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

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

LETTER II.

History of Europe, from the Recommencement of Hostilities—Change of the English Ministry, and Mr. Pitt's Return to Power—Insurrection in Ireland—Affairs of France—Conspiracy to assassinate the first Consul—Arrest of the Duke d'Enghein—Napoleon assumes the imperial Dignity, and is crowned by the Pope—War between Great Britain and Spain. A. D. 1803—1804.

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

(1) Histoire de la Revolution Française, par A. F. Mignet, chapter xv.—History of the Island of St. Domingo; Edinb. 1818.—Captain Rainsford's Account of the Black Empire of Hayti.—Sketches of Hayti, from the expulsion of the French to the death of Christophe, by W. W. Harvey, of Queen's College, Cambridge, London 1827.—Annual Register, 1803, and London Gazette.

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

To enter into a minute detail of the various bickerings and mutual complaints which now ensued between the two governments, would be insufferably tedious, and communicate but little either for instruction or pleasure. On the 8th of March, a message from the king was brought down to parliament, informing them, that considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of Holland and France, and that therefore it would be expe-

magistrate of the French nation, and condemned to death. About ten of them were executed. Revière was pardoned at the suit of Murat: Moreau was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, which was afterward commuted into banishment to the United States.

In the course of this examination it was elicited, by the confession of some of the conspirators, that the duke d'Enghein, eldest son of the duke of Bourbon, was an accomplice in this atrocious plot, and that he was only waiting on the frontiers of France to receive the news of the assassination of the first consul, in order to enter France as the king's lieutenant. Orders were accordingly issued to have him seized, which was done by a party of the French cavalry, on the 15th of March, who had passed the Rhine on the preceding night, and carried him off from the castle of Ettenheim, in the grand-dutchy of Baden, within a short distance of the Rhine. He was first conveyed to the castle of Strasburg, and, on the 17th, sent forward to Paris, in consequence of orders received by telegraph, and after an uninterrupted journey of four hundred miles, was securely lodged in the prison of the temple. He was afterward removed to the castle in Vincennes, and tried by a military commission formed of all the colonels of the regiments then in garrison at Paris. He was accused of bearing arms against the republic, which he did not deny. His behaviour before the tribunal was bold and undaunted. After a trial of two hours the court pronounced him guilty, and passed on him the sentence of death, and he was shot in the moat of the castle. While in the prison of Strasburg, the duke wrote a letter to the first consul, in which he offered to disclose every thing he knew, provided a pardon was granted him. The letter was delivered to Talleyrand, who concealed it from the first consul till after the execution, otherwise it is not improbable that it would have operated in his favour. According to Napoleon's own confession, "he was the best of the family: he behaved with great bravery and much dignity before the court-martial, and denied nothing. But it seemed necessary to make an example of one of the family, and it was *most convenient* to make the duke d'Enghein its victim."

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

On the 25th of April, Napoleon returned the following answer to the address of the senate: "Your address has not ceased to be present to my thoughts; it has been the object of my constant meditations. You have judged the hereditary descent of the supreme magistracy necessary to protect the people from the conspiracies of our enemies, and the agitations which spring from ambitious rivalries. Many of our institutions have appeared to you to want improvement, in order to assign, without the possibility of vicissitude, the triumph of equality and public liberty, and offer to the nation and the government the double guarantee which they require. In proportion as I have concentrated my attention on these great objects, I have felt more and more that, in a case as novel as it is important, the counsels of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix all my ideas. I invite you, therefore, to make known to me all your thoughts." The senate replied on the 3d of May—"The senate thinks that it is of the last importance to the

French people to confide the government of the republic to NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, hereditary EMPEROR." Such was the *denouement* of this farcical transaction between the first consul and his obsequious senate! But, waving reflections, let us proceed.

