

nephew of lord Kilwarden was also murdered. The daughter escaped. The insurrection, if so it can be called, was put down in a few hours. Robert Emmett fled, with some of his misguided companions, to the Wicklow mountains; returned to take leave of the daughter of Curran, the great advocate, whose affections he had clandestinely obtained; was tried, and was executed with others whose names are forgotten. The romance of his love appears to have saved the memory of the chief conspirator from oblivion. The young men and maidens of this age ask who he was, when they hear the well-known lament of—

“Oh! breathe not his name, let it sleep in the shade.”

Emmett was a rash enthusiast, who stirred up a hopeless conspiracy, with no support except amongst the dregs of the populace. He was a Protestant, and his revolt had no reference to the disregarded claims of the majority of the Irish people. He desired to see Ireland an independent Republic; and he depended for assistance upon that man who had trodden the liberties of republican France under the hoof of an armed despotism.

On the 17th of June, Charles Yorke, the Secretary at War, proposed that an Army of Reserve of 50,000 men should be immediately raised. Mr. Windham maintained that this was a mere addition to the militia, with all the evils of that system, one of which evils was the privilege of exemption from personal service of the man chosen by ballot who could provide a substitute. A militia could never be equal to a regular army. He preferred what he called “a Vendean rising *en masse*.” On the 18th of July, a more extensive measure was proposed by the Secretary at War: that an enrolment should be made of all men in every parish between the ages of seventeen and fifty-five. These were divided into four classes, and according to their ages and family condition, as indicated by the class, they were to be called out and exercised, arms being provided for them. Mr. Windham thought that powers such as those proposed by the bill should be vested in the executive government, but that government should not be in haste to make use of them, till it should be seen what might be hoped from exertions purely voluntary. Fox took the course which was at once the most practical and the most patriotic. He wished that there were no compulsory provisions in the bill, of the principles of which he approved. Go round from house to house and ask who would be willing to serve their country in the hour of danger; there would not be five refusals in five hundred; and let those who agree to serve be immediately called forth to be instructed. “I am not

attempting to give you soldiers, but armed citizens; men whose bosoms glow with the love of their country and their connexions, and who, in defence of them, would be as ready to fight an enemy as the best disciplined soldiers in the world.” * Addington said that sixty thousand volunteers had already offered. When, on the 10th of August, Sheridan proposed a vote of thanks to the Volunteers, it was stated that three hundred thousand had been enrolled. At the commencement of the next Session, a Return was made of such corps as had been accepted and placed on the Establishment, and the number enrolled was 379,943. †

There was a prorogation of Parliament for about three months. That interval of legislation was one of the most stirring periods of Britain's history. There are a hundred and twenty thousand Frenchmen encamped at Boulogne and its neighbourhood. The First Consul passes much of his time amidst these troops. He puts them through exercises on land and on water. He gallops along the sands. He traverses the sea margin in a small boat. He writes to Cambacérés, “I have passed three days in the midst of the camp and the port. From the heights of Ambleteuse I have seen the coast of England as one sees Calvary ‡ from the Tuileries. One can distinguish the houses and objects in motion. It is a ditch that will be leapt over, when we shall have the boldness to make the attempt.” § He would make the attempt in the autumn; then he would wait till the beginning of winter; then he would wait till February; he would wait till a fleet with twenty thousand more men had arrived from the Texel, and eighteen thousand in a fleet from Brest. Meanwhile, according to M. Thiers, although thirty thousand Frenchmen would not have caused the English to fear, a hundred and fifty thousand, led by general Bonaparte, produced a shiver of terror in every class of the nation. || Let us see how they shivered.

At Walmer Castle, near Deal, in September, October, and November, was residing William Pitt. How is the man engaged who for seventeen years had been prime minister of his country? On the 9th of August, Wilberforce wrote,—“Pitt is about to take the command of three thousand volunteers, as Lord Warden. I am uneasy at it. He does not engage on equal or common terms; and his spirit will lead him to be foremost in the battle.” ¶ On the 8th of September Pitt writes to Rose, that he could not go far

* “Parliamentary History,” vol. xxxvi. col. 1646.

† See Table at the end of this Chapter.

‡ An artificial hill near Paris; also called Mount Valerien.

§ Thiers, tome iv. p. 493.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 504.

