are in garrison.

Of the Government.

29. The government is intrusted to a regency of state, composed of twelve members, chosen from among the active citizens, of full thirty-five years of age, born within the republic, having resided in it for the last six years, and not being connected by relationship or alliance within the fourth degree with any member of the regency. They shall enjoy an annual pension of 10,000 florins.

30. For this time, seven of these members are immediately named by the present executive directory. These seven members shall proceed to choose the other five. The twelve regents shall choose from among themselves a president who is elected for three months. During the first six months of the installation of the regency of state, if one or more vacancies shall happen, the remaining members shall proceed in the course of eight days to fill them up.

31. The regency of state decrees the regulation of order for holding the sittings. It shall divide itself into as many commissions as the different branches of the administration render necessary. These commissions shall employ themselves in discussing and examining the affairs referred to them by the council.

32. The regency shall unite to itself,

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itself, besides a secretary-general, a secretary of state, having the department of foreign affairs, three other secretaries of state, having the departments of the marine, war, and interior: or if it is thought more proper, in place of each of the three latter, three councils, composed each of three members. In the last place, a council of finances, intrusted to three persons, and a treasurer-general.

33. The secretaries of state, or the councils which supply their place, are charged with the administration of the affairs within their province, as well as the execution or the orders transmitted to them by the regency, agreeably to its instructions, and under their responsibility. They are named by the regency of the state, from a triple list, formed by the section of the council of regency attached to the department to which they belong.

34. Every year one member of the regency of state shall go out in rotation; this shall take place, for the first time, on the 1st of November, 1802, according to the order, which shall be determined by lot, for the annual going out of all the members. To supply the vacant places, the departments shall proceed, in the order hereafter prescribed, to the nomination of four persons, a list of whom shall be sent to the regency. The latter shall reduce this number to two, from whom the legislative body shall make a definitive choice.

The legislative body is composed of thirty-five members, named, for the first time, by the government, during the first eight days of their installation. Twelve of them chosen by a plurality of voices for the term of session, ordinary or extraordinary, shall discuss the laws proposed.

Discussions on all projects, presented during the first week of a common session, must be terminated, at the latest, the last day of the session, that is to say, the 30th of May, or the 15th of December.

During extraordinary convocations, the propositions which have given rise to them, must be determined before the separation of the legislative body, and within a month at the least.

The members of the legislative body pronounce, on the projects presented to them, by yes or no.

These projects may always be withdrawn during the course of the discussion. If the project is rejected, the regency of state, when it judges necessary, shall depute three of its members to the legislative body to explain and defend the motives of their vote: if the legislative body persist in rejecting the project, it cannot be again brought forwards. In this case the legislative body must assign reasons for their refusal; the regency retains the right of presenting another project.

The debts and obligations contracted, not only by the generality and in its name, but also in the names of the different provinces of the three quarters of Guelderland, the country of Drenthe, Batavian Brabant, and of the East India company, are declared national debts and obligations.

Contracts for rents, obligations, receipts, and all other obligatory acts, shall be exchanged as soon as possible for national obligations, without any deduction whatever of capital or interest.

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Promise of the Members of the Legislative Body.

I solemnly promise, that as member of the legislative body, and in conformity to the constitutional act, I will assist with all my power to support the interests of the Batavian people, as well as to maintain their rights; and that I will discharge, with sincerity and zeal, all the duties imposed on me in this respect without ever deviating from them for any consideration whatever, favour or disgrace, promises or presents, or any other thing. I equally promise that I will in no manner concur, nor take part in any resolution or project, that may tend to introduce hereditary dignities, or that may tend to deviate from the principles of a representative popular government.

Promise of the Members of the Regency of State.

I solemnly promise, as member of the regency of state, that agreeably to the constitution and power which has been intrusted to me, I will assist with all my might to maintain the interests of the Batavian people, to defend its rights, its rank, and dignity, to consolidate, maintain, and ensure the independence of the republic, and the liberty of the citizens; that I will, with sincerity and zeal, discharge all the duties imposed on me in this respect, without ever departing from them on any consideration whatever, favour or disgrace, promises or presents, or any other thing; and that I will never assist in any manner to form or countenance any project that may deviate from the principles of the constitution, or tend to introduce hereditary dignities, or which may be contrary to a popular representative government; and I moreover promise, that if I come to the knowledge of any enterprise of this kind, I will oppose it, and endeavour to prevent it by all the means with which I have been intrusted.

Proclamation of the Executive Directory of the Batavian Republic, on presenting, for the Acceptance of the People, a Plan of a new Constitution.

Liberty—Equality—Fraternity.

Citizens,

IF there ever was an epocha when private interest ought to be sacrificed, prejudices combated, the passions moderated, and the spirit of party extinguished; when the voice of truth ought to be heard, and nothing but duty, the love of our country, and experience, ought to guide us; it is, undoubtedly, at that time when we come to give an account of the result of those meditations which for a long time have absorbed all our consideration. These meditations, directed towards your dearest interests, have had for their only object to establish in our country an order of things, which might absorb the past, and present for the future a flattering prospect, and such as might become, by the sanction of all the citizens, a certain pledge of their reunion, and the foundation of their warmest hopes.

The interior state of our country, its exterior relations, the political situation of Europe, the dispositions of foreign powers in regard to our republic, demand our solicitude, should excite our zeal, and present us

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us beforehand the success and recompense of our efforts.

And who is he, that, having observed in silence, with the calmness natural to Batavians, the course of affairs, has not met, whichever way he turned his eyes, the traces of division, of discontent, and a strong desire for another order of things?

But this disposition of mind, so foreign to the character of a nation which attaches itself to its ancient customs, and has a hatred for innovation, has, more than once, been the cause of their preferring to remain as they were, in certain matters, inferior to other people, rather than sacrifice the present, with all its disadvantages, to the future. Will this disposition surprise us, when, proceeding from effects to causes, we recollect all that the Batavian people have witnessed and suffered within the last six years? Torn by intestine divisions, menaced and assailed by the greatest dangers; has it not seen, within that short period, its finances exhausted by a ruinous war; its commerce annihilated; the sources of its existence and its prosperity poisoned; the greatest part of its colonies torn away; its maritime efforts sinking to nothing; its most valuable cargoes and best ships becoming the prey of the enemy? Notwithstanding these disasters, have not these people sacrificed, without murmur, their means to the unceasing wants of the country?

This same people have supported so many losses, in the hopes of being one day delivered from the yoke which pressed upon them; to resume their rank among the nations of Europe, and once more to become, by their love of liberty, by good order and virtue, the example of some, and an object of emulation to others.

Very far, however, was success from answering their attempts; very far. At the end of a struggle, supported with such constancy, a constitution, founded in the nature of circumstances, adapted to the localities and to the manners of our fellow citizens, reestablished tranquillity, happiness, and union. The country was delivered to all the fury of the passions — citizens infuriate against citizens — the one pronouncing against the other the most unfounded judgment upon their works and opinions—envy and hatred usurping the places of talents and information, and deciding arbitrarily upon the fate of the country; our first assemblies, instead of coming to the object of their union, opened, in their deliberations new sources of division and trouble: such is the picture that has been presented by the republic, since the close of the national convention, dissolved as illegally as it was called together, (after two years' useless labour,) gave place to a government, to whom it seemed reserved to close the wounds of the state, and to rally all good citizens round the standard of public good.

But here again the general attempt failed; and this long struggle produced a constitution, vicious in its principle, and whose effects prove it to be the child of passion and precipitation.

We ask of you, citizens, of you who have, on decisive occasions, shown you have at heart the interest of your country, we ask of you today, whether that constitution is the law expressive of your wills? Is it adequate to your wants, to your customs, or to your character? Is it

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sufficient for the preservation of your rights? Or is it the work of a party, who, following all the windings of a crooked policy, wished to make the government of a state the property of a certain class of individuals?

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Does not this constitution deprive you of the knowledge, so desirable, of your own affairs? Does it not deprive you of that personal administration, without which there can exist neither order nor economy? Has it not reduced you to the necessity, to seek at distance, decisions upon your domestic interests which you were accustomed to have almost without stirring for them? Can the general administration efficaciously protect and defend you? Those whose duty is to instruct and counsel, can they see all themselves? The objects submitted to their deliberations, multiplied into infinity and placed at immense distances, like as upon a rugged rock whose approach is surrounded with difficulties, can they be seized by them, whatever may be their courage and their constancy?

The first ministers of the state, to prevent a stagnation in public affairs, are found to be surrounded with a multitude of subalterns, of which the least evil is an increase of expense. When the course of human affairs is considered with impartiality, ought we not to fear, that persons, to whom no responsibility attaches, may acquire an influence dangerous to public affairs, and that ministers may become, notwithstanding their vigilance, the instruments of the corruption of their agents? This state is the more to be suspected, as these agents may find the means to escape detection, by obtaining, by false representation, orders under which they may cover their abuse of confidence.

This picture, citizens, however sad and discouraging it may appear, is not at all overcharged. It is the fruit of experience acquired on the part of government committed to our care. But, far from stopping here, we should regard as the effects of a heated imagination, those defects which we have just detailed, if the deliberations and resolutions of the representative body did not oblige us to remark their similar vices to those we so sadly deplore. How many laws discussed among them for three years, can be considered as general rules of conduct? Do there not exist as many particular laws as public ones? And does not the number increase every day with the wants and griefs of the inhabitants? The innumerable resolutions paralyze the executive government, and bewilder those citizens, whose duty or whose business obliges them to approach the abyss. Far be it from us, however, to throw suspicion on the head of the legislators. It is in the nature of things that we must act; and in order to leave no doubt upon this point, we will examine, with equal impartiality, the sum of their labours.

It will be sufficient to recal to your minds the diversity of opinions upon several important articles; the difficulties which retarded the establishment of some of the organic laws of the constitution; the conflicting sentiments which these propositions caused in the two chambers; the numerous reports which it was necessary to present upon one single affair, to understand it well, and in particular the labour upon the administration of the poor; upon the municipalities; that upon the civil

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civil tribunals, discussed a long time without any ultimate decision — in short, the tedious and embarrassing manner in which the most minute affairs were managed.

You must conclude then with us, citizens, that the legislative assembly could not, whatever was its zeal and energy, overcome the vices and obstacles caused by its organization. The complication of construction impeded its progress, and its evident effect was public and private ruin.— This state of things, citizens, has long attracted our notice. Situated, by the nature of our functions, in a manner to appreciate the danger, could we avoid the obligation of finding the means to bring them to an end? But it was not sufficient to know the evil and the remedy; we ought, like prudent physicians, to take into consideration the state of the patient, and not run the risk of killing him, by administering, without caution, the remedies which ought to operate for his cure.

What had already passed, sufficiently demonstrated the necessity of resting upon a solid basis civil and political liberty, before we abandoned that system, the fruit of our revolution, to the incertitude of future events.

Neither could a momentary suspicion be entertained that the stadtholder should be restored: that would have been giving to the cabinet of St. James's that fatal influence which she has already used for the destruction of the prosperity of this once happy and flourishing country.

Thus far, then, the situation of affairs in Europe has given to the partizans of the house of Orange a hope of realizing their wishes. We could neither hope success to our efforts, nor union of wills and sentiments; but at present, that this question is for ever determined, as it appears no cabinet nourishes the plan of restoring the stadtholder, we thought we could no longer delay a project, which a longer delay might have rendered abortive.

At present we feel ourselves as happy in being able to address ourselves, not as the head of a party, but to the whole of the republic; and to count equally upon those, who, carried away by a blind zeal or seduced by prejudices, have hitherto searched for their country out of the country, and who, notwithstanding, have never ceased to find there protection for their persons and their property.

Peace is signed on the continent: the house of Austria has recognised our independence; our political relations with Russia are renewed. Soon we shall reckon her envoy among the number of ambassadors of so many other people, allies, friends, and neighbours.

The French government cannot admit our independence with greater *eclat* than by the last convention which she has just concluded; a convention which considerably diminishes expenses, and at the same time takes from calumny that pretext with which she has attempted more than once to serve herself, by drawing from the nature of the relation of the French army with the government, consequences equally injurious to the French nation and humiliating to our republic.

Could we have justified ourselves to our fellow-citizens, or in our own eyes, if, far from profiting by such favourable circumstances, the republic had been assigned, at the period of a general peace, a rank below

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low what she had a right to expect? By that alone, we had hesitated to treat with a government which offered no guarantee, and, in effect, liable to be overturned in a year and a half, the epoch fixed for a revision of the constitution. Who could have answered, that it would then have taken effect in such a state of incertitude, of which we have already experienced the pernicious influence.

You know, citizens, that six years ago we made to the legislative body a proposition which had for its object the amelioration of the fundamental laws of the state. You were then, without doubt, convinced, by the course of its deliberations, that it is impossible (as the national convention has already furnished another proof) that so numerous an assembly, agitated by so many different passions, could give to the state a good constitution. Those who are called to defend and protect the state, wish with good faith its happiness; and its safety cannot expose it to new agitations.

Penetrated with this truth, and strong in the conviction that we have nothing in view but your welfare and your glory, we have formed a plan of a constitution which steers a middle course between the different opinions which have hitherto distracted the inhabitants of the country, and in which we are assured that the leading features are not displeasing to our natural ally. We have done more: in submitting this plan to the judgment of the people, we have given intelligence to the two chambers of the representative body. And, in fine, that every thing may pass with order, we have resolved as follows:—

1st. As soon as these presents are ready, the municipality shall submit to public examination a sufficient number of copies of this proclamation, and of the project of a constitution annexed.

2d. The 1st of October next they shall open registers in every commune of the republic, and shall furnish to every citizen of twenty years of age, who shall not be excluded the right of voting by the 13th article of the constitution, the means of giving his suffrage by aye or non, upon the presented plan.

3d. The 6th of October these registers shall be closed—the administration of every commune shall send the list of the votes to the executive directory as soon as possible, and at the latest, by the 15th of October, joining a general list of the actual citizens in their commune, that they may be enabled to communicate to the Batavian people the result of the votes. Every actual citizen, who does not vote, shall be considered as approving the plan of constitution.

Such, citizens, is the fruit of our long and painful meditations. At present, it remains with you to determine whether the project we present accords with your true interests, and has for its real objects the happiness of the people.

Let mature reflection guide your judgment, and suppress your passions; never forget that you are going to pronounce upon the fate of your country. For our parts, citizens, we shall attend with resignation the result of your deliberations; and whatever may be the consequences of your opinion, convinced that right was intended, we shall not doubt but that your judgment is that of all Europe.

The executive directory orders that this proclamation be fixed up in

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in all the usual places, with injunctions to the departmental administrations, to see that it be carried into execution as promptly as possible in the manner within prescribed.

Done and ordained in the directorial assembly of the Batavian republic, at the Hague, the 14th September, 1801, 7th year of Batavian liberty.

(Signed) Bezier, president.

By command of the same,

(Signed) Dassevael.

Proclamation of the New Batavian Constitution, by the Batavian Directory at the Hague, 16th October, 1801.

Batavians!

THE plan of a constitution which our duty and knowledge of your true interest obliged us to lay before you, has been accepted; out of the 416,419 whose names were given in to us as entitled to vote, only 52,219 have voted for its rejection. By far the greater part of the nation have therefore given an unequivocal proof of their coinciding with us in sentiment relative to the principles and form of the future constitution.

There can therefore no longer be any doubt of your wish and choice, since nothing prevents you from expressing them. Every thing in the constitution which was a restraint upon you we have removed. Tranquillity will now reign perpetually amidst you, since you have deliberated and confirmed your choice. And though we have used every exertion to prevent your being misled by the ignorant and prejudiced, we have not had recourse either to force or intimidation to compel the acceptance of a constitution which you might consider as detrimental to your interests.

At length a new order of things is, with your consent, established, and in which you have all, without distinction of rank or opinion, been able to cooperate; and if ever a plan of such importance was carried into effect under fortunate auspices, it is this.

While you are employed in establishing a wise and moderate constitution, conformable to your natural character and manners, and conducive to your happiness, security, and welfare, the foundations have been laid abroad of a peace which embraces all the countries and seas of Europe, and the most distant parts of the world; which enables tortured humanity again to breathe, and affords you a distant prospect of reaping the fruits of your fidelity and perseverance, the reward of all your numberless sacrifices.

Batavians, be happy in the constitution which you have accepted, and confirm it by your virtues and amity. We shall immediately, according to the 10th article of this constitution, nominate seven citizens, who, with five others, chosen by them, shall form the council of state of the Batavian republic, that the new constitution may be carried into effect as speedily as possible, agreeably to your wishes.

The directory commands that this proclamation shall be made public, and affixed in all the usual places.

Given at the Hague, the 16th of October, 1801, in the 7th year of Batavian liberty.

(Signed) Van Haernsolte.

C. Dassevael loco sec.

Memorial,

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Memorial, transmitted by his Serene Highness the Stadtholder to Lord Hawkesbury, previous to the Departure of his Serene Highness from Hampton Court.

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THE prince of Orange being informed, that the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace between his Britannic majesty and the French republic, signed on the 1st inst. have been exchanged on the 10th; and those articles, as published by government, having thus come to his knowledge, thinks he ought not to delay any longer, in a conjuncture so important to his interests, and those of his house, to express, without reserve, his sentiments and his wishes to his majesty.

The unfortunate circumstances which obliged the prince of Orange and his family to repair to England, in the year 1795, are too well known to make it necessary to renew the statement of them in this place.

After having been received by his majesty with the most affecting kindness, the prince of Orange experienced no less convincing proofs of his majesty's goodness towards him during his stay in this country, where he has constantly been treated with the most generous hospitality. On every occasion he received unequivocal assurances and marks of the unvaried interest which his majesty and his government continued to take, not only in what related to himself and to his family, but also to the numerous and faithful adherents of the house of Orange, and the ancient constitution of the republic of the United Provinces. These marks of interest had so often been repeated, that the prince of Orange has not even conceived it to be necessary for him to make any formal demand, founded upon the solemn engagements by which Great Britain guarantied, in 1788, the stadtholderate, and the other dignities hereditary in his house.

The prince of Orange has seen, with great concern, the course of events lead gradually to a state of things very different from that under which those engagements had been formed, and by which the probability of their being completely fulfilled was from day to day diminishing. Nevertheless, as long as the war was continued, he could never prevail upon himself to give up that hope entirely; but he awaited in silence the final issue of events. Now that the preliminaries of peace are concluded on the conditions known to the public, without the prince of Orange having received any information that any thing has been stipulated with respect to himself, he thinks himself under the obligation of breaking the silence he has hitherto thought fit to observe, and considers it as his indispensable duty to recommend, in the strongest and most pressing manner, to the king's solicitude and powerful protection, at the approaching conferences for the formation of the definitive treaty, his own interests, those of his house, and of a considerable number of his countrymen, who are become the unfortunate victims of their unshaken zeal for his person and his cause—of their tried fidelity to the ancient government of their native country, and of their attachment to that system which has so long and so closely united the republic of the United Provinces to Great Britain.

The prince of Orange thinks it would be injuring the generous feelings of his majesty and his government

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vernment to dwell upon the motives which induce him to make this request. He has no doubt of his majesty's finding them in his own royal breast, and he flatters himself that the dispositions he hopes to find on this subject, will add still more to the manifold obligations he owes to the king, and of which he will never lose the grateful remembrance.

The prince of Orange requests lord Hawkesbury to lay the present note before his majesty, and to inform him of his majesty's intentions with respect to its contents. He takes this opportunity to assure lord Hawkesbury of his perfect consideration.

(Signed) W. prince of Orange.
Hampton Court Palace,
13th Oct. 1801.

Letter from the Stadtholder to all the Members of the former Government.

HAVING learnt that several members of the government, ministers, and other functionaries of the province of ——, who were in office on the 18th January, 1795, as well as before the revolutions that took place after that period, entertain scruples with respect to the acceptance of places under the present circumstances, and since the introduction of the last constitution, and refuse to take employments which have a relation to the government and administration of the country; I have thought it necessary to inform you by these presents (requesting you to make what use of them you think necessary,) that, according to my opinion, there are no longer any motives which should restrain you from using your efforts (considering the order of things which has lately been introduced) to procure for your country as much good as it is susceptible of, and thereby to prevent its total ruin. You may accept, without difficulty, when you think proper, employments, and sit in the colleges which are connected with the administration of the affairs of the country, and take a place in the government, cooperating with the members of the present government.

I am, with esteem, &c.
W. prince of Orange.
Oranjestein, 25th Dec. 1801.

Articles of the new Helvetic Constitution, agreed to on the 29th September, 1801, at Berne.

1. THE integrity of Helvetia is a fundamental article of the Helvetic constitution.

2. The Helvetic republic forms only one state:—its territory is divided into cantons.

3. There is only one right of Helvetic citizenship:—there are no political rights of citizens relative to distinct cantons.

4. The whole canton of Valais shall appertain to Helvetia, and not be ceded, unless France should take possession of it by force.

Farther Articles, voted upon the 1st and 2d of October, 1801.

5. The senate has the necessary proposal of laws, but shall receive on the subject the remarks of the sovereign authority of each canton, and lay the same, together with its proposal, before the diet, which shall finally decide.

6. The

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6. The diet shall assemble ordinarily the first of February of every year, and extraordinarily, when either the majority of the cantons or the senate itself shall judge necessary.

7. The diet consists of deputies from all the cantons, the number of which shall be fixed in proportion to the population.

8. The members of the diet shall be chosen in their respective cantons, in the manner prescribed by the organization of each canton.

9. The senate possesses, together with the proposal of laws, the direction of the general measures of government.

10. A committee appointed by the senate (the lesser council) shall superintend the execution of its determinations.

Decree of the ancient Helvetic Legislative Body; dated Berne, 28th October, 1801.

THE legislative council, considering the evils with which the country is menaced, by the incoherence of the labours of the Helvetic diet, and the manifest partiality which has swayed its deliberations:

Considering that this diet has mistaken its duties and gone beyond the limits of its powers, in occupying itself upon a new plan of constitution, and arrogating to itself in fact the functions of a constituent assembly;

Considering that such a step is not justified by any power legitimately delegated, that it is even in formal opposition to the organic laws, as well as to the wish of Helvetia, tacitly expressed by the convocation of the assemblies of cantons;

Considering that, by the secession of sixteen members of that assembly, several cantons, not being represented at all, and others only being so partially, it has ceased to be the general Helvetic diet, and could not lawfully continue its labours;

Considering, finally, that the imperious duty of the government is to prevent internal dissensions and all the evils of anarchy, decrees:

Art. 1. The assembly, sitting at Berne, under the name of the Helvetic diet, is declared dissolved, and its proceedings are considered as null and void.

2. The constitution, published on the 29th of May, 1801, shall, from the present moment, be put in execution, as far as regards the organization of the central authorities.

3. There shall be appointed, from the legislative body, a commission of five members, charged with proposing, during the present sitting, a list of twenty-five members, to form the senate.

The legislative body shall proceed immediately to the nominations.

4. As soon as the majority of it is assembled, the senate shall enter upon its functions, and from that moment the provisional authority of the government shall cease.

5. The senate shall exercise the attributes and power delegated to it by the constitution.

6. It is especially charged with making all the necessary dispositions for the convocation of the constitutional diet, which shall assemble in three months at the latest.

7. The senate is besides charged with preparing for that diet a statement of the ameliorations of which the constitution is susceptible, as well as the organic laws, necessary to its being put in activity.

8. It

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8. It shall ascertain the wishes expressed in favour of such and such a change to be made in the division of territory, and shall make a report to the diet.

9. It is finally charged with examining plans of cantonal organization, and making a report to the diet. Until the diet has approved and registered them, the authorities existing at present in the cantons shall continue their functions.

10. Independently of the beforementioned labours, the senate shall give an account to the diet of the state of the republic, and of the manner in which it has governed from its installation to the period of making such an account.

11. The diet shall have the right of confirming the senate, or of proceeding to a new election.

President of the legislative council,

(Signed) Marcacci.

Letter written by the Deputies of the small Cantons to the First Consul, when they withdrew from the Helvetic Diet.

Berne, Nov. 1, 1801.

Citizen first consul,

Deprived of all resources, the three cantons of the Helvetic confederacy, Uri, Schweitz, and Unterwald, feel too strongly the absolute necessity of a constitution, founded on the simplicity and economy of their ancestors, not to signify to you the ardent desire which they have of preserving, as much as possible, that which the fathers of liberty have founded, and which, during nearly five hundred years, has constituted the happiness of their children. Europe knows with what firmness, and with what devotion, out of all proportion to their strength, the descendants of Tell have struggled for its preservation; and the virtue of a Buonaparte cannot refuse to them a mark of esteem which renders them still more courageous.

The envy and ambition of some individuals, unworthy the name of Swiss, unfortunately seem too much to influence the French government, and we are the unhappy victim of their despicable adherents. But scarcely, great consul, had you marked out the path of happiness to the French, than you deigned to cast an eye of compassion on us; you wished to reestablish both our limits and our happiness; but the same passions which have caused our ruin, still labour to confirm it.

We wish to follow your views, and reunite ourselves to Helvetia, even with some sacrifices; but our deceitful brethren desire a restoration of powers which would degenerate into despotism, and reduce us to the condition of slaves.

The diversity of worship, manners, education, customs, wants, and many other circumstances, render an uniformity of administration impossible, and the attempt could not fail totally to destroy us. It is absolutely necessary that our boundaries should be marked, and that we should have a particular administration, in order to maintain the purity of our religion and morals, and to reestablish that economy which is so necessary to our political prosperity. This is the general wish of the people of Uri, of Schweitz, and of Unterwald, who make it known to us in a request,

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quest, signed by 3,600 citizens out of 3,800, which this last canton contains. Citizen first consul, one word from you would render impotent these ambitious individuals, who have influence only in proportion as they impress the idea that they are supported by France. We request this word with confidence, persuaded that it can neither be your intention, nor for the interest of France, to increase the misfortunes of a people who have already suffered so much, and who desire only tranquillity and repose.

Proces Verbal of the taking Possession of the Sovereignty of Tuscany, made in the Name of his Majesty the King of Etruria, by his Excellency the Count Cæsar Ventura, Marquis de Galinella, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Charles III, Gentleman in Waiting, and Member of the Privy Council of his Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma, Plenipotentiary of his Majesty.

THE minister plenipotentiary, M. the count Cæsar Ventura, general Murat, and M. Agar, the commissary, having consulted about the ceremonial of taking possession, the morning of the 2d of August was chosen for that grand ceremony.

At seven in the morning, the great clock in the old palace, which is used for indicating great festivals and galas, announced the solemn act which was to take place.

A detachment of two hundred grenadiers, with their officers, and drums beating, made their appearance at nine o'clock. They were immediately distributed to the posts assigned them.

His excellency the general in chief, Murat, arrived with his staff at eleven, and was received at the gate of the old palace by the marquis Fabio Fearoni, and the marquis Giovani Gerini, who accompanied him to what is called the saloon *des Deux Cents*, where an alcove was erected for him and his etat major till the beginning of the ceremony.

The wife of the general, and the widow of the deceased Spanish minister, the chevalier Quineres, came together. They were received at the gates of the palace by the prior, chevalier G. Baptist a Grisoni, deputed from his corps, and who accompanied them to the seats appointed for them.

His excellency the minister plenipotentiary, the marquis count Cæsar Ventura, came immediately afterwards, with seven knights, and went to receive four senators, who accompanied him to the grand saloon.

The plenipotentiary and the general-in-chief entered the saloon at the same time through different passages, receiving the ordinary salute from the militia. Their march was so concerted, that they arrived at the same time before the throne, so that neither should have the precedency.

In the mean while, the senate, the civil magistracy, and the other ministers who were to assist at the ceremony, took the places assigned them. The minister plenipotentiary, and the commander-in-chief, also took their seats.

Every one being seated, a most profound silence took place in the saloon,

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saloon, where there were not less than two thousand five hundred persons of different orders of the state. The first minister began the ceremony: the notary of state, the doctor Francisco Gonella, made a very long speech, in which he praised the wise measures taken by the French republic, and the qualities of the first consul Buonaparte, to whose genius the continent of Europe was taught to look for peace. He added, that, by the happy concurrence of his measures with those of his imperial majesty, peace was signed at Luneville. He then read the whole of the 5th article of the treaty; after which the minister plenipotentiary also read the proclamation of the 26th of July, by which his majesty Louis I, announced himself, in virtue of that article and posterior regulations, to the Tuscans, as the new king of Etruria, and charged the marquis count Cæsar Ventura to receive as his plenipotentiary, the usual oath of fidelity and obedience.

The royal advocate, Thomas Magnami, *ad interim*, then stood up, who acted as director of the informations, and who, in that capacity, invited, in an elegant speech, the senate, and the civic magistracy, to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to their new sovereign, whose rare and well known qualities could alone compensate for the sovereign they had lost.

The senator, lieutenant count Roland del Benino, next rose, and made a suitable answer to this speech. He expatiated equally on the greatness of the boon which Tuscany had received, and the confident expectations entertained that the known qualities of the new king would compensate for the loss of the prince whom he succeeded. He concluded with adhering to the treaty of Luneville, and the arrangements which it made. He then, as well as the whole senate, in the name of the Tuscan nation, swore to Lous I, the same fidelity and obedience which they observed towards his predecessors.

After this speech, the senators and the elders of the civic community, each according to his respective order, advanced to the foot of the throne, where, after saluting the portrait of his majesty, the minister plenipotentiary and the general-in-chief took the oath, laying the right hand on that part of the holy gospel which contained the ecclesiastical ceremony of the equestrian order of St. Stephen. When all of them had returned to their respective posts, the notary of state read, in a loud tone of voice, the solemn instrument of the oath, naming loudly the seven personages who assisted as witnesses, and prayed to Heaven for the prosperity and preservation of the new king, Louis I. The happy inauguration was resounded by universal plaudits, and the shouts of *Evviva!* with which the new king was proclaimed by this numerous assembly.

Thus ended this august ceremony, during which, every time that mention was made either of the French republic or the royal personages, the minister plenipotentiary and the general-in-chief took off their hats, at a signal made to them by Joseph Corsi, the master of the ceremonies, and according to what was before agreed upon.

The discharge of cannon accompanied this solemn pomp, and at the close of it, the minister plenipotentiary and the general-in-chief withdrew,

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drew, observing the same ceremony as on their arrival.

The first minister of reform and notary of state.

(Signed) D. Francisco Gonella.

The master of the ceremonies,

(Signed) G. Corsi.

Florence, Aug. 4, 1801.

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Proclamation published at Florence previous to the Coronation of the King of Etruria.

Louis I, by the grace of God, infant of Spain, king of Etruria.

IN consequence of the solemn treaty, concluded and signed at Luneville, on the 8th of February last, and the conventions which followed it, we, called to the august throne of Tuscany, charge the marquis de Gallinella, and count Cæsar Ventura, grand cross of the royal order of Charles III, gentlemen of the chamber in waiting, and privy counsellor of his royal highness the infant of Parma, to take possession in our royal name, and in quality of our plenipotentiary, of the kingdom of Tuscany; and to receive to that effect the homage and oaths of inauguration in the accustomed forms, and the usages heretofore observed upon similar occasions.

We desire, that the said marquis Cæsar Ventura be received as aforesaid, in quality of our plenipotentiary, until our arrival.

We confirm, until new orders shall be issued to the contrary, all the laws, decrees, and customs, heretofore maintained; as also the actual provisional government, the individuals who compose it, together with the governor, provisional commissary, the judges and tribunals of justice, and all other persons now employed in the civil, military, and financial departments. We charge the said provisional government to give orders and take care that our present regulations be carried into effect.

Given at Parma, the 26th of July, 1801.

(Signed) Louis.

A true copy.

(Signed) General Murat.

Letter from the King of Etruria to the King of Prussia.

Sir, brother, and cousin,

AS in consequence of the treaty concluded and signed at Luneville, on the 9th of February, of the present year, and of subsequent conventions, the sovereignty of the kingdom of Etruria has been conferred upon me: I have repaired to these my states, where I have considered it as one of the first duties of my government to inform your majesty of my arrival, and communicate to you the most sincere assurances of my firm resolution to imitate with the utmost zeal the example of my predecessors, by promoting, to the utmost of my power, every thing which may tend to the service of your majesty, and the advantage of your subjects. I flatter myself that your majesty will receive graciously these professions of my high esteem, and honour me with the same favour and friendship which my predecessors have received. In this hope, and trusting that the Tuscan nation will be honoured with the same good will

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will and protection as the subjects of your majesty.

I remain,

With the highest esteem,

Sir, brother, and cousin,

Your majesty's affectionate brother, servant, and cousin,

Louis.

Florence, Aug. 27, 1801.

Answer of the King of Prussia.

Sir, brother, and cousin,

Before I received the letter of the date of the 27th of August, which it has pleased your majesty to transmit to me, I was informed, by a communication from the first consul of the French republic, and the king of Spain, of the new dignity which is connected with the sovereignty of Tuscany, and I did myself the pleasure to testify my friendship and esteem for your personal qualities, by immediately complying with your wish, by acknowledging your new dignity. Nothing remains for me but to congratulate your majesty on your accession to the throne and government, which has been allotted to you by the treaty of Luneville; and, at the same time, to express my sincere wishes for the prolongation of your life, the prosperity of your government, and the happiness of the people committed to your care. Gratified with the proof of confidence and friendship which you have given me, I entreat you to be convinced that I shall with pleasure avail myself of every opportunity to express the perfect reciprocity of my sentiments towards you, and assure you, that I shall always be ready to render you every service as far as may depend upon me. To these sincere declarations I add the assurance of the high esteem with which I am,

Sir, brother, and cousin,

Your majesty's good brother, and cousin,

(Signed) Frederick William.

Proclamation published at Leghorn, September 1, 1801.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, infant of Spain, king of Tuscany, and hereditary prince of Parma, Placentia, Guastalla, &c.

The satisfaction which we have experienced in taking into our hands the reins of the state, is in some degree troubled, by learning that the late political changes have left in some of our dearly beloved subjects the seeds of division. It is our will that the commencement of our reign should be signalized by the decisive resolution of granting a perpetual amnesty with respect to every cause of reciprocal distrust. Where the law is the same and equally administered for all, where the government acts in conformity to that law, parties neither are nor should be known.

Attachment to the government, submission to the laws, and respect for the magistrates, are the essential duties of subjects. If, in the conflict of past events, some have neglected these duties, they are not therefore the less sacred and agreeable to the hearts of Tuscans. Let those who may have deviated from the exercise of principles so just, instantly resume the practice of loyalty and virtue! A vigilant system of politics and impartial justice shall punish those who may be guilty of violating the laws, or treating with contempt the constituted authorities.

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To extinguish the spirit of discord, and prevent the repetition of odious appellations, shall be the constant care of the magistrates.

We trust that these maxims, which emanate from our heart, and which shall uniformly guide us in the exercise of our power, will, by their general diffusion, consolidate that desirable union, and that unanimity of virtuous sentiments, that have ever constituted the dignity and the happiness of this illustrious nation.

Substance of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, concluded between Sweden and Russia, at Petersburgh, on the 1st (13th) of March, and ratified at Landscrona on the 11th of April, and at St. Petersburgh on the 30th of May, (11th June,) 1801.

ART. I. There shall be a durable peace and true friendship between the two realms, and their subjects shall mutually assist each other, particularly in transactions of commerce and navigation.

II, III. The Swedes shall enjoy full liberty of commerce in Russia, and the Russians in Sweden, and similar protection with the subjects of the two countries; but they shall not deal in goods, the importation and exportation of which are prohibited.

IV. In order to obviate any inconveniences that might arise from an undefined extension of this liberty of commerce, both parties have agreed to limit it to all the ports of the two states, without distinction; and, as to the commerce in the country, to certain places on the frontiers of the Russian and Swedish parts of Finland. In these frontier places, the subjects of the two powers, without going farther into the country, may carry on a wholesale, but not retail trade, and traffic with such merchants as arrive there from remote districts. Travelling merchants and hawkers of both nations shall not be suffered, but considered as smugglers.

V—VII. The subjects of both powers shall pay the same importation and exportation duties on goods, and in the same coin, as the natives of the country to which they trade. They shall likewise enjoy all legal protection, the free exercise of their religion, and the right of leaving the country with their property.

VIII. The merchants of both nations may keep their books in what language they please, and never shall be forced to produce them, excepting in lawsuits, and then only such extracts as are absolutely necessary for clearing up the point contested.

IX, X. In case of bankruptcy or differences, the subjects of either power shall be treated agreeably to the laws of the country in which they then reside. If the subject of one power dies in the country of the other, without heirs, his property shall, within the space of five years, belong to the government of the country in which he died, if, after a proclamation inserted in the newspapers three times, no heir should apply.

XI—XIII. The respective consuls-general and consuls shall be under the particular protection of the laws, and enjoy the same rights and liberties as those of the most favoured nations. Sailors who have deserted, shall be delivered up by both parties even in foreign ports. Merchant vessels shall, on no account, take

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take passengers without passports, or goods without proper certificates. With respect to contraband, and the punishment of persons importing it, the laws of the two countries shall decide.

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XIV. Swedish alum, salt herrings, and salt, imported from Sweden into Russia, (Petersburgh excepted,) shall pay only one half of the duties mentioned in the regulations of the customs; and smoked herrings imported from Sweden, only one third.

XV. All the produce of Swedish Finland, even wood, may be imported into Russian Finland (which had hitherto not been the case) free from all duties; and the wood from Swedish Finland may be exported from Wiburg and Fridricksham.

XVII. Hemp, linen, and tallow, imported into Sweden from Russia, shall only pay one half, and linseed two thirds of the duties hitherto paid. The Russians shall remain in possession of their storehouses at Stockholm, the limits of which are to be enlarged.

XVIII, XIX. Contain regulations for preventing Russians and Swedes navigating foreign ships and goods as their own.

XX, XXI. Not more than four ships of war of one power shall enter the fortified ports of the other at one time, if special permission has not been granted for a greater number. Ships of war as well as merchant vessels, that have suffered by storms and other accidents, may be repaired in the ports of the other power.

XXII, XXIII. If ships of war of the two powers, the commanders of which are of the same rank, meet at sea, no saluting shall take place; the commander of inferior rank, however, shall salute the commander of higher rank, who shall return the salute, shot for shot. Ships that have stranded shall receive all possible assistance.

XXIV. If one of the contracting parties happens to be at war with other states, the subjects of the other party shall not, on that account, be prevented from continuing their commerce and navigation with those states, on condition that they do not supply these states with contraband. Convinced of the principles laid down in the convention concluded at St. Petersburgh, on the 16th of December, last year, for the general good of trading nations, the two crowns declare that they make it the undeviable rule of their conduct. They farther declare, that they acknowledge the following principles: 1st, That neutral ships may freely sail for the ports and coasts of the belligerent powers.—2d, That, with exception of warlike contraband, the goods of subjects of the belligerent powers in neutral bottoms are free.—3d, That such ports only are to be considered as blockaded, where, from the proximity of ships of war, there shall actually be danger in entering.—4th, The neutral vessels can be detained only on just grounds, and evident facts.—5th, That no convoy shall be searched, when the commander of the ship of war convoying them declares that there is no contraband on board.

XXV—XXVII. In time of war, one power may shut its ports against the privateers and prizes of the other that is engaged in war. The following articles only are declared to be contraband, viz. guns, mortars, firelocks, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, muskets, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, cuirasses, pikes, sword-belts, cartridge-boxes,

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saddles, and bridles. All other goods, in neutral bottoms, are to be considered as neutral property.

XXVIII. The power engaged in war shall grant leave for fitting out privateers to such of its subjects only as reside in the country, and are able to find security for the damage they may do to neutral vessels.

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XXIX. If either of the two powers should be at war with another state, its ships of war and privateers shall be allowed to search such merchant ships of the other power as are not under convoy; but only two or three men shall be sent on board, to investigate the legality and neutrality of the cargo.

XXX. If any such ship should have contraband on board, that only, and nothing else, shall be taken and confiscated.

XXXII, XXXIII. If one of the powers is carrying on war, the subjects of the other shall enjoy, in the country of such power, all liberty and security as before, and its men and ships shall not be employed in military services. In cases of bankruptcy of the subjects of either country, trustees of the estate shall be appointed.

XXXIV. If a war should break out between the two powers, the space of a twelvemonth, from the date of the declaration of war, shall be allowed to their respective trading subjects, for withdrawing their property from the country of the other.

XXXV, XXXVI. The present treaty is concluded for twelve years, and signed by

Count Stedingk,
Prince Kurakin,
Count Von der Pahlen,
And prince Sagazin.

[Here follow the ratifications of Gustavus Adolphus, and Alexander I.]

Note presented by Count Kalitcheff at Paris.

THE undersigned hastens to communicate to citizen Talleyrand the commands he has just received from his court.

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, relying upon the chief consul's love of justice, by which he has obtained so great and so merited a reputation, entertains the hope, that he will fulfil the engagements into which he had entered with the late emperor, not to insist upon the hard conditions to which the king of Naples had been obliged to submit. The undersigned thinks it his duty to remind citizen Talleyrand that the admission of the five articles, presented to the French government by way of answer to its pressing representations for opening a negotiation with Russia, was the only motive for sending the undersigned to Paris. The new instructions direct him to insist, that the said five articles, which had been agreed upon as the basis of the negotiation, should receive their speedy execution. By these articles the two powers agreed that the king of the two Sicilies, and the king of Sardinia, should be again put in possession of the respective states which they possessed before the irruption of the French troops into Italy. Citizen Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs, has been authorized repeatedly to give the assurance, that the five articles were agreed to, and that they would be carried into effect.

As,

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As, however, it has been seen, that by force of arms the king of Naples has been compelled to agree to other terms; and as, in defiance of the most solemn promises to conclude a definitive peace with the king of Sardinia, by which he was again to be established in his dominions, it is evident that the latter is excluded from his territories, there is every reason to suspect and believe, that unforeseen circumstances have changed the intentions of the French government, and inspired it with other views and intentions, repugnant to the above articles and measures which had been taken with his majesty.

The undersigned is commanded to represent to citizen Talleyrand, that without positive certainty of the five articles alluded to being carried into effect, and which were acceded to by the French government as preliminaries, there can be no restoration of harmony between the two countries; and he therefore declares, that neither the armistice of Foligno, nor the conditions which in the first instance were presented to the marquis de Gallo, and which afterwards, on the refusal of the latter to agree to them, were transmitted to general Murat, to be signed by the chevalier Micheroux, can ever be acknowledged by the emperor, and that they must ever be considered as directly inconsistent with the promises made by the chief consul.

This is the substance of the commands which the undersigned has received, and which he has been directed to communicate to the French government. He must also add, that the views which the chief consul announced, and his moderation, which was held out as directed to promote a general peace, were the only grounds on which all Europe entertained the hope that the moment of that peace was at no great distance; that it would be permitted to look forward to the future with tranquillity; and that the system of robbery taken up by the directory no longer existed. These were the only reasons that induced his majesty the emperor to send a plenipotentiary to Paris, and through whom it was expected that the relations of amity with the French government would be restored. The undersigned flattered himself that the chief consul in his wisdom would consider that his fame is concerned in fulfilling the promises he had made, and the hopes he had raised, as it will depend upon him, by the reestablishment of a general peace to give repose to all Europe. He therefore requests citizen Talleyrand to make known the contents of this note to the chief consul, and, as soon as possible, to communicate to the undersigned the resolution which the French government shall adopt.

The undersigned takes this opportunity, &c.

(Signed) Kalitcheff.

Second Note presented by Count Kalitcheff, on the 1st of May.

The undersigned reminds citizen Talleyrand that he has yet received no answer respecting the objects on which he had the honour, by command of the emperor, his master, to address him; and therefore he begs him to notify to the undersigned, whether the French government, agreeably to the admission of the five preliminary articles, intends to keep

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its promise concerning the integrity of the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and the reestablishment of the king of Sardinia in his dominions, as they were previous to the arrival of the French troops in Italy. The undersigned considers it unnecessary to make any farther observations respecting this affair, which has already been sufficiently discussed; and he hopes that citizen Talleyrand will lay before the chief consul the contents of the present note, and that he will communicate to him his resolutions agreeably thereto.

(Signed) Kalitcheff.

Answer delivered by the First Consul to the Note presented to him by M. Kalitcheff.

The first consul of the French republic acknowledges the receipt of the convention of Petersburgh of the 16th June, and takes this opportunity to assure his imperial majesty of the lasting good disposition and sentiments of the French government towards his majesty's person and government; and assures him, that he will do every thing that may be pleasing and agreeable to the court of Russia; and that this end would have been attained sooner, if the negotiations with England, the situation of affairs in Italy and Egypt, and the war with Portugal, had not thrown certain invincible obstacles in the way of the business.

Circular Letter, dated 19th June, 1801, sent by the Russian Government to all its diplomatic Ministers and Agents, for the Regulation of their Conduct with regard to the foreign French Ministers and Ambassadors.

Circular, &c.

ALL the relations of policy, commerce, and correspondence with France, which were interrupted, and, in consequence of the revolution of that country, have not yet been reestablished in their full extent; but as at the present moment negotiations are going on to effect a reconciliation with that power, by every means consistent with the dignity of the emperor, and the interests of his people; his majesty has been pleased to charge his ministers to apprize his foreign ambassadors and agents, that he is willing to renew the usual course of connexion with that government, and that the conferences respecting that object are in full activity.

In the situation in which this matter stands, therefore, it is no longer proper that the ambassadors of his imperial majesty should continue to observe any distance towards the ambassadors of the French government. It is therefore enjoined you, sir, on all occasions, to testify the ordinary and becoming respect for them which is usual between the ministers of powers that are in good understanding with each other, and to communicate with them on all occasions in which the interest of our most gracious sovereign may be concerned. I am, &c.

(Signed) The prince A. Kurakin.

Circular Letter, sent at the same Time, respecting the Agents of the Batavian Republic.

Circular,

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Circular, &c.

As the emperor on his accession to the throne found that the Batavian republic was recognised, and that a minister from the same had been accredited by the emperor his father, his majesty has thought it his duty not to innovate in the least upon their proceedings. As this resolution of the emperor, however, removes all the reasons of hostility, and the grounds of farther interruption of correspondence between the two governments, you are therefore directed to communicate with the ministers of the said republic, who reside where you are, respecting every object of policy, commerce, or other relation, in which the interest of the service of the emperor your master is concerned.

I am, &c.

(Signed) The prince A. Kurakin.

Declaration of the Emperor of Russia, relative to British Property under Sequestration, annexed to the Convention of the 5th June, 1801.

ALTHOUGH the magnanimous intention of his imperial majesty of all the Russias to do full and entire justice to those British subjects who have suffered losses during the troubles which have disturbed the good intelligence between his empire and Great Britain, be already proved by facts, his imperial majesty, consulting solely his good faith, has moreover authorized the undersigned plenipotentiary to declare, as he does declare by these presents:

"That all the ships, the merchandise, and the property of British subjects, which had been sequestrated during the last reign in Russia, shall not only be faithfully restored to the said British subjects, or to their agents, but also that for the effects which may have been alienated in such a manner as to render it impossible for them to be restored in kind, a suitable equivalent shall be granted to the proprietors, which equivalent shall be hereafter determined according to the rules of equity."

In faith of which we, plenipotentiary of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, have signed the present declaration, and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at St. Petersburgh, 5-17 June, one thousand eight hundred and one.

(L. S.) N. Cte. de Panin.

Russian Ukase of the 7th February, 1801, *for the Union of Gurgistan, otherwise Georgia, with Russia.*

BY the grace of God, we Paul the First, emperor and sovereign of all the Russias, &c.

For many years past Gurgistan, tormented by neighbours of a different religion, and exhausted by a continually defensive posture, has felt the inevitable consequences of a war always unfavourable. The division which has taken place in the midst of that war, in the royal family, has added to the calamities of that state, and threatened to complete its ruin. The king of Georgia, Heraclieus, seeing the end of his days approach, the principal persons of his court, and the people themselves of Gurgistan, have this day implored our protection, and, seeing no other means of avoiding their ruin and servitude, have sent

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plenipotentiaries from Gurgistan to pray us to receive them under the immediate dominion of the imperial throne of all the Russias. Listening to this prayer, with the kindness natural to us for all those of our religion, and with the interest which we have always felt for whatever concerned the Georgian nation, we have determined to gratify the wish of prince Heraclus, and that of the people of Gurgistan.

In consequence, as much to secure the internal tranquillity of that state as to protect it against attacks from without, we have ordered that our armies shall occupy Georgia, and we give besides our imperial word, that immediately after its definitive union to the states of our dominion, not only all the rights, privileges, and properties, of all and every of our new subjects in Georgia, and the provinces thereunto belonging, shall be maintained and preserved; but farther, that from that æra the inhabitants of these new provinces shall enjoy all the rights, privileges, and advantages which the old Russian subjects enjoy by the favour of our ancestors, by our own, and under our protection. Moreover, we expect from these new subjects and their posterity, inviolable fidelity to us and our successors, and an unlimited devotion to the interest of our empire.

(Signed) Paul.

Edict of the King of Naples, dated Palermo, the 18th February, 1801, (21 Pluviose) and published the 17th of same Month at Naples.

FERDINAND IV, by the grace of God, king of the Two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, &c., infant of Spain, duke of Parma, Placenza, &c., hereditary grand prince of Tuscany, &c. &c.

Upon the happy occasion of the arrival at Naples of our beloved son, the hereditary prince royal, we have been informed with certainty, of the good order that prevails in that kingdom, and of the public tranquillity reestablished there, as also of the amendment of that unfortunate class of our subjects, who, in the past circumstances, fell into the most guilty excesses; and we have also learned, with the satisfaction of our royal heart, the transports of joy, and the attachment to our royal person, manifested upon the above-mentioned occasion by the individuals of all classes, and even by the most near relatives of those who, for their crimes, have been already condemned or driven from our royal dominions.

In consideration of these accounts, understanding that the measures of severity and justice which we have been obliged to take, when public order was disturbed, and the social body in disorder, are no longer necessary for the safety of the state, we have thought that, without wounding the laws, we might follow the movements of our heart, in gratifying the anxious wish which we have long conceived.

After having published, in the month of May, of last year, an *indult*, by which we have granted our royal indulgence to several of those who had committed state crimes, and after having subsequently shown our sovereign intention to restrain the too extensive number of persons excepted by that *indult*, in giving for that purpose the necessary orders to the junto of state, to that of the generals, and to visitors, we have resolved

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resolved this day to mark the happy circumstance of the return into that realm of our said royal son, and to second the desire which he has expressed to us of giving a greater extent to the effects of our sovereign clemency. For this purpose we ordain,

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1st, That all those who for state crimes, committed in the past calamities of the kingdom, and up to the *indult* of the 30th of May, of last year, are detained in the prisons, castles, and islands of the said kingdoms of Naples, shall be set at liberty, and exempted from the corporal punishments to which they are subject.

2dly, As, to hasten the trial of state causes, we have prescribed, by a dispatch of the 7th September, 1799, the manner in which they ought to be conducted, and particularly the *truglio*, or *condamnation par provision*, as it is practised in the criminal tribunals of Sicily; and as all the persons condemned by the procedure of *truglio* have been, for the most part, banished from our royal dominions, we will that the same should be enabled to return into our kingdom, when they shall be provided with legitimate passports for that purpose, and that their persons shall not be molested in any manner.

3dly, That the persons in custody shall be set at liberty; and the said banished, who shall return into the kingdom, shall be treated and acknowledged by the whole realm as faithful subjects.

4thly, It having come to our sovereign knowledge, that among those who have been set at liberty, by virtue of the *indult*, published the 30th May, of last year, there are several, who, in the fervour of anarchy, and in the disorder of the times, were shut up without their having committed any offence, in prisons, and who now demand their justification, we reserve to ourselves to have the conduct of these persons examined by way of informations.

5thly, The firm confidence which we have in the steady fidelity, for the future, of our dearest subjects, gives us to know at this day, that the existence of the junto of state, established by us in the capital, is no longer necessary. We declare, in consequence, that it is abolished; we revoke at the same time the delegation granted for matters of state, to the junto of generals, to the provincial visitors and audiences. And finally, that there may not be wanting in the kingdom a magistrate to watch over the internal safety of the state, against any attempt upon its tranquillity, we reserve to ourselves to establish one in the same form that was practised in the most tranquil times of the august Charles III. our father.

And that our paternal and royal kindness may have its full effect, and be known to all the world, we will and ordain, that it shall be published in our kingdom of Naples, in the usual places of the capital and the provinces, being signed by us, and corroborated by the seal of our royal arms, recognised by our ministers of state, with the *visa* of our vice prothonatory, confirmed by the secretary of our royal chamber of Sainte-Claire.

Given at Palermo, the 10th February, 1801.

(Signed) Ferdinand.

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Proclamation of the King of Spain against Portugal.

SINCE I happily concluded a peace with the French republic, my principal care was to procure the same advantage to other powers, particularly those which were connected with me by the ties of blood. The republic has been pleased to accept of my good offices for some, and my mediation for others. Since that period I made many attempts to procure for Portugal such an advantageous peace as would place it in a state of security. With this object, I looked only to the happiness of Portugal: my intention was to separate it from England, to which, by its maritime situation, it afforded great advantages; and by these means to force the latter, if possible, to a peace, so much wished for by all Europe, and which that power alone opposes. My reiterated advice was employed to overcome the repugnance of the Portuguese court, influenced by that of London, was intended to induce it to enter into negotiations with the republic. Its plenipotentiary signed at Paris, in 1797, a treaty more advantageous to it than the respective situations of the two powers gave it reason to expect. In the mean time, England, seeing that it would snatch from it one of the most useful instruments of its ambitious views, redoubled its efforts; and, amusing the credulity of that cabinet by chimerical ideas of aggrandizement, made it take the strange resolution of refusing to ratify that treaty, thus frustrating all my hopes, and what would have been done by my potent intervention.

Since that time, the conduct of that government has assumed a character more audacious; and, not contented with affording England, my enemy, all the means in its power of annoying me, as well as my ally, the French republic, it has proceeded to the extravagant length of doing injury to my subjects, and failing in that respect due to me, by its obstinate resistance to my advice.

Thus does Europe behold, with scandal, a secure asylum offered in the ports of Portugal to the squadrons of the enemy, from which they are enabled to pursue, with advantage, hostilities against my vessels, and those of my ally, the French republic.

We have seen Portuguese mixed with English ships, forming a part of their fleets, facilitating their provisioning and their transports, and partaking in all those acts of hostility which the English commit against me: we have seen their naval crews and their marine officers insult the French even in the port of Carthagena: Portugal authorized it by its refusal to give suitable satisfaction, and by committing, at Ferrol, similar excesses against my subjects. The ports of Portugal are the public market of the Spanish and French prizes, made upon its coasts, and in the sight of its fortresses, by the squadrons of the enemy; while its admiralty releases the prizes taken and led into the same ports by my subjects. My ships have never found a good reception in these ports. In the river Guadiana, the Portuguese soldiers committed the most violent excesses against my peaceful subjects. They attacked and fired on them, as if they were in a state of open war, without the Portuguese government attempting to give any satisfaction; in a word, Portugal,

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Portugal, under the appearance of friendship, has constantly acted against my kingdoms in Europe and in the Indies; and the evidence of its conduct must render unnecessary the recital of the numerous facts which might be alleged in support of these charges. What conduct had I to observe in the midst of so many outrages? The French republic, justly irritated against Portugal, is desirous of inflicting a just vengeance upon it, and its victorious arms would have long since spread desolation through its provinces, if my fraternal affection for the most faithful queen and her august children had not suspended the blow with which it was threatened by my ally the republic. My mediation has always prevented the progress of the French. My paternal care for these provinces making me forget all preceding grievances, and all the fresh ones which I had to complain of, induced me to endeavour to divert the successes of the French armies, and to obtain an advantageous peace. I strongly represented to the court of Portugal the dangers to which it exposed itself, in the openness of my heart; I employed the most engaging language of paternal tenderness and friendship. to induce its determination.

The obstinacy of Portugal soon obliged me to use harsher language. I tried by rational advice, by menaces of my wrath, and by respectable channels of expostulation, to recal it to its duties. The court of Portugal, however, deaf to all I could say, only sought to gain time by vain promises, several times sending plenipotentiaries without powers, or with limited powers, and using all those methods of delay, and all those subterfuges, dictated by a fallacious and versatile policy. The blindness of the prince regent has gone so far as to name his ally the king of Great Britain, in a letter which he addressed to me, forgetful of what is due to the consanguinity which unites us; to the respect that is due to me; and giving the name of alliance to what is no more than the abuse of that ascendency which England has arrogated over his country.

Having thus exhausted all the means of conciliation, after having perfectly satisfied all the claims of kindred and of attachment to the prince of Portugal; convinced of the inability of my endeavours; seeing that the prince regent evaded the royal promise which he had so often made in favour of peace, in various circumstances; and, in complaisance to England, my enemy, abused those promises which I made to France; I have determined that a longer toleration on my part would be injurious to the welfare of my people and my subjects, attacked in their rights and property by an unjust aggressor; that it would be forgetting the dignity of my rank toward a prince who was willing to forego those ties of blood which connected him with me; that it would be a want of fidelity towards my ally, the French republic, which suspended its vengeance out of its regard for me; and, in fine, that it would be in opposition to those principles of sound policy which direct my operations as a sovereign.

Nevertheless, before taking the painful resolution of war, I wished to renew, for the last time, my propositions to her most faithful majesty. I have ordered my ambassador, the duke de Fryas, that in respect to delays of the negotiations, he should explain to her the inconvenience and injustice of her conduct; the

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abyss which she is threatened to be involved in, and the only means of escaping by the treaty which France still, on account of my mediation, has agreed to accept. The court of Portugal answered in the usual manner, and sent a negotiator with insufficient powers, at the same time that it rejected my propositions. Thus, as it is of importance to the tranquillity of all Europe to force that power to make peace with France, and to secure my dear subjects the remuneration to which they are entitled, I have ordered my ambassador to quit Lisbon; I have given a passport to the Portuguese ambassador at my court to depart, being decided, though with regret, to attack that power, by the union of my forces with those of the republic, whose cause is become the same by the imprudent negotiation in which I engaged myself, by our connexions in point of interest, and in order to avenge the particular insults that have been offered to me. For this purpose I declare war against her most faithful majesty, her kingdom, and subjects, wishing this resolution to be known through all my states, in order that all convenient measures may be taken for the defence of my states and my ships, as also to attack my enemies.

Done at Aranjuez, February 27, 1801.

Proclamation by the Portuguese Government.

Lisbon, April 26.

To the clergy, nobility, and people.

YOU all know that it is the constant endeavour of the prince who governs us, and for whom we are indebted to Providence, to obtain, by every means of justice and good faith, for his subjects, whom he loves as his own children, the repose and tranquillity necessary to their happiness. In the midst of all the convulsions that have agitated Europe, an activity of vigilance, a system of justice equally firm and coercive, have secured to the Portuguese the calm which they enjoy since 1790. This state, in possession of its independence, while so many countries have been subjugated, holds out to Europe the example of a scrupulous fidelity in the execution of all its engagements, with respect to foreign nations. It gave to Spain a recent instance of its good faith in its adherence to treaties. A Portuguese army marched, in 1793, to the assistance of that power, and the support which it received from our august sovereign was decided rather by its own wants than by other circumstances. Whoever has performed his duty has nothing to fear, and erects upon the basis of scrupulous justice his claims to gratitude. Spain, however, which should in all cases be the first power to evince its sentiments of gratitude for the generous conduct of Portugal, has on the contrary, by terminating hostilities with France, not only endangered the nation which assisted it, but declared war against us for having remained faithful to our treaties. It sets up a pretext, that those treaties, contracted in the presence of God and man, should be suddenly broken, and that our august prince and the nation should be guilty of perjury. It is intended to degrade and debase you by reducing you to the condition of brokers and factors of your own commerce. Spain requires that our ports

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ports should be garrisoned by her troops, in order to have a guaranty of our fidelity. A nation which could resist the Romans, conquer Asia, make great discoveries by sea, shake off, while she was still in a weak state, the yoke of a foreign sceptre, and recover and maintain her independence—should not that nation, at present, recal to mind the honourable annals of her history? People of Portugal! we still preserve the courage and the sentiments of honour transmitted to us by our ancestors!

Justice is on our side; and the true God, favourable to our cause, will punish, by our arms, the injustice of our enemies. He will cover with glory our generous and legitimate sovereign. Our patriotism, the equity of our cause, the remembrance of our exploits, will ensure victory to our standard. Can we then doubt the loyalty, the eagerness of the troops, the militia, the free corps, &c. to assemble under their commanders? Can there exist a doubt but that their attachment to the prince who governs us, as well as the animation which they must feel in the cause of national honour, and their zeal and ardour inspired by a just defence, will oppose to our enemies an invincible barrier?

Articles of the Treaty between Spain and Portugal, executed on the 6th of June; published at Madrid the 8th of August.

ART. I. There shall be peace, amity, and good understanding between his catholic majesty the king of Spain, and the prince regent of Portugal and Algarve, as well by sea as land, through the whole extent of their kingdoms and possessions; and all captures which shall be made by sea, after the ratification of the present treaty, shall be faithfully restored, with all their goods and effects, or their respective value paid.

II. His royal highness will shut the ports of his whole territories against the ships of Great Britain in general.

III. His catholic majesty will restore to his royal highness the fortresses and places of Gurumena, Aronches, Portalegri, Castel Davide, Barbaamar Campo Major, and Ouguela, with all the territories hitherto conquered by his arms, or which may hereafter be conquered, with all their artillery, fire-arms, or other warlike stores, and in the same condition in which they were surrendered to him; and his catholic majesty will take as a conquest the fortress of Olivenza, with its territories and inhabitants from the Guadiana, and unite the same for ever to his own territory and subjects, as that river above-mentioned shall be the boundary of the respective kingdoms on that part.

IV. His royal highness the prince regent of Portugal and Algarve will not permit any depots of prohibited and contraband goods, which may be prejudicial to the interest of the crown of Spain, to be formed on the frontiers of his kingdom, exclusive of such as appertain to the revenues of the crown of Portugal, or are necessary for the consumption of the respective territory in which they are established; and if this or any other article shall not be maintained, the treaty which is now concluded between the three powers, including the interchangeable guaranty, shall be

be null and void, as is expressed in the articles of the present treaty.

V. His royal highness will immediately repair and make good all damages or injuries which the subjects of his catholic majesty may have sustained, during the present war, from the ships of Great Britain or the subjects of the court of Portugal, and for which they can rightfully claim indemnification; and in like manner his catholic majesty engages to make suitable satisfaction for all captures which may have been made by the Spaniards before the present war, in violation of or within cannon shot, of the Portuguese territory.

VI. Within the space of three months, reckoning from the ratification of the present treaty, his royal highness will pay to the treasury of his catholic majesty the expenses left unpaid when they withdrew from the war with France, and which were occasioned by the same, according to the estimate given in by the ambassador of his catholic majesty, or which may be given in anew; with the exception, however, of any error that may be found in the said estimates.

VII. As soon as the present treaty shall be signed, all hostilities shall cease on both sides, within twenty-four hours, without any contributions or requisitions being laid after that time on any of the conquered places, except such as may be allowed to friendly troops in time of peace; and as soon as this treaty shall be ratified, the Spanish troops shall leave the Portuguese territory within six days, and shall begin their march within six hours after receiving notice, without offering any violence or injury to the inhabitants in their way, and they shall pay for whatever may be necessary for them, according to the current price of the country.

VIII. All prisoners which may have been taken by sea and land shall, within fifteen days after the ratification of the present treaty, be set at liberty, and delivered up on both sides; and, at the same time, all debts which they may have contracted during their imprisonment shall be paid. The sick and wounded shall remain in the respective hospitals, there to be taken care of, and in like manner delivered up, as soon as they shall be able to begin their march.

IX. His catholic majesty engages to guaranty to his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal the entire possession of all his states and possessions, without the least exception or reserve.

X. The two high contracting parties engage to renew the treaty of defensive alliance which existed between the two monarchies, but with such clauses and alterations as the connexions entered into by the Spanish monarchy with the French republic may demand; and in the same treaty shall be regulated what aid shall be mutually afforded should necessity require.

XI. The present treaty shall be ratified within ten days after it is signed, or sooner, if possible. In witness of this, we, the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary, have subscribed the present treaty with our own hands, and sealed it with our arms.

(L. S.) The Prince of Peace.
(L. S.) Louis Pinto di Souza.

Done at Badajos,
June 6, 1801.

Procla-

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Proclamation issued the 20th July, at Lisbon.

HAVING, with the mercy of God, been enabled to put a stop to the effusion of human blood, who, by his all powerful providence, has caused the blessings of peace to succeed the horrors of war, consummated by the Divine Power, by a treaty of peace and amity, concluded at Badajos, on the 6th day of June, of this present year, between me and the king of Spain, followed by the formal ratifications, ultimately exchanged in the aforesaid city of Badajos, by the same authorities, on the 16th of the same month of June, by virtue of which treaty of peace and its ratifications, is re-established a sincere and constant amity and friendship between me and his catholic majesty, don Charles IV, our heirs, successors, kingdoms, states, provinces, and subjects of every condition whatever, without exception of persons or places. This we make known to our supreme council (Disembargo de Paco) for them to promulgate the same throughout my kingdom, that, from the day of this publication, after having returned thanks to the Almighty for so great a blessing, all my subjects, of every rank and condition whatever, are to abstain from every kind or act of hostility, and to prosecute no farther hostilities against the persons and property of the said court of Spain or its subjects; but, as heretofore, to renew an open communication, a sincere friendship, and reciprocal correspondence, and to use every means to attain the reestablishment of entire union. And whoever acts to the contrary, will incur the penalties and punishments inflicted on the disturbers of the public peace. We have caused this, by means of our council, to be publicly affixed, and to be made as public as possible.

Given at our palace, at Queluz, 20th July, 1801.

(Signed) Prince Regent.

Address to the American Congress, by the President, March 9.

Friends and fellow citizens,

CALLED upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow citizens which are here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favour with which they have been pleased to look towards me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments, which the greatness of the charge, and the weakness of my powers, so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry; engaged in commerce with nations, who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendant objects, and see the honour, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country, committed to the issue, and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many whom I here see, remind me, that in the other high authorities provided by our constitution, I shall find

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find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support, which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel, in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and exertions has sometimes worn an aspect, which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All too will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and mind; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection, without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things; and let us reflect, that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore—that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion, is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names, brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans—all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not; I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order, as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself—Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer the question. Let us then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own federal and republican

republican principles; our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature, and a wide ocean, from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe, too high minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for descendants to the thousandthandthousandthgeneration;entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisition of our own industry,tohonour andconfidence from our fellow citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions, and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an over-ruling providence, which by all its dispensations proves, that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow citizens; awise and frugal government,which, restraining men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labour the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow citizens, on the exercise of duties, which comprehend every thing dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations: equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political: peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none: the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies: the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people: a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided: absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism: a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them: the supremacy of the civil over the military authority: economy in the public expense, that labour might be lightly burthened: the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith: encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce, as its handmaid: the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason: freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of the person, under protection of the habeas corpus: and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before

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before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of all our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment: they should be the creed of our political faith; the text of civic instruction; the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and, should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair, then, fellow citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough, in subordinate offices, to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favour which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose preeminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall go wrong through defect of judgment: when right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own error, which will never be intentional; and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrages is a great consolation to me for the past, and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance: to conciliate that of others, by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

Relying then on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make; and may that Infinite Power, which rules the destinies of the universe, lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favourable issue for your peace and prosperity.

Message to both Houses of Congress, from the President of the United States, Dec. 8, 1801.

Sir,

THE circumstances, under which we find ourselves at this place, rendering inconvenient the mode heretofore practised, of making, by personal address, the first communications between the legislative and executive branches, I have adopted that by message, as used on all subsequent occasions through the session. In doing this, I have had principal regard to the convenience of the legislature, to the economy of their time, to their relief from the embarrassment of immediate answers, on the subjects not yet fully before them, and to the benefits thence resulting to the public affairs. Trusting that a procedure, founded in those motives, will meet their approbation, I beg leave, through you, sir, to communicate the inclosed message, with the documents accompanying it, to the honourable the house of representatives, and pray you to accept, for yourself and them, the

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the homage of my high respect and consideration.

Th. Jefferson.

The hon. the speaker of the house of representatives.

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Message.