The tribune Curée opened the discussion in the tribunate by a motion of order—and his motion was received with eagerness. Carnot alone had the courage to resist the proposition for converting the republic into an empire. "I am far," said he, "from wishing to lessen the praises due to the first consul; but whatever services a citizen may have rendered to his country, there are limits which honour as well as reason impose on the national gratitude. If this citizen has restored the public liberty, if he has accomplished the deliverance of his country, will it be a recompense to offer him only the sacrifice of this same liberty, and will it not be to annihilate his own work to offer him his country as his private patrimony? From the moment that it was proposed to the French people to vote upon the question of the consulate for life, any one might readily perceive that there existed an ulterior design. We saw in succession a multitude of institutions evidently monarchical. This day we see the termination of all these preliminary measures. We are summoned to pronounce upon the formal proposition of re-establishing the monarchical system, and of conferring upon the first consul the imperial dignity and its inheritance! Was liberty shown to man only that he might never enjoy it? No, I cannot consent to regard as a delusion this good, so universally preferred to all others, and without which all others are nothing. My heart tells me that liberty is attainable, and that a free government is easy and more stable than an arbitrary government. I voted against the consulate for life: I now vote against the re-establishment of monarchy, because I think that my office of tribune compels me so to do."

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

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

That nothing might be wanting to finish off this piece of pageantry and

render it as solemn and imposing as possible, application was made to his holiness, pope Pius VII., the sovereign pontiff, to take a journey to Paris, for the purpose of placing the crown upon the head of Napoleon. The coronation took place on Sunday, December 2d, in the church of Notre-Dame. Previous to his leaving Rome on this extraordinary occasion, his holiness made an address to the consistory, in which he told them, "Our dearest son in Christ, Napoleon, emperor of the French, who has so well deserved of the Catholic religion for what he has done, has signified to us his strong desire to be anointed with the holy unction, and to receive the imperial crown from us, to the end that the solemn rights, which are to place him in the highest rank, shall be strongly impressed with the character of religion, and call down more effectually the benediction of heaven.—We have also formed great hopes, that, having undertaken it by his invitation, when we shall speak with him face to face, such things may be effected by his wisdom for the good of the Catholic church, that we may be able to congratulate ourselves on having perfected the work of our holy religion."

This solemnity was in preparation long beforehand, and the whole ceremonial was regulated according to ancient usage. The emperor went to the metropolitan church, escorted by his guard. Marshal Kellermann carried the crown, tne marshal Perignon the sceptre of Charlemagne. The empress Josephine, in a carriage surmounted by a crown, and drawn by eight white horses, formed part of the procession. The pope, the cardinals, the archbishops, the bishops, and all the high officers of the state, awaited him in the cathedral, which had been magnificently ornamented for this extraordinary occasion. He was harangued at the gate; and then, clothed in the imperial mantle, the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, he ascended the throne, which was raised at the bottom of the church. The grand almoner, a cardinal, and a bishop came to conduct him to the foot of the altar, to be there consecrated. The pope, having anointed him with a triple unction upon the head and hands, then pronounced the following prayer:—"Almighty God, who didst establish Hazael for the government of Syria, and Jehu, king of Israel, in manifesting to them thy will by means of the prophet Elijah; thou who didst also spread the holy unction of kings upon the heads of Saul and David by the ministry of the prophet Samuel, spread also by my hands the treasures of thy grace and benediction upon thy servant Napoleon, whom, notwithstanding our personal unworthiness, we this day consecrate emperor in thy name."

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

After the arrest and execution of the duke d'Enghein, the emperor of Russia caused a strong remonstrance to be presented to the French government, and called on the princes of the German empire to demand satisfaction for that flagrant violation of its neutrality. The French government replied by remarking that, the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia, who were most concerned in the fate of Germany, had understood that the French government were authorized in arresting, at two leagues from the frontier, French rebels, who by their conduct had placed themselves out of the protection of the law of nations. The first consul of France had no account to render to the emperor of Russia, on a point which in no respects concerned his interests; and he was asked, what need there could be of empty pretences, if the intentions of his imperial majesty were to form a new coalition? He accused Russia of protecting French emigrants who were forming plots

against him; and in avowing his repugnance to a war with that power, declared that he should prefer it to a state of things derogatory to the station which France held in Europe. A recriminative correspondence ensued on various points in dispute, until at length the Russian chargé-d'affaires at the court of France demanded his passports.