¶ “Life,” vol. iii. p. 113.

from his post, "though we have certainly no immediate indication of any intention from the other side of the water to give us employment." In October he thinks that some attempt will be made soon. "In this situation I am likely to have my time very completely occupied by the various concerns of my regiment and my district." At the beginning of December he will be so constantly occupied all next week in going round to his different battalions that it would be impossible for him to think of going to town.* How Bonaparte would have laughed could he have seen from those heights of Ambleuse the tall gaunt figure of the statesman whom he most hated and dreaded, dressed in regimental scarlet, and giving the command to a few companies of awkward volunteers. He would have laughed with that full measure of contempt with which a great captain always regards unprofessional soldiers. He would have sneered with the pride of a despot at the spirit of a constitutional government which had called up the power of a people, "for freedom combating," to meet "the power of armies." The great ex-minister doing the duties of a simple citizen, amidst the changes of a limited monarchy, was the embodiment of the principle of duty, as opposed to the principle of personal ambition, which knew no law but the will of the strongest. What Pitt was doing as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports was being done by every Lord-Lieutenant of England and of Scotland. Nearly four hundred thousand men, providing their own clothing, receiving no pay, having no privilege but what they considered an exemption from being balloted for the militia, sprang up at a word. "An imposing force," says M. Thiers, "if it had been organized." It was partially organized in a few months; and it had this specialty in its organization, that it was not a mere military machine, but a congregation of citizens, "united as one individual soul," each of whom would fight to the death as long as there was a Frenchman in arms on the soil. Minister or mechanic, lawyer or labourer, peer or peasant, all were inspired by one spirit. The king on Windsor Terrace, calls to the band to play "Britons, strike home." The ploughman whistles "Rule Britannia," as he cleaves his furrow. The Dumfries weaver sings at his loom "Scots, wha ha' wi' Wallace bled." The drum is heard in every village. The musket-shot strikes the target on many a common. There are not muskets at first for all; and the pike is a temporary weapon. A fast-day is appointed on the 19th of October, and the churches from Land's-End to John O'Groats are filled with young and old, who feel that it is a solemn time, and that their defenders, who are worshipping with them in serried

* See Rose—"Diaries," &c., vol. ii. pp. 69-73.

rank, must look to the Highest for the victory. On the 26th of October the king reviews the Volunteers of London in Hyde Park—twelve thousand four hundred. On the 28th, the king reviews fourteen thousand six hundred of the Volunteers of Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark. They come "from shop and palace, cot and hall." This "general agitation of all classes," says the considerate M. Thiers, "This call of mechanics from their workshops, of merchants from their business, of rich lords from their luxuries," was "a punishment for the conduct of the British government." If prolonged, this agitation would become "an immense evil, and a source of great danger for public order." It was the great principle by which public order was preserved. At a Cabinet Council, ministers hesitated about allowing volunteer regiments. "Do as you please," said Eldon, "but if these men do not volunteer for you, they will against you."* Extreme Toryism drew a line of demarcation between "you," the government, and "they," the people. It trusted in suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act and in *ex-officio* informations. It was slow to trust in the people. At a later period Eldon thought that the Volunteers saved the country.† They saved their own hearths, and, in doing so, they saved the throne and the woolsack.

The king opened the Session on the 22nd of November. The well-worn congratulations were used upon the acquisition of the West Indian Islands;—acquisitions which Windham described as objects of no importance, when compared with the immense projects of the enemy. During six months of that Session, night after night was spent in reprobation, or in defence, of the Volunteer system. They would never be fit to act in the field; they cost too much; they ought to be disbanded; a great army of regulars should be created; an armed peasantry would be a better force. Pitt stood up steadily for supporting and encouraging the Volunteers. He truly said that ministers had rather retarded and enfeebled the volunteer system, than contributed anything to its force and efficiency. Whilst they gave a pompous detail of the force of the country, they should have recollected that it proceeded from the resources and spirit of the nation, and not from their energy and wisdom. "Whatever the spirit and zeal of a free and brave people may have been, under the sense of danger, ought fairly to be separated from the tardiness, langour, and imbecility of ministers, in every thing of which they have assumed the direction."‡ The want of

* Twiss—"Life of Eldon," vol. i. p. 416.