Fellow citizens of the senate and of the house of representatives,

It is a circumstance of sincere gratification to me, that, on meeting the great council of the nation, I am able to announce to them, on grounds of reasonable certainty, that the wars and troubles, which have for so many years afflicted our sister nations, have at length come to an end, and that the communications of peace and commerce are once more opening among them. Whilst we devoutly return thanks to the beneficent being, who has been pleased to breathe into them the spirit of conciliation and forgiveness, we are bound, with peculiar gratitude, to be thankful that our own peace has been preserved through so perilous a season, and ourselves permitted quietly to cultivate the earth, and to practice and improve those arts which tend to increase our comforts. The assurances, indeed, of friendly disposition, received from all the powers with whom we have principal relations, had inspired a confidence that our peace with them would not have been disturbed. But a cessation of the irregularities which have afflicted the commerce of neutral nations, and of the irritations and injuries produced by them, cannot but add to this confidence, and strengthens, at the same time, the hope that wrongs, committed on unoffending friends, under a pressure of circumstances, will now be reviewed with candour, and will be considered as founding just claims of retribution for the past, and new assurance for the future.

Among our Indian neighbours, also, a spirit of peace and friendship generally prevails, and I am happy to inform you that the continued efforts to introduce among them the implements, and the practice of husbandry, and of the household arts, have not been without success: that they are become more and more sensible of the superiority of this dependence, for clothing and subsistence, over the precarious resources of hunting and fishing: and already we are able to announce that, instead of that constant diminution of their numbers, produced by their wars and their wants, some of them begin to experience an increase of population.

To this state of general peace, with which we have been blessed, only one exception exists. Tripoli, the least considerable of the Barbary states, had come forward with demands unfounded either in right or in compact, and had permitted itself to denounce war, on our failure to comply before a given day. The style of the demand admitted but one answer. I sent a small squadron of frigates into the Mediterranean, with assurances to that power of our sincere desire to remain in peace; but with orders to protect our commerce against the threatened attack. The measure was seasonable and salutary. The bey had already declared war in form. His cruisers were out. Two had arrived at Gibraltar. Our commerce in the Mediterranean was blockaded; and that of the Atlantic in peril. The arrival of our squadron dispelled the danger. One of the Tripolitan cruisers having fallen in with and engaged the small schooner Enterprize, commanded by lieu-

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tenant Sterret, which had gone out as a tender to our larger vessels, was captured, after a heavy slaughter of her men, without the loss of a single one on our part. The bravery exhibited by our citizens, on that element, will, I trust, be a testimony to the world, that it is not a want of that virtue which makes us seek their peace; but a conscientious desire to direct the energies of our nation to the multiplication of the human race, and not to its destruction. Unauthorized by the constitution, without the sanction of congress, to go beyond the line of defence, the vessel, being disabled from committing farther hostilities, was liberated with its crew. The legislature will doubtless consider whether, by authorizing measures of offence also, they will place our force on an equal footing with that of its adversaries. I communicate all material information on this subject, that in the exercise of the important function, confided by the constitution to the legislature exclusively, their judgment may form itself on a knowledge and consideration of every circumstance of weight.

I wish I could say that our situation with all the other Barbary states was entirely satisfactory. Discovering that some delays had taken place in the performance of certain articles stipulated by us, I thought it my duty, by immediate measures for fulfilling them, to vindicate to ourselves the right of considering the effect of departure from stipulation on their side. From the papers, which will be laid before you, you will be enabled to judge whether our treaties are regarded by them as fixing at all the measure of their demands, or as guarding, against the exercise of force, our vessels within their power; and to consider how far it will be safe and expedient to leave our affairs with them in their present posture.

I lay before you the result of the census lately taken of our inhabitants, to a conformity with which we are to reduce the ensuing rates of representation and taxation. You will perceive that the increase of numbers, during the last ten years, proceeding in geometrical ratio, promises a duplication in little more than twenty-two years. We contemplate this rapid growth, and the prospect it holds up to us, not with a view to the injuries it may enable us to do to others in some future day, but to the settlement of the extensive country still remaining vacant within our limits, to the multiplication of men, susceptible of happiness, educated in the love of order, habituated to self government, and valuing its blessings above all price.

Other circumstances combined with the increase of numbers have produced an augmentation of revenue arising from consumption, in a ratio far beyond that of population alone; and though the changes in foreign relations, now taking place so desirably for the whole world, may for a season affect this branch of revenue, yet, weighing all probabilities of expense, as well as of income, there is reasonable ground of confidence that we may now safely dispense with all the internal taxes, comprehending excises, stamps, auctions, licences, carriages, and refined sugars: to which the postage on newspapers may be added to facilitate the progress of information: and that the remaining sources of revenue will be sufficient to provide for

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for the support of government, to pay the interests of public debts, and to discharge the principals in shorter periods than the laws, or the general expectation had contemplated. War, indeed, and untoward events, may change this prospect of things, and call for expenses which the imposts could not meet. But sound principles will not justify our taxing the industry of our fellow citizens to accumulate treasure for wars to happen we know not when, and which might not, perhaps, happen, but from the temptations offered by that treasure.

These views, however, of reducing our burthens, are formed on the expectation, that a sensible, and at the same time a salutary reduction may take place in our habitual expenditure. For this purpose, those of the civil government, the army and navy, will need revisal. When we consider that this government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these states; that the states themselves have principal care of our persons, our property, and our reputation; constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our organization is not too complicated, too expensive; whether offices and officers have not been multiplied unnecessarily, and sometimes injuriously to the service they were meant to promote. I will cause to be laid before you an essay towards a statement of those who, under public employment of various kinds, draw money from the treasury, or from our citizens. Time has not permitted a perfect enumeration, the ramifications of office being too multiplied and remote to be completely traced in a first trial. Among those who are dependent on executive discretion, I have began the reduction of what was deemed unnecessary. The expenses of diplomatic agency have been considerably diminished. The inspectors of internal revenue, who were found to obstruct the accountability of the institution, have been discontinued. Several agencies, created by executive authority, on salaries fixed by that also, have been suppressed, and I should suggest the expediency of regulating that power by law, so as to subject its exercises to legislative inspection and sanction. Other reformations of the same kind will be pursued with that caution which is requisite, in removing useless things, not to injure what is retained. But the great mass of public officers is established by law, and therefore by law alone can be abolished. Should the legislature think it expedient to pass this roll in review, and to try all its parts by public utility, they may be assured of every aid and light which executive information can yield.

Considering the general tendency to multiply offices and dependencies, and to increase expense to the ultimate term of burthen which the citizen can bear, it behoves us to avail ourselves of every occasion which presents itself for taking off the surcharge; that it never may be seen here, that, after leaving to labour the smallest portion of its earnings on which it can subsist, government shall itself consume the residue of what it was instituted to guard.

In our care too of the public contributions intrusted to our direction, it would be prudent to multiply barriers against their dissipation, by appropriating specific sums to every specific purpose susceptible of definition: by disallowing all applica-

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tions of money varying from the appropriation in object or transcending it in amount; by reducing the undefined field of contingencies, and thereby circumscribing discretionary powers over money; and by bringing back to a single department all accountabilities for money, where the examination may be prompt, efficacious, and uniform.

An account of the receipt and expenditure of the last year, as prepared by the secretary of the treasury, will, as usual, be laid before you. The success which has attended the late sales of the public lands, shows that with attention, they may be made an important source of receipt. Among the payments, those made in discharge of the principal and interest of the national debt will show that the public faith has been exactly maintained. To these will be added an estimate of appropriations necessary for the ensuing year. This last will of course be affected by such modifications of the system of expenses as you shall think proper to adopt.

A statement has been formed by the secretary at war, on mature consideration of all the posts and stations where garrisons will be expedient, and of the number of men requisite for each garrison. The whole amount is considerably short of the present military establishment. For the surplus no particular use can be pointed out. For defence against invasion, their number is as nothing; nor is it considered needful or safe that a standing army should be kept up, in time of peace. Uncertain as we must ever be of the particular point in our circumference where an enemy may choose to invade us, the only force which can be ready at every point, and competent to oppose them, is the body of neighbouring citizens, as formed into a militia. On these, collected from the parts most convenient, in numbers proportioned to the invading force, it is best to rely, not only to meet the first attack, but if it threatens to be permanent, to maintain the defence until the regulars may be engaged to relieve them. Those considerations render it important that we should, at every session, continue to amend the defects, which from time to time show themselves, in the laws for regulating the militia, until they are sufficiently perfect: nor should we now, or at any time, separate, until we can say we have done every thing for the militia, which we could do, were an enemy at the door.

The provision of military stores on hand will be laid before you, that you may judge of the additions still requisite.

With respect to the extent to which our preparations should be carried, some difference of opinion may be expected to appear; but just attention to the circumstances of every part of the union will doubtless reconcile all. A small force will probably continue to be wanted for actual service in the Mediterranean. Whatever annual sum, beyond that you may think proper to appropriate to naval preparations, would perhaps be better employed in providing those articles which may be kept without waste or consumption, and be in readiness when any exigence shall call them into use. Progress has been made, as will appear by papers now communicated, in providing materials for seventy-four gun ships as directed by law.

How far the authority given by the legislature, for procuring and establishing sites for naval purposes, has

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has been perfectly understood and pursued in the execution, admits of some doubt.—A statement of the expenses already incurred on that subject shall be laid before you. I have, in certain cases, suspended or slackened these expenditures, that the legislature might determine whether so many yards are necessary as have been contemplated.—The works at this place are among those permitted to go on; and five of the seven frigates directed to be laid up, have been brought and laid up here, where, besides the safety of their position, they are under the eye of the executive administration, as well as its agents, and where yourselves also will be guided by your own view, in the legislative provisions respecting them, which may from time to time be necessary. They are preserved in such condition, as well the vessels, as whatever belongs to them, as to be at all times ready for sea on a short warning. Two others are yet to be laid up, so soon as they shall have received the repairs requisite to put them also in a sound condition. As a superintending officer will be necessary at each yard, his duties and emoluments, hitherto fixed by the executive, will be a more proper subject for legislation. A communication will be made of our progress in the execution of the law respecting the vessels directed to be sold.

The fortifications of our harbours, more or less advanced, present considerations of great difficulty. While some of them are on a scale sufficiently proportioned to the advantages of their position, to the efficacy of their protection, and the importance of the points within them, others are so extensive, will cost so much in the first erection, so much in their maintenance, and require such a force to garrison them, as to make it questionable what is best now to be done. A statement of those commenced or projected, of the expenses already incurred and estimates of their future cost, as far as can be foreseen, shall be laid before you, that you may be enabled to judge whether any alteration is necessary in the laws respecting this subject.

Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are then most thriving, when left most free to individual enterprize. Protection from casual embarrassments, however, may sometimes be seasonably interposed. If, in the course of your observations or inquiries, they should appear to need any aid, within the limits of our constitutional powers, your sense of their importance is a sufficient assurance they will occupy your attention. We cannot, indeed, but all feel an anxious solicitude for the difficulties under which our carrying trade will soon be placed. How far it can be relieved, otherwise than by time, is a subject of important consideration.

The judiciary system of the United States, and especially that portion of it recently erected, will of course present itself to the contemplation of congress; and that they may be able to judge of the proportion which the institution bears to the business it has to perform, I have caused to be procured from the several states, and now lay before congress, an exact statement of all the causes decided since the first establishment of the courts, and of those which were depending when additional courts and judges were brought in to their aid.

And while on the judiciary organization, it will be worthy your con-

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sideration whether the protection of the inestimable institution of juries has been extended to all the cases involving the security of our persons and property. Their impartial selection also being essential to their value, we ought farther to consider whether that is sufficiently secured in those states, where they are named by a marshal depending on executive will, or designated by the court, or by officers dependant on them.

I cannot omit recommending a revisal of the laws on the subject of naturalization. Considering the ordinary chances of human life, a denial of citizenship under a residence of 14 years, is a denial to a great proportion of those who ask it; and controls a policy pursued, from their first settlement, by many of these states, and still believed of consequence to their prosperity. And shall we refuse to the unhappy fugitives from distress, that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe? The constitution, indeed, has wisely provided that, for admission to certain offices of important trust, a residence shall be required sufficient to develope character and design. But might not the general character and capabilities of a citizen be safely communicated to everyone manifesting a *bona fide* purpose of embarking his life and fortunes permanently with us? with restrictions, perhaps, to guard against the fraudulent usurpation of our flag; an abuse which brings so much embarrassment and loss on the genuine citizen, and so much danger to the nation of being involved in war, that no endeavour should be spared to detect aud suppress it.

These, fellow citizens, are the matters respecting the state of the nation, which I have thought of importance to be submitted to your consideration at this time. Some others of less moment, or not yet ready for communication, will be the subject of separate messages. I am happy in this opportunity of committing the arduous affairs of our government to the collected wisdom of the union.

Nothing shall be wanting on my part to inform, as far as in my power, the legislative judgment, nor to carry that judgment into faithful execution. The prudence and temperance of your discussions will promote, within your own walls, that conciliation which so much befriends rational conclusion, and by its example will encourage among our constituents that progressive opinion which is tending to unite them in object and in will. That all should be satisfied with any one order of things, is not to be expected; but I indulge the pleasing persuasion that the great body of our citizens will cordially concur in honest and disinterested efforts, which have for their object to preserve the general and state governments in their constitutional form and equilibrium—to maintain peace abroad, and order and obedience to the laws at home—to establish principles and practices of administration favourable to the security of liberty and property—and to use expenses to what is necessary for the useful purposes of government.

Th. Jefferson.

Letter from Toussaint Louverture, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of St. Domingo, to Citizen Buonaparte,

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parte, First Consul of the French Republic.

At St. Domingo, Feb. 12, 9th Year of the French Republic, One and Indivisible, 1801.

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Citizen consul,

DISAFFECTION, alarmed at the determination by which the Spanish part of St. Domingo was about to be annexed to the dominions of the republic, employed every art and intrigue to raise obstacles to the measure. That which best suited its views was to recal citizen Roume, agent of the government, and to engage him to adopt means for postponing the possession of that settlement which he had himself decreed.

Resolved to obtain it by force of arms, I felt it my duty, before I began my march, to invite citizen Roume to terminate his functions, and to retire to Dondon until he should receive new orders; because intrigue and disaffection would be there less capable of leading him astray. He continues there ready to obey your orders. Whenever you shall claim him, I will send him to France. Whatever may be the calumnies, which my enemies may have prevailed upon him to transmit to you against me, I shall abstain from any justification of myself; but while my delicacy compels me to silence, my duty enjoins me to prevent him from acting improperly.

The necessity of carrying on a strict correspondence with my government, and the few opportunities that present themselves for the purpose, induce me to request, citizen consul, that you will appropriate L'Enfant Prodigue corvette to that object only, and that you will dispatch it to St. Domingo once at least every three months, in order that I may be enabled to transmit to you regularly, at the periods of its return, the precise state of this fine colony, for the prosperity of which you may be assured I shall continue on all occasions to exert myself.

Health and profound respect,

Toussaint Louverture.

Letter from Toussaint Louverture, Commander-in-Chief of the Army at St. Domingo, to Citizen Buonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic.

Cape Français, July 16, 1801.

Citizen consul,

The minister of the marine, in the account that he has, of course, given you of the political situation of this colony, and which I transmitted to him by the dispatches sent by the corvette L'Enfant Prodigue, on her return to France, must have submitted to you my proclamation of the 5th of February. It announces a convocation of a central assembly, which (at the instant in which an union of the French and Spanish parts of St. Domingo made them but one country, subject to the same legislative system) was to establish their future condition by wholesome laws, founded on the manners and position of the inhabitants.

I have this day the satisfaction to inform you, that the finishing hand has been put to this work, and that a constitution has been formed, which promises happiness to the long suffering inhabitants of this colony, and which I transmit to you for your approbation and that of my government. For this purpose I have

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have dispatched to you citizen Vincent chief director of the fortifications at St. Domingo, to whom I intrusted this precious charge. The central assembly having required of me (on account of the non-existence of all law, and the necessity that there is for the suppression of anarchy) to put this constitution in force, as a means of sooner producing its future prosperity, I have acquiesced in their demand. It has been received by all classes of persons with transports of joy, which no doubt will be reiterated as soon as it shall be returned to them with the sanction of government.

Health and respect,

Toussaint Louverture.

Proclamation by Toussaint Louverture — From the Official Bulletin of St. Domingo, of the 19th Messidor, 8th July, 1801, Old Style.

Liberty. Equality.

French Republic.

People of St. Domingo,

The colonial constitution for this important island has just been handed to me by the central assembly, composed of legislators, who, in virtue of my proclamation of the 16th Pluviose last, have met to establish laws which are to regulate and govern us.

I have read that law with attention; and, persuaded that it will ensure the welfare of my fellow-citizens, as it is founded on good morals, on localities, and principally on religion, I approve it.

But when I consider that I am charged with the execution of these constitutional laws, I see that my task is more difficult than that of the legislators has been. Nevertheless, I announce, that however vast and spacious this undertaking may be, I will do my best to go through with it.

O you, my fellow citizens, of every age, of every station, and of every colour, you are free; and the constitution, which is this day remitted to me, is to render this liberty eternal.

Let us, in the first place, prostrate ourselves before the Creator of the Universe, to thank him for his blessings so precious.

It is my duty to speak to you in the language of truth. This constitution assures to every individual the enjoyment of his rights; it requires of every citizen the practice of the virtues, as it calls within our climate the reign of good morals, and the divine religion of Jesus Christ.

Therefore, then, magistrates, serve as an example to the people, of whom you are to consider yourselves the fathers and the defenders. Let probity and righteousness guide your actions and dictate your sentences. You will secure to yourselves the esteem of your fellow-citizens: it is the sweetest consolation a man in office can desire.

Brave military men! generals, officers, subalterns, and soldiers! observe discipline and subordination; give activity to culture; be obedient to your chiefs; defend and maintain the constitution against foreign and domestic enemies, who might endeavour to injure it. Let your motto always be Bravery, and your guide Honour; you will deserve well of the country.

Cultivators!

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Cultivators! avoid indolence, it is the mother of vices. Guard principally against the seductions of men as ill-intentioned as malevolent.—You will at all times find in me, as well as in the generals, my representatives, the repressors of injustice and abuses.

Industrious inhabitants of the towns! be submissive to the laws; they will not cease to be your protection and your ægis.

People, magistrates, and soldiers! I lay before you your duties and mine. For me, I promise in the face of Heaven, to do whatever will depend on me, by the permission of God, to preserve union, peace, and public tranquillity, and consequently the happiness of my fellow-citizens. I promise to execute what is prescribed to me by the constitution. Swear to me, in like manner, before the Supreme Being, that you will submit yourselves to those laws which are to ensure your happiness and consolidate your liberty.

Citizens! I inform you that the law is the compass of every citizen; that when it speaks, they must yield obedience. The civil and military authorities are to be the first to submit to them, and to give thereby an example to the people. Follow from point to point the constitution which the central and legislative assembly of St. Domingo has just presented to you; and may the sublime principles it has just consecrated remain eternally engraven upon your hearts.

At all times, my dear fellow-citizens and friends, my desire, my wish, and my ambition, consisted in finding and preparing the means to render you free and happy: if I can attain an object so dear to my heart, I shall not regret life, and I shall go without any remorse to render an account of my actions to the almighty God, the sovereign author of all things.

Live for ever the French republic and the colonial constitution!

The general-in-chief,
(Signed) Toussaint Louverture.

Manifesto, addressed to all the States, Friends, or Allies, of the French Republic, to all Governors and Commanders-in-Chief of the Sea and Land Forces in the West Indies, to the Captains and Commanders of the different Ships of War belonging to the said States, stationed for the Protection of their respective Colonies, or navigating in those Seas.

By the three underwritten Magistrates, nominated by the First Consul of the French Republic, to establish and constitute the Government of Guadaloupe and its Dependencies.

A Month has elapsed since a few factious men, enemies to all social order, have found the means to usurp the government in the island of Guadaloupe. To succeed in their plan, they have calumniated the legal authority of the captain-general, rear-admiral Lacrosse, who was then solely and provisionally charged by the first consul, Buonaparte, with the civil and military powers; they have seduced and led astray the armed forces, incarcerated the officers who remained faithful to the mother-country; and, finally, they have audaciously dared to lay criminal hands on the captain-general, and banish him from his government,

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ment, after having detained him several days a prisoner.

The captain-general having been put on board a Danish vessel, with imperative instructions to land him at Copenhagen, was fortunately met by his Britannic majesty's frigate the Tamer, captain Western commander; his claimed protection was granted, and he found an asylum at the government house at Dominica.

At this juncture the news of a general peace arrived in these islands, with the official account of the preliminary articles having been concluded, ratified, and exchanged between France and England: it was supposed that the communication of this intelligence, by demonstrating to the rebels the speedy punishment awaiting their misdemeanours, would be sufficient to recal them to their duty; but it was in vain. A British flag of truce went to Guadaloupe, the 13th of November, 1801, and notified to them, the 14th, the official account of peace, to which no credit was given, and the officer of the flag was insulted.

It was necessary for them to act in this manner to be enabled to fit out privateers, and to allow those actually cruising to continue their depredations, and to receive their prizes. The legal magistrates have now in their possession a commission of letter of marque, dated the 15th of November (the day after the notification of peace was communicated by the flag of truce). Information has been received that they have authorized the capture of several vessels belonging to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, which have been carried into the ports of Guadaloupe — a conduct absolutely piratical.

The first consul having given orders to dispatch from Brest the Pensée frigate, captain Valteau, with the official account of peace, sent out likewise the colonial prefect and the commissary of justice, in order to form and complete, in concert with the captain-general, the government of Guadaloupe and its dependencies. On their making the land of Deseadfi, they were informed of the rebellious state of Guadaloupe, and, on the 24th of November, they joined the captain-general in the town of Roseau of his Britannic majesty's island of Dominica, with the permission of his excellency the hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone.

In consequence of which, and the two annexed papers, one being an act of the government of the French republic, regulating and constituting the different authorities, military, civil, and judiciary, for the island of Guadaloupe and its dependencies; and the other, the address of the three magistrates camposing the government to the citizens of that island.

The three aforesaid magistrates, composing solely the legal government of that colony, are earnestly prompted to fulfil an essential duty, by denouncing to all nations, friends and allies of the French republic, the state of rebellion of Guadaloupe against the mother-country, caused by some subaltern factious individuals, and others, without any title, who have usurped the reins of government, and all civil and military authority; in consequence of which they hereby declare, that no act of the said rebellious usurpers will be approved of, or have any effect; that the privateers of Guadaloupe, continuing to cruise after the offici-

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al account of peace, or attempting to make prizes, will be looked upon as pirates, and treated accordingly with all the severity pointed out by law.

They request the different governments of their allies, the governors, and commanders of their fleets and ships of war, to prevent the exportation of arms, gunpowder, ammunition, or provisions of any kind for the use of the rebels, the importation of which into Guadaloupe will be prohibited under the severest penalties.

They declare and announce, that no naval expedition or commercial clearance from the said island or its dependencies can be legal without the captain-general's signature for ships of war or armed vessels and that of the colonial prefect for merchantmen and other vessels of that description; and they in consequence request all those who are authorized to act in the different ports, where such vessels from Guadaloupe and its dependencies should anchor, without the proper papers heretofore mentioned, to seize and sequestrate them and their respective cargoes, arrest their crews and passengers, and likewise all passengers leaving Guadaloupe in neutral bottoms, without the captain-general's passport; the aforesaid seizure and individuals to be at the disposal of the magistrate composing the government of Guadaloupe, or of the commissaries for the commercial intercourse of the French republic, wherever such establishments should exist. They declare, that the Saints is the place fixed upon for vessels intended for Guadaloupe, that it has been granted for that purpose by the British government until farther orders, and that means will be there found to communicate with the legal government of the said island, and assistance, if required, obtained.

The aforesaid dispositions will take place provisionally until the French government sends out to these islands sufficient means to put a stop to plunder and rebellion, and reestablish order, which, when it takes place, will be published in the same manner, being of essential importance for the tranquillity of all governments.

Given at Roseau, in his Britannic majesty's island of Dominica, the 3d day of December, 1801.

La Crosse, captain-general.
Lescalier, colonial prefect.
Coster, commissary of justice.

Proclamation in the name of the French Colony of St. Domingo, Toussaint Louverture, Governor.

Liberty. Equality.

EVER since the revolution I have done all that rested with me to restore the happiness of my country, to secure the liberty of my fellow-citizens. Forced to fight the internal and external enemies of the French republic, I have made war with courage, honour, and loyalty. Towards my greatest enemies I have never swerved from the rules of justice; and if I have used all the means which were in my power to conquer them, I have likewise endeavoured, so far as lay in me, to mitigate the horrors of war, to spare the blood of man. The pardon of offences has ever been my principle; humanity my leading sentiment; and I have received as friends and brothers those who the day before were under the hostile banners. By forgetting errors and faults, I have wished to make

make the genuine and sacred cause of liberty amiable, even to our most ardent adversaries.

I have constantly reminded my brethren in arms, as well officers as generals, that the rank to which they were raised ought only to be the reward of honour, bravery, and irreproachable private behaviour; that the more they were elevated above their fellow-citizens, the more circumspect and unblameable should be all their actions and all their words: that the scandal of public men was attended by consequences more detrimental to society than that of simple citizens; that the rank and functions with which they were invested, were not given to them only to serve their fortunes or their ambition, but that those necessary institutions had for their cause and their end the public good; that they imposed duties which ought, in the first place, to be discharged without selfish considerations; that impartiality and equity ought to dictate all their decisions; the love of order, the prosperity of the colony, the suppression of every vice, should perpetually call forth their activity, their vigilance, and their zeal.

I have continually and energetically recommended to the whole military, subordination, discipline, and obedience, without which an army cannot exist. It is created to protect liberty, the security of persons and property; and all those who compose it should never lose sight of the object of its honourable destination. It is for the officers, along with good advice, to give their soldiers good examples. Each captain ought to feel the noble emulation of having his company the best disciplined, the cleanest, and the best exercised; he ought to consider that the errors of his soldiers recoil upon himself, and that he is degraded by the faults of those he commands. The same sentiments ought, in a higher degree, to animate chiefs of battalion for their battalions, and chiefs of brigade for their brigades: they ought to regard them as their own families, when the individuals of whom they are composed, perform their duty well, and show themselves rigid commanders when they depart from it.

Such is the language I have held out to general Moyse during ten years, in all my private conversations; which I have repeated to him a thousand times in the presence of his companions; which I have resumed in my correspondence: such are the principles I have recorded in a thousand of my letters. On every occasion I have endeavoured to explain to him the holy maxims of our religion, and to prove to him that man is nothing without the power and will of God; that the duties of a Christian who has received baptism ought never to be neglected; that when a man braves Providence, he must expect a dreadful end. What have I not done to bring him back to virtue, to justice, to benevolence, to change his vicious inclinations, and to hinder him from precipitating himself into the abyss! God alone knows it. Instead of listening to the advice of a father, of a chief devoted to the colony, he was only guided by his destructive passions—he perished miserably! Such is the lot reserved for those who shall imitate him. The justice of heaven is slow, but, sooner or later, it strikes the wicked like a thunderbolt, and crushes them.

The cruel experiment I have just made, will not be useless to me; and

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after the misconduct of general Moyse, there shall be no general of division named without new orders from the French government.

Nevertheless general Dessalines shall, on account of the services he has done, retain his rank of general of division.

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In one of my proclamations, during the war of the south, I have traced the duties of fathers and mothers, their obligations to educate their children in the fear of God, always regarding religion as the basis of all virtue, and the foundation of the happiness of society. In fact, who are they who have, since the revolution, caused the greatest misfortunes to the colony? Have they not been men without religion or morals? He that despises God and his divine precepts, who does not cherish his nearest relations, will he love his fellow creatures? Thou shalt honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long, is one of the first commandments of God. Will a child, who does not respect his father and his mother, listen to the advice of those who are strangers to him? Will he obey the laws of society, who has trampled upon the holiest and mildest law of nature? Yet with what negligence do fathers and mothers educate their children, especially in cities! Instead of instructing them in religion, exacting from them respect and obedience, and giving them ideas suitable to their condition; instead of teaching them to love industry, they leave them in idleness, and ignorance of their first duties; they appear themselves to despise, and teach their children to despise agriculture, the first, the most honourable, and most useful of occupations. Scarcely are they born when we see the same children at once decked with toys and ear-rings, and covered with filthy rags, offending the eye of decency with their nakedness. They thus arrive at the age of twelve, without moral principles or occupation, and with no education, except a relish for luxury and indolence; and, as bad impressions are hard to eradicate, they become bad citizens, vagabonds, and thieves; or, if they are girls, they are prostitutes; and, be which they will, are ready to obey the impulse of any conspirator who shall preach to them disorder, assassination, and plunder. Upon such vile fathers and mothers, upon such dangerous pupils, the military commanders ought to keep perpetually a watchful eye, that the hand of justice should be continually stretched out.

The same reproach equally applies to a great number of cultivators, male and female, upon the plantations. Since the revolution, ill-disposed men have addressed the lazy and turbulent, and said "That liberty was the right of living in idleness, and doing ill with impunity, of despising the laws, and only following their own fancies." Such a doctrine could not but be well received by all bad subjects, thieves, and assassins. It is time to strike at those hardened men, who persist in such ideas. All the world ought to know that there are no means of living peaceably and respected, but labour, and assiduous labour.

Such is the lesson which fathers and mothers ought to give to their children every day, and every moment of their lives.

As soon almost as a child can walk he ought to be employed about the plantations, in some useful labour proportioned to his strength, instead of being sent into towns, under pretence of that education he does not

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receive; he comes there only to learn vices, to increase the rabble of vagabonds and women of ill fame, to disturb the repose of his fellow-citizens by his very existence, and to end it by a capital punishment. The military commanders and the magistrates must be inexorable to this class of men; they must force them, in spite of themselves, to be useful to that society of which they would be the scourge without the severest vigilance.

Since the revolution, it is evident that the war has caused the destruction of far more men than women; of these latter also are found a greater number in the towns, whose only existence is founded upon libertinism. Occupied entirely with thoughts of dress, the effects of their prostitution; disdaining not only culture, but every other employment, they entirely refuse to do any thing useful. These are they who conceal all the guilty, who live upon the profits of their rapine, who excite them to robbery for the purpose of partaking the fruits of their crimes. It concerns the honour of the magistrates, generals, and commanders, not to leave one of these in the towns or suburbs; the least negligence in this respect will render them worthy of public censure.

Moyse, it is true, was the soul of the late conspiracy; but he could not have completed his infamy had he not been able to find accomplices.

As to domestics, every citizen ought only to have as many as are indispensably necessary for his service. The persons with whom they live ought to be the principal observers of their conduct, and to suffer nothing in them contrary to good morals, to submission, and to order; if they are idle, they should correct them for this vice; if they are thieves, they ought to be denounced to the military commanders, to be punished according to the laws. A good servant, animated with justice, will do more work than four bad ones; and since, in the new regime, all labour merits wages, so all wages merit labour.

Such is the invariable and decided will of the government.

There is, besides, an object worthy its attention; that is, the observing of strangers who arrive in the colony. Some of them only know, from the reports of the enemies of the new order of things, the changes which have taken place, without reflecting upon the causes which have produced them, or upon the difficulties which were to be overcome, that the greatest disorder that ever existed might be succeeded by tranquillity and peace, cultivation and trade; they entertain designs the more dangerous, as they are welcomed by all those who, founding their hopes upon disturbances, only desire pretexts. Such faults ought to be the more severely punished, as the negligence of the public functionaries in this respect would ensure that confidence they require, and would cause them to be justly regarded as the enemies of liberty.

The most sacred of all institutions of men who live in society, from whence flows every good, is marriage. A good father of a family, a good husband, entirely occupied by the happiness of his children, ought to be among them the living image of the Divinity. Thus a good government ought always to surround good families with honour, with respect, and with veneration; it ought never to repose till it has pulled up the last root of immorality. The military commanders, the public

functionaries, are, above all, without excuse, when they publicly give way to the scandal of vice. Those who, having wives, keep concubines in their own houses, or those who, not being married, live publicly with a variety of women, are unworthy to command, and will be cashiered.

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As a final analysis: every man existing in the colony owes to his fellow citizens a good example; every military commander, every public functionary, ought accurately to fulfil his duty; they will be judged by their actions, by the good they have done, by the tranquillity and prosperity of the places they command. In a well ordered state, idleness is the source of every disorder, and if it is suffered in a single individual, I shall blame the military commanders, persuaded that those who tolerate idle persons and vagabonds, have bad designs, and are the secret enemies of the government.

No person can, under any pretence, be exempt from some task or other, according to his faculties. Fathers and mothers, who have children and estates, ought to go and live there, work there themselves, make their children work, watch over their labours, and, in the moment of repose, instruct them themselves; or by teaching them the precepts of our religion, impress upon them the horror of vice, explain to them the commandments of God, engrave the principles of them upon their hearts in an ineffaceable manner, and penetrate them with this truth, that as idleness is the mother of every vice, so is labour the father of every virtue. It is by these means that respectable and useful citizens will be formed, that one may expect to see this beautiful colony one of the happiest countries upon earth, and for ever keep away those horrible events, the recollection of which can never be effaced from our memories.

In consequence I decree as follows.

Art. 1. Every commandant who, since the late conspiracy, has had knowledge of the troubles which since have broken out, and permitted plunder or assassination, who being able to prevent or hinder revolt, has suffered to be broken that law which declares the life, the property, and the home of every citizen, sacred and inviolable, shall be carried before a special tribunal, and punished according to the law of 22d Thermidor, year 9 (August 10, 1801.)

Every military commander, who, through want of foresight, or neglect, has not put a stop to disorders when committed, shall be cashiered, and punished with a year's imprisonment.

There shall, in consequence, be made a rigorous inquiry into their conduct, and then the governor will pronounce upon their fate.

2. All general commanders of the arrondissements, or quarters, who shall for the future neglect to take all necessary precautions to prevent seditions, but shall suffer the law to be violated, which declares the life, the property, and home of every citizen sacred and inviolable, shall be carried before a special tribunal, and punished conformable to the law of the 22d Thermidor, year 9 (August 10, 1801.)

3. In case of trouble, or indications of its breaking out, the national guard of that quarter or circle shall be at the order of the military commanders, on their simple requisition. Every commander who shall not have taken the necessary precautions

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cautions for preventing trouble in his quarters, or the propagation of troubles from an adjacent quarter; every military man, either of the line or national troops, who shall refuse to obey legal orders, shall be punished with death.

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4. Every individual, male or female, of whatever colour, who shall be convicted of having entertained serious intentions of raising sedition, shall be taken before a council of war, and punished conformably to law.

5. Every individual creole, male or female, convicted of having entertained designs tending to disturb the public tranquillity, but who shall not be thought worthy of death, shall be sent to work with a chain at his foot, for six months.

6. Every stranger in the situation of the article preceding, shall be sent out of the colony as a bad subject.

7. In every commune of the colony, where there exist municipal administrations, all the citizens, male and female, which inhabit them, whatever their qualities or condition, must provide themselves with cards of safety.

This card shall contain the name, surname, domicile, state, profession, and quality, age and sex, of those who bear it.

It shall be signed by the mayor and commissary of the quarter where the person inhabits.

It shall be renewed every six months, on paying a dollar, by each individual: the sums thus arising to be applied to the communal expense.

8. It is expressly forbidden to the municipal administrations to give cards to any one who has not an estate or profession, well known irreproachable conduct, and certain means of existence.

All those who cannot fulfil the necessary conditions strictly, shall, if creoles, be sent to till the ground, or, if strangers, be sent away from the colony.

9. Every mayor or officer of police, who, by negligence, or to favour vice, shall have signed and delivered a card of safety to an individual who is not qualified to obtain it, shall be cashiered and imprisoned one month.

10. Fifteen days after the publication of the present arrêt, every person found without a card of safety, if a creole, shall be sent to culture; if a stranger, sent out of the colony, unless he prefers serving in the troops of the line.

11. Every domestic, who, before leaving the house where he has served, shall not have been thought worthy a certificate of good behaviour, shall be declared incapable of receiving a card of safety. Any person, who, to favour him, shall give him one, shall be imprisoned one month.

12. Fifteen days after the publication of the present arrêt, all managers or conductors of plantations are charged to send an exact list of all the cultivators of every age and sex in their plantations, under pain of being imprisoned eight days.

Every conductor or manager is the principal guard of the plantation; he is declared personally responsible for every kind of disorder committed there, and for the idleness and vagrancy of the cultivators.

13. A month after the publication of this arrêt, all the commanders of quarters are required to send the list of the cultivators of every plantation

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plantation of their quarters to the commanders of circles, on pain of being cashiered.

14. The commanders of circles are required to send lists of all the plantations of their circles to the generals under the orders of whom they are, without delay, under pain of disobedience.

These lists, deposited in the archives of the government, will serve for the future as an immutable basis for the fixing of the cultivators with respect to the inhabitants.

15. Every manager or conductor of a plantation, where a strange cultivator shall have taken refuge, is required to denounce him to the captain or commander of the section, within twenty-four hours, under pain of eight days' imprisonment.

16. Every captain or commandant of a section, who by negligence shall have left a strange cultivator more than three days in a plantation, in his section, shall be cashiered.

17. Vagrant cultivators thus arrested shall be conducted by the military to their own habitations. They shall be recommended to the peculiar inspection of the conductors or managers, and thus shall for three months have no passport to go out of the plantation.

18. It is forbidden to any soldier to go to any plantation or private house in the town. Those who wish to work, and have obtained their officer's permission, shall be employed at labours for the republic, and paid according to their labour.

19. It is forbidden to any soldier to go to any plantation unless to see his father or his mother. If he fails to return to his corps at the hour appointed, he shall be punished, according to the case, conformably to military law.

20. Every person convicted of having disturbed or attempted to disturb a family, shall be denounced to the civil and military authorities, who shall give an account of it to the governor, who will decide according to the case.

21. My order relative to culture, given at Port Republicain, 20th Vendemiaire, year 9, shall be executed in its form and tenour. It is enjoined to the military commanders to look into it, and see that it is executed with rigour, and literally, and whatever is not contrary to the present proclamation.

The present proclamation shall be printed, transcribed upon the administrative and judicial registers, read, published, and posted where need is; and besides inserted in the official bulletin of St. Domingo.

A copy shall be sent to each of the ministers of worship, to be read to their parishioners after mass.

All generals, military commanders, and all civil authorities in the departments, are enjoined to enforce the most severe, full, and entire execution of its spirit and regulations, upon their personal responsibility, and under pain of disobedience.

Given at Cape François, 4th Frimaire, year 10 (November 25, 1801.)

(Signed) Touissaint Louverture.

Proclamation of the First Consul of France to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo; dated Paris, 8th Nov. 1801.

Inhabitants of St. Domingo,

WHATEVER your origin or your colour, you are all French, you are all free, and all equal in

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in the sight of God, and in the estimation of the republic.

France has been, like St. Domingo, a prey to factions, torn by civil and foreign wars. But all is changed; all people have embraced the French, and have sworn towards them peace and amity, all the French have embraced each other also, and have sworn to be all friends and brothers. Come also, embrace the French, and rejoice to see again your friends and your brothers of Europe.

The government sends you the captain-general Leclerc: he has brought with him great forces for protecting you against your enemies, and against the enemies of the republic. If it be said to you these forces are destined to ravish from you your liberty; answer, "The republic will not permit it to be taken away from us,"

Rally round the captain-general. He brings you abundance and peace. Rally all of you around him. Whoever shall dare to separate himself from the captain-general will be a traitor to his country, and the indignation of the republic will devour him, as the fire devours your dried canes.

Done at Paris, in the palace of the government, the 17th Brumaire, year 10 of the French republic (Nov. 8, 1801).

The first consul
(Signed) Buonaparte.
By the first consul.
The secretary of state,
(Signed) H. B. Maret.

To Citizen Toussaint Louverture, General-in-Chief of the Army of St. Domingo.

Citizen-general.

Peace with England, and all the powers of Europe, which places the republic in the first degree of greatness and power, enables, at the same time, the government to direct its attention to St Domingo. We send thither citizen Leclerc, our brother-in-law, in quality of captain-general, as first magistrate of the colony. He is accompanied with the necessary forces to make the sovereignty of the French people be respected. It is under these circumstances that we are disposed to hope that you will prove to us and to all France the sincerity of the sentiments you have constantly expressed in the different letters you have written to us. We have conceived an esteem for you, and we wish to recognise and proclaim the great services you have rendered to the French people. If their colours fly on St. Domingo, it is to you and your brave blacks that they are indebted. Called by your talents, and the force of circumstances, to the first command, you have destroyed the civil war, put a stop to the persecutions of some ferocious men, restored to honour the religion and worship of God, from whom all things come. The constitution that you have formed, though containing many good things, contains others which are contrary to the dignity and the sovereignty of the French people, of which St. Domingo forms but a part.

The circumstances in which you are placed, surrounded on all sides by enemies, without the mother-country being able to succour or to feed you, have rendered legitimate the articles of that constitution, which otherwise could not be so. But now that circumstances are so happily changed, you will be the first

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first to render homage to the sovereignty of the nation, which reckons you among the number of the most illustrious citizens, by the services you have rendered to it, and by the talents and the force of character with which nature has endowed you. A contrary conduct would be irreconcilable with the idea we have conceived of you. It would deprive you of your numerous claims to the gratitude and good offices of the republic, and would dig under your feet a precipice, which, while it swallowed you up, would contribute to the misery of those brave blacks, whose courage we love, and whom we should be sorry to punish for rebellion.

We have made known to your children, and to their preceptor, the sentiments by which we are animated.—We send them back to you. Assist with your councils, your influence, and your talents, the captain-general. What can you desire?—the freedom of the blacks? You know that in all the countries we have been in, we have given it to the people who had it not. Do you desire consideration, honours, fortune? It is not, after the services you have rendered, the services you can still render, with the particular sentiments we have for you, that you ought to be doubtful with respect to your consideration, your fortune, and the honours that await you.

Make known to the people of St. Domingo, that the solicitude which France has always evinced for their happiness has often been rendered impotent by the imperious circumstances of war; that men come from the continent to agitate and nourish factions, were the produce of the factions which themselves destroyed the country; that, in future, peace, and the power of the government, ensure their prosperity and freedom. Tell them, that, if liberty be to them the first of wants, they cannot enjoy it, but with the title of French citizens; and that every act contrary to the interest of the country, the obedience they owe to the government, and the captain-general, who is the delegate of it, would be a crime against the national sovereignty, which would eclipse their services, and render St. Domingo the theatre of a wretched war, in which fathers and children would massacre each other.

And you, general, recollect, that, if you are the first of your colour that attained such great power, and distinguished himself by his bravery and his military talents, you are also, before God and us, the principal person responsible for their conduct.

If there be disaffected persons, who say to the individuals that have played a principal part in the troubles of St. Domingo, that we are coming to ascertain what they have done during the times of anarchy, assure them that we shall take cognizance of their conduct only in this last circumstance; and that we shall not recur to the past, but to find out the traits that may have distinguished them in the war carried on against the Spaniards and English, who have been our enemies.

Rely, without reserve, on our esteem; and conduct yourself as one of the principal citizens of the greatest nation in the world ought to do.

The first consul. Buonaparte.

Paris, 17th Brumaire
(8th Nov.)

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Public Edict, addressed by the Hoppo, or Receiver-General of the Customs, at Canton, for the Information of the Merchants appointed to trade with foreign Nations.

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WHEREAS I have received advices from his excellency the Fooyuen, setting forth, that "The ships of foreign nations have long since been permitted to import at Whampou, and Macao, in the province of Quantong, for the purpose of carrying on a trade by the free interchange of those commodities which were in demand on the one hand, and superfluous on the other.

"From this general rule, the article of opium was excepted; a substance of whose composition we are acquainted, but which is of a violent and powerful nature, and possesses a fœtid and odious flavour; being, however, remarkable at the same time for a quality of exciting and raising the spirits, it has been sought after, and purchased by persons without fixed homes, or professions, who, having prepared an extract from it, opened shops for this branch of traffic.

"The use of opium originally prevailed only among vagrants and disreputable persons, who associated together for the purpose of partaking of this substance; but it has since extended itself among the members and descendants of reputable families, students, as well as officers of government, who, infatuated in their attachment to this drug, make an habitual use of it.

"Their inducement on this occasion appears to be the power which this substance communicates to those who partake of it, of not closing their eyes for entire nights, and spending them in the gratification of impure and sensual desires, whereby their respective duties and occupations are neglected; when this habit becomes established by frequent repetition, it gains an entire ascendant, and the consumer of opium is not only unable to forbear the daily use of it; but, on passing the accustomed hour, he is immediately seized with pains in the head, and a feverish heat; cannot refrain from tears, or command himself in any degree.—For relief, therefore, from these painful symptoms, and to regain his wonted health, he has necessarily recourse to the same pernicious substance.

"When, at length, the gradual and progressive effects of this poison have pervaded the lungs, and the whole bodily frame, the sufferers, with the pale and sickly hue of doves, or small fluttering birds, are no longer within the reach of medical assistance; desirous, though in vain, of quitting so dreadful a practice, they would willingly end it with their lives, by tearing out their entrails in despair.

"The extraordinary expense of this article is farther to be noticed, each mace weight of which, in the extract, is exchanged for eight or nine maces in money, and the constant use of it raises at the same time an extraordinary appetite for other kinds of food, which the fortunes of the bulk of the community are unable to satisfy, and are, therefore, in the course of a few years, wholly dilapidated and wasted away; of these, the infirm and weak perish gradually from want and hunger, while the strong and vigorous become thieves and robbers; the ruin of either being equally certain and inevitable.

"Others again, among the deluded

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ded and misjudging people, from trifling causes, or absurd conceits, take the premature resolution of swallowing a decoction of opium in wine; thus ending their existence by means of readier access, than are the generality of vegetable substances esteemed poisonous and destructive to the human frame.

"The pernicious effects arising from the use of this substance, were formerly confined to Fokien, and Quantong; but have spread, in the course of time, through the other provinces of the empire, where the eagerness after the traffic, and consumption of this article, have even exceeded that of the first introducers.

"Thus it is, that foreigners, by the means of a vile excrementitious substance, derive from this empire the most solid profits and advantages; but that our countrymen should blindly pursue this destructive and ensnaring vice, even till death is the consequence, without being undeceived, is indeed a fact, odious and deplorable in the highest degree.

"Being now desirous of opposing the growing evil, for which it appeared necessary to revert to the sources from which it sprung, we discover, by careful investigation, that the article of opium is imported by foreigners, and gains admittance into the empire through the Bocca Tigris, whence, either by the pilot-vessels, and armed guard-boats, that are stationed there, it is conveyed up the river, to Shen-shin, (Dane's Island,) or, by the means of small craft, it is landed by degrees at Macao, and thence conveyed privately to the capital, while the custom-house officers and guards, at the different stations, though well acquainted with the transaction, suffer it to pass without examination or inquiry, being doubtlessly bribed to a large amount for that purpose.

"If the utmost endeavours are not now made to cut away the root and branches of this evil, to what extent may they not proceed? We therefore publish these general orders for the information of all the mandarines civil and military, at the different stations and districts of this province, that they may vigorously examine into and punish the commission of this offence whenever it occurs; and, at the same time, we desire of his excellency the Hoppo, to issue positive orders and injunctions to the officers, attendants, and guards, of the several custom-houses in his department, that, should henceforth any pilot-vessels, guard-boats, or fishermen, privately take on board those pieces of mould or earth denominated opium, a strict search and investigation shall be made, and the offenders apprehended and conveyed to the presence of the magistrate, to undergo the punishment that may be thought adequate to their guilt.

"If, notwithstanding these our orders, bribes are again accepted, and the passage of this article connived at, it shall be traced with the utmost exactness and rigour, in the districts and stations through which it had been transported, that no pains may have been spared to produce a thorough reformation and amendment in these respects.—Should any farther mode or regulation appear, that might tend to enforce or render more effectual these prohibitions and restrictions, we request of his excellency the Hoppo to give us due information thereof, in his reply to this our communication to him."

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On receiving the foregoing letter, we made due inquiries respecting the introduction of the substance denominated opium, and find that it is indeed imported into this country by foreign vessels; wherefore we have issued orders to the superintendant of the custom-house at the port of Macao, to be communicated to the chief foreign residents, and the commanders of vessels belonging to that city, notifying our determination to prohibit the entrance of the article of opium into that port, as well as our general orders to make every exertion to discover and inform us of it, whenever it takes place.

Having replied to his excellency the Fooyuen's communication, I proceed to extend the above orders to the Hong merchants, to which it behoves them to pay strict and unreserved obedience, and communicate them to the chief supercargo of foreign nations, that they may enforce the observance of our prohibition of the importation of opium on board the ships of their respective nations. But should, nevertheless, any ship hereafter import the article, none of the Hong merchants will be so imprudent or absurd as to become security for the ship, or undertake the disposal of her cargo, as I should, in such event, immediately report their conduct to the viceroy and Fooyuen, by whom the merchants will be rigorously examined, and punished for the offence, without any mitigation or excuse being admitted. The Hong merchants shall, according to custom, reply hereto, and make known to us their obedience to our commands.

Given at Canton, the 16th day of the 11th moon, of the 4th year of kiaking.

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A Tribute to the Memory of Gilbert Wakefield, by Dr. Aiken. From the Monthly Magazine.

LITERATURE has sustained a severe loss, by the death of Gilbert Wakefield, B.A., whom a fever carried off on September the 9th, in the 46th year of his age, to the unspeakable regret of his family and friends. A person in various respects so distinguished is a proper subject for the contemplation of survivors; and he had deserved too well of the public not to be entitled to honourable and affectionate commemoration.

Mr. Wakefield, in "Memoirs of his own Life," published in 1792, has informed the world of all the circumstances attending his education and passage through life down to that period, with a minuteness and frankness which render his work a very curious and entertaining piece of biography. I shall not make any transcripts from it, but, confining myself to a slight sketch of the leading events, shall take that view of his character and conduct which suggests itself to the reflection of a friendly, but not a prejudiced bystander.

Gilbert Wakefield was born, on February 22, 1756, at Nottingham, of which town his father was one of the parochial clergy. An uncommon solidity and seriousness of disposition marked him from infancy, together with a power of application, and thirst after knowledge, which accelerated his progress in juvenile studies. In his grammatical course he passed under the tuition of several masters, the last and most respectable of whom was the rev. Mr. Wooddeson, of Kingston-upon-Thames, to which parish his father was then removed. He was used, however, to lament that he had not possessed the advantages of an uniform education at one of those public schools, which undoubtedly, whatever may be their dangers and deficiences, effect the point at which they exclusively aim, that of laying a solid foundation for classical erudition in its most exact form. In 1772 he was entered as a scholar of Jesus College, Cambridge; and it was ever a topic of thankfulness to him, that he became a member of that university, in which the love of truth met with some encouragement from a spirit of liberal inquiry, rather than of that which was devoted either to supine indolence, or to the passive inculcation of opinions sanctioned by authority. During the first years his attention was chiefly fixed upon classical studies, always his favourites; and he was excited only by emulation and academical requisition to aim at that proficiency in mathematical

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matical knowledge which bears so high a value at Cambridge. Yet, while he confesses himself destitute of a genuine taste for speculations of this kind, he scruples not to declare the infinite superiority, in point of grandeur and sublimity, of mathematical philosophy to classical lucubrations. In 1776, he took his degree of B. A., on which occasion he was nominated to the second post among seventy-five candidates; and soon after he was elected to a fellowship of his college. In the same year he published a small collection of Latin poems, with a few critical notes on Homer, at the university press. If not highly excellent, they were sufficient to establish the claim of a young man to more than ordinary acquaintance with the elegance of literature. He had already obtained a knowledge of the Hebrew language, as preparatory to those theological studies which now became his most serious occupation; and it may safely be affirmed, that no man ever commenced them with a mind more determined upon the unbiassed search after truth, and the open assertion of it when discovered. The foundation which he laid for his inquiries was an accurate knowledge of the phraseology of the Scriptures, acquired by means of attention to the idiom in which they were written. As at this time some of his most esteemed academical friends manifested their dissatisfaction with the articles of the church of England, by a conscientious refusal of subscription, it cannot be doubted that scruples on this point had already taken possession of his mind; and so far had his convictions proceeded, that he has stigmatized his compliance with the forms requisite for obtaining deacon's orders, which he received in 1778, as "the most disingenuous action of his whole life." If, indeed, he could receive consolation from the practice of others, there were several of his intimate associates, who, by a superiority to such scruples, have since risen to opulence and distinction in the church, without betraying any uneasiness for a similar acquiescence.

Mr. Wakefield left college after ordination, and engaged in a curacy at Stockport, in Cheshire, whence he afterwards removed to a similar situation in Liverpool. He performed the duties of his office with seriousness and punctuality; but his dissatisfaction with the doctrine and worship of the church continuing to increase, he probably considered his connexion with it as not likely to be durable. The disgust he felt at what he saw of the practice of privateering and the slave trade, in the latter place of his residence, also awakened in his mind that humane interest in the rights and happiness of his fellow creatures, which has made so conspicuous a part of his character. The American war did not tend to augment his attachment to the political administration of his country: in short, he became altogether unfit to make one of that body, the principal business of which, in the opinion of many, seems to be, acting as the satellites of existing authority, however exerted. His marriage, in 1779, to Miss Watson, niece of the rector of Stockport, was soon followed by an invitation to undertake the post of classical tutor at the dissenting academy at Warrington, with which he complied. That he was regarded as a very valuable acquisition to this institution — that he was exemplary in the discharge of his duty, and

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and equally gained the attachment of his pupils, and the friendship and esteem of his colleagues—the writer of this account can from his own knowledge attest. Being now freed from all clerical shackles, he began his career as a theological controversialist, and, it must be confessed, with an acrimony of style which was lamented by his friends, and which laid him open to the reproach of his enemies. It is not here intended to vindicate what the writer himself cannot but disapprove; but the real and substantial kindness of Mr. Wakefield's temper, and the benevolence of his heart, were such, that this apparent contradiction must be solved by his warmth of zeal in what he thought the cause of truth, and perhaps by a familiarity with scholastic debates, which rendered him in some measure callous to the use, or rather abuse, of vituperative expressions from the press. In disputations by word of mouth, no man was more calm and gentle, more patient in hearing, or more placid in replying; and if, in his writings, he has without hesitation or delicacy bestowed his censures, he has been equally liberal and decided in his praise. His applauses evidently came from the heart, free and unstinted, for envy did not possess a single particle in his composition; nor has he withheld them when he thought them deserved by particular laudable qualities, even in characters which he could not regard with general approbation. No man, perhaps, ever more fully gave way to the openness of his disposition in speaking the whole truth concerning men and things, unmoved by common considerations; whence it is not to be wondered at, that he frequently rendered himself more obnoxious to antagonists than the case essentially required, and roused prejudices which a more guarded conduct would have left dormant. A sentence which, in his Memoirs, he has quoted from Asgill, expresses (as it was probably meant to do) the spirit with which he wrote: "A blunt author, in pursuit of truth, *knows no man* after the flesh, till his chase is over. For a man to *think* what he *writes*, may bespeak his *prudence;* but to *write* what he *thinks*, best opens his principles."

We shall not, in this sketch, attempt to give an account of all his publications, many of them small in bulk and temporary in their application. The most important of his theological labours will be allowed to be those in which he employed his singular erudition in the explanation of Scripture. Of these the first was, "A New Translation of the First Epistle of Paul, the Apostle, to the Thessalonians," printed in 1781. It was followed in the next year by "A New Translation of St. Matthew, with Notes, critical, philological, and explanatory," 4to, a work which obtained much applause, and amply displayed the extent of his reading, and the facility with which his memory called up its reposited stores for the purpose of illustration or parallelism. At this time he likewise augmented his fund for Scripture interpretation by the acquisition of various oriental dialects. After quitting Warrington, at the dissolution of the academy, he took up his residence successively at Bramcote, in Nottinghamshire, at Richmond, and at Nottingham, upon the plan of taking a few pupils, and pursuing at his leisure those studies to which he became continually more attached. While in the first of

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of these situations, he published the first volume of "An Enquiry into the Opinions of the Christian Writers of the first three Centuries concerning the Person of Jesus Christ," a learned and elaborate performance; but which did not meet with encouragement sufficient to induce him to proceed in the design. A painful disorder in his left shoulder, with which he was attacked in 1786, and which harassed him for two years, interrupted the course of his employments; and he could do no more for letters during that period, than alleviate his sufferings by drawing up some remarks upon the Georgics of Virgil and the poems of Gray, which he published with editions of those delightful compositions. As his health returned, his theological pursuits were resumed, and he again engaged in the field of controversy. He also, in 1789, made a commencement of a work, which promised much, as well for his reputation, as for the advantage of sacred literature. It was "an Union of Theological and Classical Learning, illustrating the Scriptures by Light borrowed from the Philology of Greece and Rome." Under the title of "Silva Critica," three parts of this performance have issued from the university press of Cambridge.

The formation of a dissenting college at Hackney, which, it was hoped, by the powerful aid of the metropolis, would become both more considerable and more permanent than former institutions of a like kind, produced an invitation to Mr. Wakefield to undertake the classical professorship. With this he thought proper to comply, and accordingly, in 1790, he quitted his abode at Nottingham, and removed to Hackney, upon the plan of joining with public tuition the instruction of private pupils. He has himself informed the public that "both of these anchors failed him, and left his little bark again afloat on the ocean of life." It is neither necessary nor desirable to revive the memory of differences between persons really respectable and well-intentioned, but under the influence of different habits and views of things. We shall confine ourselves to a remark or two.

Mr. Wakefield was a person who derived his opinions entirely from the source of his own reason and reflection, and it will not be easy to name a man who stood more single and insulated in this respect throughout life than he. Although his principles had induced him to renounce his clerical office in the church of England, and he had become a *dissenter* from her doctrine and worship, yet he was far from uniting with any particular class of those who are usually denominated *dissenters*. He had an insuperable repugnance to their mode of performing divine service; and he held in no high estimation the theological and philosophical knowledge which it has been the principal object of their seminaries of education to communicate. It has already been observed, that the basis of his own divinity was philology. Classical literature, therefore, as containing the true rudiments of all other science, was that on which he thought the greatest stress should be laid, in a system of liberal education. This point he inculcated with an earnestness which probably appeared somewhat dictatorial to the conductors of the institution.

Farther, in the progress of his speculations, he had been led to form notions concerning the expediency and

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and propriety of public worship, extremely different from those of every body of Christians, whether in sects or establishments; and as he was incapable of thinking one thing and practising another, he had sufficiently made known his sentiments on this subject, as well in conversation, as by abstaining from attendance upon every place of religious assembly. They who were well acquainted with him, knew that in his own breast piety was one of the most predominant affections; but the assembling for social worship had for so many ages been regarded as the most powerful instrument for the support of general religion, that to discourage it was considered as of dangerous example, especially in a person engaged in the education of youth. Notwithstanding, therefore, his classical instructions in the college were received by the students almost with enthusiastical admiration, and conferred high credit on the institution, a dissolution of his connexion with it took place in the summer of 1791.

The subsequent publication of his pamphlet on Public Worship deprived him (as he says) of the only two private pupils he expected. From that period he continued to reside at Hackney, in the capacity of a retired man of letters, employing his time partly in the education of his own children, partly in the composition of works, which will perpetuate his name among those who have cultivated literature with most ardour and success. His "Translation of the New Testament, with Notes," 3 vols. 8vo. appeared towards the close of 1791, and was very respectably patronized. In language, it preserves as much as possible of the old version. Its numerous deviations from that in sense, will be regarded as happy alterations or bold innovations, according to the prepossessions of the reader. A long list might be given of his succeeding labours, but we shall only particularize some of the most considerable. He printed (no longer at the Cambridge press) two more parts of his "Silva Critica." He gave a new edition, much corrected, of his "Translation of the New Testament;" and besides, proved his zeal for Christianity, by enlarging a former work "On the Evidences of the Christian Religion," and by replying to Thomas Paine's attack upon it in his "Age of Reason."

To the works of Pope, as our most cultivated English poet, and the most perfect example of that splendour and felicity of diction which is not attained without much study of the poetic art, Mr. Wakefield paid particular attention. It was his design to have published a complete edition of his works; but, after he had printed the first volume, the scheme was rendered abortive by Dr. Wharton's edition. He, however, printed a second volume, entitled, "Notes on Pope," and also gave a new edition of Pope's "Iliad and Odyssey." In these publications he displayed all that variety of comparison and illustration, that power of tracing a poetical thought through different authors, with its successive shades and improvements, and that exquisite feeling of particular beauties, which distinguish him as an annotator of the writers of Greece and Rome.

As a classical editor, he appeared in a selection from the Greek tragedians, in editions of Horace, Virgil, Bion, and Moschus, and, finally, in his

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his "Lucretius," a vast performance, which alone might seem the labour of many industrious years. Of his character as a man of letters, I have been favoured with the following estimate by an able judge, the rev. E. Cogan, of Cheshunt.

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"In extent of erudition, particularly if an acquaintance with the oriental languages be taken into the account, he was perhaps inferior to no man of the present age; and they who have been considered as having had the advantage over him in some of the less important *minutiæ* of Greek literature, have probably limited their attention to fewer objects, and certainly commenced their literary course with a more advantageous preparation. In conjectural criticism, he exhibits much of the character of Bentley and Markland: men whom he esteemed according to their high deserts in that species of learning to which his own mind was peculiarly directed. Like these illustrious scholars, he is always learned, sometimes bold, and frequently happy. Like them, he had a mind which disdained to be held in a servile subjection to authority; and, in defiance of established readings, which too often substitute the dreams of transcribers for the gems of antiquity, he followed, without fear, wherever reason and probability seemed to lead the way. In his earlier critical works he exhibited, amidst some errors which his riper judgment discarded, the promise of his future greatness; and even his faults were the infirmities of genius; they flowed from that ardour and enthusiasm which cannot always wait for the slow decisions of cool inquiry. They were faults which, though they afforded a small consolation to dull malignity, did not diminish his praise in the estimation of one solid and impartial judge. His favourite study was poetry, and in an extensive acquaintance with the ancient poets, both Greek and Roman, few men since the revival of letters have equalled him, and no one ever surpassed him in the perception of their beauties. When he applies to them the hand of conjecture, he rarely fails to give new spirit and animation by his touch; and where we are obliged to dissent from his corrections, we are sometimes sorry, for the credit of the poet, that he does not appear to have written what the critic has suggested. He was peculiarly fond of tracing an elegance of poetical expression through the various modifications which it assumed in the hands of different writers, and in the illustration of ancient phraseology he did not overlook the poets of his own country, with many of whom he was very familiar. His great work is undoubtedly his edition of "Lucretius," a work which ignorance may despise, at which malice may carp, and hireling scribblers may rail, but which will rank with the labours of Heinsius, Gronovius, Burman, and Heyne, as long as literature itself shall live. It will share the prediction with which Ovid has graced the memory of the great poet himself.

Carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti,
Exitio terras cum dabit una dies.

Besides its critical merit, it exhibits the richest display of the flowers of poetry that ever was presented to the world, and will amply reward the perusal of every man who has sensibility to relish the finest touches of human genius.

"Mr. Wakefield, even before this

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this immortal specimen of his talents, was deservedly held in the highest estimation by the literati of Germany; and if his honours at home have not equalled his reputation abroad, the candid mind will easily find the explanation of this phenomenon in the violence of political party, and the mean jealousy which has too often disgraced the scholars of Great Britain. The name of Bentley is connected with proof enough of the justice of this insinuation."

I shall now proceed to an incident of his life which will be viewed with regret by the ingenuous of all parties: the *additional* sensations it inspires, will of course be different, according to the particular sentiments of individuals. It has already been hinted, that Mr. Wakefield, from the time of his residence at Liverpool, had begun to imbibe a detestation of that policy which trampled upon the rights of mankind, and was founded upon unfeeling avarice and unprincipled ambition His study of Christianity more and more convinced him that the maxims of the world and those of religion were in direct opposition: and, in common with many other excellent and learned men, he became persuaded of the absolute incompatibility of war with the Christian character. He had moreover received those principles of the origin and end of government, which, however they may now be regarded, were once thought fundamental to the British constitution, and the basis of all civil liberty. He had occasionally, in the political contests of his country, publicly expressed his opinions upon these subjects; but the French revolution was an event calculated to call forth all his ardour in the cause. His sanguine temper led him to consider it as the undoubted commencement of a better order of things, in which rational liberty, equitable policy, and pure religion, would finally become triumphant. He watched its progress with incredible interest, excused its unhappy deviations, and abhorred the combination of arbitrary power, which threatened its destruction. It was impossible that he should refrain from employing his pen on the occasion, or that he should do it with a "cold and unperforming hand." In his "Remarks on the General Orders of the Duke of York," he had arraigned the justice of the war with France in terms which are supposed to have exercised the utmost forbearance of the ministry. But in his "Reply to some Parts of the Bishop of Landaff's Address," he passed those limits. From the systematic progress in restraining the free communication of political opinions, which may be traced in the acts of the late ministry, it is not unreasonable to conclude, that a victim to the liberty of the press, of name and character sufficient to inspire a wide alarm, was really desired. Yet, as the attorney-general solemnly protested that his prosecution of this pamphlet was spontaneous, and solely dictated to him by the heinous and dangerous nature of its contents, it would be uncandid to call his assertion in question. A man of sense, however, may be allowed to smile at the notion of real danger to supreme power, supported as well by public opinion, as by every active energy of the state, from a private writer, arguing upon principles so little applicable to the practice of the world, as those of the gospel. Farther, a man of a truly liberal and generous mind will perhaps view, not without

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out indignation, the thunders of the law hurled upon a head distinguished for virtue and learning, without any human allowance for well intentioned, if misguided zeal. The attack commenced, not against the principal, who boldly and honestly came forward to avow himself, but against the agents; and the grand purport of it was sufficiently declared by the superior severity with which a bookseller was treated, who was not the editor, but only a casual vender of the work; but who had long been obnoxious as a distinguished publisher of books of free inquiry. Mr. Wakefield himself next underwent prosecution; and his sentence, upon conviction, was a two years' imprisonment, in Dorchester gaol. There exists no other measure of punishment in such a case than comparison, and perhaps, upon the application of this rule, it will not be found inordinately severe. Two years' abode in a prison is, however, a most serious infliction! it is cutting off so much from desirable existence. Mr. Wakefield, notwithstanding his natural fortitude, felt it as such. Though, from his habits of sobriety and seclusion, he had little to resign in respect of the ordinary pleasures of the world; his habits of pedestrian exercise, and his enjoyment of family comfort, were essentially infringed by confinement. He likewise found all his plans of study so deranged, by the want of his library, and the many incommodities of his situation, that he was less able to employ that resource against tedium and melancholy than might have been expected. One powerful consolation, however, in addition to that of a good conscience, attended him. A set of warm and generous friends employed themselves in raising a contribution, which should not only indemnify him from any pecuniary loss consequent upon his prosecution, but should alleviate his cares for the future support of his family. The purpose was effected; and it is to be hoped that Englishmen will ever retain spirit enough to take under their protection men who have faithfully, though perhaps not with due prudence and consideration, maintained the noble cause of mankind against the frowns of authority.

At length the tedious period elapsed, and the last day of May, in this year, restored him to liberty. He was received by his friends, many of whom had visited him in prison, with the most cordial welcome. He was endeared to them by his sufferings, and his character was generally thought to have received a meliorating tinge of mildness and moderation from the reflections which had passed through his mind. He formed extensive plans for future literary labours, and he seemed fully capable of enjoying and benefiting that world to which he was returned, When—Oh what is man! — a fever, probably occasioned by his anxious exertions to fix himself in a new habitation, cut short all his prospects. From the first attack he persuaded himself that the termination would be fatal, and this convicoon materially opposed every attempt of medicine in his favour. He surveyed death without terror, and prepared for it by tender offices to the survivors.

It is presumed that the character of Mr. Wakefield is sufficiently developed in the preceding sketch of his life. It may, however, be added, that there was in him an openness, a simplicity, a good faith, an affectionate

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tionate ardour, a noble elevation of soul, which irresistibly made way to the hearts of all who nearly approached him, and rendered him the object of friendly attachment, to a degree almost unexampled.—Let this be placed in balance to all that might appear arrogant or self-sufficient, harsh, or irritable in his literary conduct! His talents were rare—his morals pure—his views exalted—his courage invincible—his integrity without a spot. When will the place of such a man be supplied?

