THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE

DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND,

By OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M.B.

TWELFTH EDITION, CORRECTED.

WITH A CONTINUATION

TO

THE TREATY OF AMIENS.

By CHARLES COOTE, LL.D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAPTER LI.

In the progressive history of this country, the reader has been conducted through eventful periods, occasionally interested by striking scenes, and gratified with a multiplicity of varied information. He has observed, in the first instance, a race of painted barbarians, fierce and licentious, less controlled by their chiefs than by an arbitrary priesthood. He has witnessed the arrival of disciplined armies on the shores of South-Britain, and the gradual subjection of the rude natives to the sway of Roman invaders. He has noticed the introduction of arts and civilisation among the insular tribes, and the formation of a regular but despotic government, which subsisted until the convulsions of the empire precluded a due attention to its remote dependencies. In this period the light of Christianity shone upon the islanders,

and contributed to the improvement of their morals and manners.

The decline of British valor, and the interval of anarchy which followed the final departure of the Romans from the island, did not prevent a spirited opposition to the progress of the Saxon arms: but the energy of the Gothic warriors ultimately triumphed. The Britons who survived the fury of slaughter, and who did not retire into the mountainous parts of the island, became the slaves of ferocious pagans; and new forms of government, borrowed from the Gothic system, were established by the victorious chieftains.

Although the heptarchy was disgraced by frequent wars, the names of some respectable statesmen and legislators appear in the list of its princes; and, after the union of the seven kingdoms, more illustrious characters pass in review before us. The name of Alfred would confer celebrity on any period.

The general freedom of our government may be traced to the Saxon times. The basis of our present constitution then existed, though the superstructure has been occasionally altered.

After the decisive victory of the Normans over the degenerate Anglo-Saxons, the rigors of the feudal system were extended over the realm, and an arbitrary government prevailed over law and liberty. But the policy of the first Henry, while his vigor over-awed the nobles, induced him to court the people by a restoration of many of the Saxon laws; and his grandson, equally politic, and more conciliatory, gratified the English with similar concessions.

A reign deformed by tyranny was distinguished by the grant of Magna Charta. This celebrated charter chiefly favoured the barons; but its benefits were also felt by the middle class, and by the plebeian part of the community.

The increase of trade in the Anglo-Norman times, by augmenting the importance of the people, led to the incorporation of boroughs, and to a diminution of aristocratic power; and the address of Edward the First, and his reform of the jurisprudence of the realm, rendered the balance still less preponderative in favor of the nobility. But the regular formation of a representative house of commons in the preceding reign, tended more particularly to elevate the people. Under the third Edward, this assembly boldly asserted the right of impeachment and other privileges; and, in several succeeding reigns, it gradually rose in weight and influence.

The government of Henry the Seventh was rigid, but beneficial. He restored order after the confusions of intestine war; humbled the nobility; encouraged peace, industry, and commerce. The horrible tyranny of his son seemed to overwhelm liberty; but its forms were still preserved; and his caprice, rather than his good sense, promoted the reformation of religion.

To the judgement and vigor of Elizabeth, the honor of completing the Reformation is due. Learning and the arts also prospered under her sway; commerce was widely extended; and England exhibited strong features of improvement.

The progress of free inquiry having exposed the abuses of the prerogative, and developed the true origin of power, the high notions of royalty entertained by the first James were ridiculed by the public, and counteracted by the senate. The same sentiments, when enforced by Charles, who was more practically arbitrary than his father, were assailed by systematic opposition, which shook the foundations of the monarchy. Both parties rushing into a war, the constitution was subverted by the prevalence of the parliamentarian faction; and republican tyranny and presbyterian fanaticism darkened the fair face of the country. An excluded prince then re-appeared, and was, for a time, highly popular; but his want of honor and morality presented a pernicious example to the people whose constitution he restored. The folly of the catholic James was equal to his bigotry and arrogance; but we are the less disposed to censure him with acrimony, because his conduct furnished an admirable opportunity for the full recovery and even improvement of the constitution.

Under the third William, liberty maintained its ground, and religious toleration was established. While Anne swayed the sceptre, the nation flourished both in arts and in arms, in philosophy and in elegant literature.

