

and it was supposed that Barras was not insensible to the charms of madame Beauharnois,—a rumour which was likely to arise, whether with or without foundation.

When madame Beauharnois and general Buonaparte became intimate, the latter assures us, and we see no reason to doubt him, that although the lady was two or three years older than himself, yet being still in the full bloom of beauty, and extremely agreeable in her manners, he was induced, solely by her personal charms, to make her an offer of his hand, heart, and fortunes—little supposing, of course, to what a pitch the latter were to arise.

The marrying madame Beauharnois was a means of uniting his fortune with those of Barras and Tallien, the first of whom governed France as one of the directors; and the last, from talents and political connexions, had scarcely inferior influence. He had already deserved well of them for his conduct on the day of the sections, but he required their countenance to rise still higher; and without derogating from the bride's merits, we may suppose her influence in their society corresponded with the views of her lover.

It is, however, certain, that he always regarded her with peculiar affection; that he relied on her fate, which he considered as linked with and strengthening his own; and reposed, besides, considerable confidence in Josephine's tact and address in political business. She had at all times the art of mitigating his temper, and turning aside the hasty determinations of his angry moments, not by directly opposing, but by gradually parrying and disarming them. It must be added to her great praise, that she was always a willing, and often a successful, advocate in the cause of humanity.

They were married on the 9th of March, 1796; and the dowry of the bride was the chief command of the Italian armies, a scene which opened a full career to the ambition of the youthful general. Buonaparte remained with his wife only three days after his marriage, hastened to see his family, who were still at Marseilles, and, having enjoyed the pleasure of exhibiting himself as a favourite of fortune, in the city which he had lately left in the capacity of an indigent adventurer, proceeded rapidly to commence the career to which fate called him, by placing himself at the head of the Italian army

LETTER XXVII.

Affairs of Great Britain from the Commencement of the War with France—sends an Army into Flanders—subsidizes Prussia—has a Dispute with America—bad State of her domestic Politics—Lord Howe defeats the French Fleet—ill Success of the Duke of York—Miseries of his retreating Army—he returns to England with the Wreck of his Army—Austria subsidized—English Expedition to the Coast of France—tumultuous Proceedings in the British Metropolis—Lord Malmesbury sent to Paris to negotiate a Peace—its Failure, &c. A. D. 1793—1796.

In the grand drama that was at this time acting on the theatre of the world, all the powers of Europe were unhappily called to sustain a part: but France was unquestionably the prime actor, and her history must therefore be allowed to take the precedence of that of every other country. It would, nevertheless, be unpardonable in an English historian, to pass over unheeded the transactions of his own country during this fearful crisis, and therefore you must allow me, my dear Philip, to carry you back to the commencement of the year 1793, the period when Great Britain declared war against the French republic.

We may now be allowed to say, that it had been happy for England, and for the continental states also, had she stood aloof at this awful crisis, as a mere spectator of the horrid tragedy, occupying an attitude of self-defence. Secure in her insulated situation, and garrisoned by her wooden walls, she might have bid defiance to the volcano, and remained secure amid the tempest. It was her policy also to remain at peace; but, unhappily, at this

time, the sympathies of the different parties in England was so powerfully excited by the state of things on the continent, that the dictates of sound reason could no longer be heard; and the wickedness of the ruling party in France was certainly calculated to awaken the horror of men in an extraordinary degree: the consequence was, that the original friends of the revolution became mute; the once sacred name of liberty itself became offensive; the alarmists rose suddenly in number and force; clamours and indignation sprang up in every quarter; and amid a wild uproar of false terrors and of virtuous sympathy, the nation was plunged headlong into a state of war.

It must indeed be admitted, that the conduct of those persons in France, who had risen to power, was not much calculated to conciliate the good opinion of the British government. The presumptuous confidence inspired by the success of her arms, led her rulers to volunteer assistance to such other countries as were dissatisfied with their political condition; and a letter from the minister of marine, addressed to all friends of liberty in the seaports, contained the following passage, which, among others, was quoted and animadverted upon by Mr. Pitt, in the house of commons: "The king and his parliament mean to make war against us: will the English republicans suffer it? already these freemen show their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers the French. Well; we will fly to their succour; we will make a descent in the island; we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree, and will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren: their tyrannical government shall soon be destroyed."