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Anecdotes of Mr. Robert Bage, by Mr. Hutton. From the same.

MR. R. Bage was born February 29, 1728, at Darley, a hamlet in the parish of St. Alkmond's, Derby, where his father worked a paper-mill. Though he lived to the age of seventy-three, he could not celebrate more than eighteen birth-days.

His mother died soon after his birth, when his father removed to Derby, but kept the mill. He quickly married a second wife, and, as I resided in the same street, and near him, I well remember he buried her in 1732. He soon procured another, buried her, and ventured upon a fourth, who survived him.

Robert was put to school, so that I did not perfectly know him till 1735, when he was seven years old. He had made at that age such a progress in letters, that he was the wonder of the neighbourhood; he was then in the Latin tongue. My father often held him up to me for imitation, I being much bigger and older. I was then but little acquainted with him, for he moved in a sphere more elevated than I. At this time he was completely master of the manual exercise, and I saw him instruct some young men. He afterwards was trained to his father's business.

In about 1751, he married a young lady, who possessed four accomplishments, which seldom meet in one woman, fortune, beauty, good sense, and prudence; I might add a fifth, necessary for the peace of a family, good nature. I have reason to think he found more happiness in domestic life than is usually experienced. Having embraced the marriage state, he entered upon a paper-mill, at Elford, four miles from Tamworth, which he conducted at the time of his death.

Some men's capacity opens at a late day, and some wither soon after the meridian of life, but Robert Bage's opened and shut with his existence. His enlivening sun shone with vigour during a long period of years. His talents, humanity, honour, and generosity, appeared, through the whole of his life, conspicuous to all who knew him. I could bring numberless incidents to establish every trait of his character; but, as this would lead me into too wide a field, I shall confine myself to one or two proofs to each assertion. The powers of his mind were amazingly strong; these, in the early part of his life, have already been noted. During my acquaintance with him, he learnt music, and the French and Italian languages, without a master. Being inclined, in 1760, to learn the abstruse branches of mathematics, he applied to Thomas Hanson, a celebrated teacher, and spent a night in Birmingham once a week for instruction. As I

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was intimate with both, I sometimes attended, and, before the scholar had been a month, I could easily perceive, though no adept myself, he was able to teach his master, nay, even set him fast. Perhaps part of this victory might arise from the easy fluency with which Mr. Bage delivered himself, while the master of figures was better formed for thinking than speaking.

His humanity will appear from his treatment of his servants, and even his horses, who all loved him, and whom he kept to old age.

Trade, which is thought to corrupt the mind, made no such impression upon his. Though he laid no stress upon revelation, his dealings were stamped with rectitude; he remarked to me, "Fraud is beneath a man." He had no other love for money than to use it, or he might have left a much larger property than he did. In February, 1756, he asked me to spend the evening with him. He proposed a connexion (not a partnership) which I accepted, and which continued, with small variations, according to the mutations of time, till the day of his death. From that date, perhaps, I have paid him 500*l.* a year, upon the average, and always with pleasure, which proves this simple point, I was treated with honour. During this long course of forty-five years, he never gave me one cause of complaint. His honour, and his peaceable temper, will farther appear, from a remark he made while we travelled in a chaise from Wolsey Bridge to Tamworth, in October, 1795, he had then been in partnership with a person in another concern, near fifteen years, "that they never had one word of difference since they met."

His generous cast of mind will appear from two, among many incidents. I accidentally remarked, that "I had seen a distant relation of his, who was out of employment."—"Give him," says he, "upon my account, (though he did not know him,) five shillings a week till he gets into work." When the rioters, in 1791, had cruelly destroyed my property to a large amount, and obliged me, with my family to run away without a shilling, and none durst take us in, we drove, among other places, to the Castle, at Tamworth. I asked the people of the inn if they knew me? "No."—"I have no money to pay my way, or property to pledge." Their looks fell. "I am known to Mr. Bage, of Elford, whom I will request to pay my bill." Their looks and my credit rose together. He cheerfully paid it, blamed me for not coming to his house, and I could never prevail upon him to accept a return.

With all these rich talents and rare endowments he was mild in the extreme; an enemy to no man, and, I believe, never had one himself.

His reason for becoming an author was singular, and such as would have driven another out of authorship. I shall state the cause, and deliver the result as given me by himself in the chaise above mentioned. About the year 1765, he was induced to enter into partnership with three gentlemen in a wholesale iron manufactory. The pursuit continued about fourteen years, then dissolved, when it appeared he had lost a sum, which I have now forgotten, perhaps 1,500*l.* Fearing the distress of mind would overcome him, he took up the pen to turn the stream

stream of sorrow into that of amusement; a scheme worthy a philosopher. His first production was Mount Heneth, in 1781, which he sold for 30*l.* His succeeding works followed nearly upon the same terms. The public are in possession of his writings, and have given him an ample return of praise. Excellent as they are, yet, in my opinion, his private letters, of which I must have received more than a thousand, surpass them. They are replete with vivacity, witty turns, and fine humour, spontaneously springing, without effort, from the heart.

A sketch of this amiable man may be seen in Hutton's History of Derby, 1791, where he possesses a niche among the worthies of that place. I shall transcribe the passage:

"If we find a pleasure in drawing a valuable character which has left the stage, that pleasure must be double when we treat of those who still adorn it; because we revere both the character and the man. This, in the present case, is my pleasing task. The man I now delineate is a native of Derby, but left it at an early period. He amuses the world and himself with novel productions of a superior class, as Mount Heneth, Barham Downs, the Fair Syrian, and James Wallace *, wherein is an excellent picture of life, a full display of character and sentiment. These have travelled to the continent, passed through the Franckfort press, and appeared to the world in a German habit.

"Although fortune never made him conspicuous in the great world, she gave him what was preferable, affluence and content. In directing a paper-mill may be found that head which is able to direct empires; that judgment, which can decide in difficult cases; a penetration, which can fathom the human heart, and comprehend various systems of knowledge; a genius, which constitutes the companion for Newton in philosophy, for Handel in music, for Euclid in mathematics; a master of the living and dead languages: and all, like the wealth of a merchant who rises from nothing, acquired by himself. Nay, I should even rank him with that learned body, the physicians, if he were not defective in the art of killing. That rectitude, which is rarely found, is here obscured from the public eye, but is a pearl of great price, and a credit to our species. Though a diminutive figure, yet one of the most amiable of men; and though barely a Christian, yet one of the best. I have known him fifty-six years; his friendship is an honour; I have long possessed it; to which I shall add another, by writing his name with my own. Should he frown at this liberty, I will take twice as much: should he retort, I will take my revenge, by drawing a complete character; for he has amply furnished me with materials."

This worthy man afterwards charged me with too strong a colouring. I told him in reply, I was not used to heap praise upon any man wholesale, therefore took every expression to pieces, and showed him the firm foundation on which I built. He seemed satisfied, and returned a smile.

Four or five months prior to his death, he paid me a visit. I was secretly alarmed to observe his countenance changed, his constitution breaking, as if threatening a disso-

* He afterwards published those two admirable novels, "Man as he is," and "Man as he is not."

lution. When we parted, I took what I thought an everlasting farewel. As he went out of the house, he shook hands with my nephew, (a boy of thirteen,) and, with a smile, "Farewel, my dear lad, we shall meet again in heaven!" Though spoken in the jocular style, it seemed to indicate a sensibility of his approaching end.

Still declining, and attended with feverish symptoms, but sensible to the last, he left the world September 1, 1801, after a life of seventy-three years, six months, and one day.

His person was of a smallish size, about five feet three inches, and of a spare habit, not robust, but his constitution good.

Character of J. Caspar Lavater. From Professor Meiners's Letters on Switzerland.

I Can say more of Lavater, and with more confidence, than of any other learned man of Zurich, my old friend professor Hottinger excepted, having spent the greatest part of the three last days, and the whole of yesterday with him. Lavater is one of the few men, whom I have been acquainted with, who is little solicitous to hide his faults, and still less anxious to make his merits known. With regard to his moral character, it is impossible to speak too highly of it, as his very opponents, those at least with whom I am acquainted, allow that his life and manners are blameless. A warm desire to advance the honour of God, and the good of his fellow creatures, is, without a doubt, the principal feature in his character, and the leading motive of all he does. Next to these, his characteristic virtues are an indefatigable placability, and an inexhaustible love for his enemies. I have often heard him talk of the talents, merits, and good qualities of his opponents with the same warmth as if he had been talking of the virtues of his greatest friends. Nay, I have been a witness to his excusing his enemies, and uttering wishes for their welfare in such a manner, as to me, and I am persuaded to every unprejudiced person, carried not the smallest mark of affectation along with it. I am persuaded, too, that these sentiments cost him very little, but are more the fruit of his nature than of any troublesome exertion. Not a blamable word of any kind, not a single expression of impatience of the numberless afflictions he has struggled and still has to struggle with, ever escaped him in my presence. On the contrary, he is persuaded, that all these trials are for his good, and will terminate in his happiness. Of his talents and merits of all kinds he thinks much more modestly than his ridiculous admirers. He freely confesses that his want of the knowledge of ancient languages, and several other useful branches of knowledge, has been a great hinderance to him, for which reason no person more warmly recommends the study of them. In all my conversations with him, I found so few symptoms of the secret vanity of which he is accused, and of which I myself suspected him, that I could not help blaming myself for my suspicion. I was still more surprised not to see, either in his person or conversation, any of that affected unction which is common to weak minds. Every part of him bespeaks the man of genius, but not of that fiery and uncontrollable genius which has often led him to

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to advance extraordinary and indefensible opinions in his works. The abuse which has been thrown upon him for giving young men a greater opinion of their talents than those talents would justify, and by that means leading them into absurdities, has made him change his conduct towards them. He is shy of admitting them into his society, and when he does it is rather reserved and cold than over communicative. He speaks quickly, and seems interested in what he says, but is not too hot, nor does his action pass the bounds of moderation. He hears contradiction, and will bear it very patiently, and answer quietly whatever objections are made to what he says. Though he has no extensive knowledge of any kind, his conversation is rendered extremely interesting by his great abilities, and his knowledge of human nature, which his very early, and ever increasing connexion with men of all ranks and orders has given him. This explains how it comes to pass, that, notwithstanding his various weaknesses and wanderings, so many young people, as well as the greatest part of the inhabitants of Zurich and the country round, are so firmly attached to him as they certainly are. His sermons are more followed than those of the most popular amongst the other preachers, (of whom there are many,) though they are seldom carefully laboured compositions, and not always very orthodox. Their principal merit consists in the pathos of his voice, action, and general elocution, which for the most part captivates those who are not able to judge of any other merit. A great proof of the general esteem he is held in, appeared on my walking out with him: almost all those who met us, accosted him with the greatest respect, and many of the common people kissed his hand with a kind of filial reverence. It is indeed inconceivable what numbers of persons of all ranks and orders, both citizens and strangers, apply to him to be the judge of their controversies. When one sees the number of affairs which he is almost constantly immersed in, one is surprised how he can find so much time to write, and very ready to admit, what he assures is the case, that his writing is only a relaxation from his other employments. Amidst all his singular opinions, there is none he is so jealous of, and sticks so warmly to, as his own skill in physiognomy, by which he pretends to be able to discern the characters of men as well as he could do by their actions or conversation. As, however, this is a subject which he never touches upon before those who do not believe in his intuition, we had no conversation about it. Indeed it would have been to no purpose, for he could not have convinced me, and I should certainly have made no impression upon him. What he has written or thought upon miracles heretofore I do not know, as I have not read all his writings; but it is certain, that at present he does not affirm either that he ever did or ever saw a miracle. All he contends for, which the warmest opposers of miracles will not contest with him, is, that men of uncommon powers can do things which those of common powers cannot, and which appear contrary to the common course of nature.

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Memoirs of Mrs. Chapone, by Mrs. Barbauld.

So may some gentle Muse,
With lucky words favour my destined urn;
And as he passes turn,
And bid fair Peace be to my sable shroud.

MRS. Chapone, who died at Hadley, in Middlesex, December the 25th, 1801, in her 75th year, has long been known to the public, as an elegant and highly moral writer. The first productions of hers, which were given to the world, were, the interesting story of "Fidelia," in the Adventurer; and a Poem, prefixed to her friend Mrs. Carter's translation of "Epictetus;" but her name only became known on the publication of a deservedly popular work, "Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, addressed to a Young Lady." This was printed in 1773, and will long, it is to be hoped, maintain its place in the library of young women. It is distinguished by sound sense, a liberal, as well as a warm, spirit of piety, and a philosophy applied to its best use, the culture of the heart and affections. It has no shining eccentricities of thought, no peculiarities of system; it follows experience as its guide, and is content to produce effects of acknowledged utility, by known and approved means. On these accounts, it is, perhaps, the most unexceptionable treatise, that can be put into the hands of female youth. These letters are particularly excellent, in what relates to regulating the temper and feelings. Their style is pure and unaffected, and the manner grave and impressive. Those who choose to compare them in this respect with another widely circulated publication, addressed, about the same time, to young women, (Dr. Fordyce's Sermons,) will probably be of opinion, that the dignified simplicity of the female writer is much more consonant to true taste, than the affected prettinesses and constant glitter of the preacher. Mrs. Chapone soon after published a volume of Miscellanies, containing one or two moral essays, and some elegant poems. The poems, which have the merit of many beautiful thoughts, and some original images, seem not to have been sufficiently appreciated by the public; for they were not greatly noticed, owing perhaps to the mode of their publication. It was not then so common as it has been since, to mix new matter with old.

Mrs. Chapone's maiden name was Mulso: her family was a respectable one, in Northamptonshire. Her married life was short, and not very happy. She probably alluded to her own nuptial choice, when she speaks in one of her poems of

"Prudence slow, that ever comes too late."

When left a widow, her very limited circumstances prevented her not from enjoying a large acquaintance among the first circles of society, who admired her for her talents, and respected her for her virtues.

She understood and relished conversation. Her discourse was seasoned occasionally with a vein of humour; and, having the advantage (for it is an advantage) of associating in early life with the best company, the ease and polish of the gentlewoman accompanied the talents of the writer. Her person was plain: but in her youth she had a fine voice, and always had a strong taste for music. Mrs. Chapone was one of those women who have shown that it is possible to attain a correct and elegant style,

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style, without an acquaintance with the classics. The French and Italian she understood; and from the latter she made some translations. Mrs. Chapone, Mrs. Montague, and another lady, who stands confessedly at the summit of female literature, and upon a par with the most distinguished scholars of the other sex, were friends and intimates: the two former have left the stage; but their venerable senior still survives to receive the homage of another century. Mrs. Chapone had been declining in health for many years. The loss of a beloved niece, the lady to whom the letters were addressed, and of a more beloved brother, to whom she was united in affection and similarity of taste, hastened the infirmities of age; and for some time before her death, she was laid aside from society. It is not unusual for those, who, in some period of their lives, have filled a certain space in the eye of the public, if they have been sometime withdrawn from it, to glide silently out of life unnoticed, except by the attendants at their bedside; so it was with Mrs. Chapone—But if there are those of her sex, now happy wives and mothers, who have in any measure been formed to those characters by the early impressions they may have received from her writings, they will drop a grateful tear to the memory of their benefactor, and rank her among those who, in the French phrase, "have deserved well of their country."

Hampstead. A. L. B.

Of the Public Accommodations at St. Petersburgh. From Storch's Picture of Petersburgh.

IN all the capitals of Europe, carriages, under one form or other, ply for hire in the streets, and are taken for certain fares to different distances. Here, where the great circuit of the town, the climate, and the pavement, render such an accommodation doubly necessary, coaches of this description are not yet in use. Instead of hackney-coaches, isvoschtschik [the general denomination for all drivers, coachmen, postillions, carmen, &c.] have their stands in the streets, ready to drive where they are ordered, in summer with drojekas, and in winter with sledges. The drojeka consists of a bench with springs under it, and cushions upon it, on four wheels, at one end of which is the horse, and just behind him sits the isvoschtschik; they are otherwise constructed in various methods, according to the fancy of the owner. Those at the service of the public are in the simplest form; in general very neat, exceedingly light, and always gaudily painted. Two persons at most can sit on them, besides the isvoschtschik, with tolerable ease. Their greatest advantage is the uncommon lightness of the vehicle: but this by no means makes up for their inconveniences and defects. Having no covering, and frequently affording no protection from the dirt, the rider is entirely exposed to the weather, and to be splashed all over. The want of sides and back, and the jolting experienced in driving, whence they obtained the name of drojeka, may render an excursion on them extremely beneficial to the health; but for people, who use this carriage otherwise than as physic, the motion is absolutely tormenting. To all these disagreeable circumstances must be added the horrid vicinity of the isvoschtschik, which

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particularly during the church-fasts, is exceedingly offensive to the nose. The sledges for hire are not much more entitled to commendation; but the velocity with which we can go a long way in them, and the low price of this conveyance, are preponderant advantages. At the first beginning of the sledge-roads a great number of boors appear from the surrounding districts, who continue earning money all the winter through as isvoschtschiks, and from the wretched condition of their horses and sledges, are known by the name of Ivanuschky [Jacky.] The number of all the hackney sledges that are run about the streets is computed at upwards of three thousand. In the best frequented parts of the town are handsome sledges, with fine running horses, of which are some that are worth from fourteen to fifteen hundred rubles. Driving at full speed is one of the favourite winter diversions of the Russians. In the long and broad streets are frequently seen races between two, four, six, or more sledges. One who has not been an eye-witness, can scarcely form an idea of the rapidity with which they glide along the plains of frozen snow. The dexterity likewise of the isvoschtschiks strikes every foreigner with astonishment. In the busiest streets a prodigious number of sledges are running across each other in every direction, almost all of them driving very fast, and yet it is extremely seldom that any accident happens. The rule is, for every one to keep to the right; and, as most of the streets are very broad, none are prevented from driving as fast as they choose. The fares of these hired sledges are very different, as they are subject to no official regulation; the same distance for which an Ivanuscha is content to take five kopeeks, costs a ruble and a half or two rubles in a racing sledge. Every isvoschtschik wears a plate of tin at his back, on which is painted his number, and the quarter in which the stand is to which he belongs.

As the bridges across the Neva and the canals are not sufficient for the communication between the various parts of the town, ferries are appointed in several places, at which boats are constantly lying in readiness, which take in a single person for a kopeek or two. In spring and autumn, when the floating bridges are parted and drawn ashore, the Neva swarms with boats of all sorts and sizes. To take your passage with some degree of gentility, you hire a boat for yourself or company; but any one who goes for the sake of making observations on the manners and sentiments of different sorts of people, especially the lower, may at times pick up plenty of materials for forming his judgment in the miscellaneous and numerous company of a great barge.

The extraordinary extent of the city renders all these communications absolutely necessary. As it would be difficult to point out a place in Europe comprehending more grand squares, wider streets, and more numerous vacuities, it is natural to imagine that people live more dispersed than elsewhere. It occurs every day that a person goes to visit an acquaintance, whose house is more than six miles off; and it therefore not unfrequently happens, that he makes this journey in a very different method. Thus, he sometimes walks part of the way, till he comes to the river: here he may greatly shorten his road by taking a boat, and the rest of the journey, it is likely

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likely he may perform on a drojeka. All of these means, however, as may easily be supposed, are not compatible with high pretensions to gentility; persons of fashion keep their own carriages, and therefore may dispense with the public accommodations here mentioned —

The situation of St. Petersburgh, in a northern corner of Europe, is one natural cause why there is not here such a confluence of travellers, as in the capitals of Germany, France, and other countries. People passing through are seldom or never seen; whoever comes hither has almost always reached the place of his destination. Merely for the sake of gratifying curiosity, Petersburgh, with all its remarkable objects, lies too far from the centre of polished Europe. The generality of travellers design to make some stay here, and therefore tarry at an inn only for a short space. It is usual for foreigners to bring letters of recommendation to the mercantile houses or to some family, who engage houses or lodgings for them of private owners. Hence it is that the taverns here are still so far behind those of other capitals in point of accommodations and elegance.

In the genteeler parts of the town are, however, two large hotels with roomy apartments tolerably furnished, an ordinary, and other conveniences, such as an equipage for hire, valets de place, and the like; but they bear no comparison with even hotels of the second rank in London, Paris, Berlin, and Frankfort. The apartments and the furniture are, to say the best of them, but moderately handsome, the larder is very plain, and at the ordinary not always provision enough; waiters for the service of the guests are no where found; every one is obliged immediately to hire a valet de place, or he will not be able to get a glass of water, and will be under the necessity of cleaning his own shoes.

To be candid, besides the above-mentioned apologies for the poorness of the tables at public hotels, it should be observed, that here it is not the practice with the natives to frequent them as eating houses. Almost every Petersburgher, who keeps no kitchen of his own, is a member of one or several of the clubs, where he finds a choice table at a very reasonable rate, and dines in a company of his own selection. Even foreigners rarely dine at taverns; their letters of address, or their business, or even accident, soon procure them acquaintances, by whom, according to the style and rules of the signal hospitality that here prevails, they are invited to dinner and supper, so that in a very few days after their arrival, they are relieved from all concern about such matters. In order to be able with propriety to profit by this engaging, and in Petersburgh, this innate virtue, the having a carriage is almost indispensably necessary; at least, the stranger who should come on foot, especially in dirty weather, would expose himself to the imputation of parsimony, or want of good breeding, or, what is worst of all—of poverty. That this last is even more disgraceful than the first imputation, there is no need of proving to such readers as move in the polite and fashionable world.

Foreigners have therefore the alternative either to take a solitary meal at their inn, or in a mixed company of strangers, and on wretched fare; or to participate in affable, familiar, agreeable, and brilliant circles at

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at the plentiful tables of persons of condition. But an equipage is by no means the sole requisite for gaining admittance and being greeted with a hearty welcome here. If the foreigner be emulous of the latter, he must play, and not be alarmed if he perceive a little tricking. Luck may indeed be for and against him, but the advantage will most probably be against him; for all the foreigners agree, that they play exceedingly well at Petersburgh.

Anecdotes of Frederick William, late King of Prussia. From M. Segur's History of his Reign.

ALTHOUGH the experience of every age has taught that the successors of great men do not supply their places—Frederick William had given his subjects reason to conceive the most flattering hopes. It was believed that his reign would be as glorious, and more mild, than that of his uncle;—that he would enjoy the same military glory, without exercising the same severity.—It was recollected that his education had been intrusted to M. de Borck, an informed military man, and to M. Bequelin, a distinguished academician. His campaign against the Austrians in the war for the succession of Bavaria was not forgotten, nor the eulogy bestowed on him by Frederick. This prince, so severe towards his family, so avaricious of praise, or jealous of the talents he employed; and so great a connoisseur in the art which he had perfectionated; had charged his nephew to withdraw from Bohemia, a body of the army menaced by superior force; the position was critical; the retreat was difficult and dangerous. Frederick William performed it with equal courage and skill. The king, transported, exclaimed, as he embraced him in presence of the army, "I no longer consider you as my nephew, but as my son: you have effected all that I could have done in your place." The prince royal, admiring the great qualities of his uncle, but disapproving his unjust rigours, was supposed never to have broken his word—his probity excited confidence; it was said he desired to merit the surname of well-beloved.—The part which he is known to have taken in the Germanic league, augured well of his political conduct, and he had given the first idea of this league, which flattered the vanity of the Prussians, by making them the protectors of the liberty of Germany against the ambition of the house of Austria.—In a word, every thing conspired to render the *début* of the new monarch easy and brilliant; peace reigned every where, and towards it all hearts were open. The first moments of his reign answered the general expectation; each word he dropped, every letter he wrote, and the first orders which he gave, repeated every where, and every where approved, spread an universal joy, and confirmed the hopes which his accession to the throne had generally inspired. Without affecting to be learned, the general opinion was, that he had studied a great deal, and that he would patronize letters. His endeavours to retain the Abbé Raynal in Berlin had done him much honour, and his eagerness to see that bold and profound author led to a belief that he loved to be told the truth.

All his intentions, all his conduct, at the commencement of his reign, were

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were mild, wise, and beneficent. It were to be wished this first zeal had continued; but, as historians, we shall soon have to fulfil a rigorous duty: and to this smiling prospective, which impartiality obliges us to present, we shall be compelled to substitute the sad picture of a total abandonment, of a shameful carelessness, and of an unbounded weakness; obscenity in pleasures, intrigue in council, prodigality in expenses, blindness in choice, the most superstitious credulity, the most puerile vanity, joined to the most evident incapacity, soon assumed the place of that activity, justice, and wisdom, which, in the first ebullition of fervour, the new king had been forced to display. His zeal cooled almost as fast as the body of his illustrious predecessor; and it was not long before Prussia perceived the immense void left by this immortal shade.

Symptoms of the king's weakness were quickly perceived; he could scarcely endure, even for a short time, the constraint which he had imposed on himself. It was soon understood, that his hours of business and of retirement were regular only in appearance; that his days were idle, and his nights dedicated to infamous orgies. He had repudiated his first wife, the princess Elizabeth of Brunswick, on account of misconduct. The prudence of the princess of Hesse, his second wife, did not shelter her from disgrace: but though she was not dismissed, she suffered, perhaps, more from the public triumph of her rivals. The king had loved a madame de Reitz, celebrated for the licentiousness of her manners, the baseness of her character, and the infamy of her husband. He never could break this shameful connexion, but lavished titles and treasures on this courtezan, and on a son whom she bore to him, for whose death he was inconsolable.

Notwithstanding this scandalous subjection, having become passionately enamoured of mademoiselle de Voss, the niece of count Fink, he was on the point of marrying her. This he communicated to the queen, and consulted the priests, who replied, that it was better to contract an illegal marriage, than to run incessantly from one error to another; an answer which, perhaps, degrades those that gave it, as much as him by whom it was solicited. This marriage, however, did not take place. Mademoiselle de Voss chose rather to sacrifice her virtue than the glory of her lover. But, a few years after, he renewed the same scandal more completely, by marrying the countess d'Enhoff; thus retaining three legitimate wives and one mistress, whilst he banished the French comedians from Berlin, whom he accused of corrupting the public manners. The alliance of voluptuousness and superstition constantly astonishes reason, and is constantly renewed. At the same time that the king abandoned himself, without restraint, to the charms of his mistresses, the *illuminati* acquired an unbounded empire over his mind; he must have been, or seemed to be, an apostle of this sect, in order to gain, or preserve, its favour; for while, on one hand, he treated the duke of Brunswick, prince Henry, Mollendorf, and even Hertzberg, Schulemburg, and Fink, who managed his affairs, coolly and without regard; he abandoned himself entirely to Welners, to Bischosswerden, to the princes of Dessaw and Wurtemberg; to Frederick of Brunswick,

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Brunswick, the duke of Weymar, and other visionaries, who made Moses and Jesus appear to him; and who, it is said, carried the imposture so far as, at supper, to trace to him the shadow of the ghost of Cæsar.

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Character of Charlemagne. From Ranken's History of France.

CHARLEMAGNE was of a robust and firm constitution, rather above the common stature. His person was altogether manly majestic; his countenance open and agreeable; his eyes large, lively, and engaging; his nose aquiline, and his voice clear, though, considering his size, rather feeble.

His mental talents were more solid than brilliant. A comprehensive and clear understanding, improved by experience, rendered his judgment decisive, and his resolution firm. His mind and habits were formed for extensive business. He accounted it no trouble to rise during the night from his bed, to exercise authority in civil matters; and he often administered justice, or gave orders to the various officers of state, when he was dressing himself. His just discernment of human character made him generally happy in the choice of his public officers, and of course almost uniformly successful in his military enterprises, as well as in his ordinary civil administration. He formed his plans with sagacity and prudence, began them with caution, and in their execution was determined and vigorous.

As a monarch, there is no doubt that he shed much blood. Some apology, however, may be made for him. In every case where he engaged in war, he seems to have done it from a sense of duty. Ambition certainly mingled its influence; for men, even in their purest and best state, are seldom influenced by single motives, and it cannot be denied that he was ambitious. In the Italian wars, to which he was called by the bishop of Rome, he appeared to be discharging the duty which he owed to the church and religion, in protecting her against her enemies. In the Spanish war, to which also he was invited by the princes of that country, he appeared as the protector of the oppressed, and as strengthening the barrier of the church on that side against the infidels, so formidable in preceding reigns. The turbulence of the people, or of their princes, in Aquitaine, Bavaria, Saxony, and other parts of Germany, seems always to have been the occasion of the wars and severities with which he visited them. Though these reasons may not altogether justify him, they ought to have alleviated a little the acrimony with which some writers have treated his character.

As a man, he was humane and generous. He exercised mercy and compassion, as far as was consistent with justice and wise policy. This temper indeed, being sometimes abused, was the cause of subsequent severities. Both his friends and enemies carried their trust in his forbearance and forgiveness to an extreme, and thereby provoked his just resentment. His donations were frequent, liberal, and cheerfully bestowed; yet he has been reckoned a strict economist. It was probably his attention to economy, among other circumstances, which enabled him to be so extensively and so heartily liberal. He seldom enriched

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riched those who served him, but he generally pleased them. His manner was so affable and obliging that it gave a double value to every thing he said or did.

He was so illiterate in the earlier part of his life, that he could not even write his own name. Princes were not allowed ordinary education, lest it should enervate them, and disqualify them for the business of war. Yet he was fond of learning and learned men. He gave the utmost encouragement to the literature of the times. He invited Alcuin, a famous teacher, from England, and by his direction instituted schools and philosophical academies. Schools, with proper masters from Italy, and other places where they could be found, were ordained to be opened in all the cathedral churches and rich abbacies; so that before his death the ecclesiastics began to understand the holy scriptures, and the monks their psalter.

According to the sense in which religion was understood in those times, he appears through the whole of his life to have been pious and devout. He was attentive to ritual worship, and to religious men; and, like his predecessors, erected many sacred edifices. His moral conduct corresponded to his religious principles, and to the rude laws by which society was then regulated *.

He was buried at Aix la Chapelle. His body was embalmed, and placed in a vault on a throne of gold, having on the imperial robes, above a hair cloth vest which he was accustomed to wear. A richly ornamented sword lay by his side, with a pilgrim's scrip, which he used in going to Rome. He held the gospels in his hand, written in letters of gold. His head was adorned with a chain of gold in the form of a diadem, enclosing a piece of wood of the true cross. His face was covered with a handkerchief. A golden sceptre and buckler hung before him. The sepulchre, being filled with riches and perfumes, was securely shut and sealed, and over it was erected a gilded arch with the following inscription:

"Sub hoc Conditorio situm est Corpus Karoli Magni, atque orthodoxi Imperatoris, Qui Regnum Francorum nobiliter ampliavit, et per annos 47 feliciter rexit. Decessit Septuagenarius Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCXIV Indictione VII. V. KAL. FEBRUARIUS†."

Character of the Female Inhabitants of Mauritius. From the Viscomte de Vaux's History of that Island.

THE women have but little colour, but they are well made, and, in general, handsome. Nature has given them a considerable portion of wit and vivacity; and if their education were not neglected, their society would be very agree-

* Eginhart, c. 19, delicately alludes to a suspicion of scandal, or disorders in his family. Speaking of his daughters, he says, "Quæ cum pulcherrimæ essent, et ab eo plurimum diligerentur, mirum dictu quod nullam earum cuiquam aut suorum, aut exterorum nuptum dare voluit; sed omnes secum usque ad obitum suum in domo sua retinuit, dicens se earum contubernio carere non posse, ac propter hoc, licet alias felix, adversæ fortunæ malignitatem expertus est, quod tamen ita dissimulavit, ac si de iis nunquam alicujus probri suspicio orta, vel fama dispersa fuisset."

† Eginhart in vit. Car. Magni.

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able: they are very fond mothers; and if ever they fail in fidelity to the marriage vow, it is too often owing to the indifference of their husbands, or to the Parisian manners, which have been introduced among them. Their ordinary dress is fine muslin, lined with rose coloured taffetas.

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They possess, in a great degree, the more estimable domestic qualities; they seldom or never drink any thing but water, and their cleanliness is extreme. Their children are never confined in swaddling clothes, but run about almost as soon as they are born; they are often bathed, and allowed to eat fruit at their own discretion. As they are left entirely to themselves, and are uncontrolled by the superintendance of education, they soon become strong and robust, and their temperament advances in proportion. The females are sometimes married at eleven years of age.

Interesting Anecdote of M. Greville de Forval and a Princess of Madegascar. From the same.

THE want of slaves in our colonies renders expeditions necessary in order to procure them. Vessels, therefore, are equipped for the coasts of Africa and Madegascar, and a certain body of troops are sent with them, to favour or support the objects of these voyages.

Forval was ordered to command a detachment on a service of this nature, on the coast of Madegascar; and, being arrived on the eastern side of it, he disembarked his people, and encamped them on the small island of St. Mary, called by the natives Ibrahim, which is separated only from the principal island by a very narrow strait. Here the communication took place between the persons engaged in this expedition, and one of the petty princes of Madegascar, relative to the objects of the voyage.

Forval, however, was so entirely convinced of the good disposition of the people with whom he treated, that he yielded to the friendly solicitations of the king, to remain among them; and accordingly ordered some tents, and a small number of soldiers, to remove from the little island to the opposite coast. The king, who was called Adrian Baba, loaded him with caresses; and, having shown him his head of cattle, demanded, in the pride of his heart, if the king of France was so great as him.

Forval, therefore, considered himself as in a perfect state of security; and having entered into his tent, in order to pass the night, he received an unexpected visit from a most beautiful woman, a native of the island, who, after a short compliment of apology for her intrusion, expressed her concern that so fine a white man as himself should be massacred.

Forval, who was astonished at the visit, could not help taking notice of the danger which seemed to have produced it. The sooty lady, who appeared to interest herself so much in his welfare, was the daughter of a king, and known by the title of princess Betsey. On being questioned as to the cause of this visit, she asked him in her turn, if he would wish to sacrifice her life to save his own. "By no means," exclaimed Forval. "Then," replied she, "I will inform you of a plot formed against your life, if you will promise to take me

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me with you, and make me your wife. I will sacrifice for you the throne of my father, which is my inheritance; I will abandon my country, my friends, my customs, and that liberty which is so dear to me. My relations, who will consider me as dishonoured, will detest me; and if you leave me to their vengeance, I shall be reduced to slavery, which, to me, would be a thousand times worse than death. Promise to grant what I have demanded; swear that your soldiers shall do no injury to my relations, and I will reveal what it is of the utmost importance for you to know." Forval immediately engaged to grant her request, if the intelligence she announced proved to be of the importance she had attached to it.

"Well then," said she, "at break of day my father will come here, under the pretext of a friendly visit; and if he breaks a stick which he will hold in his hand, that will be the signal of thy death: his guard will then enter with their hatchets, and will kill thee, and all thy people will be massacred with thee!"

Forval immediately conducted her to a place of safety. Nevertheless he was determined to wait till the morning, and ascertain the truth of her information. The princess had also added, that the signal the king would give for his attendants to retire would be to throw his hat towards them.

He accordingly ordered his soldiers to remain under arms during the night, and to keep within their tents. As for himself, he got his arms in readiness, placed a couple of pistols under the covering of his table, and dozed by the side of it, with his hand on the pistols.

At length the king arrived, and soon after, having broke his stick, the guard was advancing to the front of the tent; but the king, terrified at the pistol which Forval held to his throat, cast his hat towards his attendants, who immediately departed. The small party of soldiers which Forval had with him were now drawn up in order of battle. All the negroes had disappeared; the king alone remained as a prisoner: nor was he enlarged, till the princess was embarked with all the equipage; and Forval felt himself happy in departing from this perfidious coast. Nor was he ungrateful: he solemnly espoused the princess Betsey, in spite of all the remonstrances of his friends, and he lives happily with her. Her colour was certainly displeasing to the white people, and her education did not qualify her to be a companion of such a man as her husband; but her figure was fine, her air noble, and all her actions partook of the dignity of one who was born to command.

She was a real Amazon, and the dress she chose was that which has since received a similar name. She never walked out but she was followed by a slave, and armed with a small fowling-piece, which she knew how to employ with great dexterity, and would defend herself with equal courage if she were attacked. She was nimble as a deer, though stately in her demeanour: but with her husband as gentle and submissive as the most affectionate of his slaves. She behaved to her inferiors with equal dignity and kindness; and she never went to the most distant part of the island, to pay visits to her family, but on foot; she nevertheless adopted the elegances of behaviour with great facility, and her

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her society is very pleasant and full of vivacity.

Some years after her marriage, the princess Betsey, for she was seldom called madame de Forval, gave her husband a new proof of her affection.

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Her father at length died, the kingdom descended to her, and her people, who were ardently attached to the blood of their kings, anxiously wished to see her on the throne of her ancestors. As soon as she was informed of this event, she requested permission of her husband to visit her country.

Though such an unexpected request astonished Forval, he did not hesitate to comply with it; and as she did not unfold the reason of such a desire on her part, he felt his pride mortified at her conduct, though he kept his chagrin to his own bosom, of which it was a painful inmate.

The first sentiments of Forval, respecting his princess, had been instigated by honour and gratitude: but her demeanour towards him, her conduct towards others, and her personal charms, in which her colour was forgotten, had awakened in his heart the most faithful and tender affection.

The queen Betsey, however, departed for her kingdom as soon as she had received permission of her own sovereign; while Forval was totally unable to reconcile the step she had taken to her former sentiments and past conduct. He accordingly waited with the utmost impatience for the return of the vessel which had taken her away; when, to his great astonishment, his faithful wife returned in it, with a hundred and fifty slaves which she had brought him. "You had the generosity," she cried, on throwing herself into his arms, "to marry me, in opposition to the wishes of your friends, and the prejudices of your country, when I had nothing to offer you but my person, whose charms, whatever they might have been considered in my own country, were calculated rather to disgust, than to please you. You will therefore add another proof of your kindness, by assuring me of your pardon, for having raised a single doubt in your mind respecting the affection and duty you so entirely deserve from me: but it was my wish to avoid informing you of the project I had conceived on my father's death, till it was executed. It was not the little kingdom which that event transferred to me, nor even the largest empire, that would separate me from you; my sole design, in the step I have just taken, was to make you an offer of a small number of my subjects, which is the only part of my inheritance that I can bestow. I have, at the same time, complied with the wishes of my people, in resigning my little sovereignty to the most worthy of my relations.

Such a scene may be more easily conceived than described. Thus Forval found his wife worthy of all his affection; and the present she made him is a sort of fortune in this country.

Sketch of the Life of Bryan Edwards, Esq., M. P., by himself. From the 3d. vol. of his History of the West Indies, published by Sir W. Young.

I Was born the 21st of May, 1743, in the decayed town of Westbury, in the county of Wilts. My father inherited a small paternal estate

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estate in the neighbourhood, of about 100*l.* per annum; which proving but a scanty maintenance for a large family, he undertook, without any knowledge of the business, as I have been informed, to deal in corn and malt, but with very little success. He died in 1756, leaving my excellent mother, and six children, in distressed circumstances.—Luckily for my mother, she had two opulent brothers in the West Indies, one of them a wise and worthy man, of a liberal mind, and princely fortune. This was Zachary Bayly, of the island of Jamaica, who, on the death of my father, took my mother and her family under his protection, and, as I was the eldest son, directed that I should be well educated. I had been placed by my father at the school of a dissenting minister, in Bristol, whose name was William Foot, of whom I remember enough, to believe that he was both a learned and good man, but, by a strange absurdity, he was forbidden to teach me Latin and Greek, and directed to confine my studies to writing, arithmetic, and the English grammar. I should therefore have had little to do, but that the schoolmaster had an excellent method of making the boys write letters to him on different subjects, such as the beauty and dignity of truth, the obligation of a religious life, the benefits of good education, the mischief of idleness, &c. &c., previously stating to them the chief arguments to be urged; and insisting on correctness in orthography and grammar. In this employment, I had sometimes the good fortune to excel the other boys; and when this happened, my master never failed to praise me very liberally before them all; and he would frequently transmit my letters to my father and mother. This excited in my mind a spirit of emulation, and, I believe, gave me the first taste for correct and elegant composition. I acquired, however, all this time, but very little learning; and when my uncle (on my father's death) took me under his protection, his agent in Bristol considered me as neglected by Mr. Foot, and immediately removed me to a French boarding school in the same city, where I soon obtained the French language, and, having access to a circulating library, I acquired a passion for books, which has since become the solace of my life.

In 1759, a younger and the only brother of my great and good uncle came to England, and, settling in London, took me to reside with him, in a high and elegant style of life. He was a representative in parliament for Abingdon, and afterwards for his native town.—Farther I cannot speak of him so favourably as I could wish; for I remember that, at the period I allude to, his conduct towards me was such as not to inspire me with much respect: he perceived it, and soon after, in the latter end of the same year, sent me to Jamaica.—This proved a happy and fortunate change in my life, for I found my eldest uncle the reverse, in every possible circumstance, of his brother. To the most enlarged and enlightened mind he added the sweetest temper, and the most generous disposition. His tenderness towards me was excessive, and I regarded him with more than filial affection and veneration. Observing my passion for books, and thinking favourably of my capacity, he engaged a clergyman (my loved and ever to be lamented friend

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Isaac Teale) to reside in his family, chiefly to supply by his instructions my deficiency in the learned languages. Mr. Teale had been master of a free grammar school, and besides being a most accomplished scholar, possessed an exquisite taste for poetry, of which the reader will be convinced by referring to the Gentleman's Magazine, for August, 1771, the beautiful copy of verses, there first published, called "The Compliment of the Day," being of his composition. I dare not say, however, that I made any great progress in the languages under his tuition; I acquired "*small Latin and less Greek;*" even now, I find it difficult to read the Roman poets in their own language. The case was, that not having been grounded in the Latin grammar at an earlier period of life, I found the study of it unsupportably disgusting, after I had acquired a taste for the beauties of fine writing. Poetry was our chief amusement; for my friend, as well as myself, preferred the charms of Dryden and Pope, to the dull drudgery of poring over syntax and prosody * We preferred belles lettres. — We laughed away many a happy hour over the plays of Molière, and wrote verses on local and temporary subjects, which we sometimes published in the colonial newspapers. Yet the Latin classics were not altogether neglected; my friend delighted to point out to me the beauties of Horace, and would frequently impose on me the task of translating an ode into English verse, which, with his assistance in constructing the words, I sometimes accomplished.

Having made myself known to the public by my writings, it is probable, that, after I am in the grave, some collector of anecdotes, or biographical compiler, may pretend to furnish some particulars concerning my life and manners. It is not pleasant to think that misrepresentation or malice may fasten on my memory; and I have therefore made it the amusement of an idle hour, to compile a short account of myself. My personal history, however, is of little importance to the world. It will furnish no diversified scenes of fortune, nor relate many circumstances of myself, worth remembering. Yet I feel the fond ambition of an author, and am willing to hope, that those who have read my book with approbation, will be glad to know something farther concerning me;

For who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey, &c.

For the satisfaction then of such kind readers, (if such there are,) and the information of my posterity, I have drawn up this paper, which I desire my bookseller to prefix to the next edition of my History of the West Indies.

B. E.

Account of Mr. Boulton's Manufactory, at Soho, near Birmingham. From Mr. Shaw's History of Staffordshire.

SOHO is the name of a hill in the county of Stafford, about two miles from Birmingham, which, a very few years ago, was a barren heath, on the bleak summit of which stood a naked hut, the habitation of a warrener.

* Vide Armstrong.

The

The transformation of this place is a recent monument of the effects of trade on population. A beautiful garden, with wood, lawn, and water, now covers one side of this hill; five spacious squares of building, erected on the other side, supply workshops, or houses, for above six hundred people. The extensive pool at the approach to this building is conveyed to a large water-wheel in one of the courts, and communicates motion to a prodigious number of different tools. And the mechanic inventions for this purpose are superior in multitude, variety, and simplicity, to those of any manufactory (I suppose) in the known world.

Toys, and utensils of various kinds, in gold, silver, steel, copper, tortoise shell, enamels, and many vitreous and metallic compositions, with gilded, plated, and inlaid works, are wrought up to the highest elegance of taste, and perfection of execution, in this place.

Mr. Boulton, who has established this great work, has joined taste and philosophy with manufacture and commerce; and, from the various branches of chemistry, and the numerous mechanic arts he employs, and his extensive correspondence to every corner of the world, is furnished with the highest entertainment as well as the most lucrative employment.

About the year 1745, Mr. Boulton, then of Birmingham, invented, and afterwards brought to great perfection, the inlaid steel buckles, buttons, watch-chains, &c., which Dr. Johnson mentions in one of his papers in the *World*, as becoming fashionable in this country; whilst they were repurchased from France, under the idea of their being the production of that kingdom.

In the year 1757, John Wyrley, of Hampstead, esq., lord of the manor of Handsworth, granted a lease, to Messrs. Edward Ruston and Eaves, of these tracts of commons; *viz.* Handsworth Heath, Moneybank Hill, Crabtree Bank Warrens, for 99 years, with certain inclosed lands, with liberty to make some additions to the same, and to make a cut for the turning of Hockley Brook, to make a pool, with powers to build a water-mill. In consequence of which a small house and feeble mill were erected for the purpose of rolling metal. On Lady-day, 1762, Mr. Boulton purchased the aforesaid lease, with all the premises and appurtenances, to apply the same to such branches of the manufactory established at Birmingham as would tend to diminish expense and labour.

In order to prosecute his designs and improvements, he soon after enlarged and rebuilt those premises, and then transplanted the whole of his manufactory from Birmingham to Soho; and though he had made very considerable additions to these buildings, he found them not sufficient for his great designs: he therefore, in 1764, laid the foundation of the present superb manufactory, which was finished in the following year, at the expense of 9,000*l.* From that period he began to turn his attention to the different branches of manufactory; and, in conjunction with Mr. Fothergill, then his partner, established a mercantile correspondence throughout Europe; by which means the produce of their various articles was greatly extended, and the manufacturer, by

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becoming his own merchant, eventually enjoyed a double profit. Impelled by an ardent attachment to the arts, and by the patriotic ambition of bringing his favourite Soho to the highest degree of perfection, the ingenious proprietor soon established a seminary of artists for drawing and modelling; and men of genius were now sought for and liberally patronised, which shortly led to a successful imitation of the Or Molu. These metallic ornaments, consisting of vases, tripods, candelabras, &c., by the superior skill and taste bestowed upon them here, soon found their way, not only to the admiration of his majesty, and to the chimney-pieces and cabinets, &c., of the nobility and curious of this kingdom; but likewise to France, and almost to every part of Europe. From this elegant branch of the business the superior skill of Mr. Boulton led his artists, by a natural and easy transition, to that of the wrought silver; upon which he soon found the necessity of applying to parliament for, and establishing, in 1773, an assay office, at Birmingham. About this time that ingenious art of copying pictures in oil colours, by a mechanical process, was invented at Soho; and, under the patronage of the above proprietor, was brought to such a degree of perfection as to be taken for originals by the most experienced connoisseurs. This extraordinary piece of art was principally conducted by the ingenious Mr. F. Eginton, which led him to that of painting upon glass, now carried on at his neighbouring manufactory.

Mr. Boulton, finding from experience that the stream of water, which had induced him to build a mill, and transplant his manufactory to Soho, was insufficient for its purposes, applied horses, in conjunction with his water-mill; but finding that both troublesome, irregular, and expensive, in 1767 he made a steam-engine, on Savery's plan, with the intention of returning and raising his water about 24 feet high; but, this proving unsatisfactory to him, he soon after formed an acquaintance with his present partner and friend, Mr. James Watt, of Glasgow, who in 1765 had invented several valuable improvements upon the steam-engine, which in fact made it a new machine.

The application of this improved steam-engine at Soho to raise and return the water, extended the powers of the water-mill; which induced Mr. Boulton to rebuild it a second time upon a much larger scale; and several engines were afterwards erected at Soho for other purposes, by which the manufactory was greatly extended, the source of mechanical power being thus unlimited.

Amongst the various applications of the steam-engine, that of coining seems to be of considerable importance, as by its powers all the operations are concentred on the same spot; such as rolling the cakes of copper hot into sheets; 2dly, fine-rolling the same cold in steel polished rollers; 3dly, cutting out the blank pieces of coin, which is done with greater ease and rapidity by girls than could possibly be done by strong men; 4thly, the steam-engine also performs other operations, such as shaking the coin in bags; and 5thly, it works a number of coining machines, with greater rapidity and exactness, by a few boys of twelve or fourteen years of age, than could be

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be done by a great number of strong men, without endangering their fingers, as the machine itself lays the blanks upon the die perfectly concentral with it, and when struck displaces one piece and replaces another.

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The coining-mill, which was erected in 1788, and has since been greatly improved, is adapted to work eight machines, and each is capable of striking from seventy to eighty-four pieces of money per minute, the size of a guinea, which is equal to between 30,000 and 40,000 per hour; and at the same blow which strikes the two faces the edge of the piece is also struck either plain or with an inscription upon it, and thus every piece becomes perfectly round, and of equal diameter; which is not the case with any other national money ever put into circulation.

Such a coining mill, erected in the national mint, would, in cases of emergency, be able to coin all the bullion in the bank of England at a short notice, without the necessity of putting dollars, or other foreign coin, into circulation; and by erecting double the number of presses, a double quantity may be coined.—

It is worthy of observation, that the ground of the silver money coined by this machine has a much finer and blacker polish than the money coined by the common apparatus.

In consequence of Mr. Boulton's money being perfectly round, and of equal diameter, he proposed the following coincidence between money, weights, and measures, in the copper coin, part of which he hath lately executed for the British government; *viz.* a 2-penny-piece to weigh 2 oz. and 15 of them to measure 2 feet, when laid flat in a straight line; 1 penny-piece to weigh 1 oz. and 17 of them to measure 2 feet; ½-penny to weigh ½ oz. and 10 of them to measure one foot; a farthing to weigh ¼ oz. and 12 to measure one foot. This plan of coincidence was prevented from being put into execution by the sudden advance of the price of copper.

In the year 1788, Mr. Boulton struck a piece of gold, the size of a guinea, as a pattern (similar to those in copper;) the letters were indented instead of in relief; and the head, and other devices, (although in relief,) were protected from wear by a broad, flat border; and, from the perfect rotundity of shape, &c., with the aid of a steel gage, it may, with ease and certainty, by ascertaining its specific gravity, be distinguished from any base metal. Previous to Mr. Boulton's engagement to supply government with copper pence, in order to bring his apparatus to the greatest perfection, he exercised it in coining silver money for the Sierra Leone and African companies, and copper for the East India company and Bermudas. Various beautiful medals of our celebrated naval and other officers, &c., have likewise been struck here from time to time by Mr. Boulton, for the purpose of employing and encouraging ingenious artists to revive that branch of sculpture, which had been upon the decline in this kingdom since the death of Simon, in the reign of Charles II.

In order to obtain the desired degree of perfection in the manufactory of steam-engines, Messrs. Boulton and Watt found it necessary to erect and establish an iron-foundery

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for that purpose; and they have accordingly, in partnership with their sons, (to whose activity, genius, and judgment, it must be attributed, that this great work was begun and finished in the course of three winter months,) erected, at a convenient distance and contiguous to the same stream, at Smethwick, a great and complete manufactory and foundery, into which a branch from the Birmingham canalenters; and thereby the coals, pig iron, bricks, sand, &c. are brought, and their engines, or other heavy goods, are transported in boats to every part of the kingdom, there being a wet dock within their walls for four boats to lie.

The plan of this work being well digested and settled previous to laying the first stone, the whole is thereby rendered more complete than such works as generally arise gradually from disjointed ideas. And, from the great experience of the proprietors, they have applied the power of steam to the boring of cylinders, pumps, &c.; to drilling, to turning, to blowing their melting furnaces, and whatever tends to abridge human labour, and obtain accuracy; for, by the superiority of all their tools, they are enabled to attain expedition and perfection in a higher degree than heretofore.

In a national view, Mr. Boulton's undertakings are highly valuable and important. By collecting around him artists of various descriptions, rival talents have been called forth, and by successive competition have been multiplied to an extent highly beneficial to the public. A barren heath has been covered with plenty and population; and these works, which in their infancy were little known and attended to, now cover several acres, give employment to more than 600 persons, and are said to be the first of their kind in Europe.

Every precaution has been always taken, and in the most judicious manner, by the proprietors, to diminish the poor's levies, and keep their numerous workmen from becoming troublesome to the parish, &c. One great instance of which, is a long established society for the sick and lame, &c. for the better management of which they are printed on a large sheet;

"*Rules for conducting the Insurance Society, belonging to the Soho Manufactory.*"

These consist of 25 articles: some of which are these:

"I. That every person employed in the Soho manufactory shall be a member of this society, who can earn from 2*s.* 6*d.* per week, or upwards.

"II. Each member shall pay to the treasure box, agreeable to the following table, which is divided into eight parts; viz. the member who is set down at 2*s.* 6*d.* per week shall pay ½*d.* per week; 5*s.*, 1*d.*; and so on, in like proportion, to 20*s.* 4*d.*; and none to exceed that sum.

"VI. If any member is sick, lame, and incapable of work, he shall receive, after three days' notice to the committee, as follows, during his illness, viz. if he pays in the box, for 2*s.* 6*d.* he shall receive 2*s.* per week; and for 5*s.*, 4*s.*; and so on in like proportion:" &c.

The rules of this manufactory have certainly been productive of the most laudable and salutary effects.

And,

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And, besides the great attention to cleanliness and wholesome air, &c. this manufactory has always been distinguished for its order and good behaviour, and particularly during the great riots at Birmingham.

No expense has been spared to render these works uniform and handsome in architecture, as well as neat and commodious. The same liberal spirit and taste has the great and worthy proprietor gradually exercised in the adjoining gardens, groves, and pleasure grounds, which, at the same time that they form an agreeable separation from his own residence, render Soho a much admired scene of picturesque beauty. Wandering through these secluded walks, or on the banks of the several fine lakes and waterfalls which adorn them, we may here enjoy the sweets of solitude and retirement, as if far distant from the busy hum of men.

In scenes like these, the studious and philosophic mind occasionally finds a most agreeable and salutary asylum.

That the poet has likewise felt their influence appears by the following tribute to the memory of a departed friend.

At the termination of the walk beyond the cottage, in the secluded grove, where nothing intrudes upon the eye but the new church at Birmingham, where Dr. Small was buried, is erected a tribute to his memory, on which are the following elegant lines, by Dr. Darwin:

" M. S.
GULIELMI SMALL, M. D.
QUI OB. FEB. XXV.
M.DCC.LXXV.

" Ye gay and young, who, thoughtless of your doom,
Shun the disgustful mansions of the dead,
Where Melancholy broods o'er many a tomb,
Mould'ring beneath the yew's unwholesome shade;
If chance ye enter these sequester'd groves,
And Day's bright sunshine for a while forego,
Oh! leave to Folly's cheek the laughs and loves,
And give one hour to philosophic woe!
Here, while no titled dust, no sainted bone,
No lover weeping over beauty's bier,
No warrior frowning in historic stone,
Extorts your praises, or requests your tear;
Cold *Contemplation* leans her aching head,
On human woe her steady eye she turns,
Waves her meek hand, and sighs for Science dead,
For Science, Virtue, and for SMALL, she mourns!"

This is one of the oldest groves between the house and manufactory. Let us now turn our attention to the more recent improvements on the opposite side; where, in the extensive new plantations, we see the most extraordinary effects produced by irrigation, with the powerful aid of the steam engine, which, when at liberty from its other labours, forces up water by pipes to the summit of these grounds; so that, in the dryest season, when all other vegetation was perishing for want of rain and water, these plantations were amply supplied, and now as amply reward the ingenious contriver by their flourishing foliage. Here also we see the New Hydraulic Ram, which is a self moving water work applicable to agricultural purposes, and constructed with great ingenuity and simplicity.

The house, which was before much too small for the hospitable purposes of its generous owner, has

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been lately enlarged. At the top of the roof, which is made very neat and commodious, either for common or telescopic observations, the prospect is extensive and beautiful, commanding an agreeable view of the principal part of Birmingham to the south, the ancient Gothic splendour of Aston Hall eastward; with Bar Beacon, and all the rich scenery of the intermediate vallies towards the north, Sandwell Park, and the new foundery at Smethwick, &c. to the west.

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Character of the Irish. From Cooper's Letters on that Nation.

WHEN I last addressed you, I was prosecuting my journey through North Wales. I was studiously exploring the retreats and fastnesses to which our gallant ancestors retired in the last defence of their liberties. I felt happy in the midst of a brave and honest people. They have long enjoyed the high character of combining individual integrity with public loyalty and attachment to England. There is no country where I could possibly have felt myself more at home. The Englishman, who travels through it, will find the system of manners and the habits of life, which prevail there, only so far differing from his own, as to furnish a pleasing variety to instruct and recreate the mind. He may there travel over classic ground without going far abroad for it, and find sufficient objects to enrich his imagination, improve his taste, and meliorate his heart.

I have now arrived in Ireland. With the spirit of curiosity raised to its highest pitch, having climbed the shaggy steep of old Snowdon, and wound back my way through the mazes, defiles, and passes, which abound in the romantic country of the ancient Britons; I left the royal tower of Caernarvon, the birthplace of the unfortunate Edward; crossed the famous strait which Tacitus has immortalized; and travelled across the island which was the last sanctuary of Druidical superstition, and the boundary of Roman conquest. At the opposite extremity of Anglesea I embarked for Dublin, to which favourable winds blew me safely over in twelve hours.

It will be the object of this letter to describe the contrast of character which I have met with in the sister kingdom. In my future letters I shall descend to other important particulars. But, in discharging this task, I must declare that it will neither be my inclination nor duty to apologize for any seeming prolixities. You have requested my observations on the Irish nation, and I shall give them to you in such order, at such length, and moreover at such times, as my single judgment shall dictate. The government, the religion, the morals, and the manners of a country, are the objects which attract a traveller's attention. In studying these, he will always find his best account. But the connexion of Ireland with Great Britain may extend the inquiry to the physical peculiarities of the country. The climate, the soil, and the natural beauties, will perhaps excite your curiosity; I shall, therefore, dispatch that subject in a very few words.

The difference of a single degree of latitude cannot of itself, make the

the climate of Ireland differ much from that of England. But the bogs and morasses, which constitute the peculiar characteristic of the country, occasion an extraordinary moisture and dampness of the atmosphere. Ireland may be justly called, in the words of Tacitus, "*terra paludibus fœda.*" I may even carry on the parallel with the description which that admirable writer proceeds in giving of ancient Germany. Its lands are almost entirely pasturage, and of course afford sustenance to prodigious flocks and herds. The perennial greenness of the country is therefore, on these two accounts, justly proverbial. But in the article of timber, there is an uncommon deficiency. I have heard it estimated, and, I think, with some appearance of truth, that there is as much wood in our single county of Kent, as in the whole kingdom of Ireland. When I add to these physical peculiarities, that the bays and harbours of Ireland are uncommonly picturesque, as well as commodious; that the Shannon is a most noble river; that the lakes of Killarney are the most enchanting in the world; and that Dublin, in population, magnitude, and the splendour of its public edifices, is the second city in his majesty's dominions; you know all that is necessary to learn, or, perhaps, that is worth knowing, of the general appearance of the country.

Leaving, therefore, the detailed description of these particulars to those whose dispositions or leisure it may suit with to make them, I proceed to the more important task of inquiring into the character of the Irish people. I am sensible, however, that a discussion of this sort is attended with great difficulties. I trust you will, therefore, give me credit for entering upon it with becoming diffidence. He who flatters himself that the character either of an individual, or of a nation, may afford an uniformity of virtuous and honourable qualities, without the alloy of any faults or defects, will find himself, in the result, greatly disappointed. To such a man, therefore, I do not address myself. "The web of our life," as Shakspeare somewhere remarks, "is of mingled yarn, good and ill together. Our virtues would be too proud, if they were not counterbalanced by our vices; and our vices would be intolerable, if they were not chastised by our virtues."

The characters, then, both of individuals and of nations, are alike chequered with beauties and deformities, with virtues and with vices. If we inquire into the causes from which these peculiarites flow, we shall find that it necessarily must be so. The infirmity of human nature is a plea broad enough to palliate almost the greatest defects. But philosophers, when inquiring into the causes of national characters, have pushed their researches still farther. Though the most accomplished politicians, both of ancient and modern times, have been divided in opinion with respect to these causes; yet they all agree, that the effects are necessary, invariable, and unalterable. Physical causes and moral ones have been alternately cried up. Mankind stood long contented with the authorities of Aristotle, and his disciple Montesquieu, who laid great stress upon the former; but that opinion has been at length arraigned by the cool scepticism of Hume. That philosopher doubts altogether of the influence of

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of physical causes*. It is far from my intention to declare myself the advocate of either party, or to decide dogmatically on their respective merits. I should be happy were I able to reconcile them. It is a misfortune to mankind, when the great oracles of human wisdom contradict each other. Perhaps, however, in this case, as in most others, truth will be found in the medium, equally apart from both the extremes; and, in choosing this course, I am supported by considerable authorities.

The physical qualities of climate, air, and food, may certainly produce some effects on the national character; but I am inclined to consider them as very inconsiderable. "By working insensibly on the tone and habit of the body, these peculiarities may perhaps influence, in a small degree, the temper and the passions." But whoever considers that the most opposite and inconsistent characters are often to be found under the same climate, and that, on the other hand, an uniformity of disposition and manners is sometimes seen in the most opposite extremes of heat and cold, will, I trust, be inclined to ascribe only a trifling effect to physical causes in producing national characters. It is, then, to moral causes that we must principally resort, in accounting for the manners of a nation. These are enumerated by Hume to be the nature of the government; the revolutions of public affairs; the religion, the laws, the plenty or penury in which the people live; the situation of the country with respect to its neighbours; and such like particulars. These are the circumstances which move the thoughts and the passions of men. Hence their sentiments and their habits are formed; and from hence their actions proceed. It is, therefore, from these sources that the general spirit of every civilized nation must principally take its rise.

In order to give you a distinct idea of this national character in the sister kingdom, it will be necessary to apprize you of a distinction of ranks unknown in England. It is not merely that strong line of demarcation which, in all countries, divides the rich from the poor: it is something more. The emigrations from Great Britain to Ireland have given rise to two classes of people in it, the colonists with their descendants, and the native Irish, the original inhabitants of the country. To the first of these ranks is confined all the civil power of the state, both supreme and subordinate; all the property in it, both landed and commercial; and all the education and refinement. It is not necessary that I should point out to you, how much the other class of the people must be separated from this first, when deprived of all these advantages. But the government, the established religion, and the laws, have added weight and force to this already formidable barrier. Reserving the general discussion of these particulars to a future opportunity, I shall content myself with remarking, that, notwithstanding these distinctions

* This difference in the opinion of these great men may be seen by referring to Aristotle's Politics, b. 4, to Montesquieu De l'Esprits des Loix, l. 14, who most ingeniously applies the notion of Aristotle, though without any mention of him: and to Hume, in his Essay on National Characters, who contradicts them both, without noticing the name of either.

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between the Irish people, there are certain features of national character, in which they resemble each other. I shall, therefore, endeavour, first, to point out this coincidence; and then, by observations on each class separately, inform you of the particulars in which they differ.

Almost all philosophers have concurred in allowing to the passions a certain share in forming the human character, though some of them have denied their control over a truly virtuous man. The severity of the Stoics, indeed, led them to declare, and even to define all passion as contrary to nature; and the splendid eloquence of Cicero has been exerted in giving weight to that opinion*. But the progress of truth has at last fully shown, that these sublimated notions are inconsistent with the frailty of man. Aristotle, (who opposed Plato in this as in all his other opinions,) paved the way to a more mild and moderate system of philosophy. When the doctrines of the Peripatetic school had been long almost forgotten, a philosopher and historian was born in the bleak and frozen regions of the north, who has on this occasion undeservedly acquired the merit of originality in establishing the opinions of the Stagyrite†. Whilst the unlearned sophisters of the day thought Hume was attacking them, they were unconscious that he was only wielding the weapons of Aristotle. By this system, whose basis is nature, and whose superstructure the most unanswerable reasoning, virtue is proved to be nothing more than the discipline of our natural feelings and affections into steady habits of right conduct. It does not consist in the extinction of the passions, but in the regulation of them. Virtue is grafted on the stock of the natural affections: reason, which is the preceding deity, is exalted over the heart, to govern, by its dictates, "the little state of man."

Perhaps it will be found, that all national characters differ in proportion to the degrees in which these two principles of reason and passion are found to preponderate. They constitute all the intermediate gradations between the civilized state and the inhabitants of New Zealand. They form even the extremes themselves. It is for this reason that the philosophers of all ages and in all countries are the same characters. We may certainly form to ourselves an idea of an angel without passions, but it is inconsistent with human nature. Merely to imagine an individual of this description, whatever might be the perfection of the reason with which we suppose that he is endued, would be to picture to the fancy a tame, flat, insipid, sickly uniformity of character. On the other hand, the contrast is equally deplorable. For if the mind is not guided and steered by reason, it must inevitably, like a vessel which has lost its rudder, be driven at random by the tides of caprice, or tossed and shipwrecked by the waves of passion. It is therefore to the happy combination of both principles, to the just mixture of both ingredients, that all that is virtuous and ornamental in the human character is produced.

I think that I cannot give you a better general idea of the Irish character than by resorting to this system

* See the fourth Tusculan Disputation of Cicero, chap. vi, et seq.
† See Hume's Principles of Morals.

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of metaphysics. It seems to me that the principle of passion bears a more than equal sway over that of reason, with this people. They are endued with warm hearts, strong feelings, and that peculiar force of natural sentiment which I consider as capable of being exalted, by the wisdom of legislation, into a most amiable national character. But that which ought only to enliven and impassion the understanding, is left to vegetate unpruned in all the wanton exuberance of nature. It is not sufficiently under the control and discipline of reason and moral habit. The consequence is, that it leads to many faults, at the same time that it constitutes many virtues in their characters. I shall point out to you how this haughty principle displays itself in the Irish nation.

1. This is first in a great national pride and a high conceit of the political rank of their country in the list of nations, and of each individual of it as an important member of society. It cannot be dissembled that they are a vain-glorious and a boasting nation. The popular vanity of the whole can only be equalled by the family pride of each individual. They are equally ridiculous in their genealogical calculations, and their hyperbolical encomiums on their country. Their historians have traced up the pedigree of their country to a period much earlier than the chronological records of civilized society extend. They will allow, that the "*vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*" of Horace, is at least true, if applied to Ireland. They inform you, that it was flourishing in learning and civilization, whilst all other nations were obscured in ignorance and barbarism. Europe and America are contented to acknowledge their gratitude to Phœnicia, for bestowing on them the benefits of letters and religion. But the generality of the Irish historians, forming a solitary exception to this general acquiescence of modern nations, have inverted the ordinary progress of civilization, by asserting that their country was in the enjoyment of it prior to the Assyrian or oldest of the four monarchies of the ancient world*. They assert that Egypt and Phœnicia received the arts and sciences from the great ancestor of the Irish nation. This people, so polished in the re-

* This is calculating according to sir Isaac Newton's chronology. Sir William Jones, has, however, demonstrated, that a powerful monarchy was established in Iran, or Persia in its largest sense, long before the Assyrian or Pishdadi government; that it was in truth a Hinou monarchy, though he says that if any choose to call it Custan, Casdean, or Scythian, he will not enter into a debate on mere names; that it subsisted many centuries, and that its history has been engrafted on that of the Hindus, who founded the monarchies of Ayodhya and Indraprestha; that the language of the first Persian empire was the mother of Sanscrit, and consequently of the Zend and Persi, as well as of Greek, Latin, and Gothic. (See his sixth discourse to the Asiatic society.)—Words would be wanting to express the esteem and veneration which I feel for this Columbus in literature. As a linguist, he can only be compared to the celebrated Giovanni Pico, a nobleman of Mirandula, in the age of Lorenzo de Medici. But as a chronologist, an antiquary, an astronomer, a theorist in music, an elegant poet, superadded to his acquirements as a lawyer, he has no parallel. This finished model of intellectual and moral excellence is now no more:

Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?

motest

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motest periods of antiquity, may therefore consistently lay claim to the honour of being the fathers of letters*. The beauty and fertility of their country are equally the objects of their commendation. They will tell you that whatever is celebrated for beauty in history or fable, is but a faint picture of what is to be seen in Ireland. I have found amongst them more Rudbecks than the university of Upsal ever produced†. As that celebrated professor assured the Swedes, in his work called the Manheim or Atlantica, that the "Atlantis of Plato, the country of the Hyperboreans, the gardens of the Hesperides, the Fortunate Islands, and even the Elysian Fields, were all but imperfect transcripts of the delightful region of Sweden;" so are the Irish equally lavish in their encomiums on Ireland. It was but the other day that I accidentally fell into company with a professor of their university of Dublin, and the conversation turning on the respective merits of Great Britain and Ireland in the abovementioned particulars, I found it impossible to convince him that London was a finer city than Dublin, or that England, in fertility and cultivation, could at all be compared with Ireland. I left him to the peaceable enjoyment of his own opinion.