The accession of the house of Hanover was expected to be favorable to freedom, as only on this basis was the crown assigned to that family. The septennial act, however, was an irregular and unconstitutional measure: but the blame of its introduction is less imputable to George the First

than to the Whigs, who held him in their trammels, and who, when they have been in power, have too frequently disregarded their professed principles. His son also threw himself into the arms of the same party, but suffered the heir of the crown (our present monarch) to be instructed and guided by Tories.

GEORGE III.

IN consequence of the decease of George the Second, the throne was filled by his [1760.] grandson of the same name, who was the eldest son of Frederic Louis, prince of Wales, by the princess of Saxe-Gotha. The new king was in the twenty-third year of his age; had a pleasing, open countenance; was regular in his deportment; and seemed to be inspired with a sense of religion, morality, and virtue. Although it was supposed, from the confined mode of his education, that he was not profoundly conversant in politics, or sufficiently acquainted with the true nature of the English constitution, the acclamations of his subjects were loud and general; and the public regret for the loss of his predecessor was soon absorbed in the vivacity of exultation.

The Tories, long discountenanced, felt a more lively joy on this occasion than their political adversaries. They knew that their youthful sove-

reign was warmly attached to the earl of Bute, whose principles coincided with the sentiments of their party; and they confidently hoped that this nobleman would preside in the administration, and rescue them from discouragement and depression. But they were not immediately gratified; for the *favorite* (as the earl was termed by the Whigs) apprehended that a precipitate change would excite strong disgust, and therefore resolved to wait until the popular passion for victory and conquest should be cooled by the enormous burthens arising from the continuance of the war.

The two parties forbore the asperity of contest in the first parliamentary session of this reign. The union and harmony mentioned by the king in his speech, in which he flattered the national vanity by glorying in the name of Briton, apparently prevailed both in the senate and the nation. But from the spirit of the times, and the latent animosities of faction, this calm seemed to presage a storm.

The most memorable act of the session was, that [1761.] which related to the twelve judges, whose commissions were not supposed to extend beyond the life of the royal grantor. To secure their independence, and thus promote the uprightness and purity of their decisions, it was ordained that they should continue in office notwithstanding the death of the sovereign, and that their salaries should be fully secured. This regulation was both judicious and liberal; and, being the spontaneous act of the king, it entitled him to general praise.

When ample supplies had been granted by the

commons, and a pension voted to their venerable speaker Onslow, the parliament was dissolved. Although the session had been tranquil, the people murmured at the supposed influence of the earl of Bute: a clamor arose against him among the lower classes, on account of a new duty imposed upon malt liquor; and the arrangements for the militia produced a riot at Hexham, in which many lives were lost. Not discouraged by the earl's unpopularity, the king complied with his advice for the removal of Mr. Legge from the chancellorship of the exchequer, and the appointment of the able but versatile Charles Townshend to the post of secretary at war; and bribed the earl of Holderness to resign to the favorite the office of secretary of state for the northern department. These changes were not very pleasing to Mr. Pitt; but, as this great minister was still allowed to direct the concerns of the war, he was not so far disgusted as to relinquish his employment.

The military operations of this period were not of extraordinary moment. The allies were constrained to raise the siege of Cassel; but they were less unfortunate in an engagement which occurred near the Lippe. The French, having attacked the marquis of Granby at Kirch-Denckern, were repelled by the valor of the English and Germans; and, the next day, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy in point of number, obtained the honors of victory. The king of Prussia, unwilling to risque a battle, secured his main army against the assaults of

the foe; but he lost two of his most considerable towns.

The French were alarmed in the spring by a descent upon their coast. A fleet conducted by Keppel, and an army commanded by Hodgson, approached the coast of Bretagne, and menaced Belle-isle. The conquest was not so easy as the invaders expected to find it. The chief town was defended with spirit, and the citadel was long maintained against repeated attacks. The enemy, however, at length capitulated; and a sterile rock was the fruit of the expedition.

The more valuable West-Indian island of Dominica was reduced with less difficulty. Lord Rollo disembarked with a small force, stormed the entrenchments near Roseau, and compelled the colonists to submit to his sovereign.

In India, the power of the French had been nearly subverted (as was stated, though prematurely, in the history of the last reign) by the conquest of Pondicheri. Mahie was, soon after, taken by the English; who also gave a farther check to the French by assisting in the defeat of their friend the Mogul. This prince having invaded Bengal, major Carnac joined Cossim whom the East-India company had elevated to the throne of the deposed Jaffier Ali Khan; and the new nabob, styled viceroy of the Mogul, triumphed over his nominal master.