† Hansard, vol. ii. col. 270. ("The Parliamentary History," from which we have quoted up to the First Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom, was superseded by "The Parliamentary Debates," now commonly quoted as Hansard.)

arms was a formidable obstacle to the efficiency of the Volunteers. The great mechanical resources of Britain were then very imperfectly developed. Abbot writes in his Diary of the 30th of December, 1803, "The supply of muskets slow. London supplies not more than 500 per week. None come from Birmingham." A wonderful vigour was infused into the government in March. They set up works at the Tower "for stocking and fitting muskets." In April they were able to stock 350 in one week. "2000 firelocks, condemned as useless, are now refitting by these means."* At this period Malmesbury wrote in his Diary, "The strongest proof of Bonaparte's inability to invade us is his not attempting it at such a moment." The veteran diplomatist was not looking to the want of arms, or to the deficiencies in the Naval Administration, which Pitt had attacked. The ships of England were wearing away with unprecedented rapidity, and no efforts had been made to build new ships. Lord Malmesbury was looking to courts and cabinets rather than to fleets and armies. He trembled at the uncertain state of political parties—their agitations and intrigues. It was clear that the ministry of Addington must fall. It was also clear that the almost unanimous voice of the nation called for Pitt to take the helm. But with whom should he unite himself? Circumstances, then unhappily of no unusual occurrence, had suspended the decision of this question for three months.

On the 12th of February the king's mind was again affected. He had been previously ill of rheumatic gout. His mental attack appears to have been less violent than on previous occasions; but he remained incapable of transacting business in public till the 23rd of April; and it was the 10th of June before it was thought fit to remove the medical control which was essential to his complete recovery. The ministers in March and April constantly maintained that the interference of Parliament was unnecessary. The Chancellor submitted bills to the king, and received his sign-manual. The mere formal acts of sovereignty were performed by him. The grave responsibility which the ministers took upon themselves was repeatedly animadverted upon in Parliament.† But there was one member of the Cabinet who laid himself open to a more serious charge. Mr. Pitt, on the 22nd of April, had written a letter to the king, stating that he could not, consistent with a sense of duty, forbear any longer a direct opposi-

* Colchester—"Diary," vol. i. p. 495.

† The constitutional question of the regal incapacity under such circumstances is fully set forth in the third chapter of Mr. Erskine May's "Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III." (1861.)

tion to the measures of administration. "From the 22nd of April to May the 2nd, there were frequent communications *verbally* between the king and Mr. Pitt through the Chancellor, which led to Mr. Pitt writing a letter to his lordship to be communicated to his majesty; having, during that intercourse, been encouraged to submit his thoughts to the king respecting a new administration, at the head of which he should be." This is Mr. Rose's account.* Lord Eldon is accused by the biographer of Mr. Addington of having betrayed his political chief; and lord Campbell thinks the charge is completely established.† We leave the consideration of his question of personal character to the minute historians. It is sufficient for us to select the more important circumstances of this negotiation. The letter from Mr. Pitt to the Chancellor, which was submitted to the king on the 2nd of May, stated "how desirable it would be, in the present circumstances of this country and of Europe, that an administration should be formed on a broad basis, combining the best talents and the great weight of property of the country; and with that view earnestly recommended including lord Grenville and his friends, and Mr. Fox and his friends." † Mr. Rose, who was in the confidence of Mr. Pitt, wrote to the Chancellor on the 4th, urging the same course. Lord Eldon immediately answered, "that he thought the advice to form an administration on the basis alluded to would be the very worst that could be given; adding terms of the highest reprobation, and in a style of acrimony." § On the 6th, the king wrote to Mr. Pitt. His majesty required of him, before he would consent that he should form an administration, that he would *never* agitate or support Catholic Emancipation or the Repeal of the Test Act; his majesty disapproved of the conduct of lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas when they went out of office; he hoped in a new administration Mr. Pitt would include as many of his majesty's present servants as possible; to the admission of Mr. Fox in the administration the king expressed an absolute negative. || In the autumn of that year the king told Mr. Rose, "that he had taken a positive determination not to admit Mr. Fox into his counsels, even at the hazard of a civil war." ¶ Bonaparte was at the gates; and the king would risk something far higher than his Crown,—the lives of his people, the independence of his country,—for a miserable personal pique, which he was compelled to lay aside two years afterwards. In an evil hour Pitt complied with the will of his obstinate sovereign. The Grenvilles refused to take office without Fox. Pitt had stated in

* "Diary," vol. ii. p. 113.

† "Lives of the Chancellors," chap. cxcviii.

‡ Rose, vol. ii. p. 114.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

his letter of the 2nd of May that he would not agitate for Catholic Emancipation during the king's lifetime; but he contrived to evade giving the monstrous pledge required by the king, that he would *never* support the claims of the Catholics or the Repeal of the Test Act. In an evil hour Pitt accepted the post of prime minister, under the limitations prescribed by the king. On the 10th of May, Addington resigned.* Grenville, on the 8th, had written to Pitt, on the part of himself and the other members of the Opposition, declining his offers: "We rest our determination solely on our strong sense of the impropriety of our becoming parties to a system of government, which is to be formed at such a moment as the present, on a principle of exclusion." † On the 18th of May, William Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, took the oath and his seat in the House of Commons upon his re-election for the University of Cambridge. On the 18th of May, the Senate of France, by their decree, declared Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French.