The appeal of the emperor of Russia to the diet of Ratisbon failed to rouse the spirit of the Germanic body. The king of Prussia, whose influence in the north of the empire was paramount, evinced no disposition to resist the aggressions of Buonaparte, and his minister, in conjunction with that of Baden, merely expressed a hope that the first consul would, of himself, give such a full and satisfactory explanation respecting the seizure of the duke d'Enghein as might entirely correspond with the views of the emperor of Russia. The great majority of the other states, fearful of the renewal of a contest in which they might risk more than they could hope to gain, maintained an inflexible silence. The king of Great Britain reminded the diet that a still greater violation of the treaty of Luneville, and of the independence of Germany, had been committed by France in her unjustifiable seizure of the electorate of Hanover. The king of Sweden, as duke of Pomerania, expressed in still stronger terms his abhorrence of the conduct of France, which he considered as doubly injurious to himself, in his quality of a member of the Germanic body, and in his sovereign capacity of guarantee for the treaty of Westphalia.

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

While the current of events in one part of the continent took a direction favourable to England, a change was operating in another quarter, which threatened to involve her in extended hostilities. Since the renewal of war, Spain had maintained an ostensible neutrality, while she continued to serve as the secret ally and vassal of France. By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded in 1796, she had covenanted to furnish a stated contingent of naval and military force, for the prosecution of any war in which France might think proper to engage, specifically renouncing her right to inquire into the nature, origin, or justice of the war. For prudential reasons, and from motives of forbearance, Great Britain connived at this conduct, and abstained from exercising the right which she possessed of compelling Spain to renounce this treaty. It does not appear that any express demand of assistance had been made by France previous to July, 1803; and on the first notification of the war the British minister at Madrid was led to believe that his

dient to have recourse to additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. It was indeed admitted that these preparations were avowedly directed to colonial service; nevertheless, as discussions of great importance were then pending between his majesty and the French government, the result of which was as yet uncertain, his majesty was induced to make the communication to his faithful commons, in the full persuasion that he should be enabled to adopt such measures as circumstances may appear to require for supporting the honour of his crown and the essential interests of his people. This message was received in both houses, as well as by the country at large, not merely with approbation, but almost with acclamation. In the house of commons it was pronounced to be a war, not for Malta, but for Egypt; not for Egypt, but for India; not for India, but for England. In the upper house, the earl of Moira, in concert with lords Grenville and Spencer, supported the address, the former of them styling Napoleon "the new Hannibal, who had on the altar of his inordinate ambition sworn inextinguishable enmity to this country." Two days afterward a second message from the king announced his intention of imbodying the militia of the three kingdoms.

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

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

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

As war was now no longer problematical between the two countries, the first step of hostility on the part of France was, to arrest as prisoners of war all the English between the ages of eighteen and sixty, who were resident in France at that moment, detaining them as hostages for those French citizens who might have been made prisoners by British ships before the declaration of war was issued. They had previously received an assurance that they should enjoy the protection of the French government, as completely after as before the departure of the British ambassador, and were relying

implicitly on the credit of those assurances, when they found themselves doomed to an indefinite captivity, because the British government refused to include them in any exchanges that were made between the two countries of prisoners of war.

During the summer of the year 1803, an insurrection broke out in Ireland, which, from its presumed connexion with the projects of the enemy, created considerable alarm. Its instigators were a band of political enthusiasts, the director and principal mover of which was Mr. Robert Emmett, a young man of promising talents and fine imagination. They had formed the design of establishing an independent Irish republic, and hoped to accomplish it by striking a decisive blow at the capital, possessing themselves of the seat of government, and proclaiming the new constitution which they had prepared. On the 23d of July an armed mob collected for this purpose, which marched through the principal streets of the city of Dublin, unresisted, on their way to the castle. They however soon lost all sense of subordination to their leaders, and meeting a carriage in which were lord Kilwarden, and his nephew, Mr. Wolfe, they dragged them from it and butchered them on the spot. The daughter of the venerable and ill-fated nobleman was likewise in the carriage, and to his earnest appeal to their humanity, they replied that they would sacrifice him and his male companion, but they would spare the lady. The insurgents were dispersed by a few soldiers, and the whole insurrection was speedily extinguished. On the communication of this event to parliament, a bill was passed for trying the rebels by martial law, and another for suspending the *habeas corpus* act in Ireland. Several of the leaders of the insurrection, among whom was Emmett, were apprehended, tried for high treason by a special commission, and underwent the sentence of the law.