At the meeting of parliament 1793, the formation of a republic in France, the proceedings against the unhappy Louis, and the active correspondence kept up between some societies in England and the French revolutionists, excited general attention, and seriously alarmed both the court and the aristocracy. Besides convening the two houses of parliament at an earlier period than usual, the king had called out a considerable part of the militia, as if the country were threatened with imminent danger. And in the speech from the throne, the two houses were requested, without delay, to adopt such measures as might be necessary for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

To prevent the intrusion of foreign emissaries of sedition, a reasonable bill was brought forward by lord Grenville; and while it was in its progress, M. Chauvelin, the French chargé-d'affaires, sent a note to the minister, intimating the wish of the executive council of France to preserve peace and amity with Great Britain; at the same time, lamenting the apparent disinclination of the English cabinet to a friendly agreement. The recall of lord Gower from Paris, the refusal of acknowledging M. Chauvelin as a minister of the republic, the stoppage of the supplies of corn, and the encouragement supposed to be given by England to Austria and Prussia, had alarmed and disgusted the French. An application, therefore, was now made for an unequivocal answer to a plain question: "Whether the French were to consider Great Britain as a neutral or a hostile power?" Some explanations were also offered on the part of France, regarding two obnoxious decrees; but they were not satisfactory to the English secretary, who hinted that the conduct of France was such as to preclude the neutrality of the nations around her; and admonished her, if she really wished to preserve peace with Great Britain, "to show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights."

In a note from the executive council, reference was made to the conduct of the king of Spain, who had treated with a minister of the republic, and adjusted a convention of neutrality; and it was hoped, that Great Britain would not scruple to follow the example of a power of the first rank! Further explanations of the disputed points were also offered by M. Chauvelin.

enable the king of Prussia to keep the field. The subject was warmly debated, and Mr. Fox proposed that the sum should be reduced to one million and a half, reprobating prodigality towards so faithless an ally as the king of Prussia. England had taken up arms, he asserted, as the accessory of that prince, who had now artfully made her the principal in the quarrel, and was moreover extorting from her the price of her own imprudence in standing at the head of the alliance, compelling her to be pay-mistress of the whole. The subsidy, however, was voted.

At this time the British government became involved in a contention with the United States of America, which was ultimately attended with serious effects. Soon after the breaking out of the war with France, orders were issued for detaining all American vessels freighted with corn to France, confiscating their cargoes, but paying for them and the freight. This measure was resented by the Americans as an infraction of their independence; but their complaint was disregarded, and shortly after an order was issued for seizing all American ships carrying provisions and stores to the French colonies, and also for obliging American ships sailing from the British islands to give security for landing their cargoes in neutral or British ports. More than six hundred American vessels were seized in consequence of this order, in the short space of five months.

A farther cause of complaint was given to the United States, by the occupation of some forts on the borders of Canada by the British troops, which had been ceded to the Americans in the peace of 1783, and by a conference held with several Indian tribes by lord Dorchester, governor of Canada. The American government showed its resentment of these proceedings by an embargo of thirty days on the British shipping in their ports, and appointed Mr. Jay, chief justice of the United States, its minister for settling the differences between the two countries. He arrived in England during the summer of 1794, and delivered a memorial on the subject, in which, among other topics, there was contained the reiterated complaint of severity exercised on American seamen, and their being compelled to serve on board of English ships of war. His majesty's minister tendered a conciliatory answer, and both parties being pacifically disposed, the dispute was at that time compromised.⁽¹⁾

Amid this regard to foreign politics, the parliament and the public found their attention at this time deeply engrossed with the internal affairs of the nation. The progress of French principles excited very serious alarm in the higher classes of society, and among the friends of all existing establishments, in which the ministers also participated; they accordingly resolved on adopting the most effectual methods for arresting their progress. One of the most prominent causes of apprehension was the formation of societies for the declared purpose of obtaining a legitimate reform in parliament. In Scotland, a party zealous for reform had projected what they called a national convention, and in framing it, had unwisely imitated the

(1) The writer might have added, that this compromise gave great dissatisfaction to a large party in the United States. Mr. Jay's treaty was laid before the senate, in the spring of 1795, where it produced a very warm and animated debate. It provided that the posts which the British had retained, should be given up to the Americans, and compensation made for illegal captures; and that the American government should pay to the British 600,000*l.* in trust for the subjects of Great Britain to whom American citizens were indebted. But it did not prohibit the right claimed by the British of searching American merchant vessels; and was thus an abandonment of the favourite principle of the Americans, that "free ships make free goods."