The indiscretion, to use no harsher term, of the Addington Ministry had contributed towards placing Bonaparte on the throne. Lord Malmesbury thus writes in his Diary:—"In the beginning of February, the measures concerted by Pichegru, Moreau, &c., were confided to me. They were represented as *immanquable*. The idea was the restoration of the monarchy under a Bourbon prince. Their plans were extensive, and, as they thought, well and secretly arranged." It is not likely that what Lord Malmesbury knew was concealed from the leading members of the Administration. He adds, that "whenever the events became certain, and the moment arrived that a more conspicuous character was necessary, Lord Hertford was to appear in the double character of making peace and restoring the old dynasty." Lord Hertford—the second marquis—was not a very "conspicuous character" in 1804, although he figured in the court scandals of 1814. Nevertheless the lord of Ragley might have been considered by the French emigrants as the noblest representative of the British aristocracy; and the French Bonapartists might have regarded him as impersonating the British monarchy. Pichegru went to Paris in January, where Georges Cadoudal, one of the insurgents in Brittany, had also ar-

* See "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. i. p. 508. "He told us he had resigned, and should pack up his *awls*." The transcriber, or the printer, of his Diary, must imagine that Addington in the humility of the moment thought with the citizen in Julius Cæsar—"Truly, sir, in respect of a fine workman, I am but, as you would say, a cobbler—all that I live by is with the awl."

† "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. iii. p. 352.

rived. On the 17th of February, the Minister of Justice made a Report to the First Consul, of the discovery of a conspiracy. It begins thus:—"New plots have been hatched by England." It concludes by saying, "England had no hopes of accomplishing her design but by the assassination of the First Consul." The Report implicates Pichegru, Georges, and Moreau—with others designated as brigands. Georges and Pichegru, after some time had elapsed, were apprehended. Georges was executed; Pichegru was found strangled in prison; and Moreau was exiled. The conspirators denied that the assassination of Bonaparte was any part of their plot. Although it is perfectly clear that no idea of assassination could ever have been contemplated by the most violent of English statesmen, the complicity of the Ministry with the scheme of overturning the consular government, and restoring the monarchy, was reasonably inferred by the discovery of a clandestine correspondence between Mr. Drake, our Minister at Bavaria, and some disaffected persons in France, which correspondence was carried on by a spy, who betrayed Drake to the French government. Mr. Spencer Smith, our envoy at Wurtemberg, was also involved in these intrigues. Official notes passed between Talleyrand and Lord Hawkesbury upon the conduct of these envoys; and in answer to the remonstrances of the French government, our Secretary for Foreign Affairs maintained, that "a minister in a foreign country is obliged, by the nature of his office, and the duties of his situation, to abstain from all communication with the disaffected of the country where he is accredited, as well as from every act injurious to the interests of that country; but he is not subject to the same restraints with respect to countries with which his sovereign is at war."* This is very doubtful morality. When Lord Hawkesbury said that "belligerent powers have an acknowledged right to avail themselves of all discontents that may exist in countries with which they may be at war," he did not very logically close his argument by reproaching the French for their encouragement of Irish rebels. The murder of the duc d'Enghien, the only son of the duc de Bourbon, and grandson of the prince de Condé, quickly followed the discovery of what French writers call the Anglo-Bourbon conspiracy. He was residing in the State of Baden; was carried off to France by a troop of horse which had crossed the Rhine in the night; was conducted to Paris on the 20th of March, heavily fettered; was hurried to the Castle of Vincennes, and was subjected the same night to an examination by a military commission, who sentenced him to death. He was shot before

* State Papers—"Annual Register," 1804, p. 602.

dawn, in the ditch of the castle, by the light of torches. His murder produced a profound sensation throughout all civilized countries. Thiers has a few epigrammatic sentences on the conduct of Bonaparte in this hateful transaction. "The sage Consul had suddenly become a madman. He was the injured man who breathes only vengeance; he was the victorious man voluntarily braving the enemies that he is sure to conquer. The better to defy his adversaries, and to satisfy his ambition at the same time as his anger, he put the imperial crown upon his head."*

* "Le Consulat et l'Empire," tome xv. ii. p. 348.