Something has also been hinted of the pride of pedigree displayed here by individuals. The Irishman in this respect far exceeds all other nations. "He can point out the individual son of Japhet from whose loins he is lineally descended." I remember to have somewhere read, that in the reign of Edward the Second, an Ulster prince made a public boast of having succeeded to near two hundred kings of Ireland, his lineal ancestors, down to the year 1170. Would you imagine that the genealogical tree of the meanest individual has an almost equallydeep root? The fact is undoubtedly so. With this spirit, and with a similar boast of ancestry, a kitchen wench, in the service of the celebrated bishop of Cloyne, refused to carry out cinders, because she was descended from an old Irish stock‡. I might weary you with details of this sort, but I content myself with assuring you, that there is no nation, whose legendary tales about their country and kindred, are so extravagant and ridiculous as those of the Irish. The English have been laughed at by foreigners for their predilection in favour of their own country. But an Englishman's vanity proceeds from a conviction of the acknowledged superiority in the constitution, the laws, the commerce, and the enjoyment of the comforts of life, which his country enjoys over all the world. The utmost paroxysms of his pride on these accounts, are sobriety and moderation themselves, when compared with those of the Irishman. I do not, however, mention this leading feature in the character of the Irish nation, as an unpardonable folly. On the contrary, I acknowledge it to be, in the abstract, and without reference to its consequences on in-

* See O'Hallaran's History, and Ierne defended by the same author. 4to. 1774.
† Some account of Rudbeck may be found in Gibbon's History, chap ix.
‡ See bishop Berkeley's work, entitled "A Word to the Wise; or Letter to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland."

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dustry, a harmless and innocent prejudice. I am not ignorant that, generally speaking, there is an "habitual native dignity" inspired by the idea of a liberal descent, which is admirably calculated for the prevention of crime, and the preservation of a rational and manly virtue. Not but that an enlightened education, and an acquaintance with the laws of humanity, will give a superior elevation to the soul, to all the prerogatives of nobility, and all the pride, and pomp, and boast, of heraldry. It would even be better to infuse into the minds of a nation the spirit of life and energy, than the pride of ancestry, however refined and subtilized. All I contend for is, that the vanity of a noble descent may cooperate with the greatest talents and learning, and, where they are wanting, will often supply the place of them.

2. But I turn with pleasure from the laughable excesses to which this trait of Irish character leads, to one that I could expatiate upon with pleasure as a scholar, and with gratitude as an English subject, I mean that heroic courage, that most splendid of all qualities, which has long adorned the people of this country. Not that I imagine it proceeds either from any principle of self-preservation, or sense of duty, which they have; but from that pride, that love of distinction, and that warmth of temper which so much distinguishes them. All the world must agree, that the Irish are a brave and warlike people. They may be slaughtered or dispersed in the field of battle, but their spirit can never be tamed. Their minds are capable of being wound up to the highest pitch of fortitude; and their bodies are hardy, robust, and equal to the greatest fatigue. Their courage, indeed, is certainly not that just medium between rashness and pusillanimity, which a philosopher would admire. It is too much influenced by passion, and too little by the cool dictates of reason and reflection. For true fortitude can alone be seen in exploits which are not only warranted by justice, but also guided by the dictates of wisdom. But this is not the character of Irish courage: it is more of "towering frenzy and distraction." The consequence is, that it has chiefly been found serviceable when made subordinate to order and strict discipline. It is of itself generally unfit to resolve before it executes. For this reason, the Irish have always distinguished themselves in the subordinate stations in our fleets and armies, but seldom when possessed of supreme power. They have always succeeded to admiration where mere boldness has been looked for. They are gifted with that enterprising character which disregards all obstacles, or only considers them as so many incentives to exertion.

A characteristic naturally connected with this philosophical defect (for it is no more) in the bravery of the Irish, is, that they are hasty and impetuous, rash and choleric, and subject to the most violent attacks of anger and passion. This irascible temper has created in the English a habit of cautiously avoiding too great a degree of intimacy with them. When heated with wine, of which they are immoderately fond, there is no description of people more quarrelsome or dangerous. Drinking, instead of promoting harmony and conviviality, too frequently leads them into broils and encounters. Even the merry-making of

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of the peasant generally ends in bloodshed. But this is, in some degree, to be attributed to that generous warmth and openness of temper, to that boldness, both in speech and action, which, when heightened by the juice of the grape, pours out the sentiments of the heart in the most unguarded manner. There is an observation of my favourite author, lord chancellor Bacon, which irresistibly forces itself on my mind whilst I am on this subject: "Wine (says he) is of a common nature with all the passions, and will be found to kindle and excite each of them in an equal degree." When, therefore, the natural disposition of the Irishman receives this artificial irritation, the result must necessarily be such as I have described it.

3. The same disposition which displays itself in the manner I have above related, shows itself also among the Irish in another amiable point of view. This is in a spirit of liberality and generosity, which I have seldom seen equalled. The hospitality and munificence which they display towards strangers, are, I think, if not unequalled, at least not exceeded, in any European country. That reserve towards strangers, which alike characterises the Englishman and his mastiff, is unknown in Ireland. An accidental rencontre on the public road, often leads to the utmost hospitality; I have myself more than once experienced the benefit of this quality, under circumstances of that nature. The liberality displayed towards their guests at their tables is indeed so extreme as to be frequently prejudicial to their fortunes. But it is obvious that there is a degree of ostentatious vanity, which has some share in leading them into these excesses: and their quickness in forming friendships is attended with that general consequence which accompanies this disposition, a proportionate shortness in the duration of their attachments.

4. But there is a trait in their dispositions and manners somewhat connected with this hospitality, and which often serves as a foil to it. This is an excessive love of gaming, nowhere indulged to greater lengths than in Ireland. This spirit for play is not confined to the higher classes of individuals, as in England, but extends to the poorest and meanest of the people. The effect which it produces on their conduct, conversation, and behaviour in social life, has been to me a matter of inconceivable amazement. I happened to be in Dublin when the state lottery was drawing, and if it had been necessary to convince me how pernicious an expedient this is for raising money for the use of the government, I should have there met with it. The crowds which are drawn in this vortex are inconceivable; old and young, rich and poor, gentleman and beggar, are alike avowed candidates for the favours of the blind goddess. In England, the laws guard against many of the evils which this invention has been found to produce: the refinement of manners is still an additional guard against them. But in Ireland these laws do not exist; and manners form no barrier to supply the want of them. I have heard gentlemen, in the most fashionable circles of polite company, openly exult at their gains, even by the insurance of lottery tickets. Indeed, speculations of that nature cannot any where else be carried on to such an extent. Perhaps too, I may add to this, that the

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the profession of a gamester is more confined to the natives of Ireland, than of any other portion of his majesty's dominions.

But the effects of this gaming expedient for raising money, are still more conspicuous amongst the lower classes of the people. The public streets of Dublin are filled with lottery offices, beyond the conception even of a Londoner. These shops are adorned with every thing which can catch the eye, and delude the mind of the unwary. They are filled with crowds of the most miserable ragged objects (of which Dublin, perhaps, contains more than any other city in Europe,) staking their daily bread on the chance of gain. I have often observed in London the multitudes of poor people, who are plundered by the keepers of lottery-offices. I have often heard of the families of industrious mechanics and manufacturers driven by their frauds into the streets to beg their bread. I have even known old servants plundered of the "thrifty hire saved in a life of service." But yet these are all trifles when compared with the extent to which the evil of lottery offices is carried on in Ireland. They are there an insult to the eye of public decency. The immense fortunes, also, which I understand are often suddenly amassed by the keepers of these gaming-houses, are incredible. To my mind, this open pillage of the public is an outrage committed on every principle of morality, of moderation, and of the spirit and object of laws.

When I add to these general characteristics of the nation their excessive credulity, which has always been imposed on by those who have been base enough to take advantage of it, and which has so often made them the dupes of political innovators and artful demagogues, I consider that I have nearly summed up every thing which I had to say on this part of my subject.

Anecdotes of the Emperor Paul of Russia. From The Secret Memoirs of that Court, lately published.

THE guards, that dangerous body who had overturned the throne of the father, and who had long considered the accession of the son as the term of its military existence, was, from the very first day, by a bold and vigorous step, rendered incapable of injuring him, and treated without the least management. Paul incorporated in the different regiments of guards his battalions that arrived from Gatshina*, the officers of which he distributed among the various companies, promoting them at the same time two or three steps; so that simple lieutenants or captains in the army found themselves at once captains in the guards, a place of importance, and hitherto much honoured, and which gives the rank of colonel, or even of brigadier. Some of those

* Paul waited for these battalions with evident impatience and anxiety. They marched all night, and arrived in the morning. Ratikof, a subaltern, who had no other merit than the good fortune of announcing to him their wished for arrival, was instantly created a knight of St. Anne, and made aid-de-camp to the grand duke. It was not till Paul saw himself surrounded with his little army, that he began to act as he had done at Gatshina.

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ancient captains, and they the first families in the empire, found themselves under the command of officers of no birth, who but a few years before had left their companies as serjeants or corporals, to enter into the battalions of the grand duke. This bold and hasty change, which at any other time would have been fatal to its author, had no other effect than that of inducing a few hundreds of officers, subalterns, and others, to retire. Most of these were such as had sufficient to live upon beside their commissions, or could neither digest the putting others over their heads, nor support the harassing discipline which the intruders were about to establish *. Many of these young officers, however, felt no other affront than that of being obliged to quit their brilliant uniforms, and to alter their dress according to the grotesque and fantastical clothing of those battalions which had so long excited their ridicule.

Paul, alarmed and enraged at this general desertion, went to the barracks, flattered the soldiers, appeased the officers, and endeavoured to retain them, by excluding from all employ, civil and military, those who should retire in future, and who besides were no longer to wear their uniform. He afterwards issued the ridiculous and cruel order, that every officer or subaltern who had resigned, or should give in his resignation, should quit the capital within four and twenty hours, and return to his own home. It never entered the head of Paul, or of him who drew up the ukase, that it contained an absurdity; as several of the officers were natives of Petersburgh, and had families residing in that city. Accordingly some of them retired to their homes without quitting the capital, not obeying the

* Of these obtruded officers, no one made his fortune so rapidly as Araktscheief. Seven years before, the grand duke, willing to have a company of artillery at Pavlofsky, asked general Melissino for an officer capable of forming one. Araktscheief, who had been brought up in a corps of cadets, and who had gotten himself noticed by the progress he made, and particularly for the ardour and passionate zeal he displayed for the minutiæ of discipline, was given him. In spite of his indefatigable attentions, severity, and exactitude, in the service, it was some time before he could establish himself thoroughly in the good opinion of Paul. Several pretty fireworks, which he composed, with the assistance of his old master, for the entertainments at Pavlofsky, but, above all, the rage for exercising with which he burned, and which induced him to harass the soldiers day and night, at length gained him the favour of the grand duke. At his accession to the throne, Araktscheief was created a major in the guards, with the rank of general, and appointed military governor of Petersburgh. He received the order of St. Anne, with some thousands of peasants, and became the emperor's right hand. Araktscheief, with whom major M. has served in the corps of cadets, where he was serjeant, was truly commendable for the talents, acquirements, and zeal which he displayed at that time: but he is disgusting by his brutality, which he exercised even towards the cadets. Never was Pindaric poet more tormented by his muse, than this man is possessed by his military demon. His fury and his cane have already cost more than one unfortunate soldier his life, even under the eye of Paul. This wretch has revived a barbarity, which had long been a stranger to the Russian service: he abuses and strikes the very officers when exercising. However, while in favour, that he might have the appearance of being grateful, he recommended major Melissino, his former master, with whom he was at variance. He was lately disgraced, but since recalled, and baronized. It was he who reviewed the troops sent into Germany.

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first part of the order, lest they should be found guilty of disobedience to the second. Arkarof, who was to see it put in force, having informed the emperor of this contradiction, he directed that the injunction to quit Petersburgh should alone be obeyed. A number of young men were consequently taken out of their houses as criminals, conveyed out of the city, with orders not to reenter it, and left on the road without shelter, and without pelisses, in a very intense frost. They who belonged to remote provinces, for the most part wanting money to carry them thither, wandered about the neighbourhood of Petersburgh, where several perished of cold and want.

These measures were extended to all the officers of the army; and those on the staff as generals were equally obliged to join their regiments, or resign, because their staffs were abolished. And it was by this impolitic step that he pretended to commence a reform, and gain the goodwill of the army. But what soon showed that Paul, on becoming emperor, by no means renounced the military frivolities which had entirely occupied him while grand-duke, was his devoting all his attention, from the morning of his ascending to the throne, to the trifling changes he was about to introduce into the dress and exercise of the soldiers. For a moment the palace had the appearance of a place taken by assault by foreign troops; those who began to mount guard there differing so much in dress and style from those who had been seen there the day before. He went down into the court, where he was manœuvring his soldiers three or four hours, to teach them to mount guard after his fashion, and establish his *wachtparade* (guard-parade), which became the most important institution and the central point of his administration. Every day since he has dedicated the same time to it, however cold the weather. Here, in a plain deep green uniform, great boots, and a large hat, he spends his mornings in exercising his guards *: here he gives his orders, receives reports, publishes his favours, rewards, and punishments; and here every officer must be presented to him. Surrounded by his sons and aides-de-camp, stamping his heels on the pavement to keep himself warm, his bald head bare, his snub nose cocked up to the wind, one hand behind his back, and with the other raising and falling his cane in due time, and crying, *raz. dva; raz, dva;* one, two; one, two; he prides himself in braving a cold of fifteen or twenty degrees of Reaumer without furs. Presently, none of the officers dared any longer to appear in pelisses; and the old generals, tormented with coughs, gout, and rheumatism, were obliged to form a circle round Paul, dressed like himself †.

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* See the print of him, which, though intended perhaps as a caricature, is nevertheless a striking likeness, published in St. James's Street, having under it, "Our magnanimous ally.—Painted at Petersburgh."

† A Hogarth, who should see the emperor and his younger son busy about a poor recruit, turning him to the right and to the left, marching him forward and backward, raising up his chin, tightening his belt, and placing his head properly, with every now and then a blow, would have a fine subject for a caricature. An emigrant named Lami conceived

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The first impressions of fear and joy being deadened in the heart of Paul, punishments and disgraces succeeded with the same rapidity and profusion with which he had lavished his favours. Several persons experienced the two extremes within the space of a few days. It is true, that most of these punishments at first appeared to be just: then, however, it must be allowed, that Paul could scarcely strike any where but on the guilty, so corrupt were all who beset the throne.

Notwithstanding the assurances he had just given to Zubof, one of the first orders that followed was, to seal up his chancery and that of Markof, and to expel their officers and secretaries from the court with disgrace.

One Tersky, master of requests, and reporter to the senate, who publicly sold justice to the highest bidder, and, with a shocking effrontery, was at first gratified with an order of knighthood, and obtained some lands, which he said the late empress had promised him a few days before her decease, was next morning dismissed from his offices. This respect of Paul to the pretended will of his mother, and his care farther to enrich a rascal before he discarded him, excited a stupid admiration. Surely he ought rather to have brought to trial this despoiler of the widow and orphan, and made him an example of public justice!

Samoilof, the procureur-general, whom likewise he had honourably confirmed in his office, with a present of four thousand peasants, amounting in value to more than twenty thousand rubles (2,000*l.*) a year, was displaced a few days after, put under arrest, and his secretary was sent to the fortress. In short, all was reformed in this manner, except Besborodko, Nicholas Soltikof, and Arkarof.

This uncertain and fluctuating conduct, which characterised the first steps of Paul, clearly proves that his favours were the effects of policy; and the disgraces that followed them were to be ascribed to passion rather than to justice. But what confounded all who had admired him, was to see him, at the very moment when he was entering such an intricate labyrinth of business and abuses, and the importance whereof to the state would have found him work enough at least for some days, was, I say, to see him applying the very morning of his accession with the same eagerness to the most trifling details of the military service. The shape of a hat, the colour of a feather, the altitude of a grenadier's cap, boots, spatterdashes, cockades, queus, and sword-belts, became the affairs of state that absorbed his astonishing activity. He was surrounded by patterns of accoutrements and uniforms of all kinds. If Louis XIV was of all the princes of Europe the most expert at making a lock, verily Paul I is the best hand at scouring a button, and employs himself at it with the same assiduity as formerly Potemkin did in brushing up his diamonds. The greatest proof of zeal and merit any one could give him during the first days of his reign, was to appear

conceived the humorous idea of dedicating to Paul a bad translation he made of the explanation of Hogarth's prints. I know not whether he did it out of simplicity, or as a stroke of satire; but the name of Paul is very happily placed at the head of that work, which wanted only the ridicule of such a dedication to make it complete. Paul, however, suspected no joke in it, for he sent abbé Lami a present of a snuff-box.

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before him in the uniform he had last introduced. An officer, who could give his tailor a hundred rubles to have a dress of the new fashion made in a few hours, and appear in it the next morning at the *wacht-parade*, was almost certain of obtaining some post, or at least a cross. Several had no other merit, and employed no other means to gain the good graces of their new emperor *.

Another fancy, which caused no little surprise, was the imperial prohibition of wearing round hats, or rather the sudden order of taking them away, or tearing them to pieces on the heads of those who appeared in them; which occasioned some scandalous scenes in the streets, and particularly near the palace. The kozaks and soldiers of the police ran up to the passengers and snatched off their hats, beating those who, not knowing the reason, attempted to defend themselves. An English merchant, going through the street in a sledge, was thus stopped, and his hat snatched off. Supposing it a robbery, he leaped out of his sledge, knocked down the soldier, and called the guard. Instead of the guard, arrived an officer, who overpowered and bound him; but as they were carrying him before the police he was fortunate enough to meet the coach of the English minister, who was going to court, and claimed his protection †. Sir Charles Whitworth made his complaint to the emperor; who, conjecturing that a round hat might be the national dress of the English, as it is of the Swedes ‡, said, that his order had been misconceived, and he would explain himself more fully to Arkarof. The next day it was published in the streets and houses, that strangers, who were not in the emperor's service or naturalized, were not comprised in the prohibition. Round hats were now no longer pulled off; but they who were met with this unlucky head-dress were conducted to the police to ascertain their country. If they were found to be Russians, they were sent to be soldiers; and woe to a Frenchman who had been met in this dress, as he would have been condemned as a jacobin §. It was reported to Paul, that the chargé d'affaires of the king of Sardinia, in raillery at this singular proscription of round hats, had said, that such trifles had often been

* General Meyendorf being mentioned to him as a good officer of horse, he dispatched a courier to him; and Meyendorf, in his eagerness to obey the command, presented himself at the parade in his ancient uniform. Paul, enraged, uttered some severe reproaches to those who had recommended such a man, called him one of *Potemkin's soldiers*, and banished him to his estate.

† Another Englishman was met by an officer of the police, who took from him his round hat. The Englishman folding his arms, and surveying him from head to foot, said, with a look of compassion, "My friend! how I pity thee for being a Russian!"

‡ It is likewise the national hat of the Russians, a little difference in the crown excepted, which it was well to be apprised of, as it prevented the wearer from insult. The hatters' shops being soon emptied of cocked hats, they who had neither time nor means to procure one, cocked up their little round hats with pins, that they might walk the streets with safety.

§ Perhaps the reader may suppose that these round hats were considered as some party sign. By no means: it was a singular aversion which Paul had for them; and he had declared war against them at Pavlofsky four years before.

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on the point of occasioning seditions in Italy; the chargé d'affaires received orders, through Arkarof, to quit the city in twenty-four hours. Thanks to the distance and situation of the king of Sardinia, he could not demand an explanation of such an insult, otherwise round hats might have become the motive of a war between two monarchs: the rights of the throne and the altar, the dignity of the crown and the happiness of the people, would doubtless have figured in the several manifestoes*.

A regulation altogether as incomprehensible was the sudden prohibition of putting to and harnessing the horses after the Russian mode. A fortnight was allowed for procuring harness in the German fashion; after the expiration of which, the police was enjoined to cut the traces of every carriage to which the horses were harnessed in the ancient manner. Almost as soon as it was made public, several persons dared not venture abroad, still less appear in their carriages near the palace, for fear of being insulted. The saddlers, availing themselves of the occasion, asked as far as three hundred rubles (30*l.*) for a plain harness for a pair of horses. To dress the *isvoschtschiki*, or Russian coachmen, in the German fashion, was attended with another inconvenience. The generality of them would neither part with their long beards, their *kaftans*, nor their round hats; still less would they tie a false tail to their short hair, which produced the most ridiculous scenes and figures in the world. At length the emperor had the mortification to be obliged to change his rigorous order into a simple invitation to his subjects gradually to adopt the German fashion of dress, if they wished to merit his favour.

Another reform with respect to carriages: the great number of splendid equipages that swarmed in the streets of Petersburgh, disappeared in an instant. The officers, even the generals, came to the parade on foot, or in little sledges, which also was not without its dangers†.

It was anciently a point of etiquette for every person who met a Russian autocrat, his wife, or son, to stop his horse or coach, alight, and prostrate himself in the snow, or in the mud ‡. This barbarous homage, difficult to be paid in a large city, where carriages pass in great numbers, and always on the gallop, had been completely abolished under the polished reign of Catharine. One of the first cares of Paul was to reestablish it in all its rigour. A

* It was fortunate that it did not happen to the Swedish or Prussian ambassador. The latter, however, fell into disgrace with Paul for a motive equally noble. He gives out that the hat, the tail, the bag, the spatterdashes, and the sword behind the back, are in the Prussian mode. M. Van Tauenziehn appeared to protest against the fidelity of the translation, by coming to court in a more modern and more elegant uniform. This was the crime for which Paul demanded his recal.

† An officer, walking the streets in a large pelisse, had given his servant his sword, which incommoded him, intending to put it on again, and to take off his pelisse, when he got near the palace. Unfortunately, before this took place, the emperor met him, and in consequence he was reduced to the ranks, and his servant made an officer in his place.

‡ Peter I ordered those who prostrated themselves before him in this manner to be caned, and even caned them himself.

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general officer, whose coachman passed on without observing the emperor riding by on horseback, was stopped, and immediately put under arrest*. The same disagreeable circumstance occurred to several others; so that nothing was so much dreaded, either on foot or in a carriage, as to meet Paul. What befel a lady of the name of Likarof, however, deserves to be recorded, for the sake of inspiring that horror which is due to tyrants.

This lady being in the country, at a small distance from Petersburgh, with her husband, brigadier Likarof, he happened to be taken ill; and, from the tenderness of her affection, not caring to trust to others, she set out herself to fetch a physician and the necessary assistance from town. Her country servants, not knowing the emperor, and still less his new regulations, and she, absorbed in the apprehensions of her husband's danger, ordered them to drive to the physician's house as fast as possible. Unfortunately her carriage passed, without stopping, at some distance from Paul, who was taking the air on horseback. Enraged at this, he immediately dispatched an aide-de-camp to stop the coach, commanded the four servants to be sent off as soldiers, and the lady to be conveyed, for her impertinence, to the prison of the police. These orders were executed on the spot, and the unfortunate lady of the brigadier was kept in confinement four days. This shocking treatment, with the condition in which she had left her husband, wrought so forcibly on her feelings as to throw her into a violent fever, which brought on a delirium. She was at length removed to an inn, that some care might be taken of her; but her reason she never recovered. Her husband, deprived of his wife and servants, and left without assistance, died in a state of the deepest affliction, without ever seeing her more.

The etiquette established within the palace became equally strict, and equally dreaded. Woe to him, who, when permitted to kiss the rough hand of Paul, failed to make the floor resound by striking it with his knee as loud as a soldier with the butt end of his firelock. It was requisite too, that the smack of the lips on his hand should be heard, to certify the reality of the kiss, as well as of the genuflexion. Prince George Gallitzin, the chamberlain, was put under arrest on the spot by his Muscovite majesty himself, for having made the bow and kissed the hand too negligently †.

* When his sword was returned him, he refused to take it, saying, that it was a gold-hilted sword received from the empress, with the privilege of its never being taken from him. Paul sent for him, returned the sword to him himself, and said, that he had resolved to make an example, and had no particular ill-will towards him: at the same time he ordered him to repair immediately to the army.

† Paul, when grand duke, had a great predilection for etiquette. Being once at Montbelliard, he suddenly took by the arm a young officer of his suite, who was playing at cards, and turning him out of the room, said to those who were playing with the officer, "Gentlemen, that young coxcomb is not of a proper rank to make one of your party." At the court balls, the dancers were obliged to twist themselves every possible way, that they might not turn their backs upon him when dancing, wherever he might happen to be. Paul will allow none to turn their backs but his enemies. Whether they will avail themselves of the permission, if he should give them an opportunity, I will not pretend to say.

Another

Another of Paul's first regulations, was a strict injunction to all tradesmen to efface from the front of their shops the French word *magazin*, and substitute the Russian word *lavka* (shop;) assigning, as a reason, that the emperor alone could have magazines of wood, flour, corn, &c., while a tradesman ought not to be above his condition, but to stick to his shop.

To report all the ordinances of similar weight and importance that succeeded each other in the course of one week, would be descending into particulars too tedious*. What can be said, what can be hoped, of a man, who, succeeding Catharine, could consider the regulating such things as his most urgent business? Frequently these new and important regulations contradicted or frustrated one another, and what was ordained one day was often obliged to be modified or annulled the next. In a word, we may say that Paul, when he wrapped himself in the imperial mantle, let the grand duke peep out; that he thought to govern a vast empire as he had governed his Pavlofsky; his capital, like his house; and thirty millions of men, of all ranks and all nations, like a score of lackeys.

Of all the unforeseen changes which he introduced without any preparation, those which he made in the army were the most extensive, and the most impolitic. Unquestionably there was room for great reforms and great amendments in the military department. To improve the condition of the brave Russian soldier; to settle that of the officer, which was still more wretched; gradually to diminish the number of supernumeraries; to restore order and discipline, which the reign of so many women and so many favourites had destroyed; opened a fine field to the military genius of Paul. All he was capable of doing was to multiply irregular promotions, increase a staff already too numerous, and alter uniforms, ranks, terms, and titles. The Russian army offered a pattern to be followed, in the beauty, simplicity, and convenience of its dress, equally adapted to the climate, and to the genius of the country†. A large *charvari*, or pair of pantaloons of red cloth, the ends of which terminated in boots of pliable leather, and which was fastened by a girdle over a red and green jacket; a little helmet well adapted to a soldier, with the hair cut short in the neck, but long enough to cover the ears, and easily kept in order; constituted the whole of the military uniform. The soldier was dressed in the twinkling of an eye, for he had but two garments; and their size was such, as allowed him to defend,

* He has since issued different ukases, prohibiting the wearing of frock coats, waistcoats without sleeves, and pantaloons. He has forbidden the academy to use the word revolution when speaking of the course of the stars; and has enjoined the players to employ the word permission instead of liberty, which they had been accustomed to put in their bills. He has forbidden the manufacturers to fabricate any tricoloured ribands or stuffs whatever.

† Accordingly the soldier imagined himself much superior to his neighbours, and not without reason. Paul deprived him of this national pride, by compelling him servilely to imitate the Germans of the last century, whom the Russians imagined they had far outstripped. Paul has acted like a pedant, who should turn a scholar back to his *a, b, c*, for having presumed to learn to read too rapidly.

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himself from the cold by additions underneath, without infringing upon the uniformity of his external appearance. This neat and warlike equipment is now changed for the antiquated dress of Germany, which the Russian soldier abominates; his flaxen locks, which he loved to wash every morning, he must now bedaub with grease and flour; and must spend an hour in buttoning his black spatterdashes, which he curses for pinching his legs. He complains so bitterly, that probably the false tail which he is forced to suspend from his poll, will occasion as many desertions as the catogans of St. Germain*. That old original, marshal Suvarof, when he received orders to establish these novelties, with little sticks for measures and models of the soldiers' tails and side-curls, said, "Hair-powder is not gunpowder; curls are not cannons; and tails are not bayonets." This sarcasm, which is not destitute of wit, and forms in the Russian language a sort of apophthegm in rhime, soon spread from mouth to mouth through the army, and was the true reason that induced Paul to recal Suvarof, and dismiss him from the service. This old warrior was the idol of the Russian soldiery.

It was the same with the changes which he made in civil affairs. His wish was to alter, not to improve. For anything to have subsisted under the reign of his mother, was a sufficient reason why it should cease under him. All the tribunals, all the governments of the empire, have been fresh modelled, and their boundaries altered. That which had been consecrated by its name (Ekaterinoslat) to the glory of Catharine was abolished, and this public affront to the memory of his mother is not less so to the heart of Paul†. The reader may judge of the confusion, injustice, wretchedness, and ruin, that such placing and displacing must occasion in Russia: no revolution ever caused so much for the reforming of every thing, as the accession of Paul to render all things worse. Upwards of twenty thousand gentlemen were thrown out of employ.

If this new reign has been fatal to the army and to the poor gentry, it has hitherto appeared still more so to the unhappy peasantry, whose chains it tends to rivet. If Paul were determined to borrow an example from Prussia, assuredly it should have been that of her treatment of the Poles, whom treachery had subjected to her dominion. It would not be too much to say, that the Prussian government grants the Polish vassals more liberty than Koschiusko could have bestowed on them, had he been victorious. The king of Prussia, far from imitating Catharine, or Paul, who distributes

* Before the reign of Paul, desertion was almost unknown to the Russians: now they desert in parties, and repair to Prussia, where whole regiments are formed of them. I asked some of them, why they deserted. "Why, sir," said they, "we are forced to be at our exercise from morning till night without having any thing to eat; our clothes are taken from us, and we are beaten black and blue."

† There is nothing so trifling to which this microphilist does not descend, to show disrespect to his mother's memory. The persons belonging to her wore rings, on which the date of her decease was enamelled. The emperor expressed his dissatisfaction at it; and they were obliged to wear rings with the motto, Paul consoles me. He is indeed such a comforter as to make all the world laugh at him.

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these slaves among his courtiers, thus exposing them to more insupportable private tyranny, has annexed them to his domains, and they experience an infinitely milder lot than formerly *.

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A report being spread, that Paul was about to restrict the power of masters over their slaves, and give the peasants of the lords the same advantages as those of the crown, the people of the capital entertained great expectations from the change. At that juncture an officer sat off for his regiment, which lay at Orenburg. On the road he was asked about the new emperor, and what new regulations he was making. He related what he had seen, and what he had heard; among other things mentioned the ukase which was soon to appear in behalf of the peasants. At this news, those of Tver and of Novgorod indulged in some tumultuous movements, which were considered as symptoms of rebellion. Their masters were violently enraged with them; and the cause that had led them into the mistake was discovered. Paul immediately dispatched old marshal Repnin at the head of some troops against a few villages, whose inhabitants had given scope to their joy in a manner somewhat tumultuous, on hearing that their new emperor intended to alleviate their bondage; and the officer, who had unwittingly given rise to this false hope, by retailing the news of the town on his road, was soon brought back in custody as a criminal, the promoter of the rebellion, and a preacher of liberty. The senate of Petersburgh judged him deserving of death, and condemned him to be cashiered, to undergo the knoot, and, if he survived that punishment, to labour in the mines: and this for having mentioned, at a few post-houses on the road between Petersburgh and Orenburg, that the new emperor, from sentiments of humanity, was about to restrict the authority of masters over their vassals. The emperor confirmed this absurd and atrocious sentence. This is the first criminal trial that was laid before the public; and assuredly it justifies but too well those remains of shame which have hitherto kept secret similar outrages. The senate had the effrontery to affix the seal of justice and law to this sanguinary act, which might, no doubt, have taken place under the reign of Catharine, yet would have been accompanied with that silence and mystery in which guilt envelopes itself. But let us quit the cruelties of Paul, to return to his absurdities.

The most prominent of these is that mania which, from his infancy, he has displayed for the military dress and exercise, and which has ever since been increasing. This passion in a prince no more indicates the future general or hero, than a fondness for dressing and undressing her doll forebodes the good mother in a girl, who passes her days in those amusements. Frederick the

* All those princes who have wished to raise the people and depress the great, the better to establish the authority of government, have endeavoured to annex all the seignorial rights and estates to their own domains. The Russian autocrats take the opposite course; they distribute the domains of the crown among the nobility, to render them more zealous supporters of a government more severe than ever was that of the feudal system. By this ill-judged policy they render themselves incapable of restoring liberty to their slaves at a future period.

Great,

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Great, the most accomplished soldier of his time, is well known to have had from his infancy the most insuperable repugnance to all those minutiæ of a corporal to which his father would have subjected him: this was even the first source of that disagreement which ever subsisted between the father and son. It was only by stealth that the young Frederick could indulge himself in studying history and literature with his preceptor du Hahn. Frederick William considered every book, except the Psalms of David and his military regulations, as useless or dangerous; and when he saw the young Frederick, not confining himself to the guard's march, but wishing to exchange his little drum for a harpsichord and his fife for a German flute, he forbad him music. This paternal tyranny had the opposite effect to what his father intended: it gave more energy to Frederick's repressed desires. He acquired information; he became a hero: his father was never any thing more than a corporal *.

Peter III carried likewise his soldatomania to a ridiculous excess, fancying he had taken Frederick for his model. He was fond of soldiers and arms, and it is common to be fond of horses and dogs. He knew nothing but how to exercise a regiment, and never went abroad but in a captain's uniform. And, after all, this Peter III, at the head of a regiment so well drilled by himself, had not the courage to face a young woman, on her march to meet him with a few companies of the very same guards, who were totally ignorant of the Prussian exercise. He lost both his crown and his life, without daring to defend them. Certainly a more local, strong, and recent example cannot be adduced against this mania, which seems rather to exclude courage and military talents than to be a sign of them. It is very easy to put on a coarse surtout buttoned over the belly, to wear a greasy hat †, and a sword behind the back: a man may even spend the whole day on the parade, caning the soldiers and abusing the officers:—but this would be a satirical caricature of a great king; it would be to represent him as a recruiting officer, affecting to give himself airs. But, says Moliere:

Quand sur une personne on prétend se réglet,
C'est par les beaux côtés qu'il lui faut ressembler:
Et ce n'est pas du tout la prendre pour modèle
. . . . . que de tousser et de cracher comme elle.

"When admiration bids us mimic others,
"We in their virtues should the semblance hit,
"Nor will the sage and fool e'er pass for brothers,
"Because forsooth alike they cough or spit."

There is one part of this great king's conduct of far more utility, and almost as easy to imitate, since it requires neither talents nor genius, but merely good will, patience, and a love of justice; this is

* I know some young Russians, whose genius the same causes have only served to display: thus a good bow springs from under the hand that bends it.

† Paul affects to wear a dirty hat: but where lies the merit of this? Since he will have every one do his duty, why not make his *valets-de-chambres* do theirs, in beating and brushing his old beaver? and, by this important service, give them an opportunity of sooner meriting the rank of privy counsellors?

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for a sovereign to receive, like him, the petitions and letters of his subjects, but particularly to answer them. The perseverance and exactness with which he always adhered to this resolution, which he adopted at the commencement of his reign, cannot be too much admired. Whether he granted or refused, whether he found the petition reasonable or unreasonable, he answered every man who addressed him. I have seen several of those answers, admirable for their precision and sagacity; yet Frederick found time to do and to write other things beside answering letters. He did not rise earlier than Paul; but he staid only a quarter of an hour on the parade, and often did not go to it at all.

Nothing could be more worthy of a Russian autocrat than to establish a similar correspondence between himself and his subjects, since arbitrary acts and public violences are nowhere so frequent or so enormous. Hitherto, every man who had the audacity to present a request immediately to the sovereign, even under the reign of Catharine, was sent to prison. Paul appeared to have abolished this atrocious custom from the day of his accession, and took some papers that were offered him. He even ordered a sort of office to be constructed on the stairs of the palace, into which any one might put letters; and gave public notice, that he would read them all, make the necessary inquiries, and then answer them. In consequence, he forbad any one to disturb him in future on the wacht-parade, and ordered those to be arrested who should thenceforth approach him with a paper in their hand. In the mean time, the box of the letter-office was soon filled; and Paul, contrary to his expectation, finding more petitions than accusations, became tired of entering into the merits of them; and was frightened at their number. He did not reflect that they would necessarily diminish in proportion as he employed more readiness and method in answering them *. Things returned to their former chaotic state; and the secretaries directed to examine these pieces are, as before, arbiters of the fate of those unfortunate persons who apply to their master.

The finances of the empire, exhausted by the prodigalities, and still more by the waste of Catharine's reign, required a prompt remedy; and to this Paul seemed at first to turn his thoughts. Partly from hope, partly from fear, the paper money of the crown rose a little in value. It was to be supposed, that the grand duke of all the Russias, who, for thirty years, had been obliged to live on an income of a 100,000 rubles (10,000*l.*) per annum, would at least have learned economy per force; but he was soon seen to heap wealth upon some, and lavish favours upon others, with as much profusion as his mother, and with still less discernment. The spoils of unhappy Poland continued

* Paul has sometimes given orders respecting the letters he has received, but he does not answer them. I myself have drawn up a few very brief, clear, and just requests, for some oppressed persons, which remained unanswered. He now causes his refusals to the petitions he receives to be printed in the Petersburgh gazettes. By this means the sovereign, who ought to be in regard to his people what a confessor is to his penitent, publishes himself the secrets of families, and betrays the confidence of his subjects.

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to add to the riches of men already too wealthy*: A man must be acquainted with the inexhaustible sources whence a Russian autocrat can draw his means, not to be struck at the immense presents he bestowed on his courtiers, and, at the same time, disgusted at the little he has dedicated to the public, to justice, to merited rewards, and true beneficence†.

The eagerness with which Paul seized the reins of government, and the terror inspired by his known rigour and activity, at first disappointed the dark intrigues of the knaves and villains, who had misapplied the treasures of the state to their own profit. The prevention of the scandalous dilapidations of these treasures would double the amount of them; and, it is to be presumed, that, every thing being remodelled, the robbers will be obliged to suspend their operations for a time; but, when once they are acquainted with the emperor's course, they will regulate their own accordingly; they will dig other mines, and contrive new channels; pillage and collusion will revive, and be reduced to a system, as before. Theft is a vice inherent in the Russian government, and springs from the character of the nation, to which morals, probity, and public spirit are strangers ‡.

It must be confessed that, morally speaking, the people about Paul are better than those that were about his mother, and that he will be more culpable than she if he allow the same disorders to prevail. It is true, that Catharine pretended to lead her cattle, and that Paul, on the contrary, will suffer himself to be led by footmen rather than by statesmen; he would feel himself humbled, because of his vulgar self-love, in following the advice of a man who should seem better informed than himself. The person who has more immediate influence on his actions than his ministers, or even his mistress will ever have, is a valet-de-chambre, by birth a Turk,

* I am informed that the emperor, on his coronation, among other gratuities, distributed eighty-two thousand *souls* among about a score of people; that is to say, in the language of mortals, that he has made presents of tracts of land inhabited and cultivated by eighty-two thousand male slaves; for, in Russia, a woman is not a soul yet. By these donations, the emperor cedes the private rights which he claims over these wretched beings, and the lands they are obliged to cultivate, reserving to himself only the sovereignty. Now, if we suppose the *slave-soul*, or peasant, to bring the *body*, or gentleman who possesses it, only seven rubles clear, per annum, which is a very moderate computation, it follows, that the emperor has given away so much of the domains of the crown as would produce a net income of five hundred and seventy-four thousand rubles (57,400*l*) which, considering the nature of the property, is a capital beyond estimation. Catharine, by her profusion in this way, had nearly disposed of all her domains; but the confiscated estates and starosties in Poland, constitute the fund to which the present emperor has recourse. It need not be mentioned, that a population of eighty-two thousand males in Russia or Poland must occupy an immense district.

† All that Paul's talents have enabled him to do for the restoration of a sort of equilibrium between his receipts and disbursements, is reduced at last to an exorbitant tax, which he has just laid on all the classes of his slaves. The poll tax of the wretched vassals has been doubled, and a new tax has been imposed upon the nobles, which however, the vassals must ultimately pay.

‡ The French author confesses, that while he was writing this, he scarcely expected to find the same infamous conduct triumphing under a *republican form* of government, and in a *regenerated* nation.

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made a slave in his infancy, and brought up in his house. It is to this Turk, named Ivan Pavlovitch Koteizof, the generals and great men are eager to pay their court, as the real fountain of Paul's private favour. Love is the strongest and most excusable of passions: its excesses and abuses, therefore, appear less odious, and the reign of favourites, or of mistresses, will never be so humiliating as that of valets. Besides their bad education, which gives a strong prepossession against them, the influence a prince allows them has always something mean and repulsive, and savours strongly of the water-closet *.

Parallel between Paul and his Father. From the same.

PAUL, both in his mode of life while grand duke, and his conduct since his accession, so strongly resembles his father; that, changing names and dates, the history of the one might be taken for the history of the other. Both were educated in a perfect ignorance of business, residing at a distance from court, where they were treated as prisoners of state rather than as heirs to the crown; making their appearance there from time to time as ghosts or aliens. The aunt of the father (Elizabeth) acted precisely as the mother of the son has done since. The endeavours of each were directed to prolong their infancy and to perpetuate their insignificance, and even to render them odious and contemptible to the nobles and people. The young princes were both distinguished by great vivacity of body and a great apathy of mind, by an activity which, for want of proper object and aliment, degenerated into turbulence; that of the father was sunk in debauchery: that of the son, lost in the most insignificant trifles. An unconquerable aversion to study and reflection gave to both that singular infatuation for military puerilities, which would probably have displayed itself less forcibly in Paul had he been a witness of the ridicule they drew upon Peter †. The

* This Ivan Pavlovitch is at present counsellor of state, and has the title of excellency. Many lackeys, *hof*, or *Rammer-fouriers*, gentlemen of the bed-chamber, are every day rising to the highest posts. Thus extremes meet each other: the Muscovite licentiousness leads to that equality of rights which it considers with horror: but here it is a real calamity. A great Russian lord was accustomed to hold out his hand familiarly to every scullion or shoe-black that he met at court, styling them *brat*, or *batiuschka*, brother or father. A gentleman expressing surprise at this familiarity, the lord said, "it is from policy, sir: between this and to-morrow, these fellows may become my colleagues." Such is Russian equality: it is that of Tarquin cutting off the heads of his tallest poppies, or of a sultan creating his water-carrier prime vizier. This is quite in order: the sultan and the Turkish water-carrier, the Russian kuez and estopnik (1) are generally on an equality in knowledge and merit.

† A singular opposition may commonly be observed between father and son, if any striking feature exist in their characters. A well-disposed son will frequently possess that virtue which is directly opposite to his father's vice, particularly if he has seen its folly, or fallen its victim. I could adduce private instances particularly interesting to myself; but those of three or four successive kings of Prussia are particularly striking. Frederick I was so remarkable for his politeness and munificence as his son for his roughness and parsimony. The great king of Prussia avoided both extremes. The grand-

(1) The menial servant that lights the fires at court.

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The education of Paul, however, was much more attended to than that of his father. He was surrounded in his infancy by persons of merit, and his youth promised a capacity of no ordinary kind*. It is even probable that the eccentricities he has since contracted are to be ascribed rather to the modes of life, which he has in a manner been obliged to adopt, than to any natural defects. It must also be allowed, that he is exempt from many of the vices which disgraced Peter: temperance and regularity of manners are prominent features of his character; features the more commendable, as having hitherto been rarely found in a Russian autocrat. To this education and his knowledge of the language and character of the nation, it is owing that he differs from his father in other valuable qualities. If he has the wisdom to profit by these advantages, he will not fall into the same errors and misfortunes.

The similarity which, in some instances, has marked their conduct towards their wives, is still more striking; and in their amours, a singular coincidence of taste is observable. Catharine and Mary were the finest women of the court, yet both failed in gaining the affections of their husbands. Catharine had an ambitious soul, a cultivated mind, and the most amiable and polished manners. In a man, however, whose attachments were confined to soldiers, to the pleasures of the bottle, and the fumes of tobacco, she excited no other sentiment than disgust and aversion. He was smitten with an object less respectable and less difficult to please. The countess Vorontzof, fat, ugly in her person, and vulgar in her manners, was more suitable to his low guardhouse taste; and she became his mistress†.

In like manner the regular beauty of Mary, the unalterable sweetness of her disposition, her unwearied complaisance, her docility as a wife, and her tenderness as a mother, have not been sufficient to prevent Paul from attaching himself to mademoiselle Nelidof, whose disposition and qualities better accord with his own. She is a little homely girl; but seems desirous, by her wit and address, to compensate for the disadvantages of her person: for a woman to be in love with Paul it is necessary she should resemble him‡.

On their accession to the throne, neither the father nor the son were

grandfather protected and honoured the sciences ostentatiously; the son persecuted them, and endeavoured to render them contemptible. The grandson cherished them, and cultivated them himself. The first was a royal courtier; the second, a royal corporal; the third, a royal hero. This contrast between father and son has not been observable for a long time in Russia, as one has not been the other's successor; but it is now about to appear in a very striking manner. Catherine and Paul are the two extremes, and the grand duke Alexander promises fair to be at some future day the happy mean between both.

* Louis XVI and Frederick the Great, loaded with favours and honours those who had superintended their education. The aged Æphinus, Paul's tutor, is threatened with the fate of Seneca and Burrhus. That of colonel L'Harp and major Masson, who were tutors to his son, would be still less mild, should they fall again into the hands of Paul.

† She got drunk with him, and swore like a trooper: she squinted, and spat when she was talking.

‡ He has lately proved fickle. Mademoiselle Nelidof, who lived on tolerable terms with the empress, is dismissed, and a young lady of the name of Lapukin is now the favourite.

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favourites either of the court or of the nation, yet both acquired momentary popularity and favour. The first steps of Paul appeared to be modelled, but improved, on those of Peter. The liberation of Koschiusko and other prisoners brought to public recollection the recal of Biren, Munich, and Lostocq, with this difference, that Peter III did not disgrace those acts of clemency or justice, by ridiculous violences, or odious and groundless persecutions. Both issued ukases extremely favourable to the nobility, but from motives essentially different, and little to the honour of the son. The father granted to the Russian gentry those natural rights which every man ought to enjoy: while the object of the son was merely to revive those distinctions which in the present day are become obsolete and ridiculous*. In the conduct which he has observed towards the clergy, Paul, however, has shown himself a superior politician: instead of insulting the priests, and obliging them to shave their beards, he has bestowed the orders of the empire on the bishops, to put them on a footing with the nobility, and flattered the populace and the priesthood, by founding churches from divine inspiration†. From all which it follows, that Peter had a sounder mind, and a better heart, but that he was imprudent; and that Paul has more subtlety and prejudices, and that he is a hypocrite.

In his military operations, however, his grand policy appears to have failed him, because here he was hurried away by his ruling passion. The quick and total change of discipline he has introduced in his armies has created him nearly as many enemies as there are officers

* Paul has now taken it into his head to create an heraldic nobility in Russia! Formerly this gothic institution was unknown there. The tzar Fedor even ordered the patents, of which some families would have availed themselves, to be burned. Have the Russians but now reached the twelfth century? They were the only nation in Europe, who, in their rapid progress to civilization, bounded over this folly.

† A soldier in the guards, having stood sentry at a door of the summer palace, (an old wooden house, in which Elizabeth resided,) went to his captain, pretending he had a secret to communicate. He informed him, that while he was on duty, he saw a light in the uninhabited apartments of the palace, and presently some person knocked at the door at which he stood, and called him by name. He had the courage to look through the chinks in the door, and there beheld St. Michael. The saint ordered him to go to the emperor, and tell him that he must build him a church on that spot. In consequence, the soldier begged him to speak to the emperor, or he must take the liberty to do it himself, in obedience to his mission. The officer treated the visionary as a madman, and sent him about his business; he, however, mentioned the adventure to the major, who thought proper to relate it to Paul. The soldier was called, and ordered to repeat the account of his vision. The emperor told him, that St. Michael should be obeyed, for he had already been inspired with the design of building him a church, and had even the plan prepared. On this he sent for a model of a church, which he had ready in his closet. Does not this sound like a legend? Yet this farce took place at the court of Russia, in the month of December 1796, and the author was, in part, a witness to it. The palace is pulling down, and a church and a new palace are begun, dedicated to monseigneur Michael.—*Gospodi pomiloi* (1)—The miracle is unravelled, when it is known, that a cousin of the soldier was one of Paul's valets-de-chambres; and that the soldier, by way of recompense, was promoted to the same post. We may expect soon to see him counseller of state.

(1) The usual exclamation which the Russians make, crossing themselves at the same time, when they see any thing extraordinary. It is one of the burdens of the litanies, "Lord have mercy."

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and soldiers. The preference he gives to the old Germans in his service may prove as fatal to him as it did to his father. In the distrust and suspicions which incessantly haunt him, his inferiority to his father is also apparent. One of the first acts of Peter III, was to abolish the political inquisition, established by Elizabeth; whereas Paul has prosecuted no scheme with greater alacrity than that of establishing a system of spies, and devising means for the encouragement of informers. The blind confidence of the father was his ruin, but it flowed from a humanity of disposition always respectable. The distrust of the son may not save him: it is the offspring of a timorous mind, which, by its suspicions, is more apt to provoke than to elude treason.

From the conformity of character observable in so many particulars, between these two princes, we might be led to conclude that the catastrophe of the one will be that of the other: but this seems at present not at all probable; for striking as the resemblance is between Peter and Paul, the persons who compose their courts, and the circumstances of the times, are no less strikingly different.

Portraits of the Grand Dukes Alexander and Constantine. From the same.

WE have already seen, that Catharine was prevented by death from executing another design, which would have proved more fatal to Paul, but that the youth and natural good disposition of his eldest son defeated it; who, by the purity of his morals, and his personal qualities, inspires a high degree of admiration. That ideal character which enchants us in Telemachus, is almost realized in him: however, though his mother may have the domestic virtues of a Penelope, he is very far from having had a Ulysses for his father, or a Mentor for his tutor. He may be reproached, too, with the same defects which Fenelon has allowed in his imaginary pupil*; but these are, perhaps, not so much failings as the absence of certain qualities not yet developed in him, or which have been stifled in his heart by the miserable companions that have been assigned him. He inherits from Catharine an elevation of sentiment and an unalterable equality of temper; a mind just and penetrating, and an uncommon discretion; but a reserve and circumspection unsuitable to his age, and which might be taken for dissimulation, did it not evidently proceed rather from the delicate situation in which he was placed between his father and grandmother, than from his heart, which is naturally frank and ingenuous. He inherits his mother's stature and beauty as well as her mildness and benevolence: while in none of his features does he resemble his father, and he must certainly dread him more than love him. Paul, conjecturing the intentions of Catharine in favour of this son, has always behaved coldly towards him; since he discovers in him no resemblance of character,

* "With a generous and well-disposed heart, he appeared neither obliging nor sensible to friendship, nor liberal nor grateful for the pains taken on his account: either was he prompt to acknowledge merit," &c. Telemachus, book xvi.

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and no conformity of taste with himself: for Alexander appears to do what his father requires of him, from a principle of filial duty rather than compliance with his own inclinations. His humanity has acquired him the hearts of the soldiers, his good sense the admiration of the officers: he is the constant mediator between the autocrat and those unhappy persons, who, by some trifling neglect, may have provoked imperial wrath and vengeance. This pupil of L'Harpe requires not the dignity of grand duke of Russia to inspire sentiments of love and interest; nature has richly endowed him with the most amiable qualities, and his character of heir to the greatest empire in the world, cannot render them indifferent to humanity. Heaven, perhaps, may have destined him to render thirty millions of people more free than they are at present, and more worthy of being so.

His character, however, though amiable, is passive. He wants the courage and confidence to discover the man of merit, always modest and unobtrusive; and, it is to be feared, that the most importunate and impudent, who are generally the most ignorant and vicious, will find least difficulty in procuring access to him. Yielding too easily to the impulses of others, he does not sufficiently consult his own heart and understanding. He appears to have lost his relish for instruction, on losing his masters, and especially colonel L'Harpe, his first preceptor, to whom he owes all the knowledge he has acquired. A premature marriage may have contributed to diminish his energy; and, it is probable that, notwithstanding his good qualities, he will become, in time, the dupe of his courtiers, and even of his valets.

From this account of his character, it cannot be supposed that he will ever undertake, of himself, the odious project with which Catharine wished to inspire him. However, during the last illness of the empress, and for several days after her death, he was detained about the person of his father, with such marks of tenderness, as seemed to betray symptoms of distrust. Scarcely was he allowed an hour in the day to visit his young duchess. The emperor surrounded him with officers on whom he thought he could rely, and removed from their places all those who were not his creatures and spies: he took from him his own regiment to give him another, and appointed him military governor of Petersburgh, naming, at the same time, for his assistant or guardian, the ferocious Araktscheief. The revenue of the young prince, which hitherto had not exceeded thirty thousand rubles* (3,000*l.*) was increased to two hundred thousand (20,000*l.*); and his father, by employing him in many trifling concerns, which detained him about his person nearly the whole day long, was manifestly desirous of watching over him himself. It is impossible not to praise the emperor for having thus brought

* The great, the generous Catharine, whose magnificence astonished the universe, and who gave rubles by millions to her favourites, left her son and grandsons in want of necessaries. Thirty thousand rubles in paper for a grand duke of all the Russias! equal to sixty thousand livres French money (2,500*l.*) Sometimes they were given in gold or silver: but they who had the management of the revenues of the young princes, took care to play the usurer, so that, in their hands, they were diminished nearly half.

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about by means so mild and natural, the object of his unjust suspicions; and we are pleased with these marks of affection for his children, after being fifteen years without having the resolution to show them the least proof of his regard*.

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The vulgar, who in general judge from the most deceitful appearances, perceiving in the grand duke Alexander a reserve and circumspection of conduct, which they mistook for pride, were at first charmed with his younger brother Constantine. This prince does not possess the advantage of so agreeable and prepossessing a person as his brother; grimace serves him for wit, and buffoonery procures him popularity. He exhibits more than one trait of resemblance to the unhappy tzarovitch Alexius, especially in his aversion to the sciences, and the rudeness of his manners. He possessed, however, the germs of a sound heart and understanding, which his first masters neglected to cultivate, and which colonel L'Harpe attempted in vain to improve, by extirpating the weeds that checked their growth. It will be happy for Constantine, when he arrives at an age of more discretion, should he revive and cultivate them himself.

In other respects, he is a son worthy of his father: the same eccentricities, the same passions, the same severity, and the same turbulence. He will never possess the information which his father has acquired, nor his capacity, though he promises in time to equal, and even to surpass him, in the art of manœuvring a dozen automatons. Can it be blieved, that a prince of seventeen, lively and vigorous, would, on the morning after his marriage to a young and beautiful woman, leave his bride, at five o'clock, to manœuvre, by dint of blows, in the court of his palace, a couple of soldiers, who were placed there as centinels? Yet such was the conduct of the grand duke Constantine. I know not whether this military mania announces a good general, but sure I am that it is a proof of a very bad husband†.

* I am informed that the grand duke Alexander has just been placed by Paul in the office of Besborodko, as Frederick the Great was, by his father, in the office of a minister, to perform the functions of a simple clerk. Whether it be to procure him instruction, or to humble and punish him, the young prince will be one day the better for it.

† Some time before his marriage, he had a detachment of soldiers given him for his amusement. After having tormented these poor wretches for some months, he went so far as to cane the major who commanded them. The major had the courage to complain to count Soltikof, and the favourite related the story to the empress. She ordered her grandson under arrest, and took from him his soldiers, who were not returned to him till after his marriage. Many other stories might be told of this young prince, but it would be only repeating the vulgar tricks of a boy without education. His grandmother perceived it too late to remedy it. In his childhood he bit and struck his masters; now he strikes the officers at their exercise, and knocks out the teeth of the poor soldiers. The king of Sweden being, with all the court, at a ball, given by Samoïlof, he said to him, "Do you know in whose house you are? —That of the greatest w——— in Petersburgh." His grandmother put him under arrest.

NATURAL

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NATURAL HISTORY.

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Account of the Discovery of Silver, in Herland Copper Mine; by the Rev. Malachy Hitchins. From the Philosophical Transactions.

HERLAND Mine is situated in the parish of Gwinear, about seven miles N. E. of St. Michael's Mount, on the southern coast of Cornwall; and two miles and a half from the mouth of the river Hayle, on the northern coast of the same county: it is contiguous to Prince George mine.

It commences in a valley on the west, and passes through a hill, which is first of steep and then of moderate ascent, for upwards of half a mile eastward; when the principal copper lodes, which follow this direction, meet with a large cross lode, by which, and by other cross courses and flookans, which intersect them in their farther progress, they are repeatedly heaved, and so disordered by these heaves, in their form and position, and so changed by them, in respect to their composition, as hardly to be recognized.

The strata of the district in which this takes place, consist of the common metalliferous sort of argillaceous slate, called *killas*.

The copper lodes of this district are remarkable for the shortness of their continuity; for, whereas other lodes may be traced to an indefinite extent in the same line of direction, these, on the contrary, are observed to taper away gradually, and terminate, to all appearance, at a short distance, completely and irrecoverably.

This mine was worked about twenty years ago, when it was sunk to the depth of one hundred fathoms from the surface. It was again set to work about eight years since; has now four fire-engines and two steam-whims on it; and is sunk to a depth of one hundred and fifty-five fathoms below the surface, or, as the miners call it, from *grass*.

It is in this latter period of its history, that a discovery has been made of a considerable quantity of silver ore, in a particular part of the mine, the singularity of which discovery, in this country, has much excited the curiosity of the public.

For, although the numerous veins of lead in Cornwall are richly impregnated with silver, and occasionally yield small quantities of silver ore, and even specimens of native silver, yet, hitherto, no instance had been known of their yielding this precious metal in such abundance; nor had any circumstances, in the natural history of the mineral veins of this country, borne any analogy to those which accompanied the present discovery.

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These circumstances, therefore, having been examined with more attention than usual, shall be stated with as much precision as it is possible to obtain, from the report of those practical miners only who have hitherto inspected them.

The facts which deserve to be first noticed are, the confined and insulated position of the mass of silver ore; its great depth from the surface of the mine; and its contiguity to a copper lode.

The lode in which it occurs is one of those cross courses, as they are here called, which intersect and derange the copper lodes, and consequently are of a more recent formation.

Lodes in this direction are usually filled with quartz, but frequently produce galena; and sometimes, instead of galena, sulphurated antimony. They appear here to conform to the same laws, except in the particular instance now to be described, which forms, indeed, a very remarkable exception.

No ores of silver were observable in this lode, until at the depth of one hundred and ten fathoms from the surface, or eighty below the adit or level; and, at the farther depth of thirty-two fathoms, they disappeared.

They have been discovered only in the neighbourhood of one of the intersected copper lodes, extending no where above twelve feet from this lode, on the north, or above thirty-two feet from it, on the south, and acquiring this their greatest extent at the deepest level; for, the usual dimensions of the silver ore are not more than six feet in the former situation, and twelve feet in the latter.

It is remarkable, that at the point of contact or intersection, the contents of the silver lode are so poor as to be scarcely worth saving; and those of the copper lode are much less productive of copper than at a little distance from this point. Moreover, that the copper lode, in the vicinity of the intersection, seems to have been influenced by the same causes of improvement and declension as the cross lode; being richer or poorer in copper, as the latter was, at a correspondent level, in silver.

The richest mass of silver ore was found at the depth of two fathoms above the level at which it disappears.

After this brief account of the most striking facts, it may be proper to enter into a more particular description of the two lodes which appear, by their intersection, to have generated this body of extraneous matter.

The copper lode bears nearly east and west by the compass; the cross lode nearly north and south, or at right angles to it.

The former is about two feet broad, on an average; and it dips or underlies south, one foot in a fathom. The breadth of the latter is about two feet and a half, on an average; and its underlie is east, about eight inches in a fathom.

The heave of the copper lode is about eighteen or twenty inches to the right, in the language of the Cornish miner; the expression being so far appropriate and convenient, as it refers to the usual situation of the observer in the heaved lode.

The copper lode is filled with layers of ore and stony matter, the latter of which is here called *caple;* but the ore is usually found contiguous to the walls of the lode.

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The contents of the cross lode are more singular, in respect to their local position, and more various. Only the eastern side of it produces silver ore, the breadth of which is in general about six or eight inches, although in some places it is greater. The other part of the lode is chiefly composed of quartz, intermixed with iron, manganese, and wolfram, together with a small portion of cobalt and antimony.

The silver ore, strictly speaking, is a mixture of galena, native bismuth, grey cobalt ore, vitreous silver ore, and native silver; which, in repect to their proportions, follow the order in which they are here enumerated, the galena being the most prevalent. The native silver, of which specimens of the greatest beauty have been reserved for the cabinets of the curious, is found chiefly in a capillary form, in the natural cavities of the lode.

About one hundred and eight tons of this ore have been raised. The miners continue to sink near the same point of intersection; and seem confident that both lodes will soon become richer, because similar instances of declension and recovery have frequently occurred in the copper lodes of this mine, and because the two lodes appear to have a reciprocal influence on each other.

Unfortunately, however, the extent of their speculation is limited by the great depth of the present workings; for, forty-five fathoms have been sunk since the first discovery of the silver; and twenty, or twenty-five fathoms more, are as much as can be sunk in this mine, with its present mechanical powers of drawing the water; at which level, *viz.* one hundred and eighty fathoms from the surface, it would be somewhat deeper than any mine in Cornwall, and about one hundred and thirty fathoms below the level of the sea, at low water mark.

The other cross lodes in this mine produce no silver; most of them being flookans, or lodes which are essentially different from the argentiferous cross lode, in the nature of their constituent mass. There is one, however, in the eastern part of the mine, which, from its resemblance to that, is thought likely to produce silver, whenever it shall be explored to the same depth, at its point of intersection; although these hopes may probably be fallacious, for the argentiferous lode intersects five other copper lodes, *viz.* two on the north, and three on the south side, without producing any silver.

General Remarks on the Eruption of a Volcano. From Dallas's Translation from the Original French Manuscripts of the Natural History of Volcanoes, by the Abbé Ordinaire.

LET the reader figure to himself Vesuvius near four thousand feet high, Etna, which is more than twelve thousand, Pichinca, which is fifteen thousand, Cotopaxis, or Antisana, which are eighteen thousand; or, Chinboraco, which is nineteen thousand three hundred and ninety-two feet in height; let him imagine a column of fire of three or four miles in circumference, and sometimes more, whose height is more than double that of the mountain, rising from it with a thundering noise, greater than that of all the cannon in the world discharged together. It seems as if it would

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would set the sky on fire; lightnings flash from it. The dazzling brightness of its fire could not be endured by the eye, did not immense spiral clouds of smoke moderate its fierceness at intervals. These spread through the atmosphere, which they thicken: the whole horizon is covered with darkness; and at length nothing is to be seen but the burning summit of the mountain, and the wonderful column of fire.

Its height, bulk, and explosion, result from the confinement in which the air had been kept within the volcano. Rarefied to the highest degree, forced on by the increasing heat of the immense pit, and pressed more and more by the prodigious fermentation of the lava, the inflamed air, reduced to the size of the crater, at length escapes, spinning round and round. Breaking the top of the shaft, it bears it along in a thousand pieces, with soot, ashes, and pumice, with which the sides of the abyss within are loaded. In this horrible whirlwind it is even common to see huge pieces of calcined rock, torn from the bosom of the mountain, carried into the air.

The display of this phenomenon, in its extent and duration, depends upon the degree of force in the circumstances we have just mentioned. When the parts first raised lose this force, and, being left to their own weight, would naturally sink, those that come next, being still themselves supported, repel and throw them off. At that juncture an overspreading of the fire takes place at the top of the column, which adds to its beauty. I think it must have been from this view of it that the younger Pliny drew his comparison between the productions of that eruption of Vesuvius, by which his uncle was killed, and of which he was himself an eye-witness, and the cypress tree.

In a short time the whole of the column turns into a horrible shower of red hot rocks, flints, and ashes. Monstrous burning masses are seen bounding and rolling down the side of the mountain. Woe be to those places, which lie in the direction of the wind prevailing at the time of this tremendous shower! Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiæ, three towns to the south-west of Vesuvius, disappeared, about seventeen centuries ago, by a similar occurrence: and it was only in this century (the eighteenth) that they were discovered. A column, such as that we have been describing, broke over them, and the land about them: they were buried more than fifty feet under a mass of ashes and calcined flints, which was farther covered by a bed of lava several feet deep. If the wind be violent, the ashes are carried to an incredible distance.

Rome and Venice, the former of which is a hundred and fifty miles from Vesuvius, and the latter double that distance, have been several times incommoded by its ashes. In our times, June, 1794, all the south-east of Italy was covered by them. A letter written by the archbishop of Tarento, dated June 18, during the eruption, says, "We are covered with thick clouds of volcanic ashes." Some variation of the wind must have altered the first course of that light substance, as the archbishop in his letter presumed that they proceeded from Stromboli or Etna. Those clouds passed Tarento, which is more than two hundred and fifty miles from Vesuvius, went beyond Otranto, at the extremity of the province

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province of Lecce, and were lost in the Mediterranean at the entrance of the Adriatic sea, nearly four hundred miles distant from the point of their departure. This no doubt is prodigious: but that the tops of the houses at Constantinople, which is almost a thousand miles from Vesuvius, should have been covered four inches with its ashes, would have been difficult to believe, had not contemporary authors, some of whom were, at the time, living in that city, reported the fact, and uniformly dated it on the eleventh of November, 472, at noon, when the people were attending the games of the Circus. (*See l'Histoire du Bas Empire, tome* 8, *page* 59.) We are less surprised, then, to read that the ashes of Etna, which is three times as high as Vesuvius, and a little nearer to Egypt, reached Alexandria: a town, the inhabitants of which have lately witnessed an event, that, though of a different kind, must have appeared to them quite as extraordinary. At the eastern confines of Africa, on the 1st of August, 1798, they saw thunderbolts dart from the north-west of Europe, break suddenly over their shores, and, in the course of a few hours, completely destroy a powerful navy, that rode at anchor before the town. I need not add, that the thunderbolts I mean were those of Great Britain, directed by lord Nelson.

Account of the Submarine Volcanoes of Santorin and the Azores. From the same.

THE eruption of 1767 took place between the little Kamenoi, and the island of Hiera. It began in the month of June. The earth, after being shaken violently for some days by the action of fire, raised the sea in such a manner as to occasion a dread of its swallowing up all the islands thereabouts. A thick black smoke darkened the air, and infected it with so strong a stench of sulphur, that many persons and animals were suffocated by it. Black ashes, resembling gun-powder, fell all around. Torrents of flame, issuing from the sea, and waving on it to the height of several feet, lighted, at intervals, this horrible scene. The frightful mixture of different sounds, produced by all the elements in fury, froze every heart with a dread of the horrors which, every instant, might be the result of their conflict.

At length, after a labour of ten or twelve days, Nature paused, and the effect of her agitation was discovered in a new island, which had risen near the Little Kamenoi.—There was no time lost in going to examine it. Many parts of it were still burning. It was a shapeless mass of baked substances, amalgamated by a lava, which appeared to the eye like the crumb of fine bread. But the very next day the inquirers were compelled to relinquish the object of their hasty curiosity, and betake themselves to flight. They felt the new soil moving: it rose in some parts and sunk in others. The earth, sea, and sky, soon resumed their formidable appearance. The symptoms appeared even to spread wider, and to threaten worse. The boiling sea several times changed colour: flames following one another, without intermission, issued as from a vast furnace, but accompanied with ashes and pumice. The frightful noise of subterranean thunders was heard. It seemed as if enor-

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enormous rocks, darting from the bottom of the abyss, beat against the vaults above it, and were alternately repelled and thrown up again: the repetition of their blows, says the author of the narrative, was distinctly heard. Some of them making or finding a passage, were seen flying up red-hot into the air, and again falling into the sea whence they had just been ejected. Masses were produced, held together for some days, and then disappeared. In this general disorder large portions of the Little Kamenoi were swallowed up. Meanwhile the labour of the volcano took a larger surface; its ejections became prodigiously abundant, and a new island was seen forming. By successive additions, continued for near four months, it made a junction with that produced in June. It was named the Black Island, from the colour of its soil. It is nearly twice as large as the Little Kamenoi, and is separated from it by a very narrow strait. The volcano continued creating alarm till the end of May in the following year; frequently shaking the earth and sea, and causing frightful noises. It even opened again, but only for a moment, on the 15th of April, and threw out a multitude of large burning rocks, which fell at the distance of two miles.