"While the senate were debating the subject with closed doors, a member had given an incorrect copy of the treaty to a printer. It was circulated with rapidity, and produced much irritation. The president received addresses from every part of the Union, praying him to withhold his signature; but Washington, believing the treaty to be the best which, under existing circumstances, could be obtained, signed it in defiance of popular clamour. At the next session of congress, an attempt was made, by the opposition party, to hinder the treaty from going into effect, by refusing to vote for the necessary supplies of money. After a long debate, in which several members displayed much eloquence, and the parties generally much heat and irritation, the appropriation was carried by a majority of *three*, and the treaty went into effect." Those who opposed the ratification of this treaty, no doubt, honestly believed that "the peace which it purchased (while the odious right of search was granted to England) would be short-lived and inglorious. Washington probably thought it was better than war; and that, should war ultimately arise from the insulting and inglorious exercise of that power, it were better deferred until the states had gained the strength and vigour of a few more years' consolidation." See *Willard's Hist. of America*.—*Am. Ed.*

titles and proceedings of the French republicans. This naturally attracted the notice of government, and prosecutions were instituted against some of the leading members, upon an old Scottish statute concerning leasing-making, or, in modern style, sowing discord between the king and his subjects. The result was, that the court of judiciary in Edinburgh, and the circuit court of Perth, adjudged to transportation Mr. Muir, a gentleman in the profession of the law, and a Mr. Palmer, a dissenting minister of the class of unitarians.

There were two principal societies in England at this time, having for their avowed object the procuring of a reform of the representation in parliament: these were the society for constitutional information, and the corresponding society. The agents of government had for some time past kept a watchful eye upon their proceedings; and judging that sufficient grounds existed for supporting a legal charge against them, some of the leading members of both societies were apprehended and committed to the tower. A message was then delivered from the king to both houses of parliament, informing them that seditious practices had been carried on by societies in London in correspondence with other societies, for the purpose of assembling a convention to represent the people of England; that their papers had been seized, and would be laid before parliament, where an examination of them was recommended, with the adoption of such measures as might appear necessary. The next measure of the minister was to move for a suspension of the habeas corpus act, which was strongly opposed as a measure unwarranted by any existing necessity; it was, however, carried; and an address to his majesty was moved, assuring him of their determination to punish the guilty, at the same time investing him with additional power for the suppression of attempts against his government.

A bill of indictment having been found against thirteen members of the reforming societies, the trials commenced with that of Thomas Hardy, who, with his fellow-prisoners, was charged with nine overt acts of treason. Few state-trials ever excited more anxiety in the public mind than this, it being generally understood, that upon the issue of it would depend the fate, not only of his accomplices, but probably of many more who were within the reach of government. The trial lasted eight days, and ended in the prisoner's acquittal, to the inexpressible joy of all who entertained similar political sentiments, and indeed to the satisfaction of the greater part of the public, who were convinced that the charge went beyond the crime, and that nothing could be more dangerous to the liberties of the country than the attempt now made to extend the doctrine of constructive treason.

On the acquittal of Hardy, the celebrated John Horne Tooke was put upon his trial, which was remarkable for nothing so much as the perfect ease and self-possession of the accused, while the persons whom he summoned as witnesses, among whom was Mr. Pitt himself, were at times not a little disconcerted at his questions. The trial lasted five days, and ended in an acquittal, after a very short deliberation on the part of the jury. A third effort was then made to procure the conviction of John Thelwall, but it terminated, like the former, in disappointment to the prosecutors, on which the crown declined all farther attempts, and the remaining prisoners were discharged. Thus concluded an affair which produced an extraordinary sensation at the moment, and which furnished an additional and very striking proof of the excellence of the English constitution, and the high importance of the trial by jury in criminal cases. We now turn to the naval exploits of Great Britain during the year 1794.