The French had so severely suffered by the war, that the nation earnestly wished for peace; and the court seemed desirous of a speedy close of

hostilities. Louis having therefore intimated to his confederates that a negotiation was highly expedient, it was agreed that a congress should take place at Augsburg. To the British court he made such overtures as produced a compliant answer; and Mr. Stanley was commissioned to treat at Versailles, while M. de Bussy acted as a negotiator at Westminster.

The insincerity of the French monarch soon appeared. His grand aim was to seduce Charles the Third, the new sovereign of Spain, from his neutrality, by showing the necessity of checking the British power in America, which might eventually endanger the Spanish colonies. With this view, proposals favourable to Great-Britain were made by Bussy, that his catholic majesty might be alarmed, and endeavour to obstruct the conclusion of peace; and a memorial was delivered, suggesting the propriety of adjusting, at the same time, several disputed points between Britain and Spain. This insidious attempt to implicate the interests of a neutral power in the discussion, excited the indignation of Mr. Pitt; and a subsequent proposition from the French envoy, adverse to the claims of the king of Prussia, drew warm remonstrances from the English secretary. By inveighing against the intractability of the British minister and the domineering spirit of the court, and inculcating the expediency of a strict union at such an alarming crisis, Louis at length prevailed on the Spanish potentate to enter into a close alliance. A treaty was privately signed (on the 15th of August) by the plenipotentiaries of France and

Spain; and, as it provided for an intimate conjunction of interests among the princes of the house of Bourbon, it received the appellation of "the family compact."

Before the adjustment of this treaty, Mr. Pitt had given instructions to the earl of Bristol, to complain to the cabinet of Madrid of the unwarrantable conduct of the French negotiator, and request a disavowal of all authority from that court for the presentation of the offensive memorial. Wall, the Spanish minister, denied that there was any impropriety in the conduct of France, and affirmed that such an interference tended rather to promote than to obstruct peace. Bussy and Stanley, in the mean time, did not desist from treating; but, as soon as Mr. Pitt had procured intelligence (obscure indeed and imperfect) of the conclusion and nature of the Bourbon compact, he persuaded the king to order a discontinuance of the negotiation.

Convinced of the hostile views of Spain, he now proposed that her intended aggression should be anticipated by an immediate blow, directed against her returning *flota*. On the mention of this bold scheme, great astonishment appeared in the council. The majority voted against it as a rash step, repugnant to justice, and inconsistent with national honor and dignity. Disgusted at this want of spirit, the secretary haughtily declared, that "he would not remain responsible for measures which he was no longer allowed to guide." He therefore (on the 5th of October) resigned the seals, and accepted a pension. The king was not displeased at the voluntary retreat of a minister whom he had

not found sufficiently conciliating or courtly, and by whose commanding demeanor he seems to have been over-awed.

While this important resignation continued to occupy the attention of the people, his majesty, who had lately gratified them by a matrimonial union with the sister of the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and had been crowned with this princess in the usual style of pomp and magnificence, prepared to meet the new parliament. He lamented the failure of the negotiation; promised vigorous exertions; requested copious supplies; and added, that "there never was a situation in which unanimity, firmness, and dispatch, were more necessary for the safety, honor, and true interest of Great-Britain."

The cabinet, unwilling to precipitate a rupture with Spain, suffered the earl of Bristol to remain at Madrid, where he was amused with insincere professions of neutrality. But, when the French openly spoke of the new alliance, and of the expected co-operation of the Spaniards, even the earl of Bute, now the leader of the ministerial phalanx, would not recommend a passive forbearance. He directed the ambassador to request an immediate communication of the whole, or the most material parts, of the family compact, and (on the refusal of this demand) to insist upon an explicit disclosure of the intentions of his catholic majesty. No satisfaction being given, the British monarch (on the 4th of January) declared [1762.] war against Spain.

The two houses readily supported the king in

the new war; and the commons voted a million to enable him to assist the Portuguese, who, in defiance of decency and of justice, were threatened with an invasion from Spain, because their court refused to join the house of Bourbon against Great-Britain.

This session was less tranquil than the preceding one; but we have little knowlege of the debates with which it was attended. Before it's close, the duke of Newcastle, disgusted at the ascendancy of the earl of Bute, and at the discontinuance of the subsidiary grant to the king of Prussia, resigned his employment; and the earl, pleased at the retreat of the veteran minister, accepted the office of first commissioner of the treasury. From the year 1717, the duke had scarcely been out of office, although his talents or judgement did not qualify him for a high post. He was considered as the head of the Whig party, and of that aristocratic combination which the earl wished to weaken or dissolve, as it had too long encroached on the liberty of the sovereign.