It is therefore proved by nine eruptions, recorded in history, that there exists a maritime volcano at Santorin. These eruptions have happened in the space of twenty-one centuries.

In July 1638, near the island of St. Michael, one of the Azores, where the sea was known to be a hundred and twenty feet deep, though at a very little distance farther the depth becomes almost suddenly more than nine hundred, there rose, after a labour of several weeks, an island, about six miles round. It was reabsorbed in about the same space of time as it had taken for its formation.

From the 6th of July to the 12th of August, this volcano never ceased appearing in agitation, by internal thunders and shocks, that convulsed the island of St. Michael, and occasioned damage on it, by the heat and violent motions of the sea, and by eruptions of flames, ashes, and pumice: but, in this instance, its ejections did not rise to the level of the ocean; no new island appeared.

Nine and twenty years after, in 1720, amidst the most frightful complication of horrors, there rose an island, a little smaller than that of 1638, which, however, had sufficient height to be discovered at sea, from a distance of seven or eight leagues. It was observed to be in the same spot as that which had been occupied by the preceding ephemeral island, but that at the time of its new production, the sea above the summit of the volcanic mountain, was not more than ninety feet. The ruins of the former emissions had probably occasioned this difference: they perhaps also increased the difficulty of the labour of nature: for so great was the disorder, according to the accounts that were published of this event, that many persons died of fright.

The account of these three eruptions is to be found in Buffon. They are more minutely described in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, of the year 1721; and they demonstrate the existence of a submarine volcano, near St. Michael's.

The

The eruption of 1757 discovered another of them to us in this cluster, at the distance of eighty leagues from the former.

On the 9th of July, a little before midnight, St. George's, Pico, Fayal, three islands forming a closer group among themselves, being scarcely five leagues asunder, and Tercera, though double that distance from St. George's, were suddenly attacked at the same instant, and shaken to their foundations by horrible convulsions of the earth. The first shock lasted two whole minutes. The raised ocean no longer kept its shores. In this dreadful night many persons lost their lives, and these islands, hitherto fortunate, but at this fatal moment involved in the terrors of desolation, were covered with ruins. I pass over the particulars usual to these sad phænomena, the confused bellowings of land and water, the smoke and ashes which filled the air, and the flames issuing from the ocean, to come to the result of this turbulent labour of nature, which was the production of eighteen little islands, that rose insensibly from beneath the sea, at the distance of about ten yards from the north coast of St. George's. They disappeared in a few months, as those produced by the volcano of St. Michael had done before. The maritime peaks of the Azores have, according to all appearance, less surface than that of Santorin; whence I imagine proceeds the instability of the productions of the former volcanoes, and the stability of those of the latter. It was observed that Flores, Corvo, St. Michael and St. Mary's, were not at all affected by the eruption of the volcano of St. George's, and that Graciosa suffered very little.

Account of the remarkable Instinct of a Bird called the Nine-killer, communicated by Mr. John Heckewalder, to Dr. Barton. From the American Philosophical Transactions.

I WENT to a farm, to view a young orchard, which had been planted, about five weeks ago, under my direction, where, on viewing the trees, I found, to my great astonishment, almost on every one of them, one, and on some two and three grasshoppers, stuck down on the sharp thorny branches, which were not pruned when the trees were planted. I immediately called the tenant, and asked the reason and his opinion of this. He was much surprised at my ignorance about the matter, and informed me, that these grasshoppers were stuck up by a small bird of prey, which the Germans called *Neun toedter* (in English, nine-killer;) that this bird had a practice of catching and sticking up nine grasshoppers a day, and that as he well knew they did not devour the grasshoppers, nor any other insects, he thought they must do it for pleasure. I asked him for a description of this bird, and was perfectly satisfied that it lived entirely on small animals, such as small birds, mice, &c. for I had paid attention to this bird as early as the year 1761, when, in the winter, one of the same species took a favourite little bird of mine out of my cage at the window, from which time I have watched them more closely, and have found them more numerous in the western country than here. Not being satisfied with what the tenant had told me respecting the intention of the bird's doing all this, (viz.

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(viz. for diversion's sake,) and particularly observing each and every one of these grasshoppers stuck up so regularly, and in their natural position as when on the ground, not one of them having its back downwards, I began to conjecture what might be the real intention which the bird had in this, and my determined opinion was, that this little bird hawk, by instinct, made use of this art, in order to decoy the smaller birds, which feed on insects, and by these means have a fair opportunity of catching them. All this I communicated to my friends on my return home, and they were not less astonished at what I had related to them, than I had been on discovering the fact. It being agreed that some gentlemen of learning and observation should more minutely examine into this matter, the proprietor of this farm, with another gentleman and myself, went this day out for the purpose; and viewing the grasshoppers on a number of these small trees, (some of which we cut off, and took home,) we returned to the tenant, who not only himself, but also his father and sister, gave us the best assurances, that they had, long since, and from time to time, observed this bird catching grasshoppers and sticking them up in the manner already related, and that sometimes they had observed, in places where this species of bird keeps, numbers of grasshoppers stuck up on a thorn bush in like manner. The reverend Mr. V. Vleck is perfectly satisfied that this bird hawk is the Lanius Canadensis (in Bartram,) and has obligingly communicated the following account of this little bird hawk to me: it is extracted from a German publication printed at Gœttingen, 1778, under the title of "Natural History for Children, by M. George Christian Paff," who, after giving a description of the different species of this bird, concludes thus: "Why is this bird of prey called the nine-killer? Because it is said to have the habit of sticking beetles or other insects, and perhaps sometimes nine of them in succession, upon thorns, that they may not escape until he has leisure to devour them all at once. And for the same reason, it is sometimes called the thorn sticker." Now by the above account, we see that it is known in Europe that this same species of birds actually does stick up insects of different kinds on thorns, &c.; but it is supposed they eat them immediately after being stuck up. Here the case is quite otherwise. They remain stuck up, for we must suppose these to have been stuck up at least some weeks ago, and before the hard frost set in. The very birds (as we suppose) that stuck them up are now on the same ground, watching the smaller birds that come out to feed, and have been seen catching the latter but a few days ago. If it were true, that this little hawk had stuck them up for himself, how long would he be feeding on one or two hundred grasshoppers? But if it be intended to seduce the smaller birds to feed on these insects, in order to have an opportunity of catching them, that number, or even one half, or less, may be a good bait all winter; and all of us, who have considered these circumstances, are firmly of opinion, that these insects thus stuck up, are to serve as a bait, &c. through the course of the winter.

Account

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Account of the Bat of the Mauritius. From the Viscount de Vaux's Account of that Island.

IT is about a foot in length, from its posterior extremity to its beak, and its wings stretch to about four feet; it has large canine teeth, consisting of four in the upper, and as many in the lower jaw. Its muzzle is black and sharp; its ears large and bare; its talons are hooked, large, and compressed: it has no tail. These bats are of different colours; some of a bright red, others brown, and some are almost black. They resemble the common bat in their interior conformation, the shape of their wings, and the manner of spreading them when they fly. When these animals repose, they cling to the tops of the highest trees, and hang with their heads downwards. At other times, they fix themselves upon animals, and even upon man himself. They feed indifferently on fruit, flesh, and insects. They are so fond of the juice of the palm tree, that they sometimes intoxicate themselves with it, so as to fall to the ground. Their horrid shrieks are heard, during the night, in the forests, at the distance of two miles, but they retire at the approach of day. Nothing is safe from the ravages of these destructive creatures; they equally destroy the wild and domestic birds, whenever they have an opportunity; and they will sometimes attack the human kind, by seizing and tearing the visage. It is very probable, as M. de Buffon has observed, that the ancients borrowed their ideas of harpies from these terrible animals. The Indians consider them as a palatable article of food, particularly in certain seasons of the year, when they are full of fat; and even some of the French people, both in this island and the isle of Bourbon, have brought themselves, in this particular, to follow the Indian example. The negroes, however, hold them in the greatest horror; and no consideration whatever could induce them to have any other concern with these noxious creatures, but to destroy them; for which purpose they employ uncommon dexterity. It has often happened, that persons have been attacked, while asleep, and bled to death by them, as they are powerful and subtle bloodsuckers; so that it is really dangerous to slumber in the open air, or to let them enter into a house during the night.

Account of the principal Rivers of Devonshire. From Skrime's Account of the Rivers of Great Britain.

THE Tamar is one of the most considerable rivers in the west of England, rising in the northern point of the district of Stratton, in Cornwall, (not far from the source of the Torrige, which flows to the northern sea by Biddeford,) and dividing for a long distance Cornwall from Devonshire. The Tamar's course is mostly southward, with some little variations, to the vicinage of Launceston; it then inclines somewhat to the east till its junction takes place, first with the Lyd from its cataract, wooded dell, and rocky bridge of Lydford, and then with the Tavy from Tavistock; after which that great æstuary is formed, which, descending to the south in several bold sweeps from Salt Ash, incloses the dock of Plymouth, and after

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afterwards cooperates with the Plym to create that large body of water, which constitutes Plymouth Sound, thus communicating with the sea.

The Tamar abounds in fine features, and excels in a majestic outline, occasionally attended with rocks, woods, and the usual appendages of romantic beauty. Launceston, the county town of Cornwall, occupies a fine eminence on the west, above its steep banks, (which are thickly fringed with wood,) remarkable for the lofty mount which forms the keep of its castle, and divided from Newport by the little river Atterry. Somewhat above, the Werrington descends to the Tamar from the north-west, flowing through the duke of Northumberland's pleasant park of Werrington. On the Cornish side, a little below Tavistock, Culteal, a curious old seat of lord Edgecumbe, exhibits the wild beauties of the Tamar in great perfection, and contrasts delightfully his ornamented and extended territory of Mount Edgecumbe. The Tavy, from Tavistock, in the north-east, soon afterwards joins the Tamar, (which is still farther increased by the Lynher, from Callington, and the Tidi, from St. Germans, on the Cornish side,) and increasing in importance, as the tide more and more influences it, soon becomes crowded with vessels, and stretches out in broad curving branches, which intersect the country on each side. At length, its receding shores form the winding basin of Plymouth Harbour, between the new town created by its dock, and the Cornish borough of Salt Ash, presenting an assemblage of objects in its splendid [illegible] of the grand reposi[illegible] which is difficult to be described, and no where to be matched.

The Plym here adds its tributary waters to the Tamar, rising on the west side of Dartmoor, and inclining to the south-west till it forms a large basin beneath the old town of Plymouth, and the fine woods and plantations surrounding Salterham, the seat of lord Boringdon. Here is constituted a commodious haven for numerous merchant vessels which come to Plymouth, separated from the greater bay filled by the men of war in the Tamar. The conflux of these two branches with the sea produces that noble road for shipping called the Sound of Plymouth, between Cornwall and Devonshire, opening to the south-east in front of that distant rock in the English channel, on which the famous light house of Eddistone has at last been successfully constructed, after various failures. The high grounds extending from the promontory of the Ram's Head defend this expanse of water from the west, above which Maker Tower exalts itself, whence signals are hoisted relating to vessels appearing in the channel. The enchanting groves, lawns, and plantations of Mount Edgecumbe, clothe the sides of this noble eminence with the utmost grandeur and beauty with which nature and art can be attended, and the choicest evergreens flourish here almost spontaneously, with a degree of verdure which is indescribable. Thus is formed a terrestrial paradise in the midst of the busiest naval display, which commands most happily the grand objects of the town, dock, garrison, and hospitals of Plymouth, and Stonehouse, with the basins of the Tamar and the Plym crowded [illegible] shipping, and the greater bay of

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of Plymouth Sound, varied with alternate striking views over sea and land.

The Yealme, Erme, and Aven, are three inconsiderable rivers rising in Dartmoor, and reaching the sea in the southern projection of the Devonshire coast. The pleasant spot and inn of Ivy Bridge, on the great western road to Plymouth, are found on the banks of the Erme, which is there a mountain torrent. The course of all these rivers is southward, a little inclined to the west, and each has a considerable æstuary.

The Dart originates in the mountainous region of Dartmoor, descending first southward, and then inclining considerably to the east, before it quits that rude district; its winding course is afterwards to the south-east, as it passes Totness, and falls into the sea between Dartmouth and Kingsweare.

The Dart is the principal of all those rivers that are produced by the rocky range of Dartmoore, in the centre of Devonshire, which, in wildness at least, though not in height or extent, may emulate most of the mountainous tracts of Wales or Scotland, and can display a stronger contrast to the extraordinary fertility and riches of the surrounding districts, than those countries are generally capable of exhibiting.

Rapidity is its first characteristic, and this quality it retains long after it leaves those mountains which enclose its source, as it descends into the rich plains of the southern part of Devonshire. A little west of Ashburton it forms a charming valley, and flows in placid beauty beneath the high hill, which is finely distinguished by the castle and church of Totness. Here the Dart is crossed by its last bridge, and, soon afterwards receiving the tide, it rolls in a majestic stream between bold hills covered with cultivation, woods, and villages, disclosing new beauties at every curve, and presenting a grand object to the adjacent country, varied perpetually both in its form and attendant features. The noble ruin of Berry Pomeroy Castle, an old seat of the duke of Somerset, occupies an eminence on the east, at some distance from the river, below which a very picturesque rivulet descends through a dark winding dell, adding much to the solemnity and beauty of the scene, where the deep gloom of the overhanging wood, which encircles several majestic towers clothed with ivy, inspires that kind of awful dignity which seems suited to the most romantic periods of our ancient history. The eminences which inclose the channel of the Dart, become at last almost mountainous, forming on the west, a barrier to the southern peninsula of Devonshire, between that river and the Tamar, and on the east to the road of Torbay, while the river, winding between their wooded and rocky bases, passes the very striking position occupied by the hamlet of Kingsweare on its eastern bank, and the singular irregular town of Dartmouth on its western, the whitened fronts of whose houses, built in stages over each other, and beautifully interspersed with wood and rock, form a curious assemblage of interesting objects. The ivied walls of Dartmouth Castle, with its rustic spire, starting out from beneath a bold rocky hill, close the prospect with great majesty, and strongly mark the proud exit of the Dart towards the sea.

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The Teign is the most eastern of all the Devonshire rivers which take their rise in Dartmoor; its principal source is found near the village of Chegford, on the eastern side of that wild district, not far from Moreton-Hampstead. Its course is at first eastward, inclining afterwards to the south till it reaches Chudleigh, a little below which place, the smaller and more western branch joins it: both thus united, form a broad, but short æstuary, inclining to the east, which terminates in the bay of Teignmouth.

No peculiar character marks either of these streams before their union, but the large basin they at last form is a very striking object, filling the whole space of a winding valley between the protruding eminences, each side of which is beautifully interspersed with woods, pastures, and villages. Teignmouth is one of the pleasantest bathing places on this coast, and the bold red rock, which forms the western barrier of the Teign on its exit into the large bay at its mouth, exhibits a grand object, variegated with stripes of green herbage, and protruding its massy pile into the sea.

Excursions to the Summit of the Sugar Loaf and Skyrrid, Monmouthshire. From Mr. Coxe's History of Monmouthshire.

HAVING received repeated accounts of the different and contrasted views from the tops of the Sugar Loaf and Skyrrid, I determined to visit them on the same day. I departed at seven in the morning from Abergavenny, rode about a mile along the Hereford road, mounted the eastern side of the Derry, in the dry bed of a torrent, came to a heath down, and gently descended to the bottom; which below appears like a cone, and is called the Sugar Loaf.

The sides of the mountain are covered with heath, wortle-berries, and moss, to the height of a foot; which renders the ascent so extremely easy, that a light carriage might be driven to the base of the cone, not more than one hundred paces from the summit. I dismounted near a rock, which emerges from the side of the ridge, forming a natural wall, and reached the top without the least difficulty. This elevated point, which crowns the summit of the four hills, is an undulated ridge, about a quarter of a mile in length, and two hundred yards in breadth, with broken crags starting up, amid the moss and heath with which it is covered.

The view from this point is magnificent, extensive, and diversified. It commands the counties of Radnor, Salop, Brecknock, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, Somerset, and Wilts. To the west extends the long and beautiful vale of the Usk, winding in the recesses of the mountains, and expanding to the south into the fertile plain, which is terminated by the Clytha hills. Above it towers the magnificent Blorenge, almost equal in height to the point on which I stood; and in the midst rises the undulating swell of the Little Skyrrid, appearing like a gentle eminence feathered with wood. To the north, a bleak, dreary, sublime mass of mountains stretches in a circular range, from the extremity of the black mountains above Lanthony to the Table Rock near Crickhowel; the commence-

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mencement of the great chain which extends from these confines of Monmouthshire, across North Wales to the Irish sea. To the east, I looked down on the broken crags of the Great Skyrrid, which starts up in the midst of a rich and cultivated region. Beyond, the Malvern Hills, the Graig, the Garway, and the eminences above Monmouth, bound the horizon. Above, and on the side of Brecknockshire, all was clear and bright; but below, and to the south, there was much vapour and mist, which obscured the prospect, and prevented my seeing the distant Severn, and the hills in Somersetshire and Gloucestershire.

This elevated point rises 1,852feet perpendicular from the mouth of the Gavenny, and is seen from Bitcomb Hill, near Longleat, in the county of Wilts, and from the Stiper Stones, in the county of Salop, near the borders of Montgomeryshire.

During my continuance on the summit, I felt that extreme satisfaction which I always experience when elevated on the highest point of the circumjacent country. The air is more pure, the body more active, and the mind more serene; lifted up above the dwellings of man, we discard all grovelling and earthly passions; the thoughts assume a character of sublimity proportionate to the grandeur of the surrounding objects; and as the body approaches nearer to the ethereal regions, the soul imbibes a portion of their unalterable purity.

Reluctantly quitting the summit, I walked down the side of the Derry, facing the precipitous crags of the dark Skyrrid, and in an hour entered the Hereford road, two miles from Abergavenny, where I arrived at half-past eleven.

After taking some refreshment and repose, I departed at two for the summit of the Skyrrid, on horseback, and accompanied with the same guide who had conducted me to the top of the Sugar Loaf. Having rode two miles along the road leading to the White Castle, we attempted to ascend towards the southwestern part of the mountain, which is distinguished by three small fissures. I soon discovered my guide was unacquainted with the way, and on inquiring of a farmer, was informed that the usual route led by Landewi Skyrrid. By his direction, however, we continued at the foot of the mountain, through fields of corn and pasture, and then proceeded along a narrow path, overspread with high broom, which in many places quite covered my horse. Forcing our way with some difficulty through this heathy wood, we rode over a moor, by the side of the stone wall and hedge, which stretch at the base, reached the path leading from Landewi Skyrrid, and ascended, on foot, the grassy slope of the mountain.

The heat was so intense, the fatigue I had undergone in the day so considerable, and the effort I impatiently made to reach the summit so violent, that when I looked down from the narrow and desolated ridge, the boundless expanse around and beneath, which suddenly burst upon my sight, overcame me. I felt a mixed sensation of animation and lassitude, horror and delight, such as I scarcely ever before experienced, even in the Alps of Switzerland; my spirits almost failed, even curiosity

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curiosity was suspended, and I threw myself exhausted on the ground. These sensations increased during my continuance on the summit. I several times attempted to walk along the ridge, but my head became so giddy, as I looked down the precipitous sides, and particularly towards the great fissure, that I could not remain standing. I strongly felt the force of Edgar's exclamation, upon the summit of Dover Cliff, which is no more than a mole-hill in comparison with this eminence:

"——— How fearful
And dizzy 'tis to cast one's eyes so low!"
"——— I'll look no more,
Lest my brains turn, and the deficient sight
Topple down headlong."

I seemed only safe when extended on the ground, and was not therefore in a condition to examine and describe the beauties of the view. However, I took out my pencil, and made a few hasty notes. The ridge of the Skyrrid seemed to be about a mile in length, extremely narrow, in general not more than thirty or forty feet broad, and in some places only ten or twelve; its craggy surface is partly covered with scant and russet herbage, and exhibits only a stunted thorn, which heightens the dreariness of its aspect. After remaining half an hour on the top, incapable of making any farther observations, I descended and went round the eastern side of the mountain, where it terminates in an abrupt precipice near the large fissure.

I walked across the meadows, along a gradual descent, through fine groves of oaks and Spanish chesnuts, to Lanvihangel House, an old mansion belonging to the earl of Oxford. It was the ancient seat of the Arnold family, and was sold in 1722 to Auditor Harley, ancestor of the present earl. It is now inhabited only by a farmer, and contains nothing but some old furniture, a few family pictures, and some good impressions of Hogarth's prints. The place is distinguished by avenues of Scotch firs, which are the largest and finest in England. From the grounds near the front of the house, the Skyrrid presents itself with peculiar effect, the fissure seems like an enormous chasm, separating two mountains, whose impending and craggy summits vie in height and ruggedness.

It was near six o'clock, and I hastened to join a party returning from the ruins of Lanthony Abbey. I partook of an elegant collation, provided by my friend Mr. Greene, which was spread on the banks of the Honddy: the wine, "*interiore notâ Falerni*," was cooled in the limpid and murmuring stream; the evening was placid and serene, and I forgot the fatigues of the day in convivial intercourse and social conversation.

On my return to Abergavenny, the moon, shining in full splendour, gleamed on the craggy ridge of the Skyrrid, and tinged with its silvery rays the undulating and woody sides of the Derry, forming a contrast of beauty and sublimity.

In a subsequent tour, I made a second expedition to the top of the Skyrrid. I rode along the Ross road as far as Landewi Skyrrid, where there is an old gothic mansion, now a farm house; it formerly belonged to the family of Greville, was sold by the late earl of Warwick to Henry Wilmot, esq., secretary to the lord chancellor, and is now in possession

session of his son. From this place I followed a narrow stoney bridle-way, till I reached the extremity of the Skyrrid, and walked up the same grassy path which I had ascended in my first excursion.

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I attained the summit without making those violent exertions, or experiencing the fatigue which I had before undergone, and admired the prospect without the smallest sensation of uneasiness or lassitude.

I ascended to the highest point of the mountain, at its north-eastern extremity, where a small circular cavity is formed near the verge of the precipice; it is supposed to be the scite of a Roman catholic chapel, dedicated to St. Michael, from which the Skyrrid has derived one of its appellations of St. Michael's Mount. I could observe no traces either of walls or foundations; the entrance, which is to the south-west, is marked by two upright stones, two feet in height, on one of which are rudely carved several letters, amongst which I could only distinguish "Turner, 1671." To this place many Roman catholics in the vicinity are said to repair annually on Michaelmas eve, and perform their devotions. The earth of this spot is likewise considered as sacred, and was formerly carried away to cure diseases, and to sprinkle the coffins of those who were interred: but whether this superstitious practice still continues, I was not able to ascertain.

I seated myself on the brow of the cliff, overhanging the rich groves of Lanvihangel, and surveyed at my leisure the diversified expanse of country which stretched beneath and around. Although the summit of the Skyrrid is less elevated than that of the Sugar Loaf, yet its insulated situation, abrupt declivity, and craggy fissures, produce an effect more sublime and striking than the smooth and undulating surface of the Sugar-Loaf and Derry. On the north-east and east, an extensive and fertile region stretches from the centre of Herefordshire to the valley of the Usk, which, though a succession of hill and dale, yet appears a vast plain, broken by a few solitary eminences, and bounded by distant hills gradually losing themselves in the horizon. The spires of Hereford cathedral gleam in the distant prospect, the remains of Grosmont Castle are faintly distinguished under the Graig and Garway, and the majestic ruins of White Castle tower above the church of Landewi Skyrrid. To the south, the gentle swell of the Little Skyrrid rises like a hillock above the town of Abergavenny, the feathered hills of Clytha, tufted with the Coed y Bunedd, and backed with the Penncamawr, beyond which appears the æstury of the Severn, under the cultivated eminences of Gloucestershire and Somersetshire. To the south-west the eye catches a glimpse of the Usk, pursuing through copses and meads its serpentine course, under a continued chain of wooded acclivities. To the west and north-west, I looked down on a grand and dreary mass of mountains, extending from Abergavenny beyond the frontiers of Herefordshire, and domineered by the elegant cone of the Sugar Loaf. The Black Mountains form the northern extremity of this chain, and are intersected by the sequestered valley of the Honddy. Beneath yawned the abyss of the stupendous fissure, which appears to have been caused by some violent convulsion of nature, and, according to the legends of

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of superstition was rent asunder by the earthquake, at the crucifixion of our Saviour: hence it is also denominated the Holy Mountain, by which name it is chiefly distinguished among the natives.

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After contemplating the chasm above, I endeavoured to enter it down the western side of the mountain; but, finding the declivity too precipitous, I remounted the ridge, and descended the gentler slope to the east. Proceeding along its base, I turned round its north-eastern extremity, which terminates in an abrupt and tremendous precipice, and, passing over fragments of rock, entered the fissure on the north-western side of the mountain. This chasm is not less than three hundred feet in breadth; the rugged side of the Skyrrid rises perpendicular as a wall, to an amazing height:

——"the shrill gorged lark so far
Cannot be seen or heard."

The opposite crag is equally perpendicular, though far less elevated. At some distance, it appears like an enormous fragment, separated from the mountain. Its shape, and the strata of the rock, resemble that part of the Skyrrid from which it seems to have been detached; but a nearer view convinced me that it never could have fallen from the summit. Many similar fissures I observed in the Alps, and they are common in mountainous regions. The frequent springs, oozing through the interstices of the rocks, undermine the foundation; and the vast masses, thus deprived of support, either sink, or are separated from each other, till, by degrees, great chasms are formed, and the mountain seems to have been rent asunder. The western side of the smaller crag, which bounds the fissure, is wholly overhung with underwood, and forms a singular contrast with the bare and rugged precipice of the parent mountain.

I quitted this interesting mountain with regret, at the approach of evening; and, as I rode slowly through the narrow vale, which separates the Skyrrid from the Pen y hills, I looked up to the "dread summit of the craggy bourn," on which I had experienced such various sensations.

"Skyrrid! remembrance thy loved scene renews;
Fancy, yet lingering on thy shaggy brow,
Beholds around the lengthened landscape glow;
Which charmed, when late the day-beam's parting hues
Purpled the distant cliff."

Sotheby's Poems, p. 57.

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List of Patents for new Inventions granted during the Year 1801.

JOSEPH Wallis, of Measham, Derbyshire, esq., and Thomas Jewsbury, of the same place, cotton manufacturers; for their new method of making paste, to be used in weaving and sizing of callico, and for pasting paper, &c. Dated January 26, 1801.

John Stevens and Thomas Angell White, both of Plymouth, coal-factors; for their new method of making bricks. Dated January 16.

Benjamin Batley, of Streatham, Surrey, merchant; for a farther new mothod of curing and preserving herrings and sprats, which will also extend to the curing and preserving of other fish. Dated January 23.

George Medherst, of St. James, Clerkenwell, engineer; for a new-invented compound crank, for changing a circular motion into a rectilinear one, and *vice versa*, which is applicable to various mechanical purposes. Dated January 27.

John Longman, of Pentonville, organ-builder; for new-invented improvements in the construction of barrel organs, to prevent them from getting out of order; and that another musical instrument or instruments may be internally united or attached thereto, and to play with the same barrel. Dated January 27.

Robert Vazie, of Down Street, Piccadilly, gentleman; for an improvement in the constructing, construction and application of a gun, by means of removing the touch-hole from the side to the centre of the but-end of the barrel, and forming therefrom a cylindrical communication, &c. Dated January 23.

Thomas Parker, of Broomward, near Glasgow, esq., and William Telfer, and Alexander Afleck, of Glasgow, mathematical instrument makers; for their improvements in preparing and manufacturing of flax hemp silk, and other materials. Dated February 3, 1801.

Robert Young, of the city of Bath, ironmonger; for an improved fire stove or grate. Dated February 3.

Edmund Cartwright, of St. Mary-le-bone, clerk, M. A.; for improvements in the framing, combining, and organizing the parts and mechanism of steam-engines, so as to make them more commodious and portable; and also in the mode of regulating their velocities, and in lessening the waste of power. Dated February 5.

James Power, of St. Edmund's Bury, for a portable oven, on a new or improved construction. Dated February 5.

Joseph Gaston Jean Baptiste, comte de Thiville, of Piccadilly; for

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certain new methods of giving an independent moving power to all machines, by means of hydraulic engines; and also of constructing and employing separately several of their parts, such as wheels, pistons, and apparatus for reducing friction, upon new principles. Dated February 5.

James Anderson, of Mounie, Aberdeenshire, L. L. D., for a method of economising fuel in the heating of houses, and for improving the construction of hot-houses. Dated February 10.

James Weldon, of Lichfield, engineer; for his farther new-invented machine or mill, for grinding bark, and various other articles, for which he obtained former letters patent in January, 1798; and which machine or mill so improved may be applied to several other useful purposes. Dated February 10.

William Johnson, of Bromley, Kent, gent.; for a machine which has the principal of its motion within itself, denominated the perpetual motion or mechanical self-moving power. Dated February 10.

Richard Scott, of Chapel House, Sussex, lieutenant-colonel in the service of the East India Company; for a method of preserving papers and other property from being injured by fire. Dated February 10.

Marc Isambeard Brumel, of Bedford Street, gent.; for a machine for cutting one or more mortices, forming the sides of and cutting the pin-hole of the shells of blocks, &c. Dated February 10.

William Wilde, of West Leake, Nottinghamshire, farmer and grazier; for improved machinery or apparatus to be attached or connected to harrows, whereby those implements of husbandry will execute their work to much greater advantage than by any mode hitherto practised. February 17.

William Lester, of Cotton End, Northamptonshire, patent harrow and chaff engine manufacturer; for his farther improvements upon an engine or machine for cutting hay and straw into chaff, for which he obtained former letters patent. Dated February 17.

Matthias Koops, of James Street, Westminster, gent.; for a method of manufacturing paper from straw, hay, thistles, waste, and refuse of hemp and flour, and different kinds of wood and bark. Dated February 17.

John Bennock, of Liverpool, merchant; for a method or machine for making nails, bolts, rods, watch-springs, clock-springs, and metal-plates. Dated February 17.

Thomas James Plucknett, of Deptford, gent.; for improvements in capstans and windlasses for ships and other purposes. Dated February 26.

Robert Gibson, of the Adelphi, wharfinger; for a windlass upon an improved construction, which may be applied to ships, and other useful purposes. Dated February 26.

Ann Young, of St. James's Square, Edinburgh; for an apparatus, consisting of an oblong square box, which, when opened, presents two faces or tables; and of various dice, pins, counters, &c., contained within the same, by means of which, six different games may be played; which, besides being amusing and interesting, and such as children of eight years old may be taught to play; are, at the same time, an improving exercise upon, and serve to render familiar, and to impress upon the memory, the fundamental principles

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principles of the science of music, particularly all the keys or modulations, major and minor, both with the common and uncommon signatures, musical interval chords, discords with their revolutions, and the most useful rules of thorough bass. Dated March 16.

G. T. Lenz, of Homerton, Middlesex, tanner; for a method of constructing tan-pits, for tanning hides and skins, and for striking hides by machinery. Dated March 27.

John Gamble, of Leicester Square; for a machine for making paper in single sheets, without seam or joinings from one to twelve feet and upwards wide, and from one to forty-five feet and upwards in length. Dated April 20.

Thomas Binns, of Great Barlow Street, Middlesex; for a method of manufacturing candles of spermaceti, tallow, or any other solid inflammable substance. Dated April 23.

Thomas Wright, of Mark Lane, broker; for an improved method of making hand-stone corn-mills, for the purpose of grinding wheat and other grain into flour. Dated April 25.

William Bicknell, of St. George's, Hanover Square, hosier; for a method of covering felt for the making caps and helmets, and for various other useful purposes. Dated April 28.

Rudolph Ackerman, of the Strand, printseller; and Peter James Cutteau, of Bucklersbury, merchant; for an improved method of rendering all sorts of woollen cloths, cotton, linen, silk hats, paper, and other manufactures and substances, perfectly water-proof, and so as to be used on all occasions where a power of repelling rain, wet, or moisture may be required. Dated April 28.

George Waring, of Buntingford, Herts; for a method of making soap of a peculiar quality. Dated April 28.

Richard Wilcox, of Bristol, engineer; for improvements upon the fire or steam engine and furnace. Dated April 30.

William Wilson, of Edinburgh, smith; for an improved plan of making, adjusting, and stamping scale weights. Dated April 30

Henry Tickle, of Mansel Street, Whitechapel, brewer; for an apparatus or refrigerator, for more speedily and effectually cooling the worts and other fermented, fermentable, or other liquors; or melted or dissolved animal or vegetable substances, manufactured, made, or used by or in the processes of brewers, distillers, vinegar-makers, soap-makers, sugar-refiners, chemists, or other manufacturers of articles of a similar nature, or using similar processes. Dated May 2.

John Edwards, of Chelsea, gent.; for new-invented collars for horses, on an improved construction. Dated May 2.

William Pritchard, of Shrewsbury, hatter; and Thomas Willmore, of Birmingham, japanner; for an article for the use of hats, soldiers caps, helmets, &c. Dated May 2.

Barker Chifney, of London, gent.; for an improved method of preparing and laying diamond and other slates in covering houses and other buildings; and for preparing slates for other purposes. Dated May 2.

Joseph Chirm, of Birmingham, pump-maker; for a machine on an improved construction, for the pur-

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pose of boring timber for water-pipes, and other purposes. Dated May 12.

Edward Walker, of Rathbone Place, vintner; for a portable stove, or kitchen, for the purpose of dressing and cooking victuals. Dated May 12.

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William Hase, of Saxthorpe, Norfolk, engineer; for a steam engine on an improved construction, by which a considerable saving will be made in the consumption of coals. Dated May 14.

Sebastian Erard, of Great Marlborough Street, musical instrument maker; for improvements in the construction of harps and pianofortes. Dated May 16.

Walter Inglis, of Chelmsford, saddler; for a method of forming and making a saddle upon a new and improved construction. Dated May 21.

James Glazebrook, of Colebrook Dale, engineer; for his farther improvements upon the method of working and giving power to machinery, by means of the properties of airs; which methods were originally invented by him, and for which he obtained former letters patent. Dated May 21.

Thomas Bagnall, of Worsley, Lancashire, gent.; for a mill or machine to chop bark, and grind, and riddle, and pound it; to beam or work green hides and skins out of the mastering or drench, and make them ready and fitting for the ouse or bark liquor; to beam sheep skins, and other skins for the skinners' use, and for securing or taking the bloom off or from tanned leather when in the currying state. Dated May 21.

Thomas Wakefield, of Northwich, Cheshire, esq.; for a new method of refining sugar. Dated June 2.

Thomas Winter of Shacklewell, Middlesex, gent.; for a new manufacture for covering the floors of rooms; for covering and packing goods and merchandizes, and fit to be used for various other purposes. Dated June 2.

Thomas Howard, late of Manchester, Lancashire, but now of Leeds, Yorkshire, soap boiler; for a new method of making a British barilla and pot ash, and of obtaining a greater quantity of alkali than hitherto discovered. Dated June 2.

Josiah Longmore, of Birmingham, Warwickshire, gun lock maker; for a patten or clog. Dated June 2.

Thomas Robert Guest, of Portsmouth, Hants, artist; for boxes of a new and improved construction, of various forms and sizes, to contain certain new and improved materials, and other necessary articles for drawing and painting; likewise an entire new and improved method of arranging, on scientific principles, the colours to be contained in the said boxes. Which arrangement will be of the greatest utility to officers of the army, and engineers, for reconnoitering sketches or plans; to the navy for signal cards, as well as to professional men and private persons. Dated June 2.

Timothy Lane, of Lincoln's Inn Fields, Middlesex, late of Aldersgate Street, London, apothecary; for measuring-glasses for compounding medicines. Dated June 5.

Egerton Smith, of Liverpool, Lancashire, stationer; and Thomas Todd, of Liverpool, aforesaid, organ-builder; for a method of tuning, and keeping in tune, musical and string instruments in general. Dated June 5.

William Chapman of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, gent.; for the application

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tion of certain substances, either separately or combined, as a preservative of cordage. Dated June 5.

Thomas Bartlett, of Boston, in the state of Massachusetts, in North America, but at present residing in Threadneedle Street, London; for improvements in the construction of elastic trusses for ruptures. Dated June 18.

William Sellers, of Piccadilly, Middlesex, gent.; for a new-improved apparatus of machinery, for the purpose of diminishing friction, and communicating a direct rotary motion from one wheel to another, by means of cranks, which he calls alternate relieving cranks, applicable to wind or water drainage mills, or those for raising water for irrigation, and various other useful purposes. Dated June 18.

G. T. Lenz, of Homerton, Middlesex, tanner; for a method of constructing tan-pits for the tanning of hides and skins, and for striking hides by machinery. Second patent dated June 18.

John Spencer, of Duffield, Derbyshire, nail master; for a new method of making horse-shoe nails. Dated June 20.

John Aloysius Senefelder, of Gould Square, London, gent.; for a new method and process of performing the various branches of the art of printing on paper, linen, cotton, woollen, and other articles. Dated June 20.

William Bolton, esq., captain in the royal navy; for a rudder, and the means of preserving the same. Dated June 23.

Thomas Witherby, of Enfield, Middlesex, gent.; for a pump, and method of working machinery. Dated June 23.

Samuel Holemberg, of Silver Street, Bridgewater Square, London, goldsmith; for locks and fastenings for general uses, on a new and improved construction. Dated June 24.

George Stratton, of Blackfriars Road, Surrey, ironmonger; for improvements in machines for cooking, and fire-places. Dated June 26.

Anthony Bowden, of Mellor, Derbyshire, cotton carder and rover; for an engine or machine for batting or beating and cleaning cotton. Dated July 1.

James Manley of the township of Welton, in the parish of Great Budworth, in the county palatine of Chester; for improvements in the manufacturing of salt. Dated July 1.

George Medhurst, of Pentonville, Middlesex, mathematical instrument maker; for improvements in certain machines for washing and wringing of linen, woollen, wool, cotton, silk, velvet, or any other commodity that requires washing, cleansing, or scouring. Dated July 10.

John Wilkes, of Sheffield, Yorkshire, gun-smith; for a method of making self-acting cylindrical spring snuffers upon a new construction, which cut off, confine, and extinguish the snuff at one motion. Dated July 10.

Charles, earl Stanhope; for a new method of burning chalk, marble, and lime-stone into lime. Dated July 20.

William Hoard, of Deptford, Kent, ship-chandler; for an improved portable machine for manufacturing ropes and cordage, of any length, in a short space of ground, peculiarly adapted for shipping. Dated July 20.

Archibald, earl of Dundonald; for a new method or methods of

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preparing a substitute or substitutes for gum-senegal, and other gums, extensively employed in certain branches of manufacture. Dated July 31.

Mark Brocone, late of New Town, Ireland, but now of Cooper's Court, Tower Hill, London, esq.; for an instrument or engine, possessing a power to work engines or machines, whether on water or land, or for other purposes to which the same can be applied. Dated July 31.

Matthew Murray, of Holbeck, in the parish of Leeds, Yorkshire, engineer; for an improved method of constructing the air-pump, and sundry other parts belonging to a steam-engine, by which a considerable saving will be made in the consumption of fuel, and an increased power obtained. Dated August 11.

William Fitzgerald, of Gray's Inn, Middlesex, esq.; for a mathematical instrument, to be called, "The Marine Level," the properties of which are to show every deviation from the horizontal plane of ships and vessels, and which is also applicable to various purposes in surveying, levelling, and ascertaining vertical and perpendicular situations. Dated August 11.

Benjamin Hawkins, late of Saratoga, in the state of New York, in the United States of America, but now of Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, merchant; for a new floating mill or engine, to be worked by tides and currents of water for grinding all sorts of grain, and various other purposes. Dated August 20.

Lionel Lukin, the younger, of Conham-House, Gloucestershire, esq.; for a new method of giving power to machinery by the application of air and water. Dated August 20.

William Parkes, of Newington Butts, Surrey, professor of philosophy; for a perpetual power that will give motion to all kinds of machinery, mills, engines, carriages, ships of war, mercantile, and other vessels, lighters, craft, and boats of everydescription. Dated August 20.

John Theodore Koster, late of Lisbon, but now residing in St. Andrew's Court, Holborn, Middlesex, merchant; for a new method of building carriages. Dated August 31.

James Whitby, of Collumpton, Devonshire, George Bodley, of the city of Exeter, iron-founder, and John Davis, of Collumpton, aforesaid; for a mill for grinding bark. Dated September 3.

Thomas Germain, of the parish of St. George, Bloomsbury, Middlesex, gent.; for a method of greatly easing the labour, and lessening the number of horses in the draft of coaches, carts, waggons, drays, and all land carriages whatsoever. Dated September 12.

Thomas Jotham, of Bradford, Wiltshire, clothier; for a machine for raising the wool pile or fibres on woollen, cotton, or other piece goods, preparatory to shearing; and for dressing or dubbing cloths, either wet or dry, otherwise than by green cards and pickards. Dated September 15.

Zachariah Barratt, of Gealing, Nottinghamshire, cabinet-maker; for a method of grinding corn, or other grain, by a new-invented mill or machine, either moveable or immoveable, and intended to be worked by water, wind, horses, hand, or otherwise. Dated September 18.

James

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James Tremeere, of Lamb's Conduit Passage, Middlesex, carpenter; for a method of working barges and other vessels. Dated October 5.

William Bullock, of Portland Street, Soho, Middlesex, cabinet-maker; for a fastening to be applied to sashes or dining-tables. Dated October 8.

Samuel Miller, of Cleveland Street, St. Pancras, Middlesex, engraver; for a machine or process for manufacturing materials for the better securing walls and roofs of houses from lateral pressure, and the inclemency of the weather, by which process the buildings will be built of better materials, and rendered more durable. Dated October 13.

William Symington, of Kinnard, Stirlingshire, engineer; for a mode of constructing steam-engines, and applying their power to the purpose of producing a rotary and other motions without the interposition of a lever or beam. Dated October 14.

Thomes Fryer, of Rastrick, near Halifax, Yorkshire, for a method of manufacturing and finishing goods from cotton, cotton and woollen, cotton and silk, cotton and linen, or cotton and mohair, in such manner as to make the same appear as if covered with ermine or fur, and in imitation thereof. Dated October 30.

Richard Brayshay, of Liverpool, Lancashire, gent.; and William M'Mahon, of the same place, gent.; for a machine for the purpose of gaining an increased speed and power to all mechanical operations by land and water. Dated October 30.

John Walker, of Tufton Street, in the parish of St. John, Westminster, Middlesex, accoutrement-maker; and Godfrey Alphy, of the same place, painter; for a method of making and manufacturing men's hats and caps, and rendering them perfectly water-proof; as also all kinds of leather, cotton, linen, silk, stuffs, pasteboard, and other manufactures and substances, for the purpose of being worked up into shoes, boots, women's hats and bonnets, and other wearing apparel, and to be used on all occasions where a power of repelling wet or moisture may be required. Dated November 3.

William Jackson, of Easingwould, Yorkshire, gent.; for a machine or drill to be fixed to a plough-beam for drilling or sowing turnips. Dated November 3.

David Stewart, of Woodlands, in the parish of Greenwich, Kent, gardener; for a method of ventilating dwelling-houses, theatres, hospitals, and other buildings; and also of ventilating, heating, and constructing of every kind of buildings for forwarding or preserving trees, plants, shrubs, flowers, fruits, roots, and vegetables, on an improved principle; thereby reducing the consumption of fuel, simplifying the mode of management, and rendering more certain the production of fruit and flowers. Dated November 3.

Francis Brewin, of Bermondsey, Surrey, tanner; for a new improved method of tanning. Dated November 3.

John Conrad Becker, of Princes Street, Soho, Middlesex, musical instrument maker; for improvements in musical instruments, chiefly applicable to harps and pianofortes. Dated November 7.

Antonius Bemetzrieder, of Chelsea, Middlesex, master of arts; and Robert Scott, John Scott, and Alexander Scott, of Margaret Street, Cavendish

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Cavendish Square, Middlesex, musical-instrument makers; for a method of making piano-fortes, entirely new, both in principle, construction, and shape. Dated November 10.

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Archibald Thompson, of Three-King's Court, Lombard Street, in the city of London, engineer; for machinery for the purpose of spinning rope-yarn or sail-cloth-yarn, and for laying or making ropes and other cordage. Dated November 10.

Stephen Hooper, of Walworth, in the parish of St. Mary, Newington, Surrey, gent.; for machines, or machinery for the purpose of cleansing harbours, rivers, &c. Dated November 10.

William Robinson, of Essex Street, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, Middlesex, peruke-maker; for a method of making perukes and scalps. Dated November 10.

John Stevenson, of Manchester, Lancashire, tobacconist; for a method of stoving and drying tobacco, and the preparation of snuffs. Dated November 10.

Robert Dickinson, of Long Acre, Middlesex, gent.; for improvements in the construction of, and additions to, the saddles, harness, and other gear, necessary or useful for the employ of horses and other animals. Dated November 10.

Isaac Sandford, late of Hartford, in North America, gent.; but at present residing in the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex; for a machine for cropping or shearing of woollen, cotton, linen, silk, and all other cloths made with nap, that require to be cropped or sheared. Dated November 14.

Chester Gould, of Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, merchant; for an apparatus or artificial horizon, to be attached to, and used with, the quadrant or sextant, for the purpose of taking the altitudes of celestial and other objects, either on land or water, without the assistance of the natural horizon. Dated November 17.

Joseph Bramah, of Pimlico, Middlesex, engineer; for improvements in the construction of steam-engines and boilers, and for the purpose of generating steam and other purposes. Dated November 28.

George Hall, of the Strand, Middlesex, goldsmith; for a method of making elastic fastenings for shoes, &c. Dated November 28.

Edward Riley, of the lordship of Myton, in the county of the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, organ-builder, and piano-forte maker; for moveable keys for piano-fortes, organs, and other instruments. Dated November 28.

Naphtaly Hart, of Pimlico, Middlesex, gent.; for an instrument or goniometer which will measure or lay down angles to minutes, from the smallest radiuses to any extent, draw circles to any radius, draw and measure all kinds of right-lined figures made use of in geometry, trigonometry, and navigation, with an accuracy and dispatch hitherto not known, which instrument he calls the "Hartesian Goniometer," and a clamp applicable thereto, and to other useful purposes; and also a new suspensor and orbicular caster, applicable to maritime and other purposes. Dated December 3.

James Boaz, manufacturer in Glasgow; for a new and improved method of communicating thoughts, information, and intelligence, to and from different places, at a distance from each other, by means of signs,

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signs, by lights, and otherwise. Dated December 3.

Lawrence Collin, of King Street, Portman Square, St. Mary-le-bone, Middlesex, and James Butters, of Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square, in the same parish, turner; for a machine for saving persons, though ignorant of the art of swimming, from drowning, which they propose to call a "Collinette." Dated December 3.

Charles Grierson, of New Bond Street, in the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, Middlesex, gunmaker; for a breech and lock for single and double-barrel guns, pistols. and other fire-arms, on a new and improved principle. Dated December 19.

Account of Experiments in cultivating Rice. By the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart, K.B. and P.R.S. In a Letter to the President of the Board of Agriculture. From the Communications to the Board of Agriculture.

April 15, 1799.

AS I conceive the introduction of new esculent vegetables, a matter of material importance to the agricultural interests of this country, and that even an unsuccessful experiment on this subject may be, though not perhaps fitting for publication, a proper document to be lodged in the archives of the board of agriculture, I take the liberty of submitting the following remarks to your lordship's better judgment.

The dry or mountain rice, which I received last year from the board of agriculture, for trial, had been procured at some considerable expense by sir John Murray, from the neighbourhood of Serinagar, a city in India, situated at the foot of mount Imaus, where snow lies till late in the spring; and where the climate has been supposed to resemble that of England, sufficiently to make it probable, that the vegetable productions of the one, would equally succeed in the other country; I consider it as a duty owing to the patriotic exertions of sir John, to give your lordship and the board, some account of the result of the trial of it, made by me at Spring Grove, near Hounslow, in Middlesex.

It was not till near the end of May, when the samples, being of six sorts, were delivered out by the board, and they were sown immediately, on the 21st day of that month, on six small beds in a garden, under the shelter of a pale, in a south exposure.

The grains were sown very thin, in order that the progress of their vegetation might be better noted; in a very few days they appeared above ground. The season being warm, with a moderate supply of rain, it was seldom necessary to water them; however, when they appeared to flap, which generally happened after three or four dry days had taken place, they were well sprinkled with a watering pot.

In less than a month they had grown several inches high; each sort had acquired an appearance very different from the rest; some were pale green, and had broader blades; some were deeper coloured, and narrower in the blade; and one sort had a brown hue on the whole plant; and the bases of the leaves in this kind were nearly black.

During the month of August, they tillowed much more than I have observed

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served any other corn to do; so much so, that although they had been sown very thin, they became a dense compact bed of plants; the blades in some of the kinds standing as close or closer to each other, than the thickest sown barley ever does.

At the close of the month, the blades were from a foot to eighteen inches high; the plants continued to tillow, each root having by this time produced from ten to twenty offsets, but no symptom of a rising stem was at all observable.

In the middle of September, they had still continued to tillow, and the blades to lengthen, so that some of them were at least two feet long. As the frosts of the autumn were nearly now approaching, it became an object of some importance to examine the state in which the plants really were, in order to ascertain the probability of their having produced ears, or possibly of their having ripened corn, if they had been sown a month or two earlier. The most careful inspection was therefore made by dissection, but no traces could be found of the rudiment of a joint beginning to form itself on the crown of the root, or of the embryo of the glumes of the ear, which in all kinds of corn are first discernible in that part.

About this period I was taken ill, and obliged to desist from observing their future progress; but a frost soon after followed, which cut the blade down to the earth, and at once destroyed all hopes of these kinds of rice producing grain in our climate: the quantity of the blade was, however, so uncommonly great, that it is not impossible it might be advantageous to sow it as food for cattle, for a very large proportion of stock might certainly be maintained upon an acre of it.

Before the frost set in, I had ordered a tuft of each kind of the rice to be transplanted into a pot, and placed in a hot-house, in order, if possible, to ascertain the natural period of this grain; whether, like winter corn, it requires eight or nine months to come to perfection, or, like our Lent corn, arrives at the same period in five or six; but all of these died, notwithstanding great attention was paid to them: some seed, however, which I had given to Mr. Lambert, succeeded better; it was sown in his hot-house in the month of June, where it throve well, but did not produce ears till near Christmas, a period of seven months; from whence, as it is not probable the grain would have ripened in less than two months from the time when the ear appeared, it is easy to deduce, that in the neighbourhood of Serinagur, these kinds of rice are either sown as winter corn, or the climate there, is far better suited to promote the quick progress of vegetation than ours is. It was, when it produced ears, about three feet and a half high, and some of the stems had five joints, including the radical one: had it been in a more suitable climate, it would certainly have grown taller, for the flowers dropped off, without producing seed.

In the course of this spring I have forwarded a few seeds, which were left from sir John Murray's importation, to Portugal; if they succeed, I shall probably hear of it; and in that case, if your lordship feels interested in the subject, I shall certainly do myself the honour of communicating such information concerning them, as I am able to obtain.

Account

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Account of a new Eudiometer. By Mr. Davy. From the Journals of the Royal Institution of Great Britain.

THE dependance of the health and existence of animals upon a peculiar state of the atmosphere, and the relations of this state to processes connected with the most essential wants of life, have given interest and importance to inquiries concerning the composition and properties of atmospheric air.

This elastic fluid has been long known to consist chiefly of oxygen and nitrogen, mingled together, or in a state of loose combination, and holding in solution water.

A variety of processes have been instituted with the view of determining the relative proportions of the two gases, but most of them have involved sources of inaccuracy; and lately all, except two, (the slow combustion of phosphorous, and the action of liquid sulphurets,) have been generally abandoned.

Both phosphorous and solution of sulphuret of potash absorb the whole of the oxygen of atmospheric air at common temperatures, and they do not materially alter the volume, or the properties of the residual nitrogen; but their operation is extremely slow; and in many cases it is difficult to ascertain the period at which the experiment is completed.

I have lately employed as an eudiometrical substance the solution of green muriate, or sulphate of iron, impregnated with nitrous gas; and I have found that it is in some respects superior to many of the bodies heretofore used, as it rapidly condenses oxygen without acting upon nitrogen; and requires for its application only a very simple and a very portable apparatus.

This fluid is made by transmitting nitrous gas through green muriate, or sulphate of iron, dissolved to saturation in water*. As the gas is absorbed, the solution becomes of a deep olive brown, and when the impregnation is completed it appears opaque, and almost black. The process is apparently owing to a simple elective attraction; in no case is the gas decomposed; and under the exhausted receiver it assumes its elastic form, leaving the fluid with which it was combined unaltered in its properties.

The instruments necessary for ascertaining the composition of the atmosphere, by means of impregnated solutions, consist simply of a small graduated tube, having its capacity divided into one hundred parts, and greatest at the open end; and of a vessel for containing the fluid.

The tube, after been filled with the air to be examined, is introduced into the solution; and, that the action may be more rapid, gently moved from a perpendicular towards a horizontal position. Under these circumstances the air is rapidly diminished; and, in consequence of the dark colour of the fluid, it is easy to discover the quantity of absorption, in a few minutes the experiment is completed, and the whole of the oxygen condensed by the nitrous gas in the solution in the form of nitrous acid.

In all eudiometrical processes with impregnated solutions, the period at which the diminution is at a

* Dr. Priestley first observed this process: for a particular account of it see Researches, Chemical and Philosophical, p. 152, Johnson.

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stand must be accurately observed; for, shortly after this period, the volume of the residual gas begins to be a little increased, and after some hours it will often fill a space greater by several of the hundred parts on the scale of the tube, than that which it occupied at the maximum of absorption.

This circumstance depends upon the slow decomposition of the nitrous acid (formed during the experiment) by the green oxide of iron, and the consequent production of a small quantity of aeriform fluid (chiefly nitrous gas *;) which, having no affinity for the red muriate, or sulphate, of iron produced, is gradually evolved, and mingled with the residual nitrogen.

The impregnated solution with green muriate is more rapid in its operation than the solution with green sulphate. In cases when these salts cannot be obtained in a state of absolute purity, the common or mixed sulphate of iron may be employed. One cubic inch of moderately strong impregnated solution is capable of absorbing five or six cubic inches of oxygen, in common processes; but the same quantity must never be employed for more than one experiment.

A number of comparative experiments, made on the constitution of the atmosphere at the Hot Wells, Bristol, in July, August, and September, 1800, with phosphorous, sulphurets of alkalies, and impregnated solution, demonstrated the accuracy of the processes in which the last substance was properly employed. The diminutions given by the sulphurets were indeed always greater by a minute quantity than those produced by phosphorous and impregnated solutions: but the reason of this will be obvious to those who have studied the subject of eudiometry. In no instance was it found that 100 parts in volume of air contained more than 21 of oxygen; and the variations connected with different winds, and different states of temperature, moisture, &c., were too small, and too often related to accidental circumstances, to be accurately noticed.

In analysing the atmosphere in different places, by means of impregnated solutions, I have never been able to ascertain any notable difference in the proportions of its constituent parts. Air, collected on the sea, at the mouth of the Severn, on October the 3d, 1800, which must have passed over much of the Atlantic, as the wind was blowing strong from the west, was found to contain 21 per cent. of oxygen in volume, and this was nearly the proportion in air sent from the coast of Guinea, to Dr. Beddoes, by two surgeons of Liverpool.

If we compare these results with the results gained more than twenty years ago, by Mr. Cavendish, from experiments on the composition of atmospherical air, made at London and Kensington; considering, at the same time, the researches of Berthollet in Egypt and at Paris, and those of Mariti in Spain, we shall find strong reasons for concluding, that the atmosphere, in all places expos-

* The decomposition of nitrous acid by solutions containing oxide of iron, at its minimum of oxidation, is a very complex process. The green oxide, during its conversion into red oxide, not only decomposes the acid, but likewise acts upon the water of the solution; and ammoniac is sometimes formed, and small portions of nitrous oxide and nitrogen evolved with the nitrous gas.

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ed to the influence of the winds, contains very nearly the same proportion of oxygen and nitrogen: a circumstance of great importance; for, by teaching us that the different degrees of salubrity of air do not depend upon differences in the quantities of its principal constituent parts, it ought to induce us to institute researches concerning the different substances capable of being dissolved or suspended in air, which are noxious to the human constitution; particularly as an accurate knowledge of their nature and properties would probably enable us, in a great measure, to guard against, or destroy, their baneful effects.

Account of a Method of generating Yeast. By the Rev. William Mason, of Ashton, near Rotherham; communicated in Letters to the Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; and also of some Experiments on this Subject by a Committee of Chemistry. From the Transactions of the Society. A Bounty of Twenty Pounds was given to his Servant Joseph Senior, to whom the Discovery was first owing.

MY servant who brews for me having impregnated wort with fixed air, or rather a decoction of malt in water, according to Dr. Henry's ingenious method, mentioned in the Memoirs of the Philosophical Society of Manchester, and by the yeast thereby obtained produced good bread. This led him, unknown to me, to try whether the experiment would not succeed full as well without fixed air; which he found it did. He accordingly brought me a small vessel with a full head of yeast upon it, assuring me, with some degree of exultation, that neither oil of vitriol with chalk, nor any portion of old yeast, had been employed on the occasion. This greatly surprised me; and I then desired he would proceed with the experiment in his own way, and endeavour to increase the quantity already made, by what additional decoction of malt and water he might think proper; insisting only that nothing but malt, water, and heat, should be employed for the purpose. He did so, and in a few days increased the original quantity till it became sufficient to work a hogshead of small-beer, which produced ten pounds weight of perfect yeast; and this, being soon after put on a vat for a hogshead of ale, was found to be augmented to forty-two pounds.

The discovery therefore is simply this: "that yeast is not (as has, I believe, been hitherto thought) some peculiar and unknown substance, necessary to be added to wort in order to put it into a fermenting state; but that malt boiled in water will generate it (as the chemists say) *per se*, if the following circumstances be attended to

1st, That the process be begun with a small quantity of the decoction.

2dly, That it be kept in an equal degree of heat. And,

3dly, That, when the fermentation is begun, it should be assisted and augmented with fresh decoctions of the same liquor."

The proportions and method which my servant has found generally to succeed, I will now give you, as taken from his own words, in the form of a recipe.

Procure

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Procure three earthen or wooden vessels of different sizes and apertures, one capable of holding two quarts, the other three or four, and the third five or six: boil a quarter of a peck of malt for about eight or ten minutes in three pints of water; and when a quart is poured off from the grains, let it stand in a cool place, till not quite cold, but retaining that degree of heat which the brewers usually find to be proper when they begin to work their liquor. Then remove the vessel into some warm situation near a fire, where the thermometer stands between 70 and 80 degrees (Fahrenheit,) and there let it remain till the fermentation begins, which will be plainly perceived within thirty hours; add then two quarts more of a like decoction of malt, when cool, as the first was; and mix the whole in the larger-sized vessel, and stir it well in, which must be repeated in the usual way, as it rises in a common vat: then add a still greater quantity of the same decoction, to be worked in the largest vessel, which will produce yeast enough for a brewing of forty gallons.

As I cannot conveniently send my servant to town on this occasion to produce the yeast himself, and have also some doubt whether the simplicity of the process will not make it disregarded, I have thought it best to communicate the discovery previously to you, who, as my friend told me, appeared to be interested in its success; hoping you may be induced to try so easy an experiment, and to acquaint me with the result of it, before you communicate it to the society. With my brewer it has never failed, except when the failure was to be accounted for from an inequality of temperature of the air, where the experiments were made: it seems therefore to me, that in the hands of a good practical brewer, accommodated with a place where his little vat will stand in a constant degree of proper heat, it will generally succeed, especially in the brewing seasons.

P. S. It may be proper to add, that my servant is of opinion, that a proper quantity of hops boiled in the liquor makes the fermentation proceed better; but as it may, and has actually succeeded, without such addition, I would willingly wish them to be omitted, to prevent the bread baked with it from tasting bitter. Experience only can decide this; and farther experience is still wanted, to make a perfect recipe for the operation.

In a second letter Mr. Mason says, that "yeast, used for the purpose of brewing malt liquor, and in making bread, is a viscid, frothy substance, which arises on the surface of a simple decoction of malt in water, when in a state of fermentation; and which substance, after it has been so generated, may, by additional quantities of the same liquor, gradually supplied, be increased *ad infinitum*." This definition, duly attended to, will put the committee on their guard in adjudging the premium to any person who, by adding any known or unknown article to wort, offers it as a substitute for old yeast taken from a former brewing, because they will be taught that new original yeast may be obtained from wort itself without any such substitute.

With respect to the doubt you expressed in your obliging answer to my last, I can with truth assure, that in all the primary decoctions made hitherto for the purpose, coarse earthen

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earthen and glazed pots have been used, till a quantity of yeast sufficient to work a brewing of beer was produced: after which, the process was carried on in a large wooden vat; and therefore, when I used in my last the epithet wooden as well as earthen, it was merely because I thought the former kind of vessels less liable to accidents.

Certain it is, that in two experiments lately made here, in York, one by myself, the other by my friend Dr. Burgh, a gentleman much more conversant in chemical matters than myself, new earthen vessels bought out of the shops were employed.

He produced excellent bread from the yeast which his decoction had generated, without any addition of hops: a small quantity of hops were boiled in mine; which, without much affecting the taste of the bread baked with it, left about four gallons of table beer, now in a small cask; which, though not fine, from having been brewed little more than a fortnight, is greatly preferable to the wretched bitter beverage sold by our common brewers, from whose vats a yeast is produced, equally unpalatable for the purpose of baking, and perhaps equally unwholesome both for baking and brewing.

I am much obliged to you for the attention which you promise to pay to the experiment; but I cannot help wishing that you had at your elbow one of our old housewives in one of our obscure Yorkshire dales, used, as they are, to very small brewings, who, after two or three little blunders, would soon bring it to a certainty.

In another letter Mr. Mason says, I write to inform you of the result of some more experiments which have been made here under my direction, relative to yeast; and the rather, because they were made by means of a very simple apparatus, which I think will be found very convenient on ship-board, and also in cottages, &c. It is merely a wooden box, of about twelve or fourteen inches square, open on one side, in which a vessel containing the wort is placed; and then the box is set with the open side close to a wall, heated by a fire on the other side, when the thermometer indicates the wall to be about 80°: so that I imagine the back of a chimney in a ship, or behind an oven or kitchen fire in a cottage, would be found very convenient for the process; as the vessel might be there surrounded with a small atmosphere of air, sufficiently warm at the first, and capable of being continued at the same equable temperature for a sufficient time.

A box of this kind, in which the following experiments were made, was placed on a dresser in my kitchen, more than eighteen feet from the kitchen fire, but against a thin wall, which divides the kitchen from the servants' hall, just behind the fire-place of that room; and the open side of the box turned to the heated wall, the vessels themselves uncovered. If you recollect the trouble you so obligingly took in heating your office, you will think this method, since discovered, of performing the same experiment, of considerable utility.

Experiment I. Three vessels were set at the same time in the warm box, containing a quart of liquor each, and of equal strength with respect to malt: one was a decoction without hops, another with hops, the other a pure infusion of malt: in about twenty-four hours the hopped decoction

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tion produced a fine head of yeast; the other decoction fermented as well, but was twenty-four hours later, the simple infusion was near thirty-six hours later, and the yeast appeared dark and ill-coloured, so that my housekeeper thought it spoiled; but this bad appearance was merely owing to its not having been boiled and cleared, for it made very light breakfast rolls.

This experiment, you will perceive, was made to try whether hops (as my servant imagined) were necessary; and it certainly proves that they accelerate the fermentation; but it proves, also, that neither hops nor boiling are essential to the process.

Experiment II. Four vessels from a common brewing of ale were placed in a box of longer dimensions; one contained two quarts; a second, one; a third, a pint; a fourth, half a pint: they all showed signs of fermentation at the same time, viz., in about twenty-four hours; but that in the mug or pot holding a pint appeared the strongest, which my servant thought was owing to the smaller diameter of the vessel, which was smaller in proportion to the half-pint; but as it stood more centrally to the heat of the fire behind, I am persuaded the excess of fermentation proceeded from that cause. This proves that the quantity you begin the process with is not very material: though two quarts seem to be most convenient for the purpose of baking.

Experiment III was instituted merely to find whether an addition of sugar would accelerate the fermentation; for which purpose, two quarts of hopped liquor were tried in separate vessels, a quart in each: and the result was, that the decoction, in which two large spoonfuls of coarse sugar were stirred in, did not ferment in the least, though continued in the warm box five days and nights; the other fermented in about thirty-six hours. The reason of this later fermentation than of that in the former experiments, was, that the liquor used was from a brewing of small-beer. Hence we may conclude, that a decoction of the strength of ale, if not of strong-beer, is the best to begin with.

Account of Experiments on the Generation of Yeast, made under the Inspection of the Committee of Chemistry of the Society.

Four quarts of ground malt were put into a new stone-ware vessel, and mashed, with about an equal quantity of hot water, in the usual manner for brewing.

When the mash had stood about an hour, the wort was drawn off, and three quarts of boiling water poured on the grains: when this had stood a due time, the liquor was suffered to run off, and the whole liquor boiled half an hour; being then set to cool, it was poured clear from the sediment, and then put in a room where the heat was regularly kept up to summer heat, or near 80° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. It stood in this degree of heat till some signs of fermentation appeared on the surface; which came on in about three days.

Another brewing was then made as above described; and, when of a due heat, stirred into the former liquor. In about twenty-four hours some yeast appeared, and another brewing was then made; and, when of a due heat, mixed with the two former ones, and well beat in, the heat

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heat being still kept up to the degree above mentioned: in about two days more, five ounces of excellent yeast were collected from the surface of the liquor.

Some of this yeast being mixed with a due proportion of flour, water, and salt, answered all the purposes intended for bread; and might certainly have been equally well applied to brewing, in the common method. In fine, being pure and good yeast, it will answer all the intentions of that useful article.

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Observations relative to the Means of increasing the Quantities of Heat obtained in the Combustion of Fuel. By Count Rumford. From the Journals of the Royal Institution of Great Britain.

It is a fact, which has been long known, that clays, and several other incombustible substances, when mixed with sea-coal, in certain proportions, cause the coal to give out more heat in its combustion than it can be made to produce when it is burnt pure or unmixed; but the cause of this increase of heat does not appear to have been yet investigated with that attention which so extraordinary and important a circumstance seems to demand.

Daily experience teaches us that all bodies—those which are incombustible as well as those which are combustible, and actually burning—throw off in all directions heat, or rather calorific (heat-making) rays, which generate heat wherever they are stopped, or absorbed; — but common observation was hardly sufficient to show any perceptible difference between the quantities of calorific rays thrown off by different bodies, when heated to the same temperature, or exposed in the same fire; although the quantities so thrown off might be, and probably are, very different.

It has lately been ascertained, that when the sides and back of an open chimney fire-place, in which coals are burned, are composed of fire-bricks, and heated red-hot, they throw off into the room incomparably more heat than all the coals that could possibly be put into the grate, even supposing them to burn with the greatest possible degree of brightness. Hence it appears that a red-hot burning coal does not send off near so many calorific rays as a piece of red-hot brick or stone, of the same form and dimensions; and this interesting discovery will enable us to make very important improvements in the construction of our fire-places, and also in the management of our fires.

The fuel, instead of being employed to heat the room directly, or by the direct rays from the fire, should be so disposed, or placed, as to heat the back and sides of the grate; which must always be constructed of fire-brick or fire-stone, and never of iron, or of any other metal. Few coals, therefore, when properly placed, make a much better fire than a larger quantity; and shallow grates, when they are constructed of proper materials, throw more heat into a room, and with a much less consumption of fuel, than deep grates; for a large mass of coals in the grate arrests the rays which proceed from the back and sides of the grate, and prevents their coming into the room; or, as fires are generally managed, it prevents the back and sides of the grate from ever being sufficiently heated to assist much in heating the

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room, even though they be constructed of good materials, and large quantities of coals be consumed in them.