The destruction of the French ships and stores at Toulon, though it had considerably weakened the power of the republic in the Mediterranean, appeared to be little felt at the port of Brest, the great depôt on the frontiers of the Atlantic. There the dock-yards and arsenals resounded with the notes of war and preparation; and every republican breast was inspired with the hope of being able, ere long, to strike a decisive blow against the navy of England. The British channel fleet, though it had lain at anchor during the

winter months, was ready for a start, the moment intelligence should arrive from the numerous cruisers off the French coast, that the Brest fleet had put to sea. However, as the spring advanced, exclusive of that of fighting the enemy, other things rendered it necessary that lord Howe should quit the port; one was to convoy the East and West India merchant ships clear of the channel; the other, to intercept a French fleet that was expected to return from the ports of the United States of America, richly laden with the produce of the West India islands, particularly with provisions and stores of which France stood much in need.

Early in the month of May, the different outward-bound fleets were ready for sea, and convoyed by lord Howe as far as the Lizard point, when, committing them to the protection of rear-admiral Montague, who with six ships of seventy-four guns each and two frigates was to have the farther charge of them, his lordship, with a fleet now reduced to twenty-six sail of the line, immediately steered for Ushant, from whence he despatched two of his frigates to look into the port of Brest, and watch the motions of the enemy's fleet. The reconnoitring ships, while standing in towards Mathias point, plainly saw the French fleet at anchor in Brest water, and returned to lord Howe with the intelligence, who, concluding that if they put to sea it would be to afford protection to the immense fleet then expected from America, steered direct for the latitude through which the latter would in all probability pass.

On the 16th of May, the grand fleet of France, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line and sixteen frigates and sloops, under the joint command of admiral Villaret, and the conventional deputy Jean Bon Saint André, sailed from the port of Brest; and no sooner did lord Howe receive intelligence of their being at sea than he pressed his fleet in pursuit of them. On the 20th, the two fleets came in sight of each other, when they proved to be of equal number of ships. The French, however, showed a great desire to avoid an action, and had recourse to a system of manœuvring in order to escape, so that it was not until the 29th that they came into contact. At daylight of that morning, the rival fleets were perceived to be about six miles asunder; and about seven o'clock, when the chasing ships of the preceding night had fallen into their stations in line ahead, lord Howe, with a view of making some impression on the enemy's rear, ordered the ships under his command to tack in succession. A signal was then given to engage and pass through the French line, with permission to fire on the enemy in passing. A partial action was continued through the day, and both fleets suffered considerably. The French admiral, however, who, from the moment he gained sight of the British fleet on the morning of the 28th, until he wore on the following afternoon, having possessed the weather gage of his opponent, had it at his option to bring on a general action at his pleasure; he nevertheless prudently declined it, and a dense fog coming on, it was not until the morning of the 31st of May that the two fleets had a distinct view of each other. Lord Howe now determined if possible to prevent their escape and bring them to action; and accordingly, he issued his orders that each ship should carry commanding sail during the night, and stationed two of his frigates a mile or two to leeward of his own fleet, for the purpose of watching the enemy's motions. The English fleet continued during the night standing to the westward; and at daybreak on the memorable 1st of June, the French fleet was descried about five leagues off, on the starboard, or lee-bow of the British. At seven o'clock the fleets had approximated within four miles of each other; and soon afterward a signal was thrown out for each ship to steer for, and engage severally the ship opposed to her in the enemy's line. Some changes now became expedient in the British line, in order that the French three-deckers, and other heavy ships, might be suitably opposed. At a quarter past nine the French van opened a distant fire, which presently extended along the whole French line, and in a short time the British fleet commenced a heavy fire in return. A few of lord Howe's ships made their way through the French line, and engaged their opponents to leeward. The

remainder hauled up to windward, and opened their fire at various distances. The ships of the two fleets were now engaged *pell-mell*, and all was smoke and confusion. About ten o'clock, the French admiral in the Montague made sail ahead, followed by his second astern, and afterward by such others of his ships as, like the Montague, had suffered little in the action.