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

During the session of parliament in 1804, Mr. Pitt again resumed the reins of government. Mr. Addington, though receiving the general support of Mr. Fox and his friends, was found inadequate to the arduous situation which he held, and not finding that he possessed the confidence of the house of commons, he determined on retiring from administration. On the 7th of May, Mr. Pitt was invited to an interview with the king, when he was requested to form an administration, and fill up the vacant offices; the only stipulations on the part of the monarch being, the non-revival of the Catholic question, and that Mr. Fox should not be introduced into the cabinet. The first condition was readily assented to; but with respect to the second, it was the wish of Mr. Pitt, under existing circumstances, to form a comprehensive administration, including the most distinguished persons of all parties; and the crisis was peculiarly favourable for that union of principle and talent which, in the zenith of his father's fame, had in a manner annihilated all party spirit. The monarch, however, remained inflexible, and Mr. Pitt at length undertook with

some reluctance to form an administration, including neither Mr. Fox nor any of his friends. An unforeseen obstacle, however, occurred. Lord Grenville and his political associates, though no positive promise or engagement had taken place to that effect, refused, from a high sense of honour, to form a part of the new arrangement: and a letter addressed by that nobleman to Mr. Pitt, which was universally circulated, placed his lordship's character in a very advantageous point of view. "An opportunity now offers," said the noble writer, towards the close of this celebrated letter, "such as this country has seldom seen, for giving to its government, in a moment of peculiar difficulty, the full benefit of the services of all those who by the public voice and sentiment are judged most capable of contributing to its prosperity and safety. The wishes of the public on this subject are completely in unison with its interests; and the advantages which, not this country alone, but all Europe, and the whole civilized world, might derive from the establishment of such an administration, at such a crisis, would probably have exceeded the most sanguine expectations. But when, in the very first instance, all trial of it is precluded, and when this denial is made the condition of all subsequent arrangements, we cannot but feel that there are no motives, of whatever description, which could justify our taking an active part in the establishment of a system so adverse to our deliberate and declared opinion." On the 12th of May, it was announced that Mr. Addington had resigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and that Mr. Pitt was nominated his successor. It was natural that the nation should conceive great hopes from the transfer of the helm of government into the hands of so able and experienced a statesman, at a crisis when the contest with France was likely to become more arduous in consequence of the change which was taking place in that country. These expectations, however, were not realized. Mr. Pitt undertook the arduous task under very gloomy auspices, and with the certain prospect of encountering an opposition equally powerful and popular, but composed in great part of the most zealous of his former friends and adherents. The partial changes which took place in the several offices of government, wholly disappointed the expectations of the public. Lord Hawkesbury was removed from the foreign to the home department, and the seals thus vacated were consigned to lord Harrowby. In the admiralty, the earl of St. Vincent was superseded by lord Melville. Lord Eldon remained in possession of the great seal; the earl of Westmoreland of the privy seal; the duke of Portland continued president of the council; lord Castlereagh of the India board; Mr. Canning treasurer of the navy; and the earl of Hardwicke lord-lieutenant of Ireland. I must now direct your attention for a moment to the internal affairs of France.

In the month of February, 1804, a plot was detected at Paris, the object of which was the subversion of the consular government. The principal persons accused were general Pichegru, Georges, a Chouan leader, and Lajolais, his confidant. Moreau was so far implicated in the conspiracy as to have had some secret interviews with Pichegru since his return to Paris. On the testimony of an agent of the parties, who had been apprehended near Calais, Moreau and Lajolais were arrested. Pichegru and Georges for a while eluded the vigilance of the police, but were afterward discovered and committed to prison. The plot was attributed to the machinations of the English government, or rather of the Bourbons resident in England. The city of Paris was declared to be in a state of siege, and no person was allowed to quit it, unless by day, and through certain barriers, where persons were stationed to whom the conspirators were well known. According to Napoleon's own account of this matter, which there seems no good reason for discrediting, Pichegru did not deny having been employed by the Bourbons, and finding his case desperate, he strangled himself in prison. The rest of the conspirators were publicly tried in the month of May, before the tribunal of the department of the Seine, and in the presence of all the foreign ambassadors then at Paris. Georges, Polignac, Rivière, Coster, and sixteen or seventeen others, were found guilty of having conspired against the life of the chief