It is possible, however, by a simple contrivance, to make a good and an economical fire in almost any grate, though it would always be advisable to construct fire-places on good principles, or to improve them by judicious alterations, rather than to depend on the use of additional inventions for correcting their defects.

To make a good fire in a bad grate, the bottom of the grate must be first covered with a single layer of balls, made of good fire-bricks, or artificial fire-stone, well burnt, each ball being perfectly globular, and about 2½ or 2¾ inches in diameter. On this layer of balls the fire is to be kindled, and, in filling the grate, more balls are to be added with the coals that are laid on; care must, however, be taken in this operation to mix the coals and the balls well together, otherwise, if a number of the balls should get together in a heap, they will cool, not being kept red hot by the combustion of the surrounding fuel, and the fire will appear dull in that part; but if no more than a due proportion of the balls are used, and if they are properly mixed with the coals, they will all, except it be those perhaps at the bottom of the grate, become red-hot, and the fire will not only be very beautiful, but it will send off a vast quantity of radiant heat into the room; and will continue to give out heat for a great length of time. It is the opinion of several persons who have for a considerable time practised this method of making their fires, that more than one third of the fuel usually consumed may be saved by this simple contrivance. It is very probable that, with careful and judicious management, the saving would amount to one half, or fifty per cent.

As these balls, made in moulds, and burnt in a kiln, would cost very little, and as a set of them would last a long time,—probably several years,—the saving of expense in heating rooms by chimney fires, with bad grates, in this way, is obvious; but still it should be remembered, that a saving quite as great may be made by altering the grate, and making it a good fire-place.

In using these balls, care must be taken to prevent their accumulating at the bottom of the grate: as the coals go on to consume, the balls mixed with them will naturally settle down towards the bottom of the grate, and the tongs must be used occasionally to lift them up; and, as the fire grows low, it will be proper to remove a part of them, and not to replace them in the grate till more coals are introduced:—a little experience will show how a fire made in this manner can be managed to the greatest advantage, and with the least trouble.

Balls, made of pieces of any kind of well burnt hard brick, though not equally durable with fire-brick, will answer very well, provided they be made perfectly round; but if they are not quite globular their flat sides will get together, and, by obstructing the free passage of the air amongst the coals, will prevent the fire from burning clear and bright.

The best composition for making these balls, when they are formed in moulds, and afterwards dried and burned in a kiln, is pounded crucibles mixed up with moistened

Sturbridge.

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Sturbridge clay; but good balls may be made with any very hard burnt common bricks, reduced to a coarse powder, and mixed with Sturbridge clay, or even with common clay. The balls should always be made so large as not to pass through between the front bars of a grate.

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These balls have one advantage, which is peculiar to them, and which might, perhaps, recommend the use of them to the curious, even in fire-places constructed on the best principles; they cause the cinders to be consumed almost entirely; and even the very ashes may be burnt, or made to disappear, if care be taken to throw them repeatedly upon the fire when it burns with an intense heat. It is not difficult to account for this effect in a satisfactory manner; and, in accounting for it, we shall explain a circumstance on which it is probable that the great increase of the heat of an open fire, where these balls are used, may, in some measure, depend. The small particles of coal, and of cinder, which, in a common fire, fall through the bottom of the grate, and escape combustion, when these balls are used can hardly fail to fall and lodge on some of them; and, as they are intensely hot, these small bodies, which alight upon them in their fall, are soon heated red-hot, and disposed to take fire and burn; and, as fresh air from below the grate is continually making its way upwards amongst the balls, every circumstance is highly favourable to the rapid and complete combustion of these small inflammable bodies.—But if these small pieces of coal and cinder should, in their fall, happen to light upon the metallic bars, which form the bottom of the grate, —as these bars are conductors of heat, and, on account of that circumstance, as well as of their situation,—below the fire,—never can be made very hot,—any small particle of fuel that happens to come into contact with them, not only cannot take fire, but would cease to burn should it arrive in a state of actual combustion.

These facts are very important, and well deserving of the attention of those who may derive advantage from the improvement of fire-places, and the economy of fuel.

There are some circumstances which strongly indicate that an admixture of incombustible bodies with fuel, and especially with coal, cause an increase of the heat, even when the fuel is burnt in a closed fire-place. No fire-place can well be contrived more completely closed than those of the iron stoves in common use in the Netherlands; but, in these stoves—which are heated by coal fires—a large proportion of wet clay is always coarsely mixed with the coals before they are introduced into the fire-place If this practice had not been found to be useful, it would certainly never have obtained generally; nor would it have been continued, as it has been, for more than two hundred years.

The combination of different substances—combustible and incombustible—to form, artifically, various kind of cheap and pleasant fuel, particularly adapted for the different processes in which the fuel is employed, is a subject well worthy the attention of enterprising and ingenious men. How much excellent fuel, for instance, might be made with proper additions, and proper management, of the mountains of refuse coal-dust that lie useless at the mouths of coal pits; and how much

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would it contribute to cleanliness and elegance, if the use of improved coke, or of hard and light fire-balls, could be generally introduced in our houses and kitchens, instead of black, powdery, dirty sea-coal.—Of the great economy that would result from such a change there cannot be the smallest doubt.

It is a melancholy truth, but, at the same time, a most indisputable fact, that, while the industry and ingenuity of millions are employed, with unceasing activity, in inventing, improving, and varying those superfluities which wealth and luxury introduce into society, no attention whatever is paid to the improvement of those common necessaries of life on which the subsistence of all, and the comforts and enjoyments of the great majority of mankind, absolutely depend.

Much will be done for the benefit of society, if means can be devised to call the attention of the active and benevolent to this long neglected, but most interesting subject.

Experiments upon Magnetism. By the Rev. James Maddison, President of William and Mary College. From the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.

IN the review of my philosophical course for this year, I have been led to make some experiments upon magnetism, which appeared to fall within the views of the American Philosophical Society. It is for this reason that I have taken the liberty of communicating them to you.

Few subjects in natural philosophy are, in reality, more interesting to mankind than magnetism; and yet the invisibility of the agent, and the consequent difficulty of pursuing a cause, which seems to be subjected to none of our senses, has greatly restricted the progress of knowledge in this branch of physics. Some phenomena, which have long attracted the attention of the philosopher, and excited the admiration of the vulgar, have received different solutions, grounded upon as many different hypotheses. No method appears to have been adopted to show the fallacy of the one, or the verity of the other. They still remained as hypotheses. The following experiments, simple as they are, give a solution, which carries with it ocular demonstration; and, as the just explication of every fact is a real advance in philosophy, I trust they will not be thought unworthy of attention.

The phenomena to which I allude are those, which magnets, placed upon paper, exhibit with filings of iron, when they are sprinkled about them. Many ingenious men have supposed, that the arrangement of the filings clearly indicated the passage of a magnetic fluid or effluvia, in curved lines, from one pole to another of a different denomination; and hence have sought for the solution of other phenomena upon a much more extended scale. Others, and particularly Cavallo, in his useful treatise on magnetism, from the action of the magnet upon the filings, rendering each particle itself a magnet. The proper solution springs from the following experiments:

Experiment I. Place an artificial magnet, of the usual oblong form, and of sufficient strength, upon a dish; let the ends be two or more inches distance from the edge or rim: cover the magnet with water about one-

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one-tenth of an inch. Then sprinkle or sift the filings of iron through gauze, so that they may fall gently near the equator of the magnet. You will immediately see the filings to divide; one part moving with an accelerated velocity to the north pole, the other part to the south pole, each approaching as near to its respective pole as the interposing fluid will permit; each turning and presenting a dissimilar pole to that which first put the particle in motion. As other particles succeed in their turn, the same effects take place; each endeavours to approach as near to its pole, as its centre, as possible; but the particles already arrived preventing an approach within the limits thus previously occupied, the whole are necessarily arranged in the form of concentric circles. Particles of water in forming drops, or of mercury in forming globules, obey nearly the same law.

Thus doth this experiment unequivocally demonstrate, from the motions of the floating particles, that attraction is the sole cause of this phenomenon, and that this force is equally exerted by each pole. It shows, at the same time, that each of the filings, even the smallest, becomes itself a magnet so soon as it arrives within a short distance of its attracting pole. This is particularly evinced by those particles which are first put in motion, and which occupy the nearest stations. For, immediately upon their arrival at a certain distance, they turn round, and present to the magnet their opposite extremity.

Experiment II. Place two dissimilar ends of magnets about an inch apart, in a large dish; let them be just covered with water, sift the filings between the ends. The particles of iron are immediately attracted by the nearest pole; they move quickly in opposite directions, occupy the nearest station they can, become themselves magnetic, and present to each other dissimilar poles. The particles attracted by the poles of the magnet thus mutually attract each other. Between the poles of the large magnets, the filings are arranged in straight lines; because there they tend directly to the attracting points; the more removed, the more curvilineal their position; because each particle making the same effort to occupy the nearest station to the centre of attraction, they are all necessarily forced into a position corresponding with that effort.

Experiment III. Place similar ends of two magnets, as the dissimilar were situated in the last experiment, and sift the filings between them. Here also you see them to be acted upon by attraction as before; they move to the nearest pole, become magnetic, and present to each other similar poles; that is, supposing the north poles of two magnets to be opposed, all those filings which are attracted by the north pole of one of the magnets present a north pole to the north pole of all those attracted by the other magnet; they repel each other, of consequence; a vacuity is observed between the respective parcels of filings; whilst the appearance of reverted curves is exhibited, on account of the repulsion which their similar poles exert upon each other.

Thus, besides the proof which these experiments afford, that the attractive force of the magnets, at either pole, is the real cause of the phenomena which the filings exhibit, they prove also, in the most

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satisfactory manner, that the action of the magnet upon the filings, when they approach within a certain distance, renders them magnetic, and hence produces the effects mentioned in the two last experiments. But in every instance, attraction first operates. Similar poles, whilst they are repulsive of each other, are still attractive of all other substances upon which the magnet acts. The same body, at the same time, appears to exert two opposite powers.

The cause of magnetic attraction and repulsion, as well of all other attractions or repulsions, lies still hid in the recesses of nature: but the manner in which these forces produce certain phenomena, is no longer concealed from us.

These experiments may be agreeably varied by placing three or four magnets upon each other, then covering them only partially, and sprinkling the filings on each side of them.

In every magnet there is at least one line, called the equator, where the attractive power vanishes: from this line, towards either pole, it gradually increases, and hence those filings which are near to the sides of the magnet will incline towards them, forming angles, which appear to be such as the revolution of the two forces, one lateral, the other polar, would necessarily produce.

Perhaps this method of making experiments, by substances floating in water, and thus subjected in all their motions to our examination, may lead to more important discoveries. The rates in which the magnetic attractive force decreases, at different distances, may, I think, be collected from noting the velocity with which the floating bodies move, at different distances from the poles, or the spaces, which they pass over in equal times. Nothing obstructs an accurate solution of this problem but the difficulty of obtaining measurements of sufficiently small intervals of time. If the experiment were made upon a large scale, the difficulty might be removed. The remarkable acceleration which is observable, when the filings come near to their attracting point, seems to satisfy the eye, that the attraction increases in a greater ratio than according to any law yet assigned.

One magnet acts upon another, at a considerable distance, either by repulsion or attraction. Will not these experiments lead to a rational conjecture, that in every instance the action is communicated by intervening magnetic substances? It acts through atmospheric air. But this air may, from its constituent principles, and it is said does, contain iron. The small particles floating in the atmosphere may be acted upon like those floating upon water. The tenuity of the particles will only render the action more sensible. Each may become a magnet, and thus, by the action of all the intervening affected particles, the action of one magnet may be communicated to the poles of another distant magnet.

I have made an experiment, in order to ascertain whether a magnet could exert its power in a Torricellian vacuum. A small quantity of filings was poured into a glass tube, of sufficient length; it was then filled with mercury, and inverted in the same fluid; the filings floated on the surface of the mercury in the upper end. The result was, that the action of the magnet upon the filings,

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ings, at equal distances, was sensibly less than when the tube was full of atmospheric air. The want of a tube of sufficient diameter prevented me from making the experiment in so satisfactory a manner as I wished. It appears, however, worthy of being repeated by those who may possess the necessary means. If the magnetic power should be observed in such a vacuum, then the above conjecture will merit and receive the fate which has generally attended all reasoning in physics not founded on accurate experiment.

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Experiment in making Hay, by Mr. Arthur Young. From the Annals of Agriculture.

AFTER a series of warm and beautiful weather in June 1801, a violent rain fell on the 30th. On going to my farm, I found my bailiff had lost that season for hay, in common with all his neighbours, and had begun to mow but the day before the rain. At vol. XXXVIII, p. 543, of the "Annals," there is an account, by Mr. Barclay, of a new mode of making hay, that of mowing only when the grass is quite dry and cocking it immediately: but that system I had before found much disapproved by the workmen, and with some reason—grass never mows so well as when wet, and if very dry, will not cut so close as it ought to be mown. I therefore, on this occasion, tried the experiment of making the hay by a system of cocking, but without restraining the scythes on account of rain. From July first to the eighteenth, no day passed without rain; there was, however, time enough dry to form the swaths soon after mowing into small grass cocks, which were left two days, turned and shaked up a third, put three together the fifth, turning these and shaking up the seventh, again the tenth; the fourteenth day opened the cocks for an hour and put them in rows, and then cocked them in larger cocks.

This was the succession of the work; and on the sixteenth day from mowing it had taken no hurt, though rain had fallen every day, and heavily in some. Of course the times varied in different fields, and in parts of the same field; but this was the mode pursued with the whole. On St. Swithin's day, the fifteenth, it rained most heavily, and again on the sixteenth and seventeenth: but the bailiff on the seventeenth, there being an hour or two of bright weather, broke and laid into beds about three acres, but was beat out by rain, and the hay left exposed. It rained on the eighteenth, but fine weather, sufficient to dry, cart, and stack, set in on the nineteenth.

About one-fourth lost its colour, and was salted in stacking; the rest, though damaged, was good, and much better than it would have been in the common method of making.

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ANTIQUITIES.

Description of Richborough Castle. From Pennant's Journey to the Isle of Wight.

RICHBOROUGH Castle stands in the parish of Ash, on the east side of the village, on the edge of a lofty slope, once washed by the sea: at present the Stour passes beneath its base.

The form is rectangular. Most of the walls remain; are very thick, strong, and lofty; and the cement now so hard as to baffle the efforts of those who have lately endeavoured to destroy them. The materials are great pebbles, flint, chalk, &c., bedded in the mortar, which consists of lime, sea shells, broken tile, and small pebbles. The pieces of chalk were taken by the Romans from the foot of the adjacent cliffs, and have the pholades remaining entire in their cylindrical cells. The whole was faced with square stones, perhaps Purbeck, and, as usual, had tiers of tiles at certain distances, two tiles thick: the square scaffold holes remain.

The foundation of the wall is pit-sand, flint, chalk, twice repeated, flints lodged in mortar, and lastly, a stratum of mortar. The thickness at the base is eleven feet three inches, but at the height of a few feet, ten feet eight inches. The length of the south wall, on the outside, is 358 feet; of the west wall, 490 feet; of the north wall, 560 feet. The north wall, in its most perfect part, is about 25 feet high: it ran down the slope, towards the sea, and reverted for the space of about 190 feet along a natural terrace, and ceased where the terrace ceased, and the bank became inaccessible. Vast fragments of the wall are fallen down the slope.—The west entrance is laid with large squared stones, stratum super stratum. Near this place, in the north-west corner of the castle, are found snags of stags' horns sawedoff: boars' tusks; oyster shells in abundance; and the exuviæ of other animals: the whole area is considerably above the external ground, and consists of rubbish interspersed with thin layers of mortar. In the north wall, on the outside, is the foundation of a square tower, and there are marks of four more in different parts of the walls. Their situation is pointed out by a particular arrangement of round holes lined smoothly with mortar penetrating many feet into the substance of the wall, but no where pervading it.

The *porta decumana* is beneath a tower in the north wall, through which the entrance into the castle is in an oblique direction.

In the area of the castle has been lately discovered a platform of solid masonry,

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masonry, in form of a parallelogram, the sides of which are 144 feet by 104; the depth five feet.—It is a composition of large flint stones and coarse mortar. On its surface are remains of a superstructure in the shape of a cross, (which has been faced with the squared stones,) rising somewhat above the ground, and more than five feet above the platform.

A wharf or landing place, was discovered, some years ago, in the plain at the foot of the slope, about forty roods northward of the castle, about four feet high, of a triangular form, one of the sides parallel with the bank, and its opposite angle projecting towards the sea; the sides were nearly equal, of about ten feet each. It was a shell of brick work, two bricks thick, filled with earth, the two projecting sides tied together with a brace of the same material. Two sorts of brick were used in this building; one was 18 inches by 12, and three inches and a half thick; the other 17 by 11, and one and a quarter thick.—Mr. Ebenezer Mussel, of Bethnal Green, near London, purchased the whole quantity of materials, and employed them in paving a court yard, and part of his house.

The amphitheatre lay on the north side: its form is destroyed, but the vast hollow marks the place.

Multitudes of antiquities have been discovered in and about the castle; such as urns, coins, fragments of earthen ware, marble mouldings, and brazen figures of Mercury, and of a bagpiper. The last represents a soldier armed in his helmet, playing on the bagpipe, with the pipe in his mouth, and the bag, which is very large, placed almost before him, and pressed with both arms. I have in my voyage to the Hebrides, p. 347, given a full history of the use of this instrument at different periods.

Richborough has a most advantageous prospect, which might be one reason for fixing on this situation. It commands all the way from the North to the South Foreland, and all the harbour in which it stood, so that no fleet or vessel could escape its observation.

Account of an Entertainment given by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, to Charles II and his Court. From Ireland's picturesque Views, and historical Account of the Inns of Court of London and Westminster.

IN the steward's office is the admission book, from 1671 to 1673, containing the following curious account of a visit paid to Lincoln's Inn, by Charles II and his court. As it tends to display the hospitality of that period, I have inserted it at length. What adds to the curiosity of this account is, that the king and nobility present entered their names with their own hands; and, if we may judge from the appearance of the writing, many of them, and particularly Killigrew, the jester, were a little *non compos mentis.*

"A narrative of the kings majesties reception and entertainment att Lincolnes Inne, the nyne and twentieth day of February, 1671."

"Sir Francis Goodericke, knight, one of his majesties learned councel att law, and solicitor generall to his royal highnesse the duke of Yorke, being reader of this society of Lincolnes Inne for the Lent reading, in the year 1671, having invited the king,

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king, his royal highnesse, and prince Rupert, and diverse of the nobilite, to dine in Lincolnes Inne hall, on such day of his reading as his majestie should make choice of; his majestie was pleased to appoint Thursday, the 29th of February, 1671. And accordingly that day his majestie, together with his said royal highnesse, and his highnesse prince Rupert, being also attended by the duke of Monmouth, the duke of Richmond, the earles of Manchester, Bath and Anglesea, the lord viscount Halifax, lord bishop of Ely, lord Newport, lord Henry Howard, and diverse others of great qualitie, came to Lincolnes Inne; his majestie made his entrance thro' the garden, att the great gate opening into Chancery Lane, next to Holborne, where Mr. Reader, and the rest of the benchers and associates, waited his coming, and attended his majestie up to the tarras walke, next the field, and soe through the garden; the trumpetts and kettle drums, from the leads over the highest bay window, in the middle of the garden building, sounding all the while. And from the garden, his majestie went to the new councell chamber; the barristers and students, in their gownes, standing in a rowe on each side, between the garden and the councell chamber; after a little rest, his majestie viewed the chapell, returning agayne to the councell chamber; from thence as soon as his table (being placed upon the ascent att the upper end of the hall, and railed in,) was furnished, his majestie was brought into the hall, where his majestie sat under his canopy of state, being served by the reader, as server, upon his knee, with the towel, before he did eat; his royal highnesse sitting att the end of the table, on his right hand, and prince Rupert att the other end. The dukes and lords, and other his majesties attendants of qualitie, after some short tyme of waiting, had leave from his majestie to sitt downe to dinnar, att tables prepared for them on each side of the hall. The reader, and some of the benchers, to witt, Sir Thomas Beverley, master of requests to his majestie, sir Robert Atkins, knight of the Bath, all the time of his majesties dining, waiting neere his majesties chairs; and four other of the benchers, Mr. Day, Mr. Pedley, Mr. Stote, and Mr. Manby, with white staffes, waited as controllers of the hall, to keep good order; and about fifty of the barristers and students, the most part of them attending as waiters, and carrying up his majesties meat, which was served upon the knee; the rest of the barristers and students waiting upon the lords att their table. The three courses, wherein were exceeding great plenty and variety of dishes, and after them a most liberal banquett, was served up by the said barristers and students, and delivered by them, upon their knees, att the king's table; the music, consisting of his majesties violins playing all the tyme of dinnar in the gallery, att the lower end of the hall. Towards the end of dinnar, his majestie, to doe a transcendant honour and grace to this society, and to expresse his most gracious acceptance of their humble duty and affection towards him, was pleased to demand the book of admittances to be brought to him, and with his owne hand, entred his royall name therein; most graciously condescending to make himself a member thereof; which high and extraordinary favour was instantly acknow-

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acknowledged by all the members of this society then attending on his majestie, with all possible joy, and received with the greatest and most humble expressions of gratitude; itt beeing an example not precedented by any former king of this realme; his royal highnesse, and prince Rupert followed this great and highest example; as also the dukes and other lords, who, before his majesties rising from dinnar, borrowed gownes of the students and put them on, and, in those gownes, waited on his majestie, with which his majestie was much delighted: and his majestie, thro' his owne most obligeing favour, vouchsafed to itt, having made himselfe more neerly and intimately concerned for the good of this society, was pleased himselfe to begin a health to the welfare thereof, and to cause itt to be pledged in his owne presence; immediately gave the reader leave to drink his majesties health, and to begin to his royal highnesse. Then rising from dinnar, he was agayne attended to the new councell chamber, where he conferred the honour of knighthood on Mr. Nicholas Pedley and Mr. Richard Stote, two of the benchers, who had in their turns beene readers of this house; as also upon Mr. James Butler, one of the barristers, and Mr. Francis Darrell, one of the students; that soe every degree and order of the society might have a signall testimony of his majesties high favour, his majestie, upon his departure, made large expressions of his most gracious acceptance of the enterteynment, and returned his thanks to the reader, and was pleased to signify the great respect and esteem he should ever have for the society."

"The gentlemen of the horse guards, yeomen of the guard, and other inferior attendants, were bountifully enterteyned att the costs and charges also of the reader. The gentlemen of the horse guards dined in the old councell chamber; the yeomen of the guards in Mr. Day's chamber; and the ———— men and lacquies in the gardener's house, to all their contentment."

"On Saturday following, Mr. Reader, sir Robert Atkins, sir Nicholas Pedley, and sir Richard Stote, benchers and readers of Lincoln's Inn, waited on his majestie at Whitehall; being conducted to his majesties presence, by the earle of Bath, and gave most humble thanks for that high and transcendant honour, he had beene pleased to vouchsafe to this society; which was graciously received by his majestie, and did the said benchers the honour to kiss his hand."

General Observations on the Persepolitan Characters, with a Description and Representation of some Bricks lately sent to Europe, from the Scite of Ancient Babylon.

ABOUT one day's journey from Shiras, in Persia, appear the ruins of a magnificent edifice, which still attracts the admiration of every traveller. These ruins are called by the Persians Chehil-Minar; or, the Forty Columns, although there are always more or less to be seen than that number. The following travellers, Ives, Irwin, Figueroa, Pietro della Valle, Thevenot, Chardin, Gemelli, Le Bruyn, Kæmpfer, Otter, Niebuhr, and Franklin, have actually visited them; and among writers, the following—Hyde, Caylus, Murr, Langles, Herder, Witte, Wahl,

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Wahl, Hageman, besides a number of others, have spoken of them; and several have attempted to explain the copious sculptures which are still visible on them. But it is chiefly the foreign and unusual characters and inscriptions joined to them which have long occupied the skill and exercised the penetration of many learned Orientalists, who have wearied themselves in fruitless attempts to discover the alphabet out of which they are composed.

These remarkable inscriptions appear to be regular variations and compositions of a right line, as sir W. Jones well observes; and of an angular figure. They have, likewise, a striking resemblance to nails, for which reason the French writers commonly call them, *caractères à clous*, or the nail-headed characters. They are also denominated Persepolitan, upon the supposition that these columns once formed a part of the royal palace of the sovereigns of Persia, called, by the Greek writers, Persepolis. Among others, this opinion is advanced by the learned M. Heessen, professor at Göttingen, in a work lately published on that subject; an opinion, however, which Mr. Tychsen attempts to refute, who supposes the palace, the ruins of which still remain, to have been built much later, by the princes who succeeded Alexander, and governed that country under the name of the Arsacides and Arsacidæ. Whether this be the case or not, or whether these ruins date from the time of the first and most ancient dynasty of Persia, the Pishdadiäns, or whether, as others pretend, they were built by the famous Gemshid, who is said to have built the celebrated city of Issahar, is not the object of our present inquiry. It is more certain that the place of the inscriptions is to this day called Issahar, and also Takti-Gemshid, or the throne of Gemshid; and it is equally certain that the above-said inscriptions have been hitherto reckoned peculiar to these ruins; at least it is the general opinion of the literati, that they are only to be found on the marbles or gems dug up there, and not in any other part or province of Persia. More recently, however, the curious discovery has been made, that the same sort of characters are to be found, not only in the province of Fars, in Persia, but that they are copiously and usually met with near the Euphrates, in Chaldea, amongst what are supposed to be the ruins of its ancient capital, Babylon. This fact was, indeed, announced several years ago by M. Beauchamp, correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, who, on his return from Bagdad, where he had resided several years, brought to the learned Abbé Barthelemy specimens of unknown characters, which he discovered on the bricks, still remaining in great numbers near Helleh, on the Euphrates, on the identical spot, where, according to D'Anville, major Rennel, and other geographers, the ancient Babylon was situated. Besides these bricks, with inscriptions, M. Beauchamp likewise found several solid cylinders, three inches in diameter, composed of a white substance, and covered with very small writing, resembling the inscriptions of Persepolis, as described by Chardin; also a number of blue stones with inscriptions engraved on them. M. Beauchamp's correspondence was translated from the French of the *Journal des Scavans*, published in the year

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year 1782, into English, and inserted in the European Magazine, for 1792*.

M. Michaux, also, a French botanist, (the same who has now again accompanied captain Baudin in his voyage of discoveries,) during the time of his being at Bagdad, procured and lately brought to Paris a fine inscription, which was found in that neighbourhood, and which contained characters resembling the Persepolitan ones. Of this inscription, M. Millin, the present keeper of the cabinet of antiquities, has procured a plaster cast to be made, which is one foot and a half long, and one foot broad, for the purpose of sending copies for the inspection of the foreign literati; one of these is expected to arrive soon in London.

Our curiosity, however, is now still farther and sufficiently excited by the twelve original bricks which have lately arrived in London, sent from Bagdad to the East India company, and which contain inscriptions perfectly according with the Persepolitan ones, thus confirming M. Beauchamp's discovery. They are of two different kinds: one of those which were merely dried in the sun, the other of those which, like ours, were baked in a furnace. This circumstance wonderfully corresponds with the account given by Herodotus, in his first book, in which he relates, that Babylon being in a situation deprived of stones, timber, and other materials for building, nature had abundantly provided for this defect by an inexhaustible store of clay, of the best quality, fit for preparing excellent bricks, which, either dried in the sun or burnt on the fire, acquired a strength sufficient to resist the injury even of many centuries. These bricks are in thickness three inches: their length and breadth is between twelve and thirteen inches; and it was with such bricks that not only Babylon, but, if we may believe Josephus, the famous Tower of Babel was constructed. This last historian farther pretends, that after the deluge two columns were erected by the children of Noah; the one, like our Babylonian bricks, and the other of stone, in order to be able to resist both elements, the water and the fire, in case of a second catastrophe.

A principal question occurs here for solution, viz. whether the above inscriptions are to be read horizontally, and beginning from the left hand, like the characters of the Sanscrit, and other languages of India and Europe; or whether they are to be read from the right hand to the left, like the Hebrew, the Arabic, and other Oriental dialects; whether they must be read perpendicularly, either from the top to the bottom, like the Chinese, the Mongul, and the Japanese characters; or from the bottom to the top, as is related of the ancient Mexicans, by the Jesuit Acosta, and of some nations in Asia at the present day. Niebuhr and Tychsen lean to the former opinion, viz. that they are to be read horizontally, and from the left to the right; whilst Raspe thinks they ought to be read perpendicularly, and Wahl pretends, that they run, at least sometimes, from the right to the left.

Another question, likewise, suggests itself, whether these nail-headed characters are of the alphabetic kind, like ours in Europe; whether they are of the syllabic

* A part of it was also given in our Register for 1793.

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kind, like the Habessinian, the Devanagari, and other Oriental alphabets; or lastly, whether they are hieroglyphical, like those on the Egyptian pyramids, or, at least, expressing complete ideas by arbitrary signs, like the characters usual amongst the Chinese, and amongst a number of nations, different in language, in the south-east regions of Asia. Hyde, a hundred years ago, took them to be mere scrawlings or useless ornaments, totally destitute of any sensible signification; and indeed M. White, professor at Rostock, in a pamphlet lately published, endeavours to prove the same; while others again will have it, that they contain great mysteries, and are even denotative of the secret doctrines of the Magi. Niebuhr, who has brought to Europe the most accurate drawings of these characters hitherto procurable, contends for their being alphabetical, and, to confirm his opinion, adduces no less than three different alphabets for the same kind of writing. One of these, M. Tychsen, at Rostock, has made use of, with a view to decypher a part of these inscriptions. To this notion, however, he seems to have gained no proselytes, and the explanation which he has given in his essay lately published in Germany, appears so forced and unnatural, that it has already in a manner lost all credit with the German literati.

It may be farther observed here, that colonel, now general Vallancy, in his Irish grammar, published in 1773, affirmed, that the Persepolitan characters bear a strong resemblance to that species of writing which the Irish call *Ogam*. But the characters are so complex, according to sir W. Jones, in his Dissertation on the Persians, and the variations so numerous, as to preclude an opinion that they could be symbols of articulate sounds. For even the *Nagari* system, he observes, which has more distinct letters than any one known alphabet, consists only of forty-nine single characters, two of which are mere substitutions, and four of little use in Sanscrit or any other language; while the more complicated Persepolitan figures, as exhibited by Niebuhr, must be as numerous, at least, as the Chinese keys, which are the signs of ideas only, and none of which resemble the old Persian letters at Istahar. Thus far sir W. Jones.

Amongst these and other opinions I hope soon to lay before the public, my own, in a larger work, and by that means, if possible, throw some farther light on a subject which has not been hitherto sufficiently elucidated.

J. Hager.

London, June 4, 1801.

Account of an ancient Monument at Vienne.

CITIZEN Schneider, professor of design at Vienne; has lately read to the lyceum of Grenoble, a Dissertation on the Cenotaph in the former city, called the Spire (*le plan de l' Aiguille*,) in which he enters into an exact description of its construction, according to the principles of architecture, and accompanies these details with a number of conjectures; which may serve to show on what occasion this monument was erected; conjectures, he observes, which carry with them the greater air of probability, as they will be found to be supported by the usage of the Romans, and by general history. The singular struc-

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ture of this monument attracts the curiosity of the traveller; but no one, there is reason to think, has hitherto discovered its precise destination nor its architecture. It would appear, according to many designs and memoirs which the Professor has met with, to be a shapeless mass, without taste or without art; but he proves the contrary by his description alone, and by the simple and natural reflections resulting therefrom, which develope the merit of this fragment of antiquity. This monument occupies but little space; it only comprehends seventeen feet eight inches square, not including the fore part of the pedestals of the angular columns, which take up thirteen inches six lines, (a line is the twelfth part of an inch,) without their bases, and which farther extend four inches six lines square; in all, twenty feet, eight inches square. Its height, to the upper part of the entablature, is twenty-two feet; and the pyramid, with its base, is nearly fifty feet; which gives in all seventy-two feet in elevation, although there wants about twelve feet in proceeding from the progressive proportions observed in its tapering, from its base to the apex, to form the point or needle. The thickness of the walls which form the body of the pyramid, is two feet, seven inches; consequently its interior space is twelve feet, six inches at the base. The angular columns, by which this monument is flanked, are about twenty-two inches in diameter; their height is fourteen feet nine inches, including the bases and capitals, which would only make seven diameters and a half, or fifteen modules, which are the proportions of the columns between the Doric and Ionic. These columns are engaged by quarters (*du quart*) in the construction, make a part of it, and sustain the whole monument. Doubtless the Corinthian proportions would have been too feeble to accomplish this object. They lessen gradually to the top, as almost all the ancient columns do, and sufficiently fill the eye in the whole view. The bases are Attic, and have never been completed; one of the four is still rough and unpolished, which has given cause to certain ignorant persons to call this a monument of the bad ages and Gothic. The proportions of the capitals are Corinthian. Although they are not as yet sculptured, it is easy to see that they have been prepared for capitals of that order, and will not agree with any other. Virtuvius only assigns them two modules, and these have something more; although to the eye they appear too low, they would, no doubt, appear more elevated, if the sculpture were finished. Four piazzas in the four fronts reveal a very bold ceiling, made in imitation of basket-work: the stones of the architecture appear supported by the key-stones of the piazzas, and covered by the stones of the frieze and cornice, formed of two beds of stones, laid by bound masonry on each other. These and other proportions indicated by citizen Schneider show clearly that this monument is Corinthian, and of good taste. The inclination of the pyramid is so well combined, that all the weight rests on the centre of the pedestals of the columns; so that the columns serve for buttresses, and uphold the whole fabric. The totality of this structure is seated on a massive base of free stone, of

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of a quality similar to those employed in the rest of the work, cramped horizontally with iron, and cemented with lead; so that the whole is bound together, and forms only a single body. (This may serve to prove the durability of iron in monuments, and consequently justify the use made of that metal by a celebrated modern architect, the late M. Soufflot, in the construction of the famous church of St. Geneviève at Paris.) The whole monument is only composed of thirty-four rows of stones, of which the pyramid has twenty-three, including the base. Neither lime nor cement has been employed in it; the stones are so well joined, that the finest blade could not be insinuated between two, and indeed it would be difficult to find the junctures in many places. This is an instance of perfection in handicraft work, in which the moderns have never yet approached the Romans. There are in the base some stones so big that some pass from one piazza to the other, and make part of the two walls and of the columns, and sometimes even of the pedestals. All these precautions of solidity, the figure of the monument, its regular order, the quality of the materials, which are selected stones, an antique species of marble, susceptible of the finest polish, its piazzas, all its parts, in a word, announce that it is a public monument, which has never been finished; even the surface of the facings has not been smoothed over in any part, nor even the columns; which would induce a presumption, that they would accord better with the Corinthian order. The whole altogether of the monument is beautiful; it breathes an air of grandeur, and inspires a veneration, which well characterizes the antique. Different opinions have prevailed relative to the origin and subject of this monument. Some pretend, that it is the tomb of Verierius, founder of Vienne; others say it was the military stone of the city, serving for a decoration to the middle of its ancient precinct; while Chorier, in his Antiquities of Vienne, pretends that it is the cenotaph of Augustus.

In regard to its denomination, the antiquary Chorier is right, having discovered the true qualification of the pyramid, and is only mistaken as to the name of the prince who was the object of it. The other conjectures are fabulous. Citizen Schneider proceeds to observe, that he found it necessary to penetrate into the centre of the pyramid, in order to find out its interior construction more perfectly, and to ascertain the form and object of the pyramid. This operation, he adds, might be performed without damaging or degrading the monument. He communicated his project to the intendant of the province in the presence of the mayor and *eschevins*, in the month of October, 1776, who appeared to applaud it unanimously. He had scarcely, however, set his hand to work, before he experienced opposition, founded on false alarms, and which betrayed more of inquietude than of science. These obstacles long suspended his labour, which consisted in taking away, by means of pincers, one of the stones of the body of the pyramid to discover if it was hollow, as he had always suspected, and in that case, to penetrate into it, examine it, and describe its interior structure. Being cited before the municipal body, he tranquillized

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tranquillized the magistrates as to the fate of the monument; and having, after some time, resumed his researches, under the protection of the intendant, he at length opened the desired passage. He found nothing above the ceiling (where there was a heap of earth and dust, which the rain had filtered through in the course of time) but an empty space of about six feet square, and which grows narrower to the top, following the form of the pyramid, that is to say, as far as the sixteenth row of stones; the rest is massive as far as the apex; the stones are of bound masonry, and are rough and unpolished within. After having thus dissipated his doubts, it was easy for him to shut the temporary aperture he had made in the pyramid, by substituting another stone in the place; but it was thought preferable, he says, to place there an iron door, by favour of which they are enabled to introduce the curious who would verify his observations. Lastly, to see whether it contained any subterraneous vault, which served for a tomb, he pierced and sounded the middle, and, perpendicular with the ceiling, the massive on which the whole structure is established; he then dug up the earth which surrounded it, and, after having examined the foundation through its whole interior and exterior circumference as far as was possible, he found no index which might lead to a presumption, that it incloses any subterranean or void space destined to receive a coffin. In effect, says the professor, it did not accord with the religion of the Romans thus to expose the remains of the persons whom they honoured with the apotheosis, to be trampled under feet: and the sarcophagus, if there had been one in the monument, would have had its place in the void part of the pyramid, and would have reposed on the ceiling; or else, after other examples, the ashes, deposited in an urn, would have been placed on the pinnacle or top part of the pyramid. It is then, says the professor, a real cenotaph. It remains to determine, to the honour of whom it was erected. It could not be to Augustus, because no author mentions it; and besides, that emperor had already at Vienne a celebrated temple elevated to his memory, as the professor has especially established, in his description of that place; and the usage of the Romans was not to multiply those sorts of honours in the same place for the same person. After all the researches here detailed, citizen Schneider, at length, had recourse to ancient history. He proceeds to say, that he has remarked no great personage who has better deserved to be honoured and immortalized by a similar monument, than Alexander Severus. In effect, according to the report of Lampridius, in his History of the Emperors, he was a just and amiable prince, a lover and favourer of the arts and sciences, and one who made it his whole business to secure the happiness of the people, who had surnamed him, it seems, Severus, because of his rigour in military discipline. A model and protector of virtue, this prince highly approved of the Christian morality, and never ceased that fundamental maxim of all morality "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." He caused this fine maxim to be engraved in his palace, and on the public edifices. His moderation and his modesty

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desty, which equalled his merit and courage, made him refuse all the vain and fastidious titles with which the senate would decorate him, accustomed to adulation under the preceding reigns. But all the great qualities of Alexander could not save him from the most fatal destiny. In the flower of his age, in the midst of his triumphs, beloved by his subjects, honoured by his enemies, he fell assassinated in his tent by a cruel monster, whilst he was reposing at room in the environs of Mentz, at Schilingen, in the year 235 of the Christian æra, at the age of 26 years and some months, after having reigned thirteen years complete. The death of Alexander Severus caused a universal grief (says Lampridius, and after him Crevier, Ancient History) at Rome, and throughout the whole empire, as the mildness and equity of his government had rendered him extremely popular. He was bitterly lamented; in short, adored as a god. Lastly, the historians add, that a cenotaph was erected for him in Gaul, and that his body, taken to the capital, (Rome,) was inclosed in a magnificent tomb, and the highest honours paid to it. A religious solemnity and festivals were instituted to his honour, which were still observed at the time when Lampridius wrote. We are not acquainted, says citizen Schneider, with any cenotaph in Gaul, but that of Vienne, excepting that of Drusus, erected near the Rhine, at Mentz, of which history makes a particular mention. Hence arises a principal and strong presumption that this cenotaph is that of Alexander Severus, of which Lampridius speaks; although he does not cite the city, he says in Gaul. Vienne was the principal city of it, the capital, and one of the most considerable places of war, as, says citizen Schneider, I have already shown. It scarcely admits of a doubt, and is, on the other hand, very natural to think, that Vienne would have the honour of immortalizing a prince so generally regretted as Alexander Severus. Thus, says citizen Schneider, from a variety of causes, great cities striving to imitate Rome, (and Vienne, it seems, justly merited the title of beautiful and second Rome,) a coincidence of facts, circumstances, and conjectures, a sort of probable certainty is formed, which authorizes us to conclude that our monument is the cenotaph of Alexander Severus, respectable for its antiquity, and much more as it is the cenotaph of the first protector of the Christians; and indeed it was under his reign that the first church was raised in which worship was publicly rendered to Jesus Christ. Although he made profession of Paganism, we are informed that he had a secret inclination for Christianity, which his mother Mamméa, a Christian born, had inspired him with. Things soon changed their face under the reign of Maximin, the murderer and successor of Alexander Severus, but a tyrant as much hated and detested as his predecessor was beloved. Maximin, doubtless with a view to conceal his crime and conciliate the people, at first affected respect for the memory of Alexander, and even feigned to approve of the funeral honours which had been decreed to him. But not being able to conceal his ferocious character long, he soon manifested contrary sentiments, by banishing from the court and army all

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all the friends of the young and virtuous Alexander, among whom were a great number of Christians, who were violently persecuted. and their churches pulled down. Civil wars and other revolutions rendered the reign of Maximin very stormy. This universal disorder was, doubtless, one of the principal causes which prevented our monument from being terminated and brought to perfection. The professor then proceeds to investigate and explain why this sort of monuments had a pyramidal form. The pyramid is a well-known symbol of immortality, as we learn by its etymology from the word in Greek signifying fire or flame. Another reason or motive of this construction is, that its form is more solid and more durable than any other — on this account, the kings of Egypt adopted it for their famous tombs, known by the names of the pyramids of Egypt. In effect, this figure of a building resists better the injuries of time; the rain-water runs from it more easily, and cannot lodge on it; the four corners are exposed to the four cardinal points, so that the four principal winds cannot strike it at right angles. The Greeks have preserved for their funeral monuments the pyramidal figure which they had received from the Egyptians, as the Romans learned it from the Greeks. We have retained it from both these nations, and preserved it in our mausolea. The Greeks and Romans endeavoured to bring these monuments to perfection, and to render them more agreeable to the eye, by giving them a lighter and bolder construction. For this purpose, they elevated them, some by means of a pedestal, and some were placed on an entire body of architecture, which served for a basis. Of the latter kind is the cenotaph of Vienne. Nevertheless this novelty of method did not at all injure the solidity, as our monument demonstrates. The four angles in it are opposed to four cardinal points in imitation of the pyramids of Egypt, which, in all probability, has greatly contributed to its preservation. Father Montfaucon makes mention likewise of this monument (in his book. entitled Antiquities Explained,) after Spon. On the article of tombs, he gives a design in which our cenotaph is not at all discernible. These are his words: — "I conceive that we ought to take for a mausoleum the pyramid which is near Vienne, sustained by four pillars, adorned with four columns that support a vault of eighteen feet elevation; on the vault rises a pyramid of from twenty-five to thirty feet; the whole may stand from forty to fifty feet high." This description, continues the professor, is doubtless made at random, for here are neither pillars nor vault in the body of the architecture that supports the pyramid; and Montfaucon is mistaken by twenty-four feet in the whole height,—he forgets the entablature, and supposes, in his design, elliptic arches, which were never yet seen in antique monuments. It is surprising, that both Spon and Montfaucon, should have been so negligent in verifying so fine a fragment of antiquity; and Spon especially, who was some time at Vienne. But probably he spoke or wrote of it when he was no longer in the country. The professor terminates these observations by some general reflections on the object and principal utility of this sort of works.

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Reasons why the County of Surrey should not be charged with any great Number of Horses. Extracted from a Volume of original Letters and State Papers written in the Reign of Elizabeth.

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GENERAL causes whie the countie of Surrey should not be chardged with anie great nomber of horses or geldings, as ensueth.

First, that it is one of the least shires in England, it is well knowen.

Secondarilie, that it is one of the barrenest, it is manifest, for that it is not able of it self to finde the shire either in cattell, or shepe, or anie other comoditie, & much lesse to provide it self off horses & geldings.

Thirdlie, moste chardged of anie shire in England, by reason that her Matie lieth in or about the shire contynuallie, & thereby is chardged wth contynuall removes, & also wth contynuall cariadge with coles, wood, and other provision to the court: also by my lord treasurer for the reparacions of her ma^ties^ houses, & likewise with contynuall carriadge for the admiraltie, & lastlie for the master of the ordynance.

Fourthlie, that a great part of the shire lieth in the forest, for that the Bailywike of Windsor Forrest is a great parte in Surrey.

Fifthlie, another great parte of the shire lyeth upon Downes, & high ground, which are but barren, as is very well knowen.

Sixthlie, there is verie little meadow in the whole shire, whereby it sholde be able to finde anie sorte of horses & geldings, in the winter especiallie; & but few in the summer.

Lastlie, there is never a shire in England so depelie sessed in the subsidies, as this shire is, by reason that it is so nygh the Courte that both gentlemens lyvings & others are verie well knowen, so as if any defaulte should be, it is streightwaie subject to controlement.

Notes taken by Lord Oxford at Woburn Abbey; not inserted in his Works. Notes to the Pictures at Woburn Abbey. By H. W. 1791.

1. ROBERT Devereux, earl of Essex, the celebrated favourite of queen Elizabeth.

2. Katherine Bruges, daughter and coheiress of Giles baron Chandos, wife of Francis Russel, fourth earl of Bedford.

3. Edward Russel, third earl of Bedford, died without issue.

6. Sir William Russel, knight of the Bath, when young; a very curious picture by Priwitzer; a painter by whom no other picture is known in England. Sir William was eldest son of Francis, fourth earl of Bedford, whom he succeeded in the title, was father of the excellent William lord Russel, and, after the revolution in 1688, was created, by king William, duke of Bedford — but a more affecting triumph had been offered to his feeling by his son's chief enemy. James II. on the landing of the prince of Orange, was so weak as to have recourse for advice to the earl of Bedford: the earl answered with this melancholy but piercing reproach, "I had a son, sir, who could have advised your majesty."

7. Lady Ann Carr, wife of the preceding peer, and only child of Robert Carr, earl of Somerset, by the

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the remarkable Frances Howard, countess of Essex. It is said, that lady Bedford was entirely ignorant of the history of her parents, till, by accident, she met with their trial in print.

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Extract of a Letter from Mr. Gerrard to Lord Strafford.

"We have here also another considerable heir, my lord Russel, this winter come from beyond the seas, where he hath spent two years, an handsome gentile man, and there is much looking at him. There are three young ladies ripe of marriage; it is thought he will settle upon one of them; my lady Eliz. Cecil, the lady Ann Carr, and the lady Dorothy Sidney: yet the voice goes that he bends somewhat towards the lady Ann Carr; though it is said his father hath given him the admonition to chuse any where but there."—Strafford's Letters, vol. i, 359.

8. Francis Russel, fourth earl of Bedford, son of William lord Russel, of Thornhaugh, succeeded to the title on the death of his cousin earl Edward. He was the principal promoter of the great plan for draining the fens, since called the Bedford Level. Afterwards, though zealous for the liberty of his country, he was so wise and temperate a man, that lord Clarendon thought the death of lord Bedford, in 1641, was a great blow to the king's affairs, as his lordship had both inclination and influence enough to have prevented much of the violence that ensued.

12. George Digby, earl of Bristol, and William Russel, fifth earl of Bedford, (and afterwards duke,) mentioned above. The former was the memorable lord Digby; and though these lords were probably friends* at the time when they sat for their portraits in one piece, their characters were exceedingly dissimilar. Lord Bedford was honest, sincere, and moderate; and so far from being a bigot to party, that he often fluctuated, yet still with a view to preserving the balance of the constitution, and without even being suspected of acting from self-interest or ambition. Lord Bristol, with brighter parts, was rash, enterprising, full of art, and by no means steady to the principles of honour, nor firm to those of religion. Both distinguished themselves by personal bravery; but Bristol's restless ambition and subtlety only sullied his reputation. Bedford's integrity and temper carried him to the grave with honour at the great age of eighty-seven.

13. Rachel de Rouvigny, a French lady, wife of the virtuous lord treasurer Southampton, and mother of that exalted heroine Rachel lady Russel, who will be mentioned in the following pages.

15. Lady Gertrude Levison, daughter of John first earl of Gower, and widow of John fourth duke of Bedford, presenting their only daughter, lady Caroline Russel, (afterwards duchess of Marlborough,) to Minerva for her education.

19. Francis, marquis of Tavistock, only son of John and Gertrude, duke and duchess of Bedford. He died in consequence of a fall from his horse, as he was hunting, but not before such genuine honour, generosity, and every amiable virtue, had shown through the veil of natu-

* They were brothers-in-law. Vide No. 45.

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ral modesty, that no young man of quality, since the earl of Ossory, son of the duke of Ormond, had inspired fonder hopes, attracted higher esteem, or died so universally lamented.

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20. Lady Elizabeth Keppel, youngest daughter of William Anne, second earl of Albemarle, and wife of the preceding. Her beauty and merit had deserved such a lord; and the short time she survived him proved the felicity and misery that had fallen to her lot.

21. Lady Cook, wife of sir Anthony Cook, of Guidea Hall, in Essex, tutor to king Edward the Sixth, and mother of the four learned daughters, lady Burleigh, lady Bacon, lady Russel, and Mrs. Killegrew. Lady Russel, was married to sir Thomas Hobby, and afterwards to John, second son of Francis Russel, second earl of Bedford. This lady erected the classic tomb in Westminster Abbey to her sister-in-law Elizabeth Russel, but with the Christian addition of a death's head; her pointing to which gave rise to the vulgar notion of her having bled to death by pricking her finger.

22. Francis, fourth earl of Bedford. (I suppose when young.) The same person as No. 8.

23. Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Long, of Shengay, wife of sir William Russel, baron Russel, of Thornhaugh, and mother of Francis, fourth earl of Bedford.

24. Lady Anne Russel, eldest daughter of Francis, second earl of Bedford, and wife of Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. She was much in the favour of queen Elizabeth.

25. Edward Clinton, earl of Lincoln, a brave, and probably a very prudent man; for, besides being lord high admiral for thirty years, in four most difficult reigns, he was intrusted with various martial and ceremonious commissions, for most of which he was amply rewarded, without having performed any action of conspicuous eclat. He seems to have laid himself open neither to enemies nor reproach, and to have been content with securing fortune by his services, without risking it by overrating his abilities. Such discreet courtiers are useful to their prince and to their own families, preserve dignity in their own time, but leave little to be recorded but their genealogies. The peremptory and determined tempers of the Tudors necessarily formed many such proficients, of whom the first marquis of Winchester was the most dexterous; the quintescence of his wisdom, which preserved him lord treasurer to the age of ninety-seven, was couched in his maxim of being an osier rather than an oak.

26. Frances Howard, a daughter of the lord treasurer Suffolk, married first to Robert, earl of Essex, and then to Robert Carr, earl of Somerset, favourite of James the First, by a sentence of nullity, that fell bitterly on the under agents, disgraced the prelates who pronounced it, and caused the ruin and discontent of the parties concerned, who, tradition says, grew to live under the same roof with the utmost hatred and estrangement. The earl of Essex seems to have brooded over his resentment to the monarch (who first protected Somerset, then deserted him with treacherous alacrity, and then pardoned him,) till he was revenged on his majesty's son, by accepting the command of the parliamentary army against him. He did not succeed so well in confuting the injustice

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injustice of the sentence of nullity by taking a second wife; and his having owned an indisposition *quoad* the first, was more believed than it had been originally, when he left no issue by the second.

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28. Henry Danvers, earl of Danby. He deserved, by his bravery and services in the wars in Flanders and France, the notice of prince Maurice, and of Henry IV, and was, therefore, worthy of the honours and knighthood of the garter bestowed by James I; and he closed his fair career by founding the physic-garden at Oxford. In the collection at Houghton, and now at Petersburgh, was another noble whole length portrait by Vandyck of this good lord in the robes of the garter, his amiable countenance being dignified, not contrasted, by a scar from a wound on his temple.

29. As there is no date in the catalogue to this article, I cannot tell which of the Henries, earls of Northumberland, it represents.

30. Francis, second son of Francis, fourth earl of Bedford. He died in France, unmarried, a month before his father.

31. John, third son of the same earl. He served in the civil war on the king's side, and after the restoration, was made colonel of the first regiment of foot guards. See more of him in "Les Memoires de Grammont."

32. Lady Catharine Russel, eldest daughter of ditto, and wife of Robert, lord Brook.

33. Edward Montagu, earl of Manchester, better known by his earlier title of lord Kimbolton, one of the five members demanded by king Charles the First. After the restoration, he was appointed lord chamberlain by king Charles the Second. He married lady Margaret Russel, daughter of Francis earl of Bedford.

34. Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton. I cannot tell whether this is the second or third earl, but I suppose the latter, who was the dear friend of Robert, earl of Essex, with whom he was condemned, but spared by Elizabeth, and restored by James I. He was father of the lord treasurer Southampton, and consequently grandfather of Rachel, lady Russel.

35. John Russel, fourth duke of Bedford.

36. I cannot tell which of the earls of Haddington this is.

37. Lady Diana Russel, fourth and youngest daughter of Francis, fouth earl of Bedford, and wife of Francis, lord Newport.

38. Dorothy, daughter of T. Savage, earl Rivers, and wife of Charles Howard, earl of Berkshire.

39. Mary, lady Herbert, wife of the famous lord Herbert, of Cherbury. See his life.

40. Christian, countess of Devonshire; a lady of much note in her time. She was daughter of the lord Bruce, of Kinlos, one of the favourites of James the First, who, to facilitate her match into so great a family, gave her, besides his recommendation, ten thousand pounds. Sir Edward Bruce, killed in the remarkable duel with the earl of Dorset, was one of her brothers. In her youth, she was the platonic mistress of William, earl of Pembroke, who, according to the romantic gallantry of that age, wrote a volume of poems in her praise, which were published and dedicated to her by Dr. Donne. In every period she seems to have held one of those female tribunals of literature

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ture first instituted by the marquis de Rambouillet, at Paris, and of late years very numerous there. The lord Lisle, in a letter to sir William Temple, tells him, that the old countess of Devonshire's house was Mr. Waller's chief theatre. (See Fenton's Notes on Waller.) One of her dependants has recorded her life in a small tract written in the more spiritual tone of those times. Upon the whole, her ladyship seems to have been a fair model of our ancient nobility, a compound of piety, regularity, dignity, and human wisdom, so discreetly classed, as to suffer none of them to trespass on the interests of its associates. Thus, while her devotion was universally admired, her prudence intrusted the education of her eldest son to Mr. Hobbes; and though she lived up to the splendour of her rank, having a jointure of 5,000*l.* a year, so judicious was her economy, that she nearly doubled it; and having procured the wardship of her son, she managed his affairs so skilfully, as to extricate his estate from a vast debt and thirty law-suits, having, by her *affability and sweet address*, (says her biographer,) so ingratiated herself with the sages of the law, that king Charles told her, "Madam, you have all my judges at your disposal." Nor were politics neglected by a lady so exquisitely tinctured with a knowledge of the world. On the contrary, lady Devonshire was not only busy, but reckoned instrumental in the conduct of the restoration, being trusted by that pearl of secrecy, general Monck. In a word, if this countess, in the flower of her age, was, like the queen of Bohemia, the theme of the wits and poets of the court, in her riper years she seems to have imbibed the profitable wisdom of her lord's grandmother, the famous countess of Shrewsbury, and to have made it her study to preserve and augment that wealth and importance to the house of Cavendish, of which the grandam had laid such ample foundations.

41. Anne Carr, daughter of Robert, earl of Somerset, wife of William, earl, and afterwards duke of Bedford, and mother of lord Russel; a lady whose misfortunes began with the disgrace of her parents, and were wound up by the tragic death of her excellent son, whom she survived but a year.

42. Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, lord treasurer. It is remarkable, that puritannic virulence never aspersed lord Southampton, either when he opposed their power or rose on their ruin; that his virtues escaped both contagion and ridicule in a most profligate and satiric court; and that sincere patriots believe, that the gates were shut against the inroad of prerogative at the restoration of the man who was placed by the king at the head of the treasury.

43. Lucy, daughter of John, lord Harrington, and wife of Edward, earl of Bedford. This lady was the lavish patroness of the less opulent wits of that age; and as her munificence was directed to more visionary views than that of the countess of Devonshire, the estate of her lord, who was a weak man, was considerably impaired by her ostentation. One of her ladyship's portraits here is drawn in a fantastic habit dancing. Sir William Temple has recorded the taste of her garden at Moor Park — but newer principles of taste have prevailed since he wrote.

44. Lady

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44. Lady Catherine Russel, eldest daughter of Francis, earl of Bedford, and wife of Robert, lord Brook.

45. Lady Anne, second daughter to ditto, wife of George Digby, earl of Bristol.

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46. Lady Margaret, third daughter, wife of James Hay, earl of Carlisle. She was secondly married to Robert Rich, earl of Warwick; and thirdly to Edward Montagu, earl of Manchester. There is a print after Vandyck of this lady with an infant daughter, who probably died young, as the countess is said to have left no issue.

47. Lady Diana, fourth daughter, wife of Francis, lord Newport,

48. Edward Russel, fourth son of earl Francis, and father of Edward Russel, earl of Orford.

49 and 50. The same persons as No. 45 and 46, as 51 is the same as 47.

52. Probably *Lucy*—I find no Catherine, wife of an earl Edward.

53. As no Christian name is specified, I cannot tell which earl of Rutland is meant. Query, if not the husband of lady Catherine, No. 68.

54. Thomas Cecil, earl of Exeter, eldest son of lord treasurer Burleigh; a man of courage and dignity, who attained no renown, and incurred no reproach. As he declined the earldom when first offered to him, from the incompetency of his fortune, it showed there was no ostentation in his virtues.

55. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, a statesman of abilities, much employed by queen Elizabeth in arduous negotiations, but who seems to have marred his own fortune by enmity to Burleigh, and by too much attachment to Leicester, who was suspected of removing him foully, to stifle secrets to which he had been privy—but rumour is no evidence; and David Lloyd, who records him in his State Worthies, and who does seem to have been acquainted with much more private history of his personages than has otherwise been transmitted to us, is so much fonder of shining than of unfolding, that, having quoted no authorities for his anecdotes, we must trust too much to broken hints, which we should be glad, but are never likely now, to see elucidated. Sir Nicholas's story, therefore, will probably remain obscure.

56. Frances, lady Chandos, daughter of the earl of Lincoln, and wife of Giles, lord Chandos.

57. Elizabeth Bruges, daughter of Giles, lord Chandos, baron of Sudely.

58. William Russel, first duke of Bedford. Vide No. 12.

59. William, lord Russel, the well-known martyr to the cause of his country.

60. Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper, a wise and worthy man, eclipsed in every thing but his virtues by that transcendent genius the chancellor, his son. Æt. 52.

61. William, lord Russel, baron of Thornhaugh and lord deputy of Ireland, and youngest son of Francis, second earl of Bedford. He was a considerable person, of whom there is a full account in Collins's Peerage, in the family of Bedford, to which I have nothing to add.

62. Sir Edward Gorges, æt. suæ 37, anno 1597.

63. Sir Josceline Percy, seventh son of Henry, earl of Northumberland, d. 1631.

64. Elizabeth, queen of England.

65. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Such was the capricious cruelty

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cruelty of Henry VIII, that though he fell so unmercifully on the house of Norfolk, out of which he had married two wives, Anne Boleyn and Catharine Howard, and had married his natural son, the duke of Richmond, to a third female of that family; yet the earl of Angus and the duke of Suffolk, who married his two sisters, though dowager queens of Scotland and France, without his leave, were spared, and the first kept his head, and the latter his majesty's favour.

66. Edward, earl of Lincoln, lord high admiral of England, 1584, Vide No. 25.

67. Rachel, second daughter of William, lord Russel, ætat 12½, afterwards married to William, second duke of Devonshire.

68. Catharine, third daughter, ætat 9¾, afterwards married to the first duke of Rutland.

69. John Russel, first earl of Bedford, and patriarch of the family.

70. Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, the well-known favourite of queen Elizabeth.

71. Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, elder brother of Leicester.

72. Anne, countess of Warwick, his wife. The same person as No. 24.

73. Sir Francis Russel, third son of Francis, first earl of Bedford, but surviving his two elder brothers became lord Russel, yet was killed on the borders of Scotland the day before the death of the earl, his father, whose title fell to Edward, the only son of this sir Francis.

74. Edward, lord Russel, eldest son of the first earl Francis, ætat 22, 1573.

75. Francis, the first of that name, and second earl of Bedford. This earl, like his father, was always in great employments, and left a fair character.

76. I believe the same person as No. 73.

77. The same person as No. 31.

78. Giles, lord Chandos, ætat 43.

79. Anne of Denmark, wife of king James the First; a woman content with show and pleasure, who had no credit with her husband, nor appears to have aimed at or deserved any.

80. Lady Binlos. In the peerages her husband is called Francis Binlos. She was daughter of Henry West, lord Delawar.

81. Lord Wimbledon. Sir Edward Cecil, the only viscount Wimbledon, had three wives. I do not know which of them this represents.

82. Lady Margaret Russel, daughter of Francis, second earl of Bedford, who having obtained the wardship of George Clifford, earl of Cumberland, (afterwards a great sailor,) married him to this lady, by whom he left no issue but that singular dame Anne, countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery.

83. William, lord Russel, ætat 27, anno 1580. Vide No. 61.

84. Francis, son of the preceding, and afterwards earl of Bedford. Vide No. 8.

85. Francis, first of the name, and second earl of Bedford. Vide No. 75.

86. Rogers, comptroller to queen Elizabeth, ætat 69, 1561. Hentzner mentions him as obtaining permission from the lord chamberlain to enter the presence chamber, and see her majesty go to chapel in state.

87. Wriothesley, duke of Bedford. Query, Whether the second or third duke?

88. Mary

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88. Mary, queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII.

89. Lady Catharine Howard, youngest daughter of Thomas, earl of Suffolk, lord treasurer, wife of William Cecil, second earl of Salisbury, and sister of Frances, countess of Essex and Somerset.

90. Lady Ann Ayscough, daughter of lord admiral Clinton, earl of Lincoln, by Ursula his second wife, married to William, son of sir Francis Ayscough, of Kelsey, Lincolnshire. She was sister of Frances, wife of Giles, lord Chandos, who was father of Catherine, wife of Francis, earl of Bedford, anno 1577.

91. Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, daughter of the earl of Kildare, and third wife of lord admiral earl of Lincoln. This lady was the earl of Surrey's fair Geraldini. Vide Royal and Noble Authors.

92. Jane Seymour, queen of Henry VIII. Not so fortunate by her exaltation as by her early death. When beauty was the sole recommendation to the throne, no wonder the tenure was frail.

93. Philip and Mary. When two such sanguinary hands were joined, it was lucky for mankind that no issue was the consequence. The intrepidity of the Tudors, united with the unprincipled policy of Charles V and Philip, might have depopulated Europe, and formed as desolate a waste of empire as that of the Ottomans.

94. Edward Courtenay, earl of Devonshire. See an account of him and of this portrait in the Anecdotes of Painting.

95. Sir Philip Sydney. The flower of chivalry in the reign of Elizabeth, and so deservedly a favourite character, that one writer gave offence by only questioning, two hundred years after sir Philip's death, whether all the encomiums showered on him by his cotemporaries might not have been a little overstrained.

96. Lady Isabella Bennet, sole daughter and heiress of the earl of Arlington, wife of the first duke of Grafton, and afterwards of sir Thomas Hanmer, speaker of the house of commons. Her portrait is among the beauties of Hampton Court.

97. James, duke of Monmouth. He was born for a court, not for a crown, as he possessed only the outward graces that contribute, by captivating the vulgar, to ravish a diadem. James II was not to be dazzled from his throne by his brilliant nephew, though so easily driven from it by his wiser son-in-law.

98. James Hay, earl of Carlisle, I suppose husband of lady Margaret Russel, mentioned at No. 46.

99. Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donat's, in Glamorganshire, was married in 1566, was afterwards knighted, and he or his son was made a baronet by James I.

100. Lady Evelyn Levison, youngest daughter of John, first earl Gower. She was married first to John Fitzpatrick, first earl of Upper Ossory, and secondly to Richard Vernon, esq.

101. Rachel, lady Russel, daughter of lord treasurer Southampton, first married to lord Vaughan, son of the earl of Carberry, and afterwards to the justly admired lord Russel. The excellent and undisturbed sense, and unshaken firmness, of this virtuous heroine, while she assisted her lord during his trial, was proved not to be the result of insensibility, miscalled philosophy, but a command over the most afflicted tenderness as long as she could be of use to him, and while she might have distressed his affection—for the

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first moment he was no more, she gave such incessant loose to her tears as to be supposed to have brought on her blindness—still with such devout submission, that she bore the insolent reproofs of a bigotted chaplain devoted to the court, who augmented her rational grief by scarce oblique condemnation of the principles to which her dearest lord had fallen a sacrifice. Her ladyship's letters, which have been published, are a compound of resigned piety, never-ceasing grief, strong sense, and true patriotism, with strict attention to all domestic duties. She lived to a great age, revered almost as a saint herself, and venerated as the relict of the martyr to liberty and the constitution.

102. Elizabeth Howland, wife of Wriothesley, second duke of Bedford, with her children. Wriothsley, the third duke, and lord John, afterwards fourth duke; lady Rachel, duchess of Bridgewater, and lady Elizabeth, countess of Essex.

103. Mr. Howland, of Streathham, father of the duchess Elizabeth.

104. Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I; a lady whose graces, heroism, or distresses, perhaps all, attracted the homage of the paladins of that age, but could infuse no spirit into that timorous and negotiating dupe her father, who cherished royalty too much to forgive his son-in-law for ravishing a crown from another monarch, though he could not keep it. This momentary queen, after bestowing, with unimpeached virtue, a numerous issue on her wandering husband, in her widowhood rewarded her martial servant, the earl of Craven, with her fair hand, and lived to see the restoration of her nephew, though little suspecting that her youngest daughter would be named successor to her great niece Anne, and be appointed to wear the crown of the twice dethroned Stuarts.

105. Prince Nassau.

106. Lady Diana Spencer, youngest daughter of Charles, earl of Sunderland, and first wife of John, duke of Bedford.

107. Sir Greville Verney, first husband of lady Diana Russel, daughter of William, earl of Bedford.

108. King Charles the First.

109. Lady Anne Russel, eldest daughter of lady Diana Russel, second daughter of William, earl (and then duke of) Bedford, first married to sir Greville Verney, and then to William, lord Allington.

110. Sir Robert Byngham. I can find nothing of *sir Robert:* if an old picture, it probably represents sir Richard Byngham, who was a considerable man in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

111. Lady Caroline Russel, only daughter of John, duke of Bedford, and wife of George Spencer, duke of Marlborough.

Finished Sept. 29, 1791.

Account of Dearths and Famine. From a scarce and curious Pamphlet, entitled, "Artachthos; or, A new Booke declaring the Assise or Weight of Bread by Troy, and Averdupois Weights, and containing divers Orders and Articles made and set forth by the Lords and others of his Majesties most honble Privie Councell. 4to. Printed by R. Bishop and Edward Griffine, and are to be sold at the Stationers Shops, or at the Chamber of John Benketham, the Composer,

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poser, in Simons Inn, in Chancerie Lane."

THE course of penning introductive preambles (frequent with writers) for brevities sake now avoided, albeit I might (and not impertinently) in this case treat of Gods three severall rods or arrowes, whereof his divine Majestie by administration of the prophet *Gad*, afforded free election to king *David*, and wherewith at sundry times he hath sore afflicted this our land of *Canaan*, where the diuturnall miserie of pestilence being with us not fully overpast, and famine, as also the sword or worse instruments of warre, incessantly working the most lamentable damage and destruction of our friends and neighbours, move me to remember that prudent admonition of *Horace* to *Lollius, lib.* 1. *Epist.*

Ecquid
Ad te post paulò ventura pericula sentis?
Nam tua res agitur, paries cùm proximus ardet.

That is,

Art thou insensible, or dost not see
That dangers will ere long encounter thee?
For when thy neighbour's house in flames doth shine,
Then it behoves thee to have care of thine.