About noon the firing ceased, and soon afterward six dismasted French ships, being the nearest at hand, were secured by the British fleet. These were the Sans Pareil, the Juste, L'Amérique, Impetueux, Northumberland, and Achille. The loss on board these six ships alone amounted to about seven hundred killed and six hundred wounded, and the total loss sustained by the French fleet must have been at least double, if not treble that amount. In addition to these six captured vessels, the French line-of-battle ship, the Vengeur, was sunk during the action, after she had been taken possession of by the Orion, with nearly half her surviving crew on board. The loss on the part of the British was said to be about three hundred killed and nine hundred wounded. The French admiral, having succeeded in securing four crippled ships, put away to the northward, and by six in the evening, with the remnant of his fleet, was completely out of sight. But such was the crippled state of the prizes, and of several ships belonging to the British fleet, that it was not until five o'clock of the morning of the 13th of June, that lord Howe was enabled to anchor at Spithead. From these brilliant naval exploits, however, we must now revert to the military proceedings on the continent of Europe.

The French having completely organized their immense armies, and planned their new system of tactics, which was of a widely extended combination, their forces were, by a judicious admixture of the new levies with the veteran soldiers, rendered tremendously formidable. General Pichegru having remodelled his army advanced against the duke of York from Lisle, while another army compelled the Austrians to retreat towards Mons. His royal highness finding his outposts taken and his front attacked, displayed all the skill of an experienced general; he instantly ordered sixteen squadrons of British cavalry to charge the main body of the enemy, drawn up in a plain fronting his camp. These brave troops soon penetrated the line of French cavalry, cut to pieces three entire regiments of carbineers, and put the rest to flight. They were, nevertheless, received with extraordinary firmness by the infantry, the front rank of which, resting the butts of their muskets steadily on the ground, opposed the points of their bayonets to the horses, while the rear lines kept up an incessant firing on their riders. After three successive attacks, supported by the fire of some field-pieces, the French infantry was broken, and a terrible carnage ensued. Thus defeated on the right, the French slackened their cannonade from the front, and their left retreating before the Hanoverians, the victory on the part of the British was complete.

At this time the emperor of Austria, Francis II., disgusted at the reverses which the allies had experienced at the close of the campaign of 1793, and with the view of preventing any jealousies which might spring up among the generals, determined to put himself at the head of the grand army. The Austrians, under general Kaunitz, repulsed the French near Mons, and forced them to repossess the Sambre. His imperial majesty, thinking that quarter secure, committed to his brother, the archduke Charles, the command of the army of Orchies; and having joined the duke of York with a considerable reinforcement, a plan was concerted for effecting a junction with general Clairfait, and afterward proceeding to a general engagement in order to expel the French from the Netherlands. During the night the allied army marched forwards in three columns, each of which was defeated. The duke of York, with his column, gained great honour by his skilful retreat, after sustaining a most vigorous attack. His royal highness found it necessary to retreat to Oudenarde, thus leaving Tournay exposed, which came into the possession of the French without resistance. The duke then drew back to the vicinity of Antwerp, where he was joined by lord Moira with ten thousand additional British troops. The numerous sanguinary conflicts which took place on this occasion, continued with little intermission during the space

It was affirmed, that the idea of encouraging sedition was by no means entertained by the framers of that decree, which promised assistance in the cause of liberty; that the expression of the general will of any country was a very different thing from sedition, which was only the commotion or rising of a small number against the majority of a nation; that when Henry IV. of France, and the English queen Elizabeth, supported the Dutch against Philip II., they were not considered as promoters of sedition; and that it was the duty of one state to grant assistance, when the greater part of a community wished to reform or improve its government.

To these observations lord Grenville replied in a spirited tone. He considered them to be accompanied with menacing intimations, and, consequently, as involving new grounds of offence, which would prove a bar to every kind of negotiation. The pretended explanations, he said, were no better than insults; and the motives which had induced his sovereign to prepare for violent extremities, still existed in full force; nor would the preparations be discontinued or omitted, so long as the French retained that turbulent and aggressive spirit, which threatened danger to every country in Europe.