ABSTRACT OF A LIST OF SUCH YEOMANRY AND VOLUNTEER CORPS AS HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED AND PLACED ON THE ESTABLISHMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	Cav.	Infan.	Art.	Rank & File	IAHD	Cav.	Inf.	Art.	Rank & File
Aberdeen.....		3,400	120	3,520	London.....	560	13,338		12,460
Anglesea.....		1,000		1,000	Middlesex.....	82	8,299		8,370
Argyll.....		2,028	63	2,091	Man, Isle of.....		695		693
Ayr.....	144	2,677		2,661	Merioneth.....		464		464
Banff.....		960	80	1,022	Monmouth.....	125	4,624		1,656
Bedford.....	177	1,801		1,978	Montgomery.....	120	1,560		1,680
Berks.....	634	3,006		3,484	Nairn.....		320		320
Berwick.....	160	772		911	Norfolk.....	1,120	6,511	180	6,918
Brecon.....		1,196		1,196	Northampton.....	1,037	3,439		4,080
Bucks.....	1,122	2,426		3,121	Northumberland.....	517	4,411		4,726
Bute.....				38	Nottingham.....	472	3,635		4,107
Caithness.....		1,272		1,320	Oxford.....	591	3,322		3,516
Cambridge.....	163	2,485		2,500	Orkney & Zetland				
Cardigan.....		567		531	Peebles.....	52	480		532
Carmarthen.....	120	2,316		2,347	Pembroke.....	440	1,852	70	2,701
Carnarvon.....		1,100		1,073	Perth.....	160	3,897	63	4,036
Chester.....	732	4,841	150	5,372	Radnor.....		1,000		1,000
Clackmannan.....	40	296		336	Renfrew.....		2,701		2,414
Cinque Ports.....					Ross.....		1,620		1,620
Cornwall.....	383	5,432	2,328	7,772	Roxburgh.....	108	960		1,060
Cromarty.....		160		164	Rutland.....		335		495
Cumberland.....	56	3,441	330	3,736	Salop.....	940	5,022		5,852
Denbigh.....	194	2,344		2,464	Selkirk.....	50	100		142
Derby.....	330	5,277		5,852	Somerset.....	1,544	7,747		9,080
Devon.....	1,873	13,197	1,325	15,212	Stafford.....	1,090	5,425		6,072
Dorset.....	515	2,201		2,340	Stirling.....	308	1,318	65	1,667
Dumbarton.....	88	605		630	Suffolk.....	769	6,837		7,332
Dumfries.....	84	1,875		1,879	Sutherland.....		1,092		1,092
Durham.....	573	3,814	300	4,440	Surrey.....	944	7,801		8,105
Elgin.....		770		784	Sussex.....	1,024	6,114	637	6,198
Essex.....	1,251	6,335		7,033	Tower Hamlets.....		4,173		3,742
Fife.....	350	2,613	100	2,906	Warwick.....	708	3,874		4,146
Flint.....	270	2,429		2,698	Westminster.....	260	10,438		10,684
Forfar.....	47	2,602	70	2,717	Westmoreland.....		1,420		1,420
Glamorgan.....	213	2,488		2,301	Wight, Isle of.....	120	1,732	184	2,030
Glooucester.....	644	6,436	176	7,161	Wigtown.....	105	624		729
Hants.....	1,252	7,164	836	9,509	Wilts.....	850	5,424		5,176
Hereford.....	180	3,720		3,532	Worcester.....	494	4,046		4,304
Hertford.....	625	2,319	50	2,762	York, N. Riding.....	267	4,381		4,683
Huntingdon.....	166	840		1,006	York, E. Riding.....	382	3,473	61	3,890
Inverness.....		3,666		3,320	York, W. Riding.....	1,605	12,990	50	14,006
Kent.....	1,530	8,804	253	10,295					
Kincardine.....		824		824					
Kincross.....		280		280					
Kircubright.....	200	746		946					
Lanark.....	65	4,448		4,513	Total of effective Rank and File.....				342,687
Lancaster.....	586	13,710	560	14,278	Field Officers.....				1,246
Leicester.....	622	2,946		3,488	Captains.....				4,472
Lincoln.....	713	4,560		7,866	Subalterns.....				9,918
Linlithgow.....	80	800		638	Staff Officers.....				1,100
Lothian, East.....	205	700		905	Serjeants.....				14,787
Lothian, Mid.....	300	1,574		1,843	Drummers.....				6,733
Loth. Mid. }									
Loth. Mid. }									
Edinb. City }		4,858	415	4,757	GRAND TOTAL.....				379,943

WHITEHALL, 9th Dec., 1803.

REGINALD POLE CAREW.