My purpose is only to set before your eyes (Christian readers) the famines and dearths, which I find upon record, England hath sustained, together with the particular occasions thereof, to the end that those whom it most concernes may be put in minde of the waves under God, to prevent the like future calamities. Beginning in the reigne of *William* the conquerour, *viz.*

An. Dom. 1069.

In the third and fourth yeare of the said king, by meanes of the *Normans* wasting of *England* in *Northumberland*, and other places in the yeare precedent, such a dearth encreased through all *England*, especially *Northumberland*, and the countries next adjoyning, that men were glad to eat horses, catts, dogges, and mans flesh, for all the land lying between *Durham* and *Yorke*, lay waste without inhabitants and people to till the ground, for the space of nine yeares, except only the territory of Saint *John of Beverlake.*

Of this you may read at large in the said Chronicle.

An. Dom. 1086.

In the 21 yeare of *W. C.* was a great dearth of cattell, and sore distemperature of the aire, so that many men died of fevers, and afterwards many others died of famine.

An. Dom. 1093.

In the sixt yeare of *William Rufus*, was a great famine, and afterwards so great a mortality, that the living were scarce able to bury the dead.

An. Dom. 1112.

In the 13 yeare of king *Henry* the First, was a sharp winter, great dearth and mortality of men, with murraine of beasts of the field, and also of the house, and a great destruction of fowle.

An. Dom. 1124.

In the 23 yeare of the same king, by means of changing the coine, all things became very dear, whereof an extreme famine did arise, and afflict the multitude of the people even to death.

An. Dom. 1177.

In the three and twentieth yeare of *Henry* the Second, the black book containing the orders and rules of the exchequer was compiled; wherein, among other things, is mentioned, that

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that for provision of the king's houshold from the time of king *Henry* the First, the officers of the king's houshould reducing their victualls into an estimate of money, did value for a measure of wheat to make bread for 100 men, xijd. for the carcasse of a fat ox, xijd. for a fat sheepe 4*d*. and for the provinder of twenty horses 4*d*.

An. Dom. 1205.

In the seventh yeare of king *John*, began a great frost, which continued till the 22 of March, so that the ground could not be tilled, whereof it came to passe, that in the summer following, a quarter of wheat was sold in many places of *England* for a mark (which for the more part in the dayes of king *Henry* the Second, was sold twelve pence) and a quarter of beanes or peas for a noble, and a quarter of oates for 3*s*. 4*d*. which were wont to be sold for 4*d*.

An. Dom. 1222.

In the seventh yeare of *Henry* the Third, on holy rood day was a great thunder and lightning throughout all *England*, and such great flouds of water followed, with great winds and tempests, which continued till Candlemas, that the yeare following, wheat was sold for 12*s*. the quarter, which is as much as 36*s*. at this day.

An. Dom. 1234.

18 *Henry* the 3. Was a great frost at Christmasse, which destroyed the corne in the ground, and the roots of hearbs in the gardens, continuing till Candlemasse without any snow, so that no man could plough the ground, and all the yeare after was unseasonable weather, so that barenesse of all things ensued, and many poore folks dyed for want of victualls, the rich being so bewitched with avarice, that they could yeeld them no reliefe.— Amongst whom *Walter Gray*, then archbishop of York, was not least covetous, of whom it is recorded that his corne being then 5 yeares old, hee doubting the same to be spoiled with vermine, did command that it should be delivered to the husbandmen that inhabited his mannours, upon condition, that they should pay him the like quantity of new corn after harvest, but would give none to the poore for God's sake, whereupon it came to passe, that when men came to a great stack of his corne, which stood neere the towne of *Rippon*, there appeared in the sheaves all over the same, the heads of worms, serpents, and toads, besides, a voice was heard out of the corn-mow, saying, *Lay no hands on the corne, for the archbishop and all that hee hath is the devills*. To conclude, the bailiffes were forced to build a high wall round about the corne, and then to set it on fire, lest the venemous wormes should have gotten out and poysoned the corne in other places.

How this bishop died I have not read, and whether he went to God or the devill, it is not for me to determine.

An. Dom. 1248.

32 *Henry* 3. By reason of embasing the coine a great penury followed.

An. Dom. 1258.

43 *Henry* 3. A great dearth followed the wet yeare past, for a quarter of wheat was sold for 15*s*. and 20*s*. but the worst was, in the end, there could be none found for money, wherethrough many poor people were constrained to eat barks of trees, and horse flesh, but many starved for want of food, twenty thousand (as it was said) in *London*.

An

An. Dom. 1288.

In the sixteenth yeare of *Edward* the First, the summer was so exceeding hot, that many died through the extremity thereof, and yet wheat was sold in *England* for three shillings foure pence the quarter.

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An. Dom. 1289.

1 *Edward* 1. Great haile fell in *England*, and after ensued great raine, that the yeare following wheat was raised from 3*d.* the bushel to 16*d.* and so encreased yearely; till it was sold for 2*s.* 6*d.* the bushell.

An. Dom. 1295.

In the 23 yeare of *Edward* the First, the king caused all the monasteries in England to be searched, and the money found in them to be brought up to *London*. Hee also seised into his hands all their lay fees, because they refused to pay him such a tax as hee demanded. Moreover, he caused the woll and feather to be stayed in *England*, and there followed great dearth of corne and wine.

An. Dom. 1298.

25 *Edward* 1. Was a great famine in *England*, chiefly want of wine, so that the same could scarcely be had to minister the communion in the church.

An. Dom. 1299.

27 *Edward* 1. An act of common counsell was made for prices of victualls to be sold at *London* by consent of the king, and nobility, *viz.* a fat cock for 1*d.* ob. two pullets 1*d.* ob. a fat capon 2*d.* ob. a goose 4*d.* a mallard 1*d.* ob. a partridge 1*d.* ob. a pheasant 4*d.* a heron 6*d.* a plover 1*d.* a swan 3*s.* a crane 12*d.* two woodcocks 1*d.* ob. a fat lamb from Christmasse to Shrovetide 6*d.* and all the yeare after for 4*d.*

An. Dom. 1314.

In the eight yeare of king *Edward* the Second, the price of victualls being so excessive, that the common people were not able to live. By parliament at *London*, 3 *Feb.* it was ordained, and the king's writs were published for prices of victualls not to exceed as followeth, *viz.* an ox stalled or corne fed, 24*s.* a grasse fed ox, 16*s.* a fat stalled cow, 12*s.* another 10*s.* a fat mutton corn fed, or whose woll is well growne, 20*d.* another fat mutton shorne, 14*d.* a fat hog of two years old, 3*s.* 4*d.* a fat goose, 2*d.* ob. in the citie, 3*d.* a fat capon, 2*d.* in the citie, 2*d.* ob. a fat hen, 1*d.* in the citie, 1*d.* ob. two chickens, 1*d.* in the citie, 1*d.* ob. four pidgions, 1*d.* in the citie, three 1*d.* 24 eggs, 1*d.* in the citie, 20, &c. Neverthelesse, all things were sold deerer than before; no flesh could be had, capons and geese were not to be found, eggs were hard to come by, sheepe died of the rott, swine were out of the way, a quarter of wheat, beanes, and peas, was sold for 20*s.* of malt for a mark. of salt, for 35*s.*

An. Dom. 1315.

8 *Edward* 2. The king in parliament at *London*, revoked the provisions before made for selling of victualls, and permitted all men to make the best of their owne. Neverthelesse, the dearth increased through the abundance of raine that fell in harvest, so that a quarter of wheat was sold before Midsummer for 30*s.* and after for 40*s.*

There followed hereupon a grievous mortalitie of people, so that the living might hardly bury the dead. The beasts and cattle also through corruptness of the grasse whereon they fed, died. Horse flesh was accounted great delicates: the poore stole fat dogs to eat; *those dogs became fat by feeding on the beasts and cattell*

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cattell that died; some others in hidden places did mitigate their hunger with the flesh of their owne children. The thieves that were in prison, did pluck in pieces those that were newly brought in amongst them, and greedily devoured them half alive.

The Londoners, the same yeare, considering that wheat was much consumed by the converting thereof into mault, ordained, that from thenceforth it should be made of other graine, and also that a gallon of the better ale should be sold for 3 halfe pence, and of small ale for one penny, not above.

The king, according to the statute of *London*, sent his writs through the realme, commanding, that in cities, boroughes, townes, and villages, as well within the liberties as without, a gallon of ale should bee sold for one penny. And that from thenceforth, no wheat should be made into mault, which if he had not the sooner caused to be proclaimed, the greatest part of the people should have perished through famine.

An. Dom. 1317.

10 *E.* 2. The harvest was early, so that all the corne was inned before saint *Giles* day, being the first of September, a bushell of wheat which before was sold for 10*s.* was then sold for 10 pence; and a bushell of oates, which before was sold for 8 shil. was then sold for 8 pence.

An. Dom. 1329.

In the third yeare of Edw. the Third, a statute was made prohibiting the importation of wheat, rye, or barly into this realme, unlesse the price of wheat exceeded 6 shil. 8 pence the quarter, of rye 4 shil. of barly 3 shil. at that port or place where the same should bee brought in, upon pain of forfeiture thereof.

An. Dom. 1330.

4 *E.* 3. The summer was so wet with abundance of rain, that the corne could not ripen; so that in many places they began not harvest until Michaelmasse, the house of *Craxton* got not in their wheat till Alhallontide, and their peas not before saint *Andrewes* tide. The monks on Alhallonday and Martinmas day were served with peas greene in the cods, in stead of peares and apples.

An. Dom. 1355.

27 *E.* 3. The dearth of corne by them of *Ireland*, and the *Irishmen* that brought in corne to sell unto divers havens of this realme, was asswaged to the great reliefe of the people.

An. Dom. 1358.

E. 3. A great dearth with pestilence happened in *England*, which was called the second pestilence.

An. Dom. 1369.

43 *E.* 3. Was a great dearth of corne, so that a bushell of wheat at *London* was sold for 2 shil. 6 pence, of barly for 20 pence, of oates for 12 pence.

The occasion of this dearth might bee supposed the excessivenesse of a feast in the yeare before, where the meats that were brought from the tables, would sufficiently have served ten thousand men.

An. Dom. 1379.

In the third yeare of *Richard* the Second, a bushell of wheat was sold for 6 pence, a gallon of white wine for 6 pence, of red for 4 pence.

An. Dom. 1387.

10 *Rich.* 2. In the beginning of the yeare, at *Leicester*, 100 quarters of barly were sold for 100 shillings.

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An. Dom. 1391.

15 R. 2. Dearth of corne now almost continued for two yeares, whereby it came to passe, that when the time of fruits, as nutts, apples, plummes, peares, &c. was come, many poore people through overfeeding thereof, died of the flux. And if the commendable care of *Adam Baume*, then maior of *London*, had not relieved the commons, who continually provided, that from the parts beyond the seas, corne was brought to London to the reliefe of the whole realme, where otherwise without doubt neither had the country sufficed the citie, nor the citie succoured the country.

To the furtherance of which good work in relieving the poore; the maior and citizens of *London* took out of the orphans chest in their Guildhall, 2000 marks to buy corne and other victualls from beyond the seas, and the aldermen, each of them layd out 20 pound, to the like purpose of buying corn, which was bestowed in divers places, where the poore might buy at an appointed price, and such as lacked money to pay downe, did put in surety to pay in the yeare following, in which yeare, when harvest came, the fields yeelded plentiful increase, and so the price of corne began to decrease.

An. Dom. 1438,

In the yeare of *Henry* the Sixt, by meanes of great tempests, unmeasurable windes and raines, there arose such a scarcitie, that wheat was sold in some places for 2 shillings 6 pence the bushell.

An. Dom. 1439.

18 *Hen.* 6. Wheat was sold at *London* for 3 shillings the bushell, mault at 13 shillings the quarter, and oates at 8 pence the bushell; which caused men to eate beanes, peas, and barley, more than in an hundred yeares before; wherefore *Stephen Browne*, then maior, sent into *Pruse* and caused to be brought to *London* many ships laden with rye, which did much good: for bread-corne was so scarce in *England*, that poore people made them bread of ferne rootes.

An. Dom. 1454.

32 *Hen.* 6. Wheat and other graine were in such plentie, that a quarter of wheat was commonly sold for 12 pence or 14 pence; of mault, for 16 or 17 pence at the most. A certaine farmer dwelling in *Cruse Roysie*, or *Rosie* town in *Hertfordshire*, sold 20 quarters of wheat for 20 shillings.

An. Dom. 1486.

In the second yeare of *Henry* the Seventh, wheat was sold at 3 shillings the bushell; and bay-salt at the like price.

An. Dom. 1491.

7 *H.* 7. Wheat was sold at *London* for 20 pence the bushell, which was accounted a great dearth.

An. Dom. 1494.

10 *H.* 7. Wheat was sold at the like price.

An. Dom. 1521.

In the thirteenth yeare of *Henry* the Eight, was a dearth of corne (with pestilence), for wheat was sold at *London*, for 20 shillings the quarter.

An. Dom. 1526.

18 *H.* 8. In *November*, *December*, and *Januarie*, fell such abundance of raine, that thereof ensued great flouds, which destroyed cornefields, pastures, and beasts. Then was it drie till the twelfth of *April*; and from that time, it rained every day and night till the third of *June*;

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whereby corne failed sore in the yeare following.

An. Dom. 1527.

19 *H.* 8. Such scarcitie of bread was at *London*, and throughout *England*, that many dyed for want thereof. The king sent to the citie, of his owne provision, six hundred quarters; the bread carts then coming from *Stratford* towards *London*, were met at the *Miles End* by a great number of citizens, so that the maior and sheriffes were forced to goe and rescue the same, and see them brought to the markets appointed. Wheat being then at 15 shillings the quarter. But shortly after, the merchants of the *Stiliard* brought from *Danske*, such store of wheat and rye, that it was better cheape at *London*, than in any other part of the realme.

An. Dom. 1553.

In the first yeare of queen *Mary*, at her majesties coming to the crowne, victualls were so plentifull, that a barrell of beere was sold for sixpence, with the caske, and foure great loves of bread for one penny.

An. Dom. 1557.

5 *Mary*. Wheat was sold before harvest, for foure marks the quarter; but after harvest, for five shillings: so that a penny loafe, which weighed in *London* the last yeare but 11 ounces *Troy*, weighed now 26 ounces *Troy*.

An. Dom. 1558.

6 *Mary*. Corne rose to 14 shillings the quarter.

An. Dom. 1573.

About *Lammas*, wheat was sold at *London* for 3 shillings the bushell; but shortly after, it was raysed to 4 shillings, 5 shillings, 6 shillings, and before *Christmas*, to a noble, and 7 shillings; which so continued long after; yet there was no want to him that wanted not money.

An. Dom. 1586.

In the 29 yeare of queen *Elizabeth*, about *Januarie*, her majestie observing the general dearth of corne, and other victualls, growne partly through the unseasonablenesse of the yeare then past, and partly through the uncharitable gredinesse of corne-masters, but especially through the unlawfull and overmuch transporting of graine in forreine parts; by the advice of her most honourable privy councell, published a proclamation, and a booke of orders to be taken by the justices, for reliefe of the poore; notwithstanding all which, the excessive prices of graine, still encreased; so that wheat in meale was sold at *London* for 8 shillings the bushell, and in some other parts of this realme above that price.

An. Dom. 1594.

36 *Eliz.* In *May* fell many great showers of raine, but in *June* and *July* much more, for it commonly rained day and night till St. *James* eve: and on St. *James* day in the afternoone it began againe, and continued for two dayes together. Notwithstanding, there followed a faire harvest. But in *September*, great raines raysed high waters, such as stayed the carriages, and bare downe bridges, as at *Cambridge*, *Ware*, and elsewhere. Also graine grew to be of a great price, a bushell of wheat at 6, 7, or 8 shillings, &c. which dearth happened more through the merchants overmuch transporting, than the unseasonablenesse of the weather past.

An. Dom. 1595.

3 *Eliz.* By the late transportations of graine into forreine parts, the same was here growne to an excessive

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cessive price, as in some parts of this realme, from 14 shillings to 4 marks the quarter, and more, as the poore did feele; and all other things whatsoever were made to sustain man, were likewise raysed, without all conscience and reason. For remedie whereof, our merchants brought back from *Danske* much rye and wheat, but passing deere; though not of the best, yet serving the turne in such extremitie. Some prentices and other young people about the citie of *London*, being pinched of their victualls more than they had been accustomed, tooke butter from the market folkes in *Southwarke*, paying but three pence, where the owners would not afford it under five pence by the pound. Forwhich disorder, the said young men were punished on the 27 of *June*, by whipping, setting on the pillorie, and long imprisonment.

An. Dom. 1596.

37 *Eliz.* In *August*, *September*, *October*, *November*, fell great store of raine, and wheat in meale was sold at *London* for 10 shillings the bushell; yet through the diligent carefulnesse of *Thomas Skinnner*, then lord maior, provision was made for corne to be brought from *Danske*, and other the east countreyes, by our merchants; unto whom was granted custome and stowage free, as also to make their own price, or transport to any part of this realme. Whereupon it followed, were the price never so high, this citie never wanted corne for their money.

An. Dom. 1597.

And 39 *Eliz.* the price of wheat in *London* markets fell from 15 shillings to 10 shillings the bushell.

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MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

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On the indelible Character of the Priesthood. From Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History.

BESIDE what may be said to be conferred visibly and intelligibly in all regular ordinations, the charge of a certain district, in what regards spiritual matters, and the oversight of the people, there must be something invisible and unintelligible, which is nevertheless the principal, else all those loose ordinations would be mere nullities. This mysterious something they called the *character* impressed, which was no sooner discovered or devised, than it constituted the essence of the sacrament; the other particulars relating to the charge of a flock, which to an ordinary understanding might appear to be the whole, were then found to be but circumstances.

Would we then track this nonsense to its source? We must dip, or rather dive, into the futile logomachies of the schoolmen; for it will be found to be the genuine production of the darkly subtle metaphysico scholastical theology of the middle ages. Nothing could be idler than to attempt the refutation of a dogma, for which a vestige of evidence has never been produced. But were the business of refuting incumbent upon us, a little farther examination of the subject, and of the opinions that have been advanced concerning it, would entirely supercede the necessity.

"Two puzzling questions have been moved on the subject, which were hotly agitated, but not solved, in the council of Trent, where it was thought necessary, however, to make a decree, affirming the character in opposition to one of the Lutheran articles denying it. One question is, wherein it consists; the other, whereon it is imprinted. In answer to the former, relating to the quiddity of the character, as these sophisters love to express it, it has been observed, first negatively, that it cannot be an infusion of grace, as of faith, hope, or charity, because, say our profound disquisitors, all the seven sacraments confer grace, whereas it is only the three that cannot be repeated, the unreiterable, which imprint a character; besides, it can be neither grace nor virtue for this other reason: both these may be lost, whereas the character is indelible. As little can it be a particular qualification, which fits the person for the discharge of the duties of the office, for a man may become totally unqualified by age and infirmities, or he may unqualify himself by vice. Besides, it has never been denied that persons, very ill qualified, have been ordained,

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dained, and never appeared one jot better qualified after their ordination than before. It could not be the gift of justification, because this is what the impenitent, in mortal sin, does not receive in any sacrament; and yet an impenitent, in mortal sin, may be ordained and receive the character. But to consider the thing positively, there were who maintained that it was a quality. Among those there were four different opinions, according to the four sorts of qualities distinguished in the schools. Some affirmed that it is a spiritual power, others a habit or disposition, others a spiritual figure; nor was the notion that it is a sensible metaphorical quality without its advocates. Some would have it to be a real relation, others a fabric of the mind; though it was by no means clear how far these considered it as removed from nothing.

As to the second question, the *ubi* of the character, there was no less variety of sentiments than about the first, some placing it in the essence of the soul, others in the understanding; some in the will, and others more plausibly in the imagination; others even in the hands and the tongue; but, by the general voice, the body was excluded. So that the whole of what they agreed in amounts to this, that in the unreiterable sacraments, as they call them, something, they know not what, is imprinted, they know not how, on something in the soul of the recipient, they know not where, which never can be deleted.

In regard to the indelibility, all agreed, insomuch, that though a bishop, priest, or deacon, turn heretic or schismatic, deist or atheist, he still retains the character, and though not a Christian man, he is still a Christian bishop, priest, or deacon; nay, though he be degraded from his office, and excommunicated, he is, in respect of the character, still the same. Though he be cut off from the church, he is still a minister in the church. In such a situation to perform any of the sacred functions, would be in him a deadly sin, but these would be equally valid as before. Thus he may not be within the pale of the church himself, and yet be in the church a minister of Jesus Christ. He may openly and solemnly blaspheme God, and abjure the faith of Christ; he may apostatize to Judaism, to Mahometism, or to paganism, he still retains the character. He may even become a priest of Jupiter, or a priest of Baal, and still continue a priest of Jesus Christ. The character, say the schoolmen, is not cancelled in the damned, but remains with the wicked to their disgrace and greater confusion; so that even in hell they are the ministers of Jesus Christ, and the messengers of the new covenant. Nor is it cancelled in the blessed, but remains in heaven with them for their greater glory and ornament.

Letter of the late Dr. Goldsmith, when about twenty-five Years old, to a young Gentleman whom he had, for a short Time, instructed in different Branches of Learning.

I HAVE thought it advisable, my dear young pupil, to adopt this method of giving my thoughts to you on some subjects which I find myself not well disposed to speak of in your presence. The reason of this you will yourself per-

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ceive in the course of reading this letter. It is disagreeable to most men, and particularly so to me, to say any thing which has the appearance of a disagreeable truth; and, as what I have now to say to you is entirely respecting yourself, it is highly probable that, in some respect or other, your view of things and mine may considerably differ.

In the various objects of knowledge, which I have had the pleasure of seeing you study under my care, as well as those which you have acquired under the various teachers who have hitherto instructed you, the most material branch of information which it imports a human being to know, has been entirely overlooked; I mean, the knowledge of yourself. There are indeed very few persons who possess at once the capability and the disposition to give you this instruction. Your parents, who alone are perhaps sufficiently acquainted with you for the purpose, are usually disqualified for the task, by the very affection and partiality which would prompt them to undertake it. Your masters, who probably labour under no such prejudices, have seldom either sufficient opportunities of knowing your character, or are so much interested in your welfare, as to undertake an employment so unpleasant and laborious. You are as yet too young and inexperienced to perform this important office for yourself, or indeed to be sensible of its very great consequence to your happiness. The ardent hopes and the extreme vanity natural to early youth, blind you at once to every thing within and every thing without, and make you see both yourself and the world in false colours. This illusion, it is true, will gradually wear away as your reason matures and your experience increases; but the question is, What is to be done in the mean time? Evidently there is no plan for you to adopt but to make use of the reason and experience of those who are qualified to direct you.

Of this, however, I can assure you, both from my own experience and from the opinions of all those whose opinions deserve to be valued, that if you aim at any sort of eminence or respectability in the eyes of the world, or in those of your friends; if you have any ambition to be distinguished in your future career for your virtues, or talents, or accomplishments, this self-knowledge of which I am speaking is above all things requisite. For how is your moral character to be improved, unless you know what are the virtues and vices which your natural disposition is calculated to foster, and what are the passions which are most apt to govern you? How are you to attain eminence in any talent or pursuit, unless you know in what particular way your powers of mind best capacitate you for excelling? It is therefore my intention, in this letter, to offer you a few hints on this most important subject.

When you come to look abroad into the world, and to study the different characters of men, you will find that the happiness of any individual depends not, as you would suppose, on the advantages of fortune or situation, but principally on the regulation of his own mind. If you are able to secure tranquillity within, you will not be much annoyed by any disturbance without. The great art of doing this consists in a proper government of the passions.

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sions; in taking care that no propensity is suffered to acquire so much power over your mind, as to be the cause of immoderate uneasiness, either to yourself or others. I insist particularly on this point, my dear young friend, because, if I am not greatly deceived, you are yourself very much disposed by nature to two passions, the most tormenting to the possessor, and the most offensive to others, of any which afflict the human race; I mean, pride and anger. Indeed, those two dispositions seem to be naturally connected with each other; for you have probably remarked, that most proud men are addicted to anger, and that most passionate men are also proud. Be this as it may, I can confidently assure you, that if an attempt is not made to subdue those uneasy propensities now, when your temper is flexible, and your mind easy of impression, they will most infallibly prove the bane and torment of your whole life. They will not only destroy all possibility of your enjoying any happiness yourself, but they will produce the same effect on those about you; and by that means you will deprive yourself both of the respect of others, and the approbation of your own heart; the only two sources from which can be derived any substantial comfort or real enjoyment.

It is, moreover, a certain principle in morals, that all the bad passions, but especially those of which we are speaking, defeat, in all cases, their own purposes; a position which appears quite evident on the slightest examination. For what is the object which the proud man has constantly in view? Is it not to gain distinction, and respect, and consideration among mankind? Now it is unfortunately the nature of pride to aim at this distinction, not by striving to acquire such virtues and talents as would really entitle him to it, but by labouring to exalt himself above his equals by little and degrading methods; by endeavouring, for example, to outvie them in dress, or show, or expense, or by affecting to look down with haughty superciliousness on such as are inferior to himself only by some accidental advantages, for which he is no way indebted to his own merit. The consequence of this is, that all mankind declare war against him; his inferiors, whom he affects to despise, will hate him, and consequently will exert themselves to injure and depress him; and his superiors, whom he attempts to imitate, will ridicule his absurd and unavailing efforts to invade what they consider as their own peculiar province.

If it may with truth be said, that a proud man defeats his own purposes, the same may, with equal certainty, be affirmed of a man who gives way to violence of temper. His angry invectives, his illiberal abuse, and his insulting language, produce very little effect on those who hear him; and who, perhaps, only smile at his infirmities: but who can describe the intolerable pangs of vexation, rage, and remorse, by which the heart of a passionate man is successively ravaged? Alas! it is himself alone for whom the storm is pent up, who is torn by its violence, and not those against whom its fury is meant to be directed.

You will, I dare say, readily agree to the truth of all this; but you will, perhaps, be at a loss to conceive what can be my reasons for applying it to you. My principal reasons for thinking

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thinking you subject to these unhappy failings are very cogent; and they are of such a nature, that it is peculiarly painful for me to state them. In a word, then, I have seen those hateful propensities govern you with such irresistible power, that they have overcome the strongest and most natural principle that can be supposed to reign in the heart of a young person; I mean, the duty and affection you owe your parents. Surely it could be no common failing, no light or trivial fault of temper, that could be sufficient to counteract the warmest feelings and strongest duties of a young mind! Duties and feelings so natural and so indispensable, that we justly conclude, a young person who appears to be devoid of them can scarcely possess any other valuable quality. From such grounds, then, can you think me harsh or uncharitable, if I have formed such conclusions?

I have been urged to what I have said, by an earnest wish for the improvement of your character, and particularly for the amelioration of your heart. In a future letter I shall pursue the subject, by endeavouring to give you some rules respecting the government and improvement of the understanding. I hope and believe that your conduct will be such as to render any future admonitions on the subjects of this letter entirely unnecessary.

I am, my dear pupil,

Yours affectionately, &c.

Original Letter from Dr. Samuel Johnson. Not published in his Works, or any Life of him.

March 17, 1752, *O. S.*

Dear sir,

NOTWITHSTANDING the warnings of philosophers, and the daily examples of losses and misfortunes, which life forces upon us, such is the absorption of our thoughts in the business of the present day—such the resignation of our reason to empty hopes of future felicity, or such our unwillingness to foresee what we dread, that every calamity comes suddenly upon us, and not only presses as a burthen, but crushes as a blow.

There are evils which happen out of the common course of nature, against which it is no reproach not to be provided. A flash of lightning intercepts the traveller in his way. The concussion of an earthquake heaps the ruins of cities upon their inhabitants. But other miseries time brings, though silently, yet visibly forward, by its own lapse, which yet approaches unseen, because we turn our eyes away, and they seize us unresisted, because we would not arm ourselves against them, by setting them before us.

That it is in vain to shrink from what cannot be avoided, and to hide that from ourselves which must sometimes be found, is a truth which we all know, but which all neglect, and perhaps none more than the speculative reasoner, whose thoughts are always from home, whose eye wanders over life, whose fancy dances after meteors of happiness kindled by itself, and who examines every thing rather than his own state.

Nothing is more evident, than that the decays of age must terminate in death. Yet there is no man (says Tully) who does not believe that he may yet live another year, and

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and there is none who does not, upon the same principle, hope another year for his parent or his friend; but the fallacy will be in time detected; the last year, the last day, will come: it has come, and is past—"The life which made my own life pleasant is at an end, and the gates of death are shut upon my prospects."

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The loss of a friend, on whom the heart was fixed, and to whom every wish and endeavour tended, is a state of desolation, in which the mind looks abroad, impatient of itself, and finds nothing but emptiness and horror. The blameless life, the artless tenderness, the native simplicity, the modest resignation, the patient sickness, and the quiet death, are remembered only to add value to the loss—to aggravate regret for what cannot be amended—to deepen sorrow for what cannot be recalled.

These are the calamities by which Providence gradually disengages us from the love of life. Other evils fortitude may repel, or hope may mitigate; but irreparable privation leaves nothing to exercise resolution, or flatter expectation. The dead cannot return, and nothing is left us here but languishment and grief.

Yet such is the course of nature, that whoever lives long must outlive those whom he loves and honours. Such is the condition of our present existence, that life must one time lose its associations, and every inhabitant of the earth must walk downward to the grave, alone and unregarded, without any partner of his joy or grief, without any interested witness of his misfortunes or success. Misfortunes indeed he may yet feel, for where is the bottom of the misery of man! but what is success to him, who has none to enjoy it? Happiness is not found in self-contemplation; it is perceived only when it is reflected from another.

We know little of the state of departed souls, because such knowledge is not necessary to a good life. Reason deserts us at the brink of the grave, and gives no farther intelligence. Revelation is not wholly silent. "There is joy among the angels in Heaven over a sinner that repenteth." And surely the joy is not incommunicable to souls disentangled from the body, and made like angels.

Let hope, therefore, dictate what revelation does not confute—that the union of souls may still remain; and that we, who are struggling with sin, sorrow, and infirmities, may have one part in the attention and kindness of those who have finished their course, and are now receiving the reward.

These are the great occasions which force the mind to take refuge in religion. When we have no help in ourselves, what can remain but that we look up to a higher and greater power? And to what hope may we not raise our eyes and hearts, when we consider that the greatest power is the best?

Surely there is no man who, thus afflicted, does not seek succour in the Gospel, which has brought life and immortality to light! The precepts of Epicurus, which teach us to endure what the laws of the universe make necessary, may silence, but not content us. The dictates of Zeno, who commands us to look with indifference on abstract things, may dispose us to conceal our sorrow, but cannot assuage it. Real alleviation

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alleviation of the loss of friends, and rational tranquillity in the prospect of our own dissolution, can be received only from the promise of him in whose hands are life and death, and from the assurances of another and better state, in which all tears will be wiped from our eyes, and the whole soul shall be filled with joy. Philosophy may infuse stubbornness, but religion only can give patience.

Sam. Johnson.

Letter from a repentant Highwayman to a Lady whom he had robbed.

Madam,

THE crime which I have committed is so unworthy my birth and education, and the confusion which I suffer in the reflection thereon so great, that I hope you will excuse my concealing from you my name and situation in life. You must undoubtedly have discovered, madam, from the violent agitation of mind I was under, when I stopped your coach, on Saturday evening, that it was my first attempt. I was withheld from presenting my pistol, both from my unwillingness to frighten you, and also from the apprehension lest my excessive tremor should have done you that mischief accidentally, which, I can assure you, was very far from the purpose of my heart: for both my weapons were destined against myself rather than any one else; and were worn as bosom friends, which, if I had been closely pursued, might have been my last resource to rescue me from the disgrace of public execution!

After I had committed the desperate act of robbing you, I made a feint, as if I was going from town, but returned soon after with the design of sheltering myself in London. Having changed my dress to prevent discovery, and being asked at the turnpike, "whether I had been robbed," I found that you had given the alarm, and that there would shortly be the strictest search after me. I made haste to London, and came in sight of your carriage just as it was entering town; and, as there was something so singularly humane and tender-hearted in the compassion which you showed for my miseries, and those friendly admonitions which the sense of my danger awakened in your mind, I was prompted to dismount, and follow the coach at a distance, that I might discover where that lady dwelt who expressed so much benevolence and good-nature towards one so entirely undeserving of it; and I was reflecting within myself, that it would be very severe upon me to forfeit my life for one single act of imprudence, to which nothing but the most pinching necessity prompted me.

I was induced to make this application, from the hopes that the same reflection might operate sufficiently on the goodness of your heart to check the pursuit of me; or, if it should be my lot to be apprehended, to withhold you from appearing against me to take away my life.

I will not lay open to you the dismal scenes of misery I labour under, nor go through the series of misfortunes which have been working my ruin, and heaping up wretchedness upon wretchedness. Such a representation might, I fear, give you some uneasy thoughts, and disturb that peace of mind which it is my earnest prayer that Heaven may ever

ever preserve uninterrupted to you. I shall only add, that, if you can but conceive even the faintest idea of those sharp agonies which the sense of guilt awakens in me, you will think that I have already suffered more than death; and if your forgiveness of me is as hearty as my repentance is sincere, you will be led to pity the man, though you detest the crime.

I beg a thousand pardons for trespassing so much upon your goodness, and for the liberty which I have taken of enquiring your name, which I was obliged to do, not knowing any other method of making this application to you without running the greatest hazard of detection.

Permit, madam, the most unfortunate of men, in testimony of his gratitude, for those good wishes which you expressed for him, to subscribe himself, your most highly obliged, and most obedient humble servant.

From the Gentleman's Magazine.

Nov. 7.

Mr. Urban,

As peace is now (as good as) concluded between Great Britain and France, it may be a proper time to consider how we may best allay intestine commotions. Peace abroad is an imperfect blessing without peace at home. It is notorious that a war has been carried on for some years in this country, between the sexes, occasioned by a contest for superiority. At the commencement of this unhappy dispute, the fair sex maintained that they were our equals in point of genius and talents; and that what was termed *sex* was merely a nominal difference in compliance with the customs of the world, or, as some asserted, in compliance with the tyrannical prejudices of man. On the other hand, *we* insisted that the superiority of talents was on our side; that there was not only a nominal but a real difference between men and women; and that it was insulting to suppose that any of us could arrive at the years of discretion without knowing the existence of such a difference, what it proceeded from, and to what it led.

The flames being thus kindled, war broke out; and animosities fierce and implacable raged from one end of the kingdom to the other. Such confusion of sex took place, that the most discerning could not say,

"Where ends the *woman*, or begins the *man*."

Abundance of the best ink in the kingdom was shed in the various engagements between the contending parties. The republic of letters felt the dreadful shock, and trembled under the horrors of war. The groans of the press were lamentable to hear: booksellers and bookbinders became poor and needy, while stationers and trunkmakers, like contractors and commissaries, accumulated immense wealth. "Their equipages shone like meteors, and their palaces rose like exhalations." Philosophers in petticoats brandished the pen; and were followed into the field of battle by historions, novelists, and poets, clad in muslins and tippets, threatening destruction to *man*-kind, and the reestablishment of the Amazonian age.

Courage and enterprise, however, are not beyond the reach of the fate of war. Some of these intrepid

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trepid heroines, deserted by their followers, perished by their own pens: others were tried by the monthly courts-martial, and broke: and some deserted to the enemy, enlisted as wives, or mistresses, and were never more heard of.

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The contest, however, although apparently ended, as far as regards more public engagements, is still carried on in private skirmishes. I should with a very bad grace propose terms of peace, if I did it not with the true spirit of peace; and I am unwilling, therefore, to recur too often or too pointedly, to the original causes of the dispute; yet what follows will not be easily understood, if I do not mention that one cause of the rupture was an assertion, that the men occupied all the places which women were intended to fill; that they usurped the province of milliners, mantua makers, &c., &c., and while they insolently complained of the idleness of the fair sex, at the same time deprived them of all means of industry.

I could have wished this complaint had been properly attended to. It had certainly some foundation, and a complaint which is not unreasonable, is a fair subject for redress. Instead of resisting it, we ought to meet it half way. All history proves, that when a reasonable request is refused, the plaintiffs are driven to demand those which are unreasonable. I say, sir, it was a most fatal delusion on our part, to turn contemptuously from such remonstrances. I was one of those who would have fortified Paternoster Row against the inroads of the enemy, but I would have left Bond Street open. I would have opposed the increase of straw bonneted historians, philosophers in pelisses, and novelists in sprig muslins; but I could not conscientiously refuse them the "privileges of the most highly-favoured" shop-boards and counters. Thus I argued; and I deprecated the fatal consequences; I clearly forsaw what has exactly taken place. I foresaw that, when foiled at one weapon, they would take up another; anger is prolific, and indignation remarkably prone to invention: when disappointed in attacking our impregnables, they would soon sap the foundations of our ingenuity and industry, and effect by slow degrees what was impossible by a coup-de-main.

My fears accordingly have been realized: and at this moment I would ask, whether the sex have not monopolized every article of useful manufacture heretofore the constant occupation and exclusive province of men; and whether they do not show an industry in working, as well as ingenuity in inventing, which will soon make us repent our conduct towards them?

I am not now speaking of the poor: the poor of both sexes are pretty equal in their labours; but let any man look into genteel life, and see what progress has been lately made by the female branches of the family in all handicraft employments. I pass by music and painting; yet why should I pass them by? why not, by way of digression, felicitate the fathers and mothers of so many female sir JOSHUAS? what more pleasant than to hear one parent boast of his little Banti, and another bid you listen to a song from his little Billington? What a change, Mr. Urban, in your time and mine! no more working a set of worsted commandments in a sampler! no more clothing the

map

map of England in purple and fine linen, with a beautiful green silk channel in cross-stitch! No, they who in our days were content to subscribe the belief with a needle and thread, and proud if they made a darn invisible, now prelude like Clementi, and compose like Haydn.

But, as already promised, I will pass all this, and come to the more direct interference with male occupations, which is every where visible. If we examine the furniture of a house, we shall find that all the ornamental part at least is the manufactory of fair and delicate hands. Look at the finely-worked bell-ropes in variegated worsted, with rose-tassels; the beautiful fire-side carpets and screens; and gilt and painted frames for flower-pots; the fillagree tea caddies; the fruit baskets, &c. &c.; and we shall soon see that injuries inflicted by men-milliners are revenged with a heavy hand on the unoffending upholsterers and cabinet makers.

Nor are these the only employments usurped by the fair sex. Would they were restricted to such delicate luxuries as may be dispensed with! But they are advancing step by step towards the more robust articles. I know one lady who is an exceeding good carpenter, and has mended some pieces of furniture in such a manner as to prolong their use beyond all the hopes of the regular trade. Some excel as gardeners; and others are so expert in the exercise of the whip, as to threaten the annihilation of postillions and coachmen. Some have nearly killed themselves with the repairs of their houses; and declare, that if the work could be done *in-doors*, they never would employ a mason or bricklayer again.

These are alarming innovations, Mr. Urban; and deserving our most serious consideration. I may be told, indeed, that the distresses of the times have induced many persons to patch up the old, instead of buying new, and to do themselves what they formerly employed another to do for them. This is plausible, sir: but, if it be allowed its full force, what will it avail? the evil will not end with the return of peace and plenty. There is great reason to doubt whether habits of industry and ingenuity once acquired, from whatever motive, will be so easily shaken off as some people think. When we get into the knack of doing things for ourselves, one certain consequence is, that we think we do them better than any one else could. There is much vanity in beating a man at his own trade; and I never knew one of the female cabinet-makers of my acquaintance, who, after covering a foot-stool, or twisting a bell-rope, was not ready to snap her fingers at Seddons or Oakley. No, sir, I am afraid that as the sex have, in a moment of indignation and resentment, taken up the hammer, the chissel, the pallet, and the trowel, they may not be so easily prevailed upon to lay them down again. In fact, sir, with sorrow I speak it, but why conceal it? I dread a declaration of independence.

Permit me now, Mr. Urban, to conclude with a piece of information which was in truth the cause of this whole epistle, and which I have from undoubted authority; and that is, it is now become the fashion for ladies to *amuse* themselves (*amuse*, as they call it, which is a mere pretence) with *making shoes!* These shoes, I am told, are made, that is to say,

say, the soles, of them, of flax twisted in a particular manner, which I cannot describe, but which makes a sole at once firm, and repellent of wet. They also purchase leather (they will be tanners next) and cut it out for upper-leathers, and so waxing their thread, &c. they complete the whole process of shoemaking. Was there ever a more direct infringement of the rights and privileges of the worshipful company of cordwainers? and where will these things end? besides turning our drawing-rooms into stalls, and substituting cobbling for card-playing, how easy will the transition be from shoes to boots! and what then remains in the progress upwards, I leave to the candid consideration of every tailor.

I have been told, indeed, that a pair of shoes made as above, will require upwards of a month (some say six weeks), and will be no more than eighteen pence under the trade price. This, however, is little calculated to allay the fears of "good men*." All manufactures are slow in their infancy, and eighteen pence will at least pay an old shilling fare. On the other hand, let us consider the advantages those females will enjoy who bring their awl into notice. They will have for their customers all the gay and gallant young fellows about town; and, as the best things are liable to abuse, perhaps many an abominable intrigue will be found to have no higher origin than a harmless heel tap. I am alarmed into this consideration by the following passage from an antiquary, which I beg leave to transcribe:

"It may not be amiss," says mine author, "to observe, that the word cobler had not originally that despicable meaning, that most now understand in it, but signified a coupler, or one who made and sold things by pairs†."

I conclude with recommending this passage to gentlemen who may be at present botching up a courtship, or have already been married to shoemakers.

EVERY MAN TO HIS LAST.

* "To shoemakers. Good men may be employed by applying, &c." An advertisement frequently repeated in the papers.

† General description of all trades, 1747, 12mo., p. 76.

POETRY.

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POETRY.

ODE *for the* New Year, 1801.

By H. J. Pye, *Esq., Poet-Laureat.*

FROM deluge'd Earth's usurp'd domain,
When Ocean sought his native bed,
Emerging from the shrinking main,
Rear'd many a mountain isle its head,
Encircled with a billowy zone,
Fair Freedom mark'd them for her own:
"Let the vast Continent obey
A ruthless master's iron sway,
Uncheck'd by aught from pole to pole.
Where swol'n Ambition's torrents roll;
Those seats to tyrants I resign,
Here be my blest abode, the island reign be mine."

Hating the fane where Freedom sat enshrined,
Grasping at boundless empire o'er mankind,
Behold from Susa's distant towers
The Eastern despot sends his mighty powers;
Grecia, thro' all her rocky coast,
Astonish'd views the giant host;
Not the fam'd strait by bleeding heroes barr'd,
Nor Cecrops' walls, her hallow'd altars guard;
While each bold inmate of the Isles
On Inroad's baffled effort smiles,
From every port, with cheering sound,
Swells the vindictive pæan round,
And Salamis, proud from her sea-girt shore,
Sees o'er the hostile fleet th' indignant surges roar.

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Fiercer than Persia's sceptred Lord,
More numerous than th' embattled train,
Whose thirsty swarms the sea-broad rivers drain,
Lo! Gallia's plains disgorge their maddening horde!
Wide o'er Europa's trembling lands
Victorious speed the murderous bands;
Where'er they spread their powerful sway,
Fell desolation marks their way;
Unhurt, amid a warring world, alone
Britannia sits secure, firm on her Island Throne.

When thunders roar, when lightnings fly,
When howling tempests shake the sky;
Is more endear'd the sheltering dome,
More sweet the social joys of home;
Fondly her eye, lo! Albion throws
On the tried partner of her weal and woes.
Each tie to closer union draws,
By mingled rights and mingled laws;
Then turns averse from Gallia's guilty field,
And tears with generous pride the lilies from her shield.

Albion and Erin's kindred race,
Long as your sister isles the seas embrace;
Long as the circling tides your shores that lave,
Waft your united banners o'er the wave;
Wide thro' the deep commercial wealth to spread,
Or hurl destruction on th' oppressor's head!
May Heaven on each unconquer'd nation shower
Eternal concord, and increasing power;
And as in History's awful page
Immortal virtue shall proclaim
To every clime, thro' every age,
Imperial George's patriot fame,
That Parent care shall win her warmest smiles,
Which rear'd 'mid Ocean's reign the Emperor of the Isles.

ODE *for his Majesty's* BIRTH-DAY, 1801. *By the same.*

STILL, still must War's discordant note
Usurp the Muse's votive lay—
Must the shrill clarion's brazen throat
Proclaim our Monarch's NATAL DAY,
While the stern Foe with haughty brow,
Frowns on the Olive's sacred bough,
Throws from his land the proffer'd gift of Peace,
Nor bids the raging storm of Desolation cease!

O BRITAIN!

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O BRITAIN! not from abject fear,
Or pale mistrust, or weaken'd power,
Springs in thy breast the vow sincere
Which wooes fair CONCORD's lenient hour:—
Uncheck'd by threats of vengeful foes,
Thy breast with warlike ardour glows;
Thy sons with unabated force,
Right onward keep their daring course:
The chief who from CANOPUS' sultry shore,
The burning meed of conquest bore,
Now thro' the Baltic's freezing surge,
Bids his bold prows their way resistless urge;
And while BRITANNIA's ensign flies
Aloft in Hyperborean skies,
DENMARK astonish'd, from her threaten'd towers,
Yields up her naval boast to ALBION's happier powers.
And lo! where PHILIP's mightier son
Bade the proud City's rising walls proclaim
To distant times their founder's name,
Fresh trophies by BRITANNIA's legions won:
When from the vet'ran bands of GALLIA's shore,
Their dauntless arms the blood-stain'd banner tore,
Which, like a baleful meteor spread,
To fields of death the infuriate warriors led:—
Yet, 'mid the deeds of endless fame,
Shall not a tear the dying victor claim?
No;—O'er his tomb with guardian wings
Hovering, the eternal pæan glory sings,
Chaunting with note triumphant to the skies,
His name thro' ages lives, who for his country dies.
Enough of War! while BRITAIN sees
Before HYGEIA's healing hand
The pallid demon of disease
Lead far away her sickly band;
While to a Nation's fervent pray'r
The Arm Omnipotent to spare
Gives her ador'd, her patriot Lord
Again to life, to health restor'd,
To hail that day, to BRITAIN dear,
Selected from the circling year,
Which FAME shall ever mark the birth
Of regal duty and of private worth;
Strains that affection forms, that transport breathes,
The fragrant offerings join that June ambrosial wreathes!

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EPITAPH *on* Mr. T. A. Hamilton, *in the Churchyard of Newport Pagnel. By the late* William Cowper, *Esq.*

PAUSE here, and think. A monitory rhyme
Demands one moment of thy fleeting time.
Consult Life's silent clock, thy bounding vein:
Seems it to say — "Health here has long to reign?"
Hast thou the vigour of thy youth? — an eye
That beams delight? — a heart untaught to sigh? —
Yet fear. Youth oftimes, healthful and at ease,
Anticipates a day it never sees;
And many a tomb, like Hamilton's, aloud
Exclaims, "Prepare thee for an early shroud!"

PROLOGUE. *By a Gentleman of* Leicester.

On opening the Theatre, at Sydney, Botany Bay, to be spoken by the celebrated Mr. Barrington.

FROM distant climes o'er wide-spread seas we come,
Though not with much eclat or beat of drum,
True patriots all; for be it understood,
We left our country for our country's good;
No private views disgrac'd our generous zeal,
What urg'd our travels was our country's weal;
And none will doubt but that our emigration
Has prov'd most useful to the British nation.

But, you inquire, what could our breasts inflame
With this new passion for theatric fame?
What in the practice of our former days,
Could shape our talents to exhibit plays?
Your patience, sirs, some observations made,
You'll grant us equal to the scenic trade.

He, who to midnight ladders is no stranger,
You'll own will make an admirable Ranger.
To seek Macheath, we have not far to roam;
And sure in Filch I shall be quite at home.
Unrival'd there, none will dispute my claim
To high preeminence and exalted fame.

As oft on Gadshill we have ta'en our stand,
When 'twas so dark you could not see your hand,

Some

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Some true-bred Falstaff we may hope to start,
Who, when well bolster'd, well will play his part.
The scene to vary, we shall try in time
To treat you with a little pantomime.
Here light and easy Columbines are found,
And well-tried Harlequins with us abound;
From "durance vile" our precious selves to keep,
We often had recourse to th' flying leap;
To a black face have sometimes ow'd escape,
And Hounslow Heath has prov'd the worth of crape.

But how, you ask, can we e'er hope to soar
Above these scenes, and rise to tragic lore?
Too oft, alas! we've forc'd th' unwilling tear,
And petrified the heart with real fear.
Macbeth a harvest of applause will reap,
For some of us, I fear, have murder'd sleep;
His lady, too, with grace will sleep and talk,—
Our females have been us'd at night to walk.

Sometimes, indeed, so various is our art,
An actor may improve and mend his part;
"Give me a horse," bawls Richard, like a drone,
We'll find a man would help himself to one.
Grant us your favour, put us to the test,
To gain your smiles we'll do our very best;
And, without dread of future turnkey Lockits,
Thus, in an honest way, still pick your pockets.

LINES,

Written upon seeing the unclaimed Corpse of a Suicide exposed on the Bank of a River.

By THOMAS CAMPBELL, *Esq., Author of "The Pleasures of Hope."*

BY strangers left upon a lonely shore,
Unknown, unhonour'd, was the friendless dead:
Nor child to weep, nor widow to deplore,
There ever came to his unburied head!
All from his lonely habitation fled;
Nor will the lanthern'd fisherman at eve
Launch on that water by the witches' tower,
Where hellebore and hemlock seem to weave
Round its dark vaults a melancholy bower
For spirits of the dead, at night's enchanted hour!

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They dread to meet thee, (poor unfortunate!)
Whose crime it was, on Life's unfinish'd road
To feel the step-dame buffeting of Fate,
And render back thy being's heavy load!
Ah! once, perhaps, the social passions glow'd
In thy devoted bosom, and the hand
That smote its kindred heart might yet be prone
To deeds of mercy! Who can understand
Thy many woes, poor suicide unknown!
He who thy sorrows gave shall judge of thee alone!

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SONNET.

By R. B. Sheridan, *Esq.*

DRY be that tear, my gentlest love,
Be hush'd that struggling sigh,
Not Season's day, nor fate shall prove
More fix'd—more true than I.
Hush'd be that sigh—be dry that tear,
Cease boding doubt—cease anxious fear.

Ask'st thou how long my vows shall stay
When all that's new is past?
How long—ah! Delia, can I say
How long my life will last?
Dry be that tear, be hush'd that sigh,
At least I'll love thee till I die!

And does that thought affect thee too,
The thought of Silvio's death?
That he who only breathes for you,
Must yield that faithful breath?
Hush'd be that sigh, be dry that tear,
Nor let us lose our heaven here.

THE SORROWS OF SWITZERLAND.

From Jacobinism;—a Poem.

HELVETIAN vales! where Freedom fix'd her sway,
And all the social virtues lov'd to stray;
Sof blissful seats of undisturbed repose,
Rever'd, for ages, by contending foes,

What

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What envious demon, ranging to destroy,
Has marr'd your sports, and clos'd your songs of joy!
What horrid yells the affrighted ear assail!
What screams of terror load the passing gale!
See ruffian hordes with tiger-rage advance,
The shame of manhood, and the boast of France;
See trampled, crush'd, and torn, in lustful strife,
The loathing virgin, and indignant wife!
While wanton carnage sweeps each crowded wood,
And all the mountain torrents swell'd with blood!
Lo! where yon cliff projects its length of shade
O'er fields of death, some wounded chief is laid!
Around the desolated scene he throws
A look, that speaks unsufferable woes;
Then, starting from his trance of dumb despair,
Thus vents his anguish to the fleeting air:—
"Dear native hills, amidst whose woodland maze
I pass'd the tranquil morning of my days,
On whose green tops malignant planets scowl,
Where hell-hounds ravage, and the furies howl;
Though chang'd, deform'd, still, still ye meet my view,
Yet still are left to hear my last adieu!
My friends, my children! gor'd with many a wound,
Whose mangled bodies strew the ensanguin'd ground,
To parch and stiffen in the blaze of day,
Consign'd to vultures, and to wolves a prey,
Your toils are past; no more ye wake to feel
Lust's savage gripe, or Rapine's reeking steel!
And thou, to whom my wedded faith was given,
On Earth my solace, and my hope in Heaven,
Approv'd in manhood, as in youth ador'd,
Belov'd while living, as in death deplor'd,
O stay thy flight! around this dreary shore
A moment hover—and we part no more—
O'er thy poor corse thy bleeding husband hangs,
Counts all thy wounds, and feels thy lingering pangs—
O righteous Father! Thou, whose fost'ring care
Sustains creation, hear my dying prayer!
Look down, look down on this devoted land,
O'er my poor country stretch thy saving hand!
O let the blood, that, streaming to the skies,
Still flows in torrents—let that blood suffice!
To thee the dreadful recompense belongs—
To thy just vengeance I consign my wrongs;—
O vindicate the rights of Nature's sway,
And sweep the monsters from the blushing day!"

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THE CONSOLATIONS OF RELIGION.

By Bishop ATTERBURY. *Written in Exile.*

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RELIGION, chiefest good to mortals giv'n,
At once our taste of, and our guide to, Heav'n;
The chain that links us to the throne of Jove;
The golden steps by which we mount above;
The cheerful draught that gives the soul relief;
The kindly friend that mitigates our grief;
The plant that blooms, though in a barren soil;
The sprightly dawn that makes a prison smile!
By thee secure we leave the road of strife,
And tread the pleasing silent paths of life.
By thee encourag'd, tempt the dang'rous sea,
And, fearless, take an exile's fate with thee!
Thou being our guide, where'er we're forc'd to roam,
To whate'er region driv'n, we're still at home:
Howe'er confin'd in dungeons hid from day,
The guiltless victims of a tyrant sway,
Thou art our liberty, and in thy sight
Our bands are silken, and our fetters light;
Thou art the hungry stomach's rich repast,
The draught refreshing to the thirsty taste:
The surest, greatest wealth in all our need,
Possessing thee alone we're rich indeed.
Though poorly dress'd, expos'd to pinching air,
Thou art a clothing, lasting, warm, and fair:
Thou art the bandage of the aching head;
Thou smooth'st the sick man's couch, and mak'st his bed,
Reviv'st his drooping soul, when arts are vain,
To still his groanings, and compose his pain;
Thou near him, he undaunted looks on death,
And scarcely seems to sigh away his breath.

ODE

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ODE *to the* INHABITANT* *of a well known dirty Shop in Leadenhall Street. From the European Magazine.*

WHO but has seen, (if he can see at all,)
'Twixt Aldgate's well known pump and Leadenhall,
A curious hardware shop, in general full
Of wares from Birmingham and Pontypool?
Begrim'd with dirt, behold it's ample front,
With thirty years collected filth upon't:
See festoon'd cobwebs pendant o'er the door,
While boxes, bales, and trunks, are strew'd around the floor.

Behold how whistling winds and driving rain
Gain free admission at each broken pane,
Save where the dingy tenant keeps them out
With urn or tray, knife-case, or dirty clout!
Here snuffers, waiters, patent screws for corks;
There casters, card-racks, cheese-trays, knives and forks;
Here empty cases pil'd in heaps on high;
There packthread, papers, rope, in wild disorder lie.

O say, thou enemy to soap and towels!
Hast no compassion lurking in thy bowels?
Think what the neighbours suffer by thy whim
Of keeping self and house in such a trim!
The officers of health should view the scene,
And put thy shop and thee in quarantine.

Consider thou, in summer's ardent heat,
When various means are tried to cool the street,
What must each decent neighbour suffer then
From noxious vapours issuing from thy den.

When fell Disease, with all her horrid train,
Spreads her dark pinions o'er ill-fated Spain,
That Britain may not witness such a scene,
Behoves us doubly now to keep our dwellings clean.

* Nathaniel Bently (son of a respectable hardwareman of that name, who died about 1770) resides at the corner of the Old Crown Tavern, Leadenhall Street, and is one of the most eccentric characters this day living. His father, who kept a carriage, and lived in style, gave him a good education. It is said, indeed, that he speaks not only French, but Italian, fluently. Previous to his father's death, and for several years after, he was called the beau of Leadenhall Street, and was seen at all public places dressed as a *man of fashion*. He attended, in a most elegant suit, the fête at Ranelagh, given by the Spanish ambassador, on the king's recovery. His manners in company, in short, bespeak the gentleman; yet his appearance in business is little short of disgusting.

Say

Say, if, within the street where thou dost dwell,
Each house were kept exactly like thy cell;
O say, thou enemy to brooms and mops!
How long thy neighbours could keep open shops,
If, following thee in taste, each wretched elf,
Unshav'd, unwash'd, and squalid, like thyself,
Resolved to live!—The answer's very plain;
One year would be the utmost of their reign;
Victims to filth, each vot'ry soon would fall,
And one grand jail distemper kill them all.

Persons there are, who say, thou hast been seen
(Some years ago) with hands and face wash'd clean;
And, would'st thou quit this most unseemly plan,
Thou art ('tis said) a very comely man,
Of polished language, partial to the fair;
Then why not wash thy face, and comb thy matted hair;
Clear from thy house accumulated dirt,
New paint the front, and wear a cleaner shirt.

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THE EMPEROR PAUL.—A New Song.

Tune—"*The Tight Little Island.*"

THO' of emp'rors and kings, and all such fine things,
Historians and novelists bawl-o;
Yet none e'er shone in story, with half so much glory,
As the great Russian emperor Paul-o!
Then ha! sing of emperor Paul-o,
Magnanimous emperor Paul-o,
No one e'er was known, so deserving the throne,
As the valorous emperor Paul-o.

When a promise he made, that he France would invade,
And soon humble ev'ry proud Gaul-o,
Ev'ry one 'gan to raise his weak voice in the praise
Of our ally—the great emperor Paul-o;
What a friend was the emperor Paul-o,
Quite a bulwark was Petersburgh Paul-o!
And 'twas ev'ry one's sure hope, the saviour of Europe,
Wou'd be found in the emperor Paul-o.

Just

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Just when he was so hearty up jumps Buonaparte,
For in truth, sir, his hopes were quite small-o,
Yet by dint of intrigue, he soon broke up the league,
Between us and the emperor Paul-o;
O faithless emperor Paul-o!
Changeable emperor Paul-o!
It must raise our surprise to hear so many lies,
From his honour the emperor Paul-o.

Then he fram'd a pretence, without reason or sense,
To make us give Malta up all-o,
For he thought that his might wou'd put Britons in fright,
As he was the great master Paul-o;
No, no, my dear sweet master Paul-o,
You are quite in the wrong, Mr. Paul-o,
We're too much enlighten'd to be at all frighten'd
By the threats of the emperor Paul-o.

Upon this he began to enlist ev'ry man,
And his troops altogether to call-o,
And his messengers far-go, to lay an embargo,
By orders of emperor Paul-o;
For, says he, I'm the emperor Paul-o;
They shall suffer, says emperor Paul-o;
And my standard unfurl'd, shall astonish the world,
For there's war between Britain and Paul-o!

So it's in contemplation, to make proclamation
To our admirals, both short, sir, and tall-o,
To seize on his fleet, the moment they see't,
And retaliate on emperor Paul-o.
So take care, my dear emperor Paul-o;
You'll repent of this, emperor Paul-o;
For if we send Nelson, he surely will tell soon
Some news of the vessels of Paul-o.

VERSES

Inscribed in the Temple of Friendship, at St. Anne's Hill.

By the Right Hon. R. FITZPATRICK.

THE Star, whose radiant beams adorn
With vivid light the rising morn,
The season chang'd—with milder ray
Cheers the calm hour of parting day.

So

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So Friendship (of the generous breast
The earliest and the latest guest)
In youthful prime with ardour glows,
And sweetens Life's serener close.

Benignant pow'r! in this retreat,
O! deign to fix thy tranquil seat;
Where, rais'd above the dusky vale,
Thy favourites brighter suns shall hail!
And, from Life's busy scenes remote,
To thee their cheerful hours devote;
Nor waste a transient thought to know
What cares disturb the crowd below.

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The BARD *to his* CANDLE.

HAIL, bright companion of my lonely hours!
My midnight sun, with faintly glimm'ring ray;
To thee thy master now a sonnet pours;
Accept the verse—'tis all the bard can pay.

When solemn darkness veils the gloom-spread earth,
And Night with sable sceptre rules the plain,
What time pale Fear gives fancied spectres birth,
And imag'd terrors fill the vulgar brain.

Then to my silent chamber I retire,
Where books and musing solitude invite,
With secret pleasure trim my cheerful fire,
And from its flame my frugal taper light.

More dear to me thy little quiv'ring rays,
Which scarce illume my silent study round,
Than the proud glare where thousand torches blaze,
And Mirth and Folly pour their mingled sound.

These spread their light, with glitt'ring radiance fraught,
To chase Reflection from the heedless throng—
Thy sober beam assists the poet's thought,
Inspires the lay, and tunes his soul to song.

By thy lone light, full oft the Muse has wove
Or tale or song in Fancy's flow'ry loom—
Oft has she breath'd the plaintive notes of love,
And mourn'd her fate—a hapless lover's doom.

Thou,

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Thou, sole companion of each anxious care,
  Didst yield sweet solace in this pensive hour,
My bosom's various thought didst seem to share,
  And rise or fall with sympathetic pow'r.

When transient joy beam'd rapture to my breast,
  In Fancy's eye I saw thee brighter shine;
And when my heart some hov'ring fear confest,
  With gloom congenial did thy flame decline.

To thee the Poet's grateful song is due,
  To thee, my friend, (for social is thy kind,)
More than companion, thou'rt a teacher too,
  And much of moral show'st th' observant mind.

Thy gradual waste in unperceiv'd decay,
  May well to man a moral lesson teach,—
Thus glide his years in silent course away,
  Towards that bourne we all are doom'd to reach.

Be thou my friend—and as thy lustre, mine;
  And when Life's lamp but gleams with feeble pow'r,
Clear as thy flame may parting reason shine,
  Warm in decay, and bright in Life's last hour!

TRANQUILLITY,

AN ODE.

VIX EA NOSTRA VOCO.

WHAT statesmen scheme, and soldiers work,
  Whether the Pontiff, or the Turk,
Will e'er renew th' expiring lease
Of empire; whether war or peace
Will best play off the consul's game;
What fancy-figures, and what name
Half-thinking, sensual France, a natural slave,
On those ne'er-broken chains, her self-forg'd chains, will grave;

  Disturb not me! Some tears I shed,
When bow'd the Swiss his noble head;
Since then, with quiet heart have view'd
Both distant fights, and treaties crude,

Whose

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Whose heap'd-up terms, which fear compels,
(Live Discord's green combustibles,
And future fuel of the funeral pyre)
Now hide, and soon, alas! will feed the low-burnt fire.

Tranquillity! Thou better name
Than all the family of Fame,
Thou ne'er wilt leave my riper age
To low intrigue and factious rage:
For O! dear child of thoughtful truth!
To thee I gave my early youth,
And left the bark, and blest the stedfast shore,
Ere yet the storm-wind rose, and scar'd me with its roar.

Who late and lingering seeks thy shrine,
On him, but seldom, pow'r divine!
Thy spirit rests. Satiety
And sloth, poor counterfeits of thee!
Mock the tir'd worldling; idle hope
And dire remembrance interlope,
And vex the fev'rish slumber of the mind;
The bubble floats before, the spectre stalks behind.

But me, the Power divine will lead,
At morning, thro' the accustom'd mead:
And in the sultry summer heat,
Will build me up a mossy seat;
And when the gust of autumn crowds,
And breaks the busy moonlight clouds,
She best the thought will lift, the heart attune,
Light as the busy clouds, calm as the gliding moon!

The feeling heart, the searching soul,
To her I dedicate the whole;
And while within myself I trace
The greatness of a future race,
Aloof, with hermit's eye, I scan
The present works of present man;
A wild and dreamlike trade of blood and guile,
Too foolish for a tear, too wicked for a smile.

Account

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ACCOUNT OF BOOKS

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For the YEAR 1801.

Ægyptiaca: or, Observations on certain Antiquities of Egypt. In Two Parts. Part I, the History of Pompey's Pillar elucidated. Part II, Abdollatif's Account of the Antiquities of Egypt, written in Arabic, A. D. 1203. *Translated into English, and illustrated with Notes. By J. White, D. D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. Part I. Oxford,* 1801.

NO region of the earth has more frequently employed, or better deserves, the critical investigation of the exploring antiquary than Egypt. The great fountain whence admiring Greece drew the rich stream of the sciences, the exhaustless treasure-house of the noblest antiquities, her shores have attracted, in every age and from every clime, those more zealous sons of literature who wished to penetrate to the sources of human knowledge, and visit the sacred recesses of the ancient sages of the world. As the foot wanders through the gloomy caverns of the Thebais, the schools of those sages, and as the eye ranges over its spacious temples, the mind is transported back to the remotest ages, and holds "high converse" with the shades of the ancestors of the human race. The present barbarism of her sons, and the hazard of the visit, indeed, allow the sublime pleasure but to few; and happy is it for science when such accomplished scholars as a Pococke and a Niebuhr, glowing with an equal desire to inform others as to be instructed themselves, undertake and accomplish the arduous task. Fortunate also is it for her interests when other scholars, alike ardent in her cause, and thoroughly adequate to the office, but not favoured with the like opportunities of personally examining those precious remains of primitive magnificence, combine their efforts with them to throw light on what is obscure, and rectify what may be erroneous in the rapid effusions of a moment of hurry, alarm, and peril. In literary adventures of this kind the modern Egyptian beholds nothing but the daring enterprises either of European robbers, to plunder the tombs of the dead, or of those whom their skill in the black art enables to burst the charm that guards, in their sacred repositories, the treasures of the Pharaohs.

The learned author of the Ægyptiaca does not, at least in the work immediately before us, in this first part, solicit us to accompany him to fabrics and to periods of this very remote antiquity; the subject of his inquiry, however, cannot fail of being highly interesting, and his sentiments truly gratifying, to the curious antiquary, when he reflects that

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that they are the result of the laborious scrutiny of the first Arabic scholar in Britain, if not in the world.

No prouder or more perfect monument of antiquity remains to gratify and instruct the artist of modern times than the pillar falsely assigned to Pompey. The great elevation and the elegant workmanship of this vast Corinthian column, added to the circumstance of its having stood so immoveably firm for more than twenty centuries, on a base little more than five feet square, for such is the fact, what appears to be the pedestal being of too weak a masonry to support the prodigious mass of granite above it, and its whole weight has been discovered to rest on a fragment of an ancient Egyptian obelisk, proved to be so by the hieroglyphicks engraved upon it, and those hieroglyphicks too in an inverted position, which proves that it must have been reared after the period when the native Egyptians, by whom they were considered as sacred, were no longer masters of the country; the abovementioned circumstances, we say, render this colossal remain of ancient art not less interesting than it is sublime.

The preface is written with great modesty, yet with much spirit, intermixed with very indignant reprobation, renewed also at the conclusion of the work, of the Gallic invaders of Egypt, who, with all their boasted love of the arts, have by no means added to the stock of knowledge of Alexandrian antiquities, the report of the national institute being simply confined to a description of the pillar, and the detail of its dimensions, while to the stock of the miseries of the wretched inhabitants they have added a dreadful accumulation.

The first section of the dissertation has reference to the period of its erection, a very important point in the discussion.

"For, whether (observes our author) it were the production of regal power and munificence; or were reared by a loyal community in gratitude to an imperial benefactor; whether it stood single, and formed a whole by itself; or were a part only and appendage of some great edifice; these are either subordinate questions, or would receive a satisfactory answer, if its age were once completely ascertained. The elucidation of this point, therefore, has generally been the first aim of every author who has written upon the subject; and the attempt has given rise to conjectures the most wild and extravagant. Paradoxical inquirers have disagreed so widely respecting the age of the column, that, on the one hand, its origin has been assigned to the second century of the Christian æra, and, on the other, to the remote and unknown period which witnessed the building of the pyramids.

"Of opinions claiming admission by no better title than conjecture, I think it unnecessary to speak: my animadversions will be confined to hypotheses which profess to be founded on facts. If any one of these can stand the test of fair examination, my inquiry concerning the age of the column is at an end. But if, on mature examination, they shall appear to be unfounded, I shall myself, in the course of these observations, offer a new hypothesis: and I hope so to interweave this particular investigation with other subjects

subjects of literary discussion as to afford the reader some little entertainment, even though I should fail to convince him with respect to the principal object of research.