While these discussions between lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin were pending, intelligence was received of the condemnation and public execution of Louis XVI., and every sentiment of abhorrence towards the French republic was now kindled into a flame. The first political result was an order from his majesty, transmitted by lord Grenville, for the departure of M. Chauvelin from the kingdom, within eight days. On the 28th of January, 1793, a message from the king was sent down to parliament, acquainting both houses that he had directed copies of several papers, received from M. Chauvelin, and the answers to them, to be laid before them, together with a copy of the order now mentioned; and also, that he thought it necessary to make a farther augmentation of his forces both by sea and land.

The British government now resolved to send a body of troops into the Netherlands, to act in concert with the allied powers on the continent, and his royal highness the duke of York was vested with the command of both the British and Hanoverian armies. The troops left London on the 25th of February, 1793, accompanied to Greenwich by the king and queen, and others of the royal family, where they embarked, and, proceeding to the coast of Holland, landed at Helvoetsluys, from whence they marched to join the combined army. The commencement of the campaign was attended with considerable success on the part of the allies. The French were defeated at the battle of Famars, in which their general, Dampierre, was killed, and on which occasion the British guards performed prodigies of valour. On the 10th of July, after a blockade of three months, the town of Condé surrendered to the Austrians. Its capture was soon followed by that of Valenciennes, which, after sustaining a destructive and murderous siege of seven weeks, surrendered by capitulation, on the 20th of July, to the duke of York. Encouraged by this success, his royal highness proceeded, without delay, to the attack of Dunkirk. The French camp of Ghiveldt was abandoned at his approach. He then advanced to attack the outposts of Dunkirk, and after a sharp action, attended with considerable loss on both sides, the French were driven into the town. In this action the famous Austrian general, Dalton, was killed, with several other distinguished officers. On the following day (25th of August) the siege was regularly formed, and every thing seemed to promise a successful issue; but it was not long ere the hopes conceived from this expedition were found to be illusory. A considerable naval armament from England was to have co-operated in the siege; but, from some unexplained cause, it was not able to sail so soon as the time fixed on. In the mean while, the enemy's gun-boats were anchored so near the shore, as to be able, with ease, to enfilade the British encampment. By the destructive fire thus kept up, great numbers of valuable officers, as well as privates, were killed; and the garrison, consisting of twenty thousand men, made frequent and vigorous sorties. The French, in the mean time, had a camp at Mont Cassel,

and their troops, collecting in great numbers, defeated the covering army under general Freytag. Thus, the want of a naval co-operation, the annoyance of the enemy's gun-boats, the strength of the garrison, and a formidable French army under general Houchard, menacing the camp of the besiegers, formed a combination of obstacles which all their skill and courage were inadequate to surmount. The allies, oppressed by a superiority of force, after having, for the space of a fortnight, persevered in the siege, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, and fought several actions, in which they had sustained very considerable loss, were compelled to abandon the enterprise, leaving behind them a numerous train of artillery, consisting of thirty-five twenty-four pounders, besides mortars and howitzers, with about five hundred barrels of gunpowder, and other military stores. In this disastrous retreat, which began on the 8th of September, the duke of York, who is said to have behaved with the greatest intrepidity and coolness, exposing himself to every danger incident to his situation, was on the point of being surrounded and made prisoner by the enemy; and his brother, the duke of Cambridge, was actually in the hands of the enemy, for a short time, on the 14th of September, but, not being recognised by them, he fortunately made his escape. General Houchard was impeached by the convention, and guillotined, for neglecting to improve his advantages in this instance, as it was confidently asserted, that he had it in his power to capture the whole of the allied army.

The retreat of the allies from before Dunkirk, and also from Maubeuge, which took place about the same time, gave an unfavourable turn to the state of their affairs in Flanders: all their ports from Nieuport to Maubeuge were attacked. The seasonable intervention of sir Charles Grey, with a body of troops originally destined for the West Indies, saved Nieuport; and the prince of Saxe Cobourg, after defeating the enemy in several partial engagements, made himself master of Quesnoy, thus securing winter-quarters for his army. He was, however, defeated near Maubeuge, and his designs on that place were rendered abortive. With these reverses of fortune, the success of the allies on the Belgic frontier may be said to have terminated.