"Among the numerous authors who have attempted to determine the period in which this column was erected, there are three whose opinions have particularly attracted the attention of the learned world; our countryman Wortley Montagu, Brotier, and Michaelis."

Of these three writers the hypotheses are respectively examined, and the arguments for their support effectually confuted. That of Wortley Montagu, giving the honour of it to Vespasian, on account of a medal which he pretended to have found inserted near the base, is overthrown by the general suspicion of insincerity attached to his character, and the report, at that time current in Cairo, that the whole story was a gross forgery, intended to impose on the credulity of the learned.

The opinion of Brotier, the learned editor of Tacitus, which ascribes it to Ptolemy Euergetes, in consequence of a passage in father Sicard, is fallacious, because that passage is misquoted, and by no means supports the arguments deduced from it.

The conjecture of Michaelis, to whose general accuracy and profound erudition Dr. White pays the highest compliment, is also founded on a mistranslation of a passage in Abulfeda's Geography of Egypt, where the Arabic words Amûd Issawâri, translated the "Pillar of Severus," should have been translated the "Column of the pillars." On this expression the doctor makes the following observations:

"To an English ear this phrase will perhaps appear tautologous. Our language affords no correspondent term, no word equally extensive with Amûd; which includes both the round and the square pillar, and may be applied to a Grecian column or an Egyptian obelisk. At the time when the Arabic language first prevailed in Egypt, there were only two extraordinary objects of this kind remaining in Alexandria, Cleopatra's needle and Pompey's pillar; and the inhabitants appear to have distinguished them by their local situation, calling the one Amûd il Bahri, 'The column of the sea,' and the other Amûd Issawâri, 'The column of the pillars.'

"It is, however, necessary to show that some reason existed for the use of this appellation, as descriptive of the column. Now bishop Pococke informs us, explicitly, that there still remain some fragments of granite pillars, four feet in diameter, near the column of Pompey; and we have the most positive testimony of the Arabic writers of the middle ages, a testimony as much to be depended on, in this instance, as that of any Greek or Roman writer, that in the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, there were more than four hundred of these pillars standing in the immediate vicinity of the column. So that this magnificent monument at that time might evidently be called, with singular propriety, 'The column of the pillars.'

"It appears, therefore, that neither the suspected medal of Vespasian, the illegible inscription on the base, nor the mistaken version of the passage in Abulfeda, can afford any satisfactory information with re-

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spect to the history of the column, but having now, I trust, removed at least some of the impediments that obstructed our way, it is time to quit this part of the subject for another; in the investigation of which, while I endeavour to present the reader with an interesting object of curiosity, some discovery may perhaps be made which will facilitate the remainder of our inquiry."

The succeeding section discusses the situation, in Alexandria, of the temple of the Egyptian deity, Serapis; and the remainder of the publication, including a very learned appendix, is intended to prove (which we are of opinion it does, as far as the subject will admit of proof) that this famous column was erected, amidst an almost infinite number of others of smaller size, in the front of that immense edifice; that it was raised by the greatest monarch of Egypt, in the zenith of his power, by Ptolemy Philadelphus, as a noble specimen of Greek architecture, and bore, on its lofty capital, the statue of its illustrious father, the founder of the dynasty of the Ptolemies.

Having demonstrated that the true and literal signification of the Arabic words Amud Issawâri is the column of the pillars, that is, the most magnificent and beautiful of the four hundred columns with which, in the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, it is said to have been surrounded, our author proceeds to collect together all the scattered accounts to be met with concerning the Alexandrian temple of Serapis, the most superb of all the heathen fanes, except the Roman capital itself. Roffinus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Tacitus, and other early historians, both classical and sacred, are cited, to prove the existence of its vast quadrangles, its lofty columns, its spacious windows, and the hundred marble steps by which the adoring crowds ascended to the sanctuary of the god, and the deity himself, of such stupendous dimensions, that with his right hand he touched one side of the roof of the temple, and with his left the other. The body of the mighty idol was composed of an assemblage of all the most precious metals and costly woods; and the very walls of the interior shrine were of solid gold. Of this noble structure, begun by the first and completed by the second Ptolemy, during all the dynasty of those sovereigns, the glory remained unimpaired, and it was hallowed as the chosen residence of the greatest and most venerated divinity of the Egyptians. In the subsequent extract will be found Mr. White's account of the decaying worship and final demolition in the fourth century of this ancient temple by the command of the emperor Theodosius, with some other pertinent reflections on the general view and policy of the Ptolemys in erecting those public edifices of striking grandeur at Alexandria, which have immortalized their names.

"But the pure light of the Gospel was now dispersing the gloom of paganism, and the tutelar deity of Alexandria was soon to be deprived of his usurped dominion. The first signal of this disgrace and downfal was the removal of the Nilometer from his temple, by the command of Constantine. His final ruin was accomplished by the archbishop Theophilus, who zealously executed the decree of Theodosius

sius against his image and temple. At this time his idol was broken in pieces, the golden walls which enshrined him laid in ruins; and, in the subsequent reign of Arcadius, a Christian church was erected on the spot which had been occupied by the temple.

"But though the temple, which formed a part of the Serapeum, was thus rased to the ground, the religious zeal of Theophilus did not prompt him to destroy the remainder of the edifice. Its spacious courts and stately columns still continued to be the admiration of the world. This we collect from the Arabic historians, whom we are soon to take for our guides.

"In the preceding account, formed from the scanty materials supplied by Greek and Roman writers, no attempt has been made to fix the site of the Serapeum. It is indeed a difficulty which some writers have acknowledged, and others avoided; and those who profess to decide the question, have been more prodigal of conjecture than of proof. My own sentiments on this subject I reserve for another section. I will close this by requesting the reader's attention to the conduct of the two first Ptolemys; which it may be useful to recollect in the course of our future inquiries. For their zealous support of men of talents and learning, these princes have been deservedly celebrated in every succeeding age; but in doing this they had assuredly something more in view than merely to gratify their taste for literature, or to obtain a splendid name among the munificent patrons of art and science. There appears at least to be an evident and appropriate benefit, which they were well aware this measure would confer upon their new kingdom. The situation of their capital had been happily chosen for the centre of universal commerce. But to obtain the full advantage of this great design, the concurrence and assistance of the native Egyptians became necessary: and the introduction of foreign letters and arts would present itself as an obvious policy, to subdue their unsocial temper, and to prepare them for that mutual accommodation and general intercourse, which are required in a commercial people. The same object would likewise be promoted by a communion of religious worship: and in this point we may observe the address of the first Ptolemy in conciliating his new subjects, and flattering the ancient manners of the country. The admonition to establish Serapis in Egypt was pretended to have been communicated to the monarch in a mysterious dream, which he submitted not to Grecian soothsayers, but to sages of their own nation; and, to ensure to the foreign deity a favourable reception among them, he was made to exchange his Attic titles for an Egyptian name. The temple likewise, which was destined for his abode, seemed to offer a fair occasion to this prince for introducing the architecture of his country to notice and favour. What the distinguishing feature of this building was, has already been shown; and from its singular character it is probable, that the founder's design was to produce a new example of art, in which the genius of each country should be happily united, and the native boldness of the

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Egyptian manner combined with the graces and beauties of Grecian elegance."

The fifth section of this work contains a very interesting digression relative to the burning of the Alexandrian library, which formed a part of the Serapeum, or that vast range of magnificent structures near the temple of Serapis, on which it conferred its name. On this subject he opposes Mr. Gibbon's very confident opinion and statement, that no such conflagration ever took place; a statement founded on the circumstance of that memorable event not being to be found in the annals of Eutychius, and the Saracenic history of that period by the learned Al Makin. After vindicating the character of Abulpharajus, from the injurious reflections attempted to be thrown upon that historian by Mr. Gibbon, he adds:

"The high literary as well as ecclesiastical rank of this illustrious primate of the East, and the numerous concurrent testimonies as well of Mohammedans as Christians to the gravity and sanctity of his character, would, in my opinion, even if he were found to stand single in his testimony, more than overbalance the frivolous cavils of Mr. Gibbon.

"But farther, to the negative argument of Mr. Gibbon, I shall venture to oppose the positive testimony of the two Arabic historians, both writers of unquestionable authority, and both orthodox professors of the Mussulman faith—Macrisi and Abdollatif; who not only agree in stating the fact—the burning of the library, but also point out to us the exact spot on which the library stood. For, after describing the column, commonly called of Pompey's pillar, and mentioning the adjacent ruins of some ancient edifice, they add, that 'there was then a library which Amru ebn el Aas burnt by the command of the Khalif Omar.' I conclude, therefore, that both the burning, or more strictly speaking, the despoiling, of the library by Amru, and its actual situation, are indisputably ascertained.

"A satisfactory answer having now, I hope, been given to the sceptical insinuation of Mr. Gibbon, I advance a step farther. As the library despoiled by Amru was a royal library, and as the first Ptolemæan library was unfortunately burnt by Julius Cæsar, this must necessarily have been the second Ptolemæan library; and consequently part of the temple of Serapis. We have at length then, by the assistance of Arabic writers, unexpectedly discovered the site of the Serapeum; a discovery eagerly sought for by the curious for more than a century: and hence arises one strong proof, that a knowledge of Arabic may be made peculiarly subservient to the illustration of Egyptian antiquities.

"But are there no passages, it may be asked, in Greek or Latin authors, which corroborate the evidence of Arabic writers respecting the site of the Serapeum? I answer, that certainly there are; though their meaning has hitherto been wholly overlooked, and perhaps would for ever have been lost in obscurity, had not a ray of light broken in from the east. Such, however, is the accumulated force of these passages, when properly considered, as to leave no room to doubt that the temple of Serapis was contiguous to what is commonly called the pillar of Pompey."

Having

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Having conducted his readers thus far in the investigation, our author, in the final section, proceeds to state the result of his own conjectures and inquiries. According to his idea the pillar stood, supremely eminent above great numbers of others surrounding it, in the middle of the area in the front of Serapeum, whose lofty columns remained entire after the majestic pile itself, reared upon them, or to which they led, was destroyed. The remains of the pillars adjoining to it, seen by Pococke, are composed of the same materials as its shaft, viz. the durable granite of Egypt. It stood, according to Dr. White's Arabic authorities, at the time they wrote, at the northern angle of a vast building of uncertain antiquity. The Romans, he justly observes, would never have expended such vast sums of money, as the erection of this column required, or have exhausted the skill of Greek artists, to enrich a provincial city; a city, too, and a kingdom, whose proudest monuments they were perpetually despoiling and wafting over the ocean to decorate their own superb capital. The argument and final decision are stated in the subsequent extract; and the work concludes, as it commenced, with an animated invective against the atrocious invaders of a country, sacred to genius and ancient science, which they have deluged with blood, and overwhelmed with desolation.

"We are told by those who have lately taken its dimensions, and who in modern ages have had the best opportunity and means of examination, that its principal member, the shaft, appears to be of Grecian architecture. If, then, we exclude the Roman emperors, surely this internal evidence will justify our conclusion, that the æra of the column is to be found in some point of the Ptolemæan dynasty; for, till long after the conquest of Alexander, the arts of Greece were not introduced into Egypt. If we consider the second monarch of this race, his history, his disposition, his ability; the connexion of a column with a building confessedly founded by him, and the sameness of the character and materials; if we take each of these circumstances distinctly, and weigh their accumulated force; there will be little occasion to hesitate at restoring the honour of this magnificent monument to Ptolemy Philadelphus; an honour indeed, which cannot justly be contested with him by any character in Greek or Roman history, either in remote or later ages.

"There yet remains to be mentioned one circumstance in the life of this prince, which will give additional weight to the preceding conclusion. We are informed by Pliny, that he raised an obelisk of eighty cubits, as a pledge of his affectionate regard for the memory of Arsinoë. As he exhibited in his capital this specimen of Egyptian architecture, he might wish also to display to his Egyptian subjects, the architecture of his own country, in its utmost magnificence, and to superadd the decorations of a more graceful proportion and a more appropriate ornament. The obelisk was a naked memorial; but the column was certainly surmounted by the statue of him to whose honour it was erected.

"But here we confess, that we are unable to advance farther than to point out him, who was the likeliest and worthiest to stand on this

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unrivalled column. The gigantic image of Serapis was placed within the temple. The obelisk reared by Philadelphus was a memorial of connubial love. But this monarch was also celebrated for piety towards his parents, whose statues he was especially careful to multiply and adorn. Whom then can we suppose to have occupied this distinguished place before the temple of Serapis, and in the view of the whole city, but him who was the first monarch of his family, and under whose auspices the tutelar deity was introduced into Egypt.

"In the course of this inquiry, I have often felt the want of that evidence which might still be obtained, were the site of this renowned temple diligently investigated by able men. In the mission of the national institute, I entertained a hope, that at least some better knowledge of Alexandrian antiquities would result from the invasion of Egypt. But this hope was not more fondly conceived than cruelly disappointed. For except a description of the pillar, with a detail of its dimensions, nothing has been performed, or even attempted. It had been doubted whether the eminence on which it stands, be natural or artificial ground: and the judicious Pococke, who noticed certain ruins near it, hinted that they were the remains of some grand edifice. But these hints have been left unimproved, and these doubts still remain unsatisfied. Professors of arts, and teachers of science, have left museums crowded with the spoils of Florence and Rome—have received the fiat of the great nation to instruct as well as to subdue the world—they have visited this spot, with power to examine it without molestation, and certainly with no modest reluctance to claim the merit of discovery. Yet what new information, useful or curious, have they contributed on this subject? Certainly none. But whilst the antiquary may regret the opportunity that has thus strangely been lost; whatever the wisdom of Divine Providence may have determined shall be its final issue, every friend of humanity cannot but lament the accumulated misery, which has hitherto resulted from so treacherous an enterprise against this devoted country—an enterprise, which, though it has eventually called forth the most brilliant and unparalleled exertions of British skill, and valour, and magnanimity: yet has not tempered the horrors of war, and rapine, and massacre, by the production of one single advantage, either to the cause of literature, or to the ferocious invader himself, or to the wretched and unoffending victims of his faithlessness and fury."

The appendix is principally designed for the perusal of the Arabic and Greek scholar, and contains the most ample and detailed testimonies, collected from books and MSS. in those languages, in support of the statements in the preceding pages. These will not admit of extract or abridgement: what we have already given affords a sufficient specimen of the work.

The Poetical Works of John Milton. In Six Volumes, with the principal Notes of various Commentators. To which are added, Illustrations, with some Account of the Life of Milton. By

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By the Rev. Henry John Todd, M. A. 8vo. Johnson, &c. 2l. 14s.

THE labours of the learned were formerly employed almost exclusively, in illustrating the classic writers of Greece and Rome, and little attention was paid to those authors of our own country, whose works were not less deserving of their care, nor less required it. Of late years, the great names which have adorned the literature of our own country have claimed and received the notice of those who were best able to display their beauties, to explain their obscurities, and to defend their genuine text from perverse conjectures and ill-founded objections. Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, Ben Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, have already to boast of the attention of the first names in English literature; and we have now to announce, that Milton is indebted to a new editor, who must be allowed to have done justice to his author, and to have executed his task with diligence, with taste, and with judgment.

After pointing out the several sources from whence the commentary on Milton has been derived, and acknowledging the assistance he has received from individuals, Mr. Todd proceeds to give the reader an account of what he is farther to expect in the conduct of the present edition.

"The chief purpose of the new notes is, in humble imitation of Mr. Warton, to explain the allusions of Milton; to illustrate or to vindicate his beauties; to point out his imitations, both of others and of himself; to elucidate his obsolete diction; and, by the adduction and juxtaposition of parallels, universally gleaned both from his poetry and prose, to ascertain his favourite words, and to show the peculiarities of his phraseology." Mr. Warton justly adds, that "among the English poets, those readers who trust to preceding commentators will be led to believe, that Milton imitated Spenser and Shakspeare only. But his style, expression, and more extensive combinations of diction, together with many of his thoughts, are also to be traced in other English poets, who were either contemporaries or predecessors, and of whom many are now not commonly known. Nor have his imitations from Spenser and Shakspeare been hitherto sufficiently noted." Of this it hath been a part of the present editor's task, as it was of Mr. Warton, to produce proofs. The coincidencies of "Fancy's sweetest children," Spencer, Shakspeare, and Milton, are accordingly here enlarged. The obligations of our author to Dante, hitherto little noticed, as well as some other Italian poets, are pointed out. The poet's imitations of himself are also considerably augmented. Nor have the romances and fabulous narratives, on which the poetry of Milton is often founded, been neglected. The editor, while he has not been sparing of classical illustration, has constantly kept in mind the necessity of attention to the literature of Milton's age. Without this attention, as Mr. Warton remarks, "the force of many strikingly poetical passages has been weakened or unperceived, because their origin was unknown, unexplored, or misunderstood. Coeval books, which might clear such references, were therefore to be consulted; and a new line of commen-

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tary was to be pursued. Comparatively, the classical annotator has here but little to do. Dr. Newton, an excellent scholar, was unacquainted with the treasures of the Gothic library. From his more solid and rational studies he never deviated into this idle track of reading." But as Milton, at least in his early poems, may be reckoned an old English poet; and as in his later poetry allusions to the sources of fiction, with which he had been pleased in his youth, often appear: he generally requires that illustration, however trifling it may seem to fastidious readers, without which no old English poet can well be illustrated.

"The arrangement of the materials in these volumes has been formed with a view to unifomity, and to the accommodation of the reader. The table of general contents will point out the order observed; the dissertations prefixed; the appendixes subjoined. To the whole is added, a glossarial index. The editor thinks it proper to observe, that, in compliance with the wishes of several literary friends, the Paradise Lost has been placed first, in the following methodical disposition of the poetical works.

"He has endeavoured to render the text as perspicuous as possible: not only by several illustrations of antiquated words, which, as Mr. Warton has observed, in a succession of editions had been gradually and silently, yet, perhaps, not always properly refined; but also by comparing the copies published under the immediate inspection of Milton, as well as most subsequent editions; more particularly those of Tickell, Fenton, Bentley, and the late editions, as the notes will show. Nor should it here be omitted, that Milton has not so uniformly contracted the words of his language as to countenance the spelling of isle, of honour, of inferior, of musick, and several other words, with the omission of a letter in each. Milton's manuscript at Cambridge, and his own editions of his poems, as well as his Paradise Lost, will afford testimonies to this observation. The text of Milton must indeed exhibit some peculiarities. By such as are here retained, the meaning cannot be embarrassed. His love of Italian, of Chaucer, and of Spenser, requires this notice. To the punctuation, of which Milton has been pronounced by Mr. Warton to have been habitually careless, great attention has been paid. The editor conceived it his duty likewise to examine the manuscript, containing many of Milton's early poems, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and he found, on examination, several particularities which had been omitted by those who had before collated the manuscript, and which were too curious not to be noticed in the present edition. To the end of the several poems of which there are copies in the manuscript, these various readings are annexed. The reason is assigned.

"The editor offers, with the utmost deference, some account of the life of Milton; of which the materials have been drawn from authentic sources. In this biographical attempt, some new anecdotes, relating to the history of Milton's friends, of his works, and of his times, will also be found. These may, perhaps, plead as an apology for the rashness of the editor in affecting to sketch the poet, whom the masterly hands of a Johnson and a Hyley

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a Hayley have depicted; a rashness to which he has been impelled by the persuasion of others, that to a new edition of his works it is a custom to prefix the life of the author.

"Such are the materials here accumulated in order to explain the labours of Milton: of Milton, the proud boast of his own country, and the admiration of the world: of Milton, whose imitations of others are so generally adorned with new modes of sentiment or phraseology, that they lose the nature of borrowings, and display the skill and originality of a perfect master; and from whom succeeding poets, at various periods, have 'stolen authentic fire.'"

To this account we shall only add, that Mr. Todd, in the language of Dr. Johnson, "might have spoken of his own diligence and sagacity in terms of greater self-approbation, without deviating from modesty or truth."

The additions to be found in the present republication, besides innumerable notes, both original and selected, are the well written life of Milton already mentioned; the nuncupative will of the author; a list of editions, translations, and alterations, of the poetical works; a list of detached pieces of criticism relative to the poetical works; an appendix to the life; commendatory verses on Milton; Dr. Johnson's remarks on Milton's versification, with remarks by the editor; inquiry into the origin of Paradise Lost; plans of Paradise Lost, as a tragedy; preliminary observations on Paradise Regained, and on the origin of it; preliminary observations on Samson Agonistes, on Lycidas, on L'Allegro & Il Penseroso, on Arcades, with large extracts from a manuscript unpublished Mask, by Marston, accounts of Ludlow Castle, of the earls of Bridgewater, and of Henry Lawes; on the origin of Comus; preliminary observations on the Sonnets; on Henry Constable and Mr. Stillingfleet's manuscript Sonnets; appendix to the Sonnets; Dr. C. Burney's preliminary observations on the Greek verses; Baron's imitations of Milton's early poems; on Lauder's interpolations, &c.

After this enumeration, we have no need to add, that this edition is the most complete of any of our great Epick Bard's poetical works, and such as we doubt not will afford universal satisfaction.

An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, in the Years 1797 *and* 1798: *including cursory Observations on the Geology and Geography of the southern Part of that Continent: the natural History of such Objects as occurred in the animal, vegetable, and mineral Kingdoms; and Sketches of the physical and moral Characters of the various Tribes of Inhabitants surrounding the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope. To which is annexed, a Description of the present State, Population, and Produce of that extensive Colony; with a Map constructed entirely from actual Observations made in the Course of the Travels. By John Barrow, late Secretary to the Earl of Macartney, and Auditor-General of the public Accounts at the Cape of Good Hope.* 4to. pp. 420. 1*l.* 10*s. Boards. Cadell, jun. and Davies.* 1801.

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THE author of the travels recorded in the volume before us, appears to be endowed with the qualities necessary for an undertaking like that in which he engaged. He has not only informed us what are the general appearances and nature of the country, what plants are produced, and what are the dispositions and customs of the inhabitants, but he has viewed the regions under his inspection with the eye of a politician, and has inquired what new productions in the animal and vegetable kingdoms may be advantageously introduced; he has pointed out the spots proper for watering places; and the bays of good anchorage; and with the feelings and views of enlightened humanity, he has reprobated the cruel treatment of the Hottentots, and suggested means for bettering their condition.

The first chapter of the work is introduced by an extract from the records of the East India company, respecting the act of taking possession of the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1620.—The subsequent history of the colony, under the Dutch government, is next briefly related. While the Cape remained in the hands of these its old masters, scarcely any thing was done towards ascertaining the geography of the country: the only travellers, whose sole view was to acquire useful information, having been the governor Van Plettenberg and colonel Gordon; who fixed the eastern boundaries of the colony on the spot as they now stand. The settlement, however, being captured by the Engli h in 1796, it was the object of the several expeditions performed by Mr. Barrow, to complete the line of demarcation through the heart o. the country, to the western shore. The journals were made in the years 1797 and 1798; and they supplied materials for a chart executed by the orders of the earl of Macartney, and which is prefixed to Mr. Barrow's publication. This chart was constructed entirely from actual observations of latitude and of bearings, from the estimation of distances, and from frequent angular intersections of remarkable objects:

"From the chart (says the author) it appears that the extent and dimensions of the territory composing the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, now permanently fixed, are as follows:

"Length from West to East.

	Miles.
Cape Point to Kaffer Land	580
River Koussie to Zuureberg	520

Breadth from South to North.

River Koussie to Cape Point	315
Nieuwveldt mountains to Plettenberg's Bay	160
Mouth of the Tush River to Plettenberg's Baaken	225

which gives a parallelogram, whose mean length is 550, and mean breadth 233, English miles, comprehending an area of 128,150 square miles. This great extent of country, deducting the population of Cape Town, is peopled by about 15,000 white inhabitants, so that each individual might possess eight and a half square miles of ground. A very great portion, however, of this territory may be considered as an unprofitable waste, unfit for any sort of culture, or even to be employed as pasture for the support of cattle. Level plains, consisting of a hard impenetrable surface of clay, thinly

thinly sprinkled over with crystallized sand, condemned to perpetual drought, and producing only a few straggling tufts of acrid, saline, and succulent plants, and chains of vast mountains that are either totally naked, or clothed in parts with four grasses only, or such plants as are noxious to animal life, compose, at least, one half of the colony of the Cape. These chains of mountains and the interjacent plains are extended generally in the direction of east and west, except indeed that particular range which, beginning at False Bay, opposite to the Cape Point, stretches to the northward along the western coast as far as the mouth of Olifant's river, which is about 210 miles."

The territory, comprehended under the name of the Cape of Good Hope, is divided into four districts; over each of which presides a landrost, who, with a council of six country burghers, regulates the police, superintends the government, and determines petty causes: but his decisions are subject to an appeal to the court of justice in Cape Town, the metropolis of the settlement.

The usual places of resort for ships trading to the Cape are False Bay and Table Bay, the one washing the southern, and the other the northern shore of the isthmus. There are also two small bays on the west side of the peninsula, one called Hout or Wood Bay, and the other Chapman's Bay.

Timber of all kinds for building is very rare at the Cape, yet little pains have been taken to cultivate it near the town. In parts of the country not far distant, plantations of oak-trees, of the white poplar, and of the stone pine, are to be found, and thrive rapidly; but their timber is generally unsound. The article of fuel is so scarce at Cape Town, that a small cart load, composed of the branches of the silver-tree, of the larger heaths, &c., sells for from 20*s*. to 28*s*. A slave is usually kept in families for the sole purpose of collecting fire-wood; and the annual expense in a moderate family, for faggots for the kitchen-fire, (the only one in the house,) is nearly fifty pounds. To remedy this evil, lord Macartney ordered a search to be made for fossil coal; and the operation of boring was begun on a tongue of land projecting from the Table Mountain: but it was soon discontinued, on the discovery of actual coal coming out to day, along the banks of a deep rivulet flowing out of the Tygerberg Hill. The coal already found is at the depth of two feet; but, when Mr. Barrow wrote his account, the borer had been put down in several places, in hopes of meeting with the main bed, without success.

Though the inhabitants of the Cape Town suffer the inconvenience of scarcity of fuel, they enjoy several natural advantages; and their market is supplied with abundance of sea-fish, with fruits, and with vegetables. Some of their vineyards are of sufficient extent to produce, besides the supply of the market with grapes and prepared raisins, about 100,000 gallons of wine annually.

The botanist may find an ample field of investigation in the Cape district. Its vegetable productions, Mr. Barrow says, (and he is good authority, since he appears to be himself a cultivator of natural history,) are more numerous, varied, and elegant, than on any other spot of equal extent in the whole world; and

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and of the frutescent or shrubby plants, there is likewise great abundance. To zoologists, the animals of the Cape afford a more contracted scope.

Insects of every description abound during the summer months: musquitoes are less troublesome than in most warm climates; but a small sand fly, almost invisible, is the cause of great torment. Almost all the snakes of the country are venomous. The fatal diseases, which prevail among the natives, Mr. B. attributes to their habits of life, rather than to the climate; in support of which opinion, he remarks that the English troops enjoy uncommonly good health in this colony.

In chapter ii, Mr. B. relates his journey from the Cape across the Karoo, or Arid Desert, to the Drosdy of Graaff Reynet. This excursion was made in the month of July, the author proceeding with covered waggons, drawn by bullocks, who travel at the rate of three miles in an hour, for eleven or twelve hours unremittingly. The journeys at the Cape are in general performed in the night, in order that during the day the oxen may browse among the shrubbery, which is their common food; since, in the dry season, the ground does not produce a single blade of grass. After a description of the nature and productions of the country lying between Cape Town and the entrance of Karoo, Mr. Barrow gives an account of the farmer of the country, the Dutch peasant or boor, which is too interesting to be abridged, and too long to be inserted here.

We are next presented with a description of the women of the African peasantry; who, in listless inactivity, "sleep along the blank of life," exciting no love, interchanging no affections, harbouring no sympathies, but alike insensible to the sedate pleasures of social intercourse, and to the tumultuous exhilarations of public festivals. Yet, rude and ignorant as the peasantry are, the virtues of hospitality are cultivated by them to excess; and all travellers are equally welcome to the best food and accommodation which their means can supply.

Mr. Barrow and his company waited in the Hex River Valley two days, principally for the arrival of two farmers, who, besides their knowledge of the places at which water was to be found in the Karoo, were necessary to strengthen the party against the attack of the savage Hottentots, or Bosjesmans.

Among the hills surrounding the plain of Geel-beck, our traveller saw a small flock of zebras, and of quachas (wild horses). The latter are easily made docile; and Mr. B. suggests, that the former might also be rendered tractable under any other management than that of the indolent, stupid, and barbarous Dutch peasant.

On many parts of the great desart, ostriches were seen. This animal, Mr. B. observes, is polygamous; and, from ignorance of this circumstance, an error has slipt into the *systema naturæ*, in which it is said, that one female lays fifty eggs: but the fact is, that the different females belonging to one male deposit their eggs in the same nest.

We now arrive at the 3d chapter, entitled, "Sketches on a Journey into the Country of the Kaffers."—On the evening of the 30th day of his travels, Mr. Barrow reached Graaff Reynet, the residence of the landrost; whose power and importance

portance will not excite much envy, when the following description of the village, in which he holds his state, is read.

"The village is chiefly inhabited by mechanics, and such as hold some petty employment under the landrost. Its appearance is more miserable than that of the poorest village in England. The necessaries of life are with difficulty procured in it; for, though there be plenty of land, few are found industrious enough to cultivate it. No milk, no butter, no cheese, no vegetables of any kind, are to be had upon any terms. There is no butcher, no chandler, no grocer, no baker. Every one must provide for himself as well as he can. They have neither wine nor beer; and the chief beverage of the inhabitants is the water of the Sunday River, which, in the summer season, is strongly impregnated with salt."

When the landrost, who accompanied Mr. Barrow, came to the drosdy (or residence), a long list of grievances were presented, relative to the incursions of the tribe of people called Kaffers. Previously to the arrival of the landrost, the farmers, actuated chiefly by the hope of plunder, had prepared to carry war into the country of the Kaffers; but, very humanely and politically, these preparations were stopped, and "it was resolved to inquire into the affairs of the Kaffers upon the spot, where they had posted themselves in the greatest numbers; and, should it be found necessary, to proceed from thence to the residence of their king; at the same time to pass through and examine as many parts of the country, under the jurisdiction of Graaff Reynet, as could be done without too great an expenditure of time; and particularly to visit the bay that was said to be formed where the Zwart-kops River falls into the sea."

This journey commenced on the 11th of August; and, on the 17th, the party encamped on the verdant bank of a salt-water lake, to which the inhabitants resort in order to procure salt. It is situated on a plain of considerable extent, elevated above the level of the sea; and the greatest part of the bottom of the lake is covered with one continued body of salt, like a sheet of ice, the crystals of which were so united as to form a solid mass, hard as rock.

On the evening of the 18th, Mr. B. arrived at Zwart-kops, or Algoa-bay, situated in latitude 33° 56′ south, longitude 26° 53′ east of Greenwich, and distant from the Cape in a direct line 500 miles. He is of opinion that, from the vicinity of this place to the salt-pans, from the ease of procuring bullocks in good condition, and from the abundance of excellent fish on the coast, great benefits would accrue to the East India company, if an establishment were formed for the preparation of salted beef and fish.

In the valley through which the Zwart-kops River flows, the author found a species of antelope, or goat, called the riet-bok, or red goat, hitherto undescribed by naturalists.

After our traveller had finished his observations on Zwart-kops Bay and the adjacent country, he and his party proceeded along the sea-coast into the country of the Kaffers. Having crossed the rivers Bosjesmans and Hassagai-bosch, they fell in with the first party of Kaffers, on the banks of the Kareeka; and their meeting was welcomed by the Kaffer

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for women, who laughed and danced about them. No contrast can be stronger than that which subsists between the indolent, phlegmatic Hottentot, and the active animated Kaffer.

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On the 2d of September, the travellers left the first party of the Kaffers, in order to proceed towards the residence of the king Gaika. On the occasion of passing a dangerous and difficult defile, Mr. Barrow relates an instance of the most atrocious inhumanity, towards the exhausted oxen of one of the teams: but this, unfortunately, is no solitary record of brutality. Even in the neighbourhood of the Cape, the feelings of humanity would be continually irritated by acts of cruelty. We hope, however, that the representations of Mr. Barrow will tend to direct the attention of the English rulers, to the sufferings of innocent and useful animals, in these uncivilized regions.

After having visited the mouth of the great fish river, Mr. B. and his companions arrived at the residence of the king of the Kaffers, who readily concluded a treaty with the representatives of the English government. Mr. B. gives the article of the treaty, and then adds an account of the Kaffers; which is ample, interesting, and demonstrative of the happiness of their state.—Our narrow limits prevent us from giving any extracts from this part of the work; and we do not choose to mar the description by abridgement. One fact, however, which is soon related, we shall notice; viz. that the Kaffers expose their dead to wild beasts. The feelings of the relations of the deceased are not shocked by this custom; and the body is almost immediately dragged into dens by wolves; on which account, the life of the wolf is held sacred by a Kaffer.

All business with the Kaffer king having been transacted, the party proceeded to examine the mouth of the river Keiskamma: which is here nearly as wide as the Thames at Woolwich, and apparently of great depth: but the entrance is guarded by a bar of sand, on which the surf breaks with great violence. From the Keiskamma, the travellers returned by a new route to Graaff Reynet, which place they reached on the 30th of September.

Mr. Barrow remained during three weeks at Graaff Reynet, and then undertook another expedition to the northward, across the Sneuwberg, which is the subject of the ivth chapter. His object was to observe the nature and manners of the race of men called Bosjesmans, or men of the bushes, who neither cultivate the land nor breed cattle, but live by depredation; and to form small treaties of accommodation with them. Three days' journey carried the party into the plains which are within the Sneuwberg; and one of the retreats of the Bosjesmans (which retreats are in chasms formed by the torrents rushing down the sides of the high stratified mountains) was soon discovered:

"The fires (says Mr. B.) were scarcely extinguished, and the grass on which they had slept was not yet withered. On the smooth sides of the cavern were drawings of several animals that had been made from time to time by these savages. Many of them were caricatures; but others were too well executed not to arrest attention. The different anto-

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antelopes that were there delineated had each their character so well discriminated, that the originals, from whence the representations had been taken, could without any difficulty be ascertained. Among the numerous animals that were drawn, was the figure of a zebra, remarkably well done; all the marks and characters of this animal were accurately represented, and the proportions were seemingly correct. The force and spirit of drawings, given to them by bold touches judiciously applied, and by the effect of light and shadow, could not be expected from savages; but for accuracy of outline and correctness of the different parts, worse drawings than that of the zebra have passed through the engraver's hands. The materials with which they had been executed were charcoal, pipe-clay, and the different ochres. The animals represented were zebras, qua-chas, gemsboks, springboks, reeboks, elks, baboons, and ostriches, all of which, except the gemsbok, are found upon the very spot."

This skill of the Bosjesmans in drawing is a curious fact—As these poor people know, from fatal experience, that the inroads of Europeans into their country are attended with plunder and murder, it is difficult to approach their hordes. The commandant of Mr. Barrow's party, however, having issued strict orders to preserve regularity and silence, a kraal of the Bosjesmans was surprised at day break; and, as positive injunctions had been given to the colonists to forego their ordinary practice, and not to fire except in a case of absolute necessity, only one Bosjesman was killed in the surprise. After a short time, a few of the horde descended from the hills, and conversed with the colonists. The nature of the conversation was conciliatory, and designed to impress the minds of the Bosjesmans with the idea, that the custom of wantonly murdering and enslaving them was at an end.

These Bosjesmans, as Mr. B. has described them, are certainly an extraordinary race of men. The males do not exceed in stature the height of four feet nine inches; and the tallest of the females was only four feet four inches in height. They have flat noses, high cheek bones, prominent chins, and hollow visages: their bellies are uncommonly protuberant, and their backs are hollow: yet their activity is incredibly great. Like other savages, they are extremely voracious: with them, it is either a feast or a famine: when successful in bringing home cattle from a plundering party, they slay them in such numbers, that the kraal soon becomes a mass of putrefaction; and flights of vultures are seen hovering over it:

The travellers proceeded some way along the bank of the Sea Cow river, and then came to its junction with a vast stream, called by colonel Gordon, the Orange River; which in size and bulk of water, more than equals all the other rivers of the colony taken collectively; its general breadth at 500 miles distance from its mouth being 300 yards, when free from inundations; for, like the Nile, the Orange River has its periodical overflowings.

An object of considerable importance with Mr. Barrow, was to ascertain the existence of the unicorn. Many caverns were fruitlessly explored, with the hopes of finding the delineation of this animal among the drawings of the Bosjesmans; when, at

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at length, in a high and concealed kloof, was discovered part of a figure intended as the representation of a beast with a single horn projecting from the forehead. Of this figure, as it was found on the sides of the cavern, Mr. B. has given a fac simile; and this delineation of an animal with a single horn affords some slight arguments for the existence of a living original. If the fac simile be faithful, it also bears strong evidence of the graphical skill of the Bosjesmans. On the probability of the existence of an unicorn, Mr. B. enters into a discussion of four or five pages.

On the 24th day after their departure, the travellers returned to Graaff Reynet; and this period was marked by the circumstance of excessive heat: the thermometer, when exposed to the wind in the shade, standing at 108°.

Chapter v contains Sketches on a Journey from Graaff Reynet along the sea coast to the Cape. When the expedition arrived at Graaff Reynet, it was found that the passage of the great desert was impracticable, on account of the scarcity of water and herbage. At length, however, after a heavy and continued rain, the journey was attempted and effected, though under circumstances of great distress and danger. The rain had not extended far into the country; and for four days, the travellers endured the mortification and hardship of finding springs and rivers completely dried up: but on the sixth day, fresh water was happily obtained in a stream called Keurfonteyn, or choice spring.

In the route from Graaff Reynet to the Cape, it is necessary to cross a chain of mountains; and the point of the passage is at a mountain emphatically called Duyvil's kop, or the Devil's head: for here the road is dreadfully steep and stoney, formed by steps, over some of which it was necessary to lift the waggons by main strength.

Having crossed the Crocodile river, the Gauritz river, (the sudden and copious rise of which is so extraordinary, as to have once destroyed a house nearly a hundred feet above the level of its channel,) and various other streams, the travellers reached Cape Town on the 18th of January, after a tour of seven months' duration; in the course of which, says Mr. B., "many personal inconveniences and difficulties had occurred, to be borne and surmounted only by a determination to gratify curiosity at the expense of comfort."

Chapter vi and last, contains Sketches on a Journey into the Country of the Namaaquas. This chapter, like its predecessors, contains much curious and interesting matter concerning the face of the country which was explored, its productions, &c. On the occasion of the author's Hottentot following, for a considerable distance, the traces of the waggon, he notes the sagacity of this race of people in investigation:

"At this sort of business a Hottentot is uncommonly clever. There is not an animal among the numbers that range the wilds of Africa, if he be at all acquainted with it, the print of whose feet he cannot distinguish. And though the marks by which his judgment is directed be very nice, they are constant in animals in a state of nature, whereas domesticated animals are liable to many accidental variations. He will distinguish the wolf, for instance, from the domestic dog, by the large-

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ness of the ball of the foot, and the comparative smallness of the toes. The print of any of his companions' feet he would single out among a thousand. The peasantry are also tolerably expert in tracing game by the marks of their feet; it is, in fact, a part of their education. An African boor gains a sort of reputation by being clever *op het spoor*. This is the method by which, on moonlight nights, they hunt down the poor Bosjesmans."

"The Hartebeest river, contrary to expectation, being perfectly dry, the experiment of digging was made in the bed of the river, and at five feet under the pebbly and crystallized sand, the fragments apparently of decomposed granite, was a stream of clear fresh water; and, from various experiments afterwards made in the sandy beds of the rivers of the Namaaqua country, I am inclined to think, that subterranean streams of water pass under most of them in this part of Africa."

On the second of June, after an absence of nearly eight weeks, Mr. Barrow returned to Cape Town; his journey having been performed in the most unfavourable season of the year, but fortunately without those inconveniences which were naturally to be expected and dreaded.

That the facts related in the present volume are not faithfully stated, there is very slender reason for supposing: while in favour of the author's good faith and accuracy, many arguments may be urged, drawn from previously existing accounts, from probability and analogy, and from internal evidences. With one or two exceptions, Mr. Barrow manifests little disposition to credulity, or to hastiness of judgment. His style is, on the whole, perspicuous and elegant; neither careless nor elaborate; and if in parts it may be censured, it is only when the author wishes to excite something more than sedate and temperate approbation; when he ambitiously aims at excellencies either beyond his reach, or incompatible with the nature of his performance. Amid much lustre, to be offended with a few spots would display malignity of criticism; and those animadversions are to be set aside, that would divert our regards from the general excellencies of a work, which, while it entertains its readers, will make them wiser, without causing them to be more depraved; and which is calculated to increase the knowledge of human nature, to enlighten the views of policy, and to excite interest for the concerns of suffering humanity.

Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Laurence, through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans; in the Years 1789 *and* 1793. *With a preliminary Account of the Rise, Progress, and present State of the Fur Trade of that Country. Illustrated with Maps. By Alexander Mackenzie, Esq., 4to.,* 1801.

FEW ages have been more fruitful than the present in extraordinary achievements; and among those which will be regarded with interest by posterity, will be numbered the enterprises of the hardy and adventurous travellers, who, undaunted by the known danger of their attempts, have traversed regions which had been deemed impenetrable to the most ardent efforts of the civilized world. The publication, to which our attention is now called, affords another instance of

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of this bold and persevering spirit. Mr. Mackenzie has twice, in different directions, crossed the great continent of North America, from shore to shore: the first time, in 1789, to the Frozen Sea; the second, in 1793, to the Western coast; and these two voyages are related in the volume before us.

In his preface, the author thus speaks of himself and his work:

"I was led, at an early period of life, by commercial views, to the country north-west of Lake Superior, in North America; and being endowed by Nature with an inquisitive mind and enterprising spirit; possessing also a constitution and frame of body equal to the most arduous undertakings; and being familiar with toilsome exertions in the prosecution of mercantile pursuits; I not only contemplated the practicability of penetrating across the continent of America, but was confident in the qualifications, as I was animated by the desire, to undertake the perilous enterprise."—

"The first voyage has settled the dubious point of a practicable north-west passage; and I trust, that it has set that long-agitated question at rest, and extinguished the disputes respecting it for ever. An enlarged discussion of that subject will be found to occupy the concluding pages of this volume.

"In this voyage, I was not only without the necessary books and instruments, but also felt myself deficient in the sciences of astronomy and navigation: I did not hesitate, therefore, to undertake a winter's voyage to England, in order to procure the one and acquire the other. These objects being accomplished, I returned, to determine the practicability of a commercial communication through the continent of North America, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans."

These preparatory steps were favourable indications of a spirit of perseverance adequate to such an attempt, and the event has been fully answerable to the prognostics.—To account for the lapse of time between the execution of his design and the appearance of his narrative, the author states that this circumstance is owing to the active and busy mode of life in which he has been engaged since the completion of the voyages.

In order to enable the reader to comprehend the object and nature of these undertakings, the author has prefixed a general History of the Fur Trade, from Canada to the north-west; of which we shall give a short sketch.

When European settlements were first formed in Canada, the country was so populous, that, in the vicinity of the establishments, the animals whose skin was most valued soon became scarce. To procure a supply, the Indians were encouraged to penetrate into other parts of the country, and were generally accompanied by some of the European settlers, who found means to induce the remote tribes to bring skins to their settlements.

"It is not necessary for me (says Mr. M.) to examine the cause, but experience proves, that it requires much less time for a civilized people to deviate into the manners and customs of savage life, than for savages to rise into a state of civilization. Such was the event with those who thus accompanied the natives on their hunting and trading excursions; for they became so attached to the Indian mode of life, that they lost all relish for their former habits and native homes. Hence

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they derived the title of *couriers de bois*, became a kind of pedlars, and were extremely useful to the merchants engaged in the fur trade; who gave them the necessary credit to proceed on their commercial undertakings. Three or four of these people would join their stock, put their property into a birch bark canoe, which they worked themselves, and either accompanied the natives in their excursions, or went at once to the country where they knew they were to hunt. At length, these voyages extended to twelve or fifteen months, when they returned with rich cargoes of furs, and followed by great numbers of the natives. During the short time requisite to settle their accounts with the merchants, and procure fresh credit, they generally contrived to squander away all their gains, when they returned to renew their favourite mode of life; their views being answered and their labour sufficiently rewarded, by indulging themselves in extravagance and dissipation during the short space of one month in twelve or fifteen.

"This indifference about amassing property, and the pleasure of living free from all restraint, soon brought on a licentiousness of manners which could not long escape the vigilant observation of the missionaries, who had much reason to complain of their being a disgrace to the Christian religion; by not only swerving from its duties themselves, but by thus bringing it into disrepute with those of the natives who had become converts to it; and consequently, obstructing the great object to which those pious men had devoted their lives. They therefore exerted their influence to procure the suppression of these people, and accordingly, no one was allowed to go up the country to traffic with the Indians, without a licence from the government."

The grant of these licences was soon considered as a favour, and they were made transferable, and of course saleable. Those who bought were allowed to appoint their own agents, and the agents thus employed were generally the *couriers de bois*, whose conduct had given such cause of complaint; so that the remedy proved in fact worse than the disease. At length, military posts were established at convenient places, and several respectable men prosecuted the trade on their own accounts in person; which mode was attended with the twofold benefit of securing the respect of the natives, and the obedience of the people employed in the laborious parts of the business.

Under the French government, the fur-trade from Canada was extended as far west as the Saskatchiwine-river, in 53° N. latitude, and 102° west longitude from Greenwich. Mr. Mackenzie mentions that two of the traders at that time attempted to penetrate to the Pacific Ocean, but he could never learn the extent of their journey.—After the conquest of Canada by the English, the trade for furs in that country was for some time suspended; the new possessors having neither knowledge of the Indian language, nor confidence in the natives, who had been accustomed to entertain hostile dispositions towards the English. By degrees, however, the trade revived, and, being encouraged by a few successful adventures, "was pursued with such avidity and irregularity, that in a few years it became the reverse of what it ought to have been. An animated competition prevailed, and the

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contending parties carried the trade beyond the French limits, though with no benefit to themselves or neighbours, the Hudson's Bay company; who, in the year 1774, and not till then, thought proper to move from home to the east-bank of Sturgeon Lake, in latitude 53° 56′ north, and the longitude 102° 15′ west; and became more jealous of their fellow subjects, and, perhaps, with more cause, than they had been of those of France. From this period to the present time, they have been following the Canadians to their different establishments; while, on the contrary, there is not a solitary instance that the Canadians have followed them.

This competition gave a fatal blow to the trade from Canada; but, in 1775, Mr. Joseph Frobisher, one of the gentlemen engaged in this commerce, being more enterprising than his predecessors, went as far as to 55° 25′ N., and to 103¼° west longitude, where he met the Indians from that quarter on their way to Fort Churchill, and with some difficulty prevailed on them to trade with him. He went again in the following year, and was equally successful; and his brother afterward penetrated nearly five degrees more to the west.

In the winter of 1783-4, the merchants of Canada, who were engaged in this trade, formed a junction of interests, under the name of the North-West company; but some who were dissatisfied with the shares allotted to them, and others who considered themselves as neglected, entered into a copartnership separate from that company; and in this association Mr. M. engaged as a partner, and as one of the active managers. After a severe struggle with their competitors, however, they adopted the wise resolution of agreeing to an union of interests: which new engagement was concluded in July, 1787.—The author has entered into a detail of the management of the North-West company; and our readers may form some judgment of the extent of the trade, from the following account of the furs and peltries which were the produce of the year 1798;

" 106,000 Beaver skins,
2,100 Bear skins,
1,500 Fox skins,
4,000 Kitt Fox skins,
4,600 Otter skins,
17,000 Musquash skins,
32,000 Marten skins,
1,800 Mink skins,
6,000 Lynx skins,
600 Wolverine skins,
1,650 Fisher skins,
100 Racoon skins,
3,800 Wolf skins,
700 Elk skins,
750 Deer skins,
1,200 Deer skins, dressed,
500 Buffalo robes, and a quantity of castor."

" The number of men employed in the concern is 50 clerks; 71 interpreters and clerks; 1,120 canoe men; and 35 guides."

Mr. M. has given, in this part of his work, an itinerary, or description of the route from Montreal to Fort Chepewyan on the south side of the Lake of the Hills; an establishment which was formed in 1788, in latitude 58° 38′ N., and in longitude 110° 26′ West. The labour performed by some of the carriers appears extraordinary:

" When they arrive at the Grande Portage, which is near nine miles over, each of them has to carry eight packages of such goods and provisions as are necessary for the interior country. This is a labour

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which cattle cannot conveniently perform in summer, as both horses and oxen were tried by the company without success. They are only useful for light bulky articles; or for transporting upon sledges, during the winter, whatever goods may remain there, especially provision, of which it is usual to have a year's stock on hand.

"Having finished this toilsome part of their duty, if more goods are necessary to be transported, they are allowed a Spanish dollar for each package: and so inured are they to this kind of labour, that I have known some of them set off with two packages of ninety pounds each, and return with two other of the same weight, in the course of six hours, being a distance of eighteen miles over hills and mountains."

Some of the Indian tribes are described in this introductory history of the fur trade. The Knisteneaux Indians are spread over a great portion of the continent of North America; and Mr. M. remarks that their women are the most comely of any that he has seen among the native Americans. Their figure is generally well proportioned, and the regularity of their features would be acknowledged by the more civilized people of Europe."—"These people are naturally mild and affable as well as just in their dealings, not only among themselves but with strangers. They are also generous and hospitable.—To their children they are indulgent to a fault."—After a portrait with so many excellent features, it is with pain that we contemplate others which are very bad, and that we also learn the miserable state of the females of this nation. "They are subject to every kind of domestic drudgery; they dress the leather, make the clothes and shoes, weave the nets, collect wood, erect the tents, fetch water, and perform every culinary service; so that when the duties of maternal care are added, it will appear that the life of these women is an uninterrupted succession of toil and pain. This, indeed, is the sense they entertain of their own situation; and, under the influence of that sentiment, they are sometimes known to destroy their female children, to save them from the miseries which they themselves have suffered. They also have a ready way, by the use of certain simples, of procuring abortions, which they sometimes practice, from their hatred of the father, or to save themselves the trouble which children occasion."

After this introduction, which is replete with entertainment and information, Mr. M. enters on the relation of his voyage to the north. — On Wednesday, June 3, 1789, at nine in the morning, he departed from Chepewyan, on the south side of the Lake of the Hills, in a canoe made of birch bark

The route pursued was, first, to the western part of the Lake of the Hills; and thence to the north, by a river which discharges itself into a lake, called the Great Slave Lake. After having made a circuit round the greater portion of the northern shore of the Slave Lake, on the 29th of June, at its western part, they entered a river to which Mr. Mackenzie has given his own name, being then in a tract wholly new to Europeans; and they followed the course of this stream, of which the general direction was to the N. W., till it brought them to the Frozen Sea. This short outline gives a very inadequate idea of the track: but.

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indeed, it cannot be well comprehended without consulting the map with which the narrative is accompanied.—An Indian of a tribe called the Redknife Indians (so named from their copper knives) undertook to be their guide.

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Their progress was made by day; for at night they always landed and set up their tents; embarking again in the morning. The Indians of their party provided food by hunting, shooting, or fishing; which, however, was not their sole reliance, since they had taken a store of provision in the canoe. They frequently saw places at which the Indians had resided, and sometimes they met with Indians: but the number of them bore a very small proportion to the extent of country through which the voyagers passed. Towards the sea they descended with the stream. The natives, from whom they endeavoured to obtain information, gave exaggerated accounts of rapids and falls in their way: but they were all passed without much danger or difficulty.

The life of the unsettled North Americans must necessarily be a state of habitual and unceasing apprehension; and accordingly Mr. M. and his party had passed nearly a week in Mackenzie's River, when they first met some of the natives.*

These people told the travellers that there were very few animals in the country beyond them, and that, if they proceeded, they must perish with hunger; yet one of the Indians was induced to accompany them by the offer of a small kettle, an axe, a knife, and some other articles. "As we were ready to embark, (says the author,) our new recruit was desired to prepare for his departure which he would have declined; but, as none of his friends would take his place, we may be said, after the delay of an hour, to have compelled him to embark. Previous to his departure, he cut off a lock of his hair, and, having divided it into three parts, he fastened one of them to the hair on the upper part of his wife's head, blowing on it three times with the utmost violence, and uttering certain words. The other two he fastened, with the same formalities, on the heads of his two children."

The Indians of this village are described as meagre, ugly, and ill made, particularly about the legs, which were covered with scabs, "occasioned probably by their habitually roasting them before the fire;" and many of them were in a bad state of health. "They were of moderate stature, and, as far as could be discovered through the coat of dirt and grease that covers them, of a fairer complexion than the generality of Indians who are the natives of warmer climates."—"Their lodges are of a very simple structure: a few poles, supported by a fork, and forming a semicircle at the bottom, with some branches or a piece of bark as a covering, constitute the whole of their native architecture. They build two of these huts facing each other, and make the fire between them. The furniture harmonizes with the buildings; they have a few dishes of wood, bark, or horn; the vessels in which they cook their victuals are in the shape of a gourd, narrow at the top and wide at the bottom, and of watape*, fabricated in such

* "Watape is the name given to the divided roots of the spruce fir, which the natives weave into a degree of compactness that renders it capable of containing a fluid. The different parts of the bark canoes are also sewed together with this kind of filament."

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a manner as to hold water, which is made to boil by putting a succession of red-hot stones into it. These vessels contain from two to six gallons."

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The following sentence will show the expedition with which the voyagers were carried towards the sea; "Monday, July 6th, at three o'clock, in a raw and cloudy morning, we embarked, and steered west-south-west 4 miles, west 4 miles, west-north-west 5 miles, west 8 miles, west by south 16 miles, west 27 miles, south-west 9 miles, then west 6 miles, and encamped at half past seven." The author has kept a regular and minute reckoning of the route, and, in the history of each day, has given an account of the progress: but it would, perhaps, have been more pleasant to the reader, and the route would have been more readily comprehended, if the courses and distances had been separated from the narrative, and formed into a table.

Indians were seen farther to the north, of more creditable appearance than those whom we have just described; "healthy, full of flesh, and clean in their persons." The voyagers now found their guide so troublesome in requiring his discharge, that they were glad to exchange him for another; who also soon took an opportunity of escaping; but they had the good fortune shortly afterward of procuring a third, more willing than either of the former. To the north of 67½° of north latitude, however, the river beginning to widen, and to run through different channels formed by large islands, they were beyond his knowledge, and only determined on keeping the middle channel.

July 12th. The author took an observation in 69° 01′ N. and no land was seen before them, except islands. They made towards the western point of a high island to the north, at which they arrived at five o'clock. Ice appeared to interrupt their farther progress; no land was seen to the north beyond the island on which they then were; and this was the northern boundary of their voyage. "As soon as the tents were pitched," says Mr. M., "I proceeded with the English chief to the highest part of the island. As far as the eye could reach to the south-westward, we could dimly perceive a chain of mountains, stretching farther to the north than the edge of the ice, at the distance of upwards of twenty leagues. To the eastward we saw many islands; and in our progress we met with a considerable number of white partridges, now become brown. There were also flocks of very beautiful plovers, and I found the nest of one of them with four eggs. White owls, likewise, were among the inhabitants of the place; but the dead, as well as the living, demanded our attention, for we came to the grave of one of the natives, by which lay a bow, a paddle, and a spear."

The whole party were unwilling that, having gone so far, they should be obliged to return without ascertaining whether or not they had reached the sea; and, in hopes that the ice would break up and disperse, they prolonged their stay on the island. In this station, the latitude was observed 69° 14′ N. The longitude, by reckoning, was 134° W. from Greenwich. [In the narrative it is said, 135° W., which must be an error of the press; the longitude in the chart being 134° W.] The variations of the compass was 36 degrees easterly. "Fish were caught among which were some

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about the size of a herring, which none of us had ever seen before, except the English chief, who recognised it as being of a kind that abounds in Hudson's Bay."—"Tuesday, 14th. Having sat up till three in the morning, I slept longer than usual; but, about eight, one of my men saw a great many animals in the water, which he at first supposed to be pieces of ice. About nine, however, I was awakened to resolve the doubts which had taken place, respecting this extraordinary appearance. I immediately perceived that they were whales; and, having ordered the canoe to be prepared, we embarked in pursuit of them. It was, indeed, a very wild and unreflecting enterprise; and it was a very fortunate circumstance that we failed in our attempt to overtake them, as a stroke from the tail of one of these enormous fish would have dashed the canoe to pieces." The sight of the whales sufficiently demonstrated the neighbourhood of the sea; but we do not find any mention of experiments being made to determine whether the water, on which they navigated, was in any degree salt or brackish. The spot whence the whales were seen was named, by the author, Whale Island, and is nearly in the same latitude (but 20 degrees more to the west,) as the part of the north coast whence Mr. Hearne, in 1771, saw the sea.—The return to the south, by the same river, (Mackenzie's River,) was a business of much more labour and fatigue than the voyage to the sea, since they had to mount against a strong stream, which required constant exertion of paddling, or of tracking with a line on shore. In one part of the river, where the breadth from shore to shore did not exceed 300 yards, the depth of water was 50 fathoms.

Most of the Indians seen by Mr. M. to the northward, were at variance with the Esquimaux, whom they represented as being cruel and treacherous: but from these Esquimaux the author learned that, "eight or ten winters ago they had seen large canoes to the westward, full of white men, from whom they had obtained iron, in exchange for leather." From other information, imperfectly understood, he had reason for conjecturing that the body of water or sea, into which Mackenzie's river discharges itself at Whale Island, communicates with Norton Sound.

It will easily be credited, that hard travelling in a cold climate is an excellent stimulant to the appetite; and the following instance is here related: "We had consumed two rein deer, four swans, forty-five geese, and a considerable quantity of fish, in six days, but it is to be considered we were ten men and four women. I have always observed, that the north men possessed very hearty appetites, but they were much exceeded by those with me, since we entered this river. I should really have thought it absolute gluttony in my people, if my own appetite had not increased in a similar proportion."

In the return, a serious dispute took place between the author and the Indians of his party; and, in order to prevent it from growing to a quarrel, he says, "I sent for the English chief to sup with me; and a dram or two dispelled all his heart-burning and discontent.—He informed me that it was a custom with the Chepewyan chiefs to go to war after they had shed tears, to wipe away the

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disgrace attached to such a feminine weakness."

On Saturday, September 27th, at three in the afternoon, the voyagers arrived in safety at Chepewyan Fort, whence they had commenced their progress; and "here concluded this voyage, which had occupied the considerable space of one hundred and two days."

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The expedition of Mr. Mackenzie to the western coast of North America, which is now the object of our attention, was and undertaking more arduous and enterprising than even his voyage to the north. He begins his relation at Fort Chepewyan, from which place he departed in October 1792; and, proceeding along the Unjigah or Peace River, he arrived on the 1st of November, at a place called the Forks, where the river branched into two directions, one running towards the south, the other to the west. Keeping in the western branch, the author landed a few miles beyond the Forks, at a spot to which people had been before sent to make preparations for erecting a house; and here he fixed his residence for the winter. Fork Fort, which was the name given to the place, is in latitude 56° 09′ N. and longitude 117° 35′ W. from Greenwich.

The construction of a fort, storehouses, &c., and the settlement of various matters with the Indians, furnished Mr. M. with employment. Accident likewise obliged him to make trial of his skill in physic and surgery; and he had the satisfaction of being fortunate in his practice. The following is related among other cases: "One of the young Indians had lost the use of his right hand by the bursting of a gun, and his thumb had been maimed in such a manner as to hang only by a small strip of flesh. Indeed, when he was brought to me, his wound was in such an offensive state, and emitted such a putrid smell, that it required all the resolution I possessed to examine it. His friends had done every thing in their power to relieve him; but as it consisted only in singing about him, and blowing upon his hand, the wound, as may well be imagined, had got into the deplorable state in which I found it." This case, at the risk of his surgical reputation, Mr. M. undertook; and the patient received benefit, and was not ungrateful.

On the 9th of May, 1793, Mr. M. departed from the fort of the Forks, in order to prosecute his western discovery. The travelling party consisted of ten men (including himself;) of which number, two had accompanied him in the former expedition, and two were Indians, intended to serve as hunters and interpreters. The whole were embarked in one canoe, which was twenty-five feet long within, and four feet nine inches broad: at the same time it was so light, that two men could carry it on a good road three or four miles without resting. In this vessel, besides the company, were shipped provisions, ammunition, goods for presents, &c. to the weight of 3,000lbs. They began the voyage against a strong current, the Unjigah river discharging itself into the Slave Lake to the north-eastward, and the direction pursued by the party being towards the S. W. The country through which they had first passed, the author writes, displayed a succession of the most beautiful scenery which he had ever beheld: but the rapidity of the stream rendered the navigation dangerous, and extremely laborious. In one part of the river they were obliged to unload four

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times in the space of two miles, and to carry every thing but the canoe.

Against such obstacles, however, the perseverance of Mr. Mackenzie at length prevailed. In order to lighten the canoe, most of the party walked "Mr. Mackay informed me (says the writer) that, in passing over the mountains, he observed several chasms in the earth that emitted heat and smoke, which diffused a strong sulphurous stench. I should have visited this phenomenon, if I had been sufficiently qualified as a naturalist to have offered scientific observations thereon."

On June 12, they reached the head of the Unjigah River, at what the author believes to be its most southern source. They procured a guide in the route; and here they found a carrying place that led, at 817 paces distance, to a small lake, whence they arrived at another river, the current of which was soon found to take a southern direction. Mr. M. has supposed this to be the Columbia, or a branch of that river. In descending this stream, the voyagers very narrowly escaped being wrecked: but, were we to extract the passage, or to be more particular in the description of the route, we should too much lengthen our account. From information which Mr. M. acquired from the Indians with whom he met, he learned that, at some distance to the westward of the river, which they were navigating, there was another, which led to the sea; "I called those of my people about me," he says, "who had not been present at my consultation with the natives; and after passing a warm eulogium on their fortitude, patience, and perseverance, I stated the difficulties that threatened our continuing to navigate the river, the length of time it would require, and the scanty provision we had for such a voyage: I then proceeded for the foregoing reasons to propose a shorter route, by trying the over-land road to the sea." This proposition was zealously adopted by all.—They were obliged to remount the stream, in order to regain a station more convenient for depositing such things as they could not carry with them, than the place at which they had formed the resolution; and their canoe had suffered so much damage, that it became necessary to build a new one. This however, was a work of only three days. The canoe was placed under a covering of small trees and branches, and with it were put many other things; but the provisions and gunpowder were left in more secure hiding-places.

On July 4th, they began their journey by land. The distance to the western river was, in a straight line, above 100 miles: but, by the circuitous route which they were obliged to take, the length of their march was much increased. They procured guides from among the natives, and travelled in frequented paths, but heavy laden, with their arms, provisions, and other baggage. "Each of the Canadians had a burden of about ninety pounds, with a gun and some ammunition."

In this part of the journey, the natives were comparatively numerous.—We insert the following paragraph, which here occurs, because it communicates information which may be of essential service to distressed travellers:—"We proceeded on our journey accompanied by the Indian and his two sons. As I did not want the younger, and should be obliged to feed him, I requested of his father to leave him, for the purpose of fishing for the wo-

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men. He replied, that they were accustomed to fish for themselves, and that I need not be apprehensive of their encroaching upon my provisions, as they were used to sustain themselves in their journeys on herbs, and the inner tegument of the bark of trees, for the stripping of which he had a thin piece of bone, then hanging by his side. The latter is of a glutinous quality, of a clammy, sweet taste, and is generally considered by the more interior Indians as a delicacy, rather than an article of common food."

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When the travellers arrived at the Western River, the first habitations which they saw belonged to Indians of a tribe which do not eat flesh. The guide, having gone before, had prepared for the travellers a friendly reception.

The language of these Indians was totally different from any which the author had before heard. After having made presents to their host, who had provided for them two canoes, the travellers embarked, accompanied by seven of the natives. "I had imagined," says Mr. M., "that the Canadians were the most expert canoe-men in the world, but they acknowledged themselves inferior to these people in conducting those vessels."

During the remainder of the passage towards the sea, the voyagers were kept in a state of constant apprehension, and were frequently in situations from which it required the utmost exertions of their vigilance and resolution to extricate themselves. At a place which Mr. M. has distinguished by the appellation of the Friendly Village, the circumstances of their entertainment were not at first of the most encouraging kind.

The travellers remained all night at this village; and soon after they had retired to rest, the chief came to Mr. M., and requested him to accept his bed-companion: but, notwithstanding repeated entreaties on the part of the chief, this offering of hospitality was not accepted.

From the Friendly Village, the travellers were furnished with another canoe, and proceeded with the stream towards the sea. At one house where they stopped, some of the women were employed in beating and preparing the inner rind of the cedar bark, to which they gave the appearance of flax. Others were spinning with a distaff and spindle. One of them was weaving a robe of this substance, intermixed with stripes of the sea-otter skin, on a frame of adequate contrivance, which was placed against the side of the house. The men were fishing with drag-nets between two canoes.—After this account of their employments, many readers, we apprehend, will have a more respectful opinion of the state of the arts and manufactures among the natives of North America, than they have been accustomed to entertain.

On July the 20th, Mr. M. and his companions arrived at an arm of the sea; and on the 21st they were near a cape, which was seen by captain Vancouver, and by him named Cape Menzies, the arm of the sea being that which he has called the Cascade Canal. This was the farthest of their progress to the west; and, at this station, the latitude was 52° 21′ N., and the longitude, calculated from the mean of two emersions of Jupiter's satellites, 128° 02′ W., which is something more west than Cape Menzie is placed in the chart of captain Vancouver.

In the night of the 22d of July they began their voyage of return,

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the particulars of which afford much amusement; and they once more arrived at Fort Chepewyan, on the 24th of August.

We have been less circumstantial in our remarks on the relation of this voyage, than on the expedition to the Northern Sea: but it may nevertheless be remarked, that the account of the voyage to the west coast, is a work of greater entertainment and interest than could have been furnished by that which was directed to the north. Each has its distinct utility: the northern, in corroborating, and, we may say, in completing, the evidence that there does not exist a navigable passage by sea to the north of America; and the western, in proving the practicability of commercial intercourse through the continent, between the eastern and western coasts.

Mr. M. has drawn up some brief observations concerning the geography, the climate, and the fur trade of North America; which are inserted in the latter part of his volume, and serve as an appendix to the voyages. In his remarks on the geography, he considers both the political divisions, and those which have been formed by nature. The climate, it is stated, is much more severe on the eastern than on the western coast; which the author attributes to the former being exposed to the north-west winds that blow from the Frozen Sea. The following passage affords matter for reflection: but we will not undertake to determine whether or not it is founded on a sufficient length of experience.

"It has been frequently advanced, that the difference of clearing away the wood has had an astonishing influence in meliorating the climate: but I am not disposed to assent to that opinion, in the extent which it proposes to establish, when I consider the very trifling proportion of the country cleared, compared with the whole. The employment of the axe may have had some inconsiderable effect; but I look to other causes. I myself observed in a country, which was in an absolute state of nature, that the climate is improving; and this circumstance was confirmed to me by the native inhabitants of it. Such a change, therefore, must proceed from some predominating operation in the system of the globe, which is beyond my conjecture, and, indeed, above my comprehension, and may, probably, in the course of time, give to America the climate of Europe. It is well known, indeed, that the waters are decreasing there, and that many lakes are draining and filling up by the earth which is carried into them from the higher lands by the rivers: and this may have some partial effect."

The writer concludes his work with considerations respecting the fur trade: which, he is of opinion, would be productive of more advantage both to the public and to the merchants, if the Hudson's Bay and the North-west companies were to unite.

It seems superfluous to add to the foregoing account, that we regard the expeditions of Mr. Mackenzie as of considerable importance to geography and commerce; and that his narrative contains much information and entertainment. It is accompanied with three maps, which are well executed: one, general, of the northern part of America, from 40° to 70° N. latitude; and a separate map for each voyage.

END OF VOL. XLIII.

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