On the Rhine, general Wurmser, at the head of an army of Austrians and Prussians, after forcing the lines of Weissembourg, reduced Haguenau and fort Louis, and drove the French under the cannon of Strasburg; but here the tide of success began to turn. The republicans, strongly reinforced from the interior, compelled Wurmser and the duke of Brunswick to retreat: the former towards Haguenau, the latter to Lanturn, at the latter of which places, the duke repulsed the French with considerable loss. From this success, however, he reaped but little advantage; for the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, under Pichegru and Hoche, attacked the Austrian general Wurmser, near Haguenau, and after various assaults and repulses, carried all the lines and redoubts at the point of the bayonet. Two other engagements in similar situations, and equally destructive, in which the French were victorious, obliged the Austrians to repossess the Rhine. The republicans, availing themselves of their advantages, retook Weissembourg, and the prince of Hohenlohe raised the siege of Landau, and retreated to Mentz. Thus terminated the campaign of 1793, of which the commencement had raised such brilliant hopes and expectations. At one time the combined armies were penetrating into France, at different points of the frontier, from Strasburg to Dunkirk, and the southern provinces of the republic were in open insurrection; but at the end of the year, the allies were every where repulsed, and Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon reduced under the power of the constitution.

On the meeting of the British parliament, 21st of January, 1794, the speech from the throne adverted to the existing state of affairs in France, and characterized the government as a system which openly violated every restraint of justice, humanity, and religion. The extraordinary efforts made by that country during the last campaign, was said to be founded solely on the usurpa-

tion of power, which rendered the existing rulers absolute masters of people's lives; and the system they had adopted was represented as tending rapidly to exhaust the natural strength of the country. The speech was warmly applauded by the supporters of administration, and the amendments to the corresponding addresses, in which his majesty was requested to avail himself of the earliest opportunity for concluding an honourable peace, were rejected by large majorities. The minister and his supporters contended, that the government of France was hostile, intractable, and such as precluded the possibility of negotiation; that its oppressive nature must speedily work its own cure, and accomplish the views of the allies: it would drive the people of France into despair, and exhaust, by its excessive exertion, the energies of the country. And when France should be delivered from its yoke, and a government of a different description should reinstate good faith and moderation in the nation, then, and not till then, would it be safe to repose confidence in their treaties or practicable to obtain them.

In answer to this, it was contended by Mr. Fox and his friends, that the atrocities of the French were neither the true causes of the war, nor a sufficient excuse for continuing it. Nations and their governments, it was contended, made treaties and kept their faith, not from motives of morality, but of self-preservation. Did we assert that the French would not negotiate? It was prejudging the case, for we had not tried them. Was it assumed that France would not abide by any treaties into which she might enter, because she was hostile and ambitious? She always had been hostile and ambitious, and yet she had kept her engagements. Our object in the war was said to be security: but what could be understood of an object so vague and undefined? Every former war had some definite object by which security might be hoped for or attained; but in the present war, we depended for the attainment of our hopes upon a change in the government of our enemies—a change which, by force of arms, it was plainly impossible to effect—a change which depended on France herself to accomplish. Did we think to place a king upon the throne of France? The ministers durst not avow the design. Did we look to the chapter of accidents to produce a counter-revolution? If so, we declared ourselves embarked in a war which might endure as long as France had an existence. But the resources of France, it was contended on the ministerial side of the house, were tottering in their last decline. Our financiers had predicted the immediate ruin of their credit. To expose the fallacy of this hope, the most important part of Mr. Fox's speech at the opening of the session was directed. The French, it had been said, were without money and without commerce—they must trust to unaccredited assignats to provide for their future campaigns. But a nation may be so situated, said Mr. Fox,—it may have its pride and its energies so unusually excited, as to set at defiance the common rules of calculation; and such was the case with France; a nation so powerful by nature, and so fertile in invention, that she could rely on those resources as almost inexhaustible. Their enthusiasm was a native light and heat to the discovery and invention of resources. Nations with little or no money had often overwhelmed their richer neighbours. The Tartars and Scythians had neither gold nor assignats, yet they overturned the Roman empire, as Rome, in its comparative poverty, had overcome Carthage.

These few remarks will enable you, my son, to form your estimate of the state of political parties in your own country at this eventful crisis: but the subject is one on which we cannot dwell minutely. Though little encouraged by the past to hope for success, yet the minority renewed their efforts against the continuance of the war. In the house of peers, the marquis of Lansdowne resumed the subject on the 17th of February, and detailed the numerous and cogent reasons that should induce England to terminate a contest so very fruitless in the past, and so utterly hopeless for the future. "France," said his lordship, "has shown herself, and has been pronounced by the most consummate masters in the art of war, to be invulnerable. However divided by intestine faction, she comes out against her enemy one

and indivisible. She has made her whole dominions a military school, where every mind of her new generation is fired with the military passion. The incongruous host with whom England is now leagued against France exhibits a very different aspect. Far from being enthusiastic in a common cause, they are captiously attached to their individual interests, and equally at variance with each other. Austria is ambitious, and Prussia jealous of Austria: they have no cementing principles of union but in some plan of partition, as that of Poland, hostile to the happiness and interests of Europe. Spain is exhausted of her resources, and unable to support her paper credit. Holland, once rich in credit, can scarcely raise a million at double the usual interest. Russia alone, of all the allies of Britain, is strong and able; but what reason have we to expect her promises to be realized? Peace, we are told, is not to be concluded with such men as the present rulers of France; but the same plea was urged for protracting the war with America, and our final conduct demonstrated on what falsehood the pretence was founded. With regard to that indemnity for the past and security for the future, which was said to be a *sine qua non* to be looked for in making a peace, his lordship exhorted parliament to reflect, that the detriment occasioned by one year's stagnation of British industry and capital was much more serious than the loss of a paltry island, or a settlement which we might receive for a compensation." All these were weighty considerations certainly, but they were thrown away upon the British government at that time.

The landing of a body of Hessian troops on the isle of Wight at this juncture, ostensibly with the view of recruiting them from the fatigues of a voyage from Germany, till a projected expedition should take place, became a subject of warm debate in both houses. The opposition contended, that such an introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom, without the previous consent of parliament, was absolutely illegal: while the minister and his friends maintained that there was no precise law on the subject, and that nothing unconstitutional had been done in the case: they consequently refused to accept the bill of indemnity which was tendered them.

Great Britain having now embarked in the war, and from an accessory become a principal, found it necessary to subsidize the continental powers. Accordingly, on voting the army estimates for the year 1794, a treaty which the British government had entered into with Prussia was now submitted to the notice of parliament. The public had already received several intimations that the king of Prussia was little disposed to a farther prosecution of hostilities against France. Commissioners from each of those powers had met at Frankfort, and the formality with which they assembled, and the secrecy with which they negotiated, gave intimation of something more serious than a pretended exchange of prisoners. On the Prussian side of the negotiation general Kalkreuth was employed, an officer deep in the confidence of his sovereign. It was generally believed in Britain, that as Prussia had begun the war from the hope of dismembering France, she would recede from the coalition the moment she found that object impracticable. The court of Berlin acted on this occasion with its characteristic policy. Before it ventured to declare its intention of abandoning the coalition, application was made to the diet of Ratisbon for a part of the expenses that would be incurred for the defence of the Germanic states; and in default of remuneration from the diet, Great Britain appeared to be the only quarter from which pecuniary aid could be expected. To enforce the necessity of complying with this request, the Prussian monarch made an open declaration to the princes of Germany engaged in the confederacy, that he found himself under the necessity of seceding from it; assigning as his reasons, the unconquerable resources of the French, and the exhausted state of his own treasury.

Mr. Pitt brought forward the subject of the Prussian alliance, on the 30th of April, when he stated the inadequate finances of that power, and the necessity there existed of aiding by a British subsidy the resources of that country, and purchasing the use of Prussian soldiers in the present contest. He proposed that the sum of two millions and a half sterling should be voted to