It was about this time that the story of the Cock-lane ghost arose, dividing the public attention with the factions of the cabinet and the Spanish war. It imposed on the credulity of many; but no person of sound sense could entertain even a momentary belief of it. The contrivers of the imposture were punished for having conspired to ruin an innocent man, whom the pretended spirit was tutored to accuse of murder.

During the session, intelligence of a successful

enterprise arrived. An expedition had been projected by Mr. Pitt for the addition of Martinique to the British conquests; and the officers selected for this service, in the naval and military departments, were Rodney and Monckton, who acted with spirit and concert. The island was strong, both by art and nature, and the governor threatened an obstinate resistance: but Fort-Royal and its out-works were reduced within eleven days, and St. Pierre was surrendered at the desire of the terrified inhabitants. The island of St. Lucia (reputed neutral, but colonised by the French) was soon after taken; as were also Grenada, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

In the Spanish part of the West-Indies, success likewise attended the British arms. A considerable fleet, and a respectable land-force, were sent to Cuba under the command of sir George Pococke and the earl of Albemarle, who were ordered to use every effort for the reduction of the Havannah, as it was obvious that the loss of such a settlement would greatly impair the colonial resources and power of the Spaniards. The Moro, the chief fortress which defended that town, was attacked with courage, and besieged with perseverance. The difficulties and dangers of the enterprise seemed to dispirit even the most sanguine: but, when a breach had been made in one of the bastions, an assault was ordered by the general. A multitude of the enemy fell, bravely fighting; others were drowned in attempting an escape to the town; and the castle was seized by the exulting invaders. From another fort, and from the city, the Spaniards

now directed their fire against the Moro; and the governor still flattered himself with the hope of preserving the Havannah. His confidence, however, declined when a new range of batteries thundered upon the place. He sent an officer, announcing a readiness to negotiate; and a capitulation was signed (in the tenth week after the landing of the English), providing for the surrender of the town and a considerable district, of nine ships of the line, and an abundance of arms and stores, with silver and merchandise estimated at two millions sterling.

This memorable success fully convinced the Spaniards of the great peril to which they were exposed by a war with Great-Britain. The court felt a violent panic; the merchants trembled for their shipping; and the people recalled to their minds a remark which had almost passed into a proverb: "Peace with England, and war with all the world."

The result of the invasion of Portugal did not tend to console the Spanish monarch, or compensate his colonial misfortunes. At first, indeed, his troops made some progress in the reduction of towns; but the natives, with the aid of a British army, at length compelled them to retreat with loss.

The French were not more fortunate in Germany than their allies were in Portugal. Prince Ferdinand attacked them at Grabenstein, near the Dymel; quickly threw them into confusion; slew many, and captured a greater number. It ought not to be omitted, that, on this occasion, and in a

subsequent conflict near Homberg, the marquis of Granby and his gallant countrymen highly distinguished themselves, as did also the Hanoverians and Hessians at Luttenberg. The French gained an advantage near Rodheim; and, in the affair of the Brucker-Muhl, they made considerable havock among their antagonists; but their own loss was more severe. In the autumn, the siege of Cassel was again undertaken; and the French, who had been driven from Gottingen in the summer, were now dislodged from the capital of Hesse.

Fortune smiled upon the king of Prussia in this campaign. Early in the year, one of his principal adversaries gave way to fate. This was the czarina Elizabeth, whose successor was Peter III.; a prince who professed so strong an admiration of the character of Frederic, that, instead of aiming at his ruin, he wished to serve him with the most cordial zeal. Not content with agreeing to a treaty of peace, the czar became the ally of the Prussian warrior, and ordered his troops to assist in the expulsion of the Austrians from Silesia. But, while the king was congratulating himself upon this change of fortune, Peter, having acted with a precipitate spirit of reform, excited a degree of odium which stimulated the ambition of his wife to take arms against him; and, being quickly dethroned, he was not suffered to linger in confinement. Catharine, the bold conspirator, was declared empress, although she had no pretensions to the diadem; and, as she affected to disapprove the whole system of her husband, Frederic apprehended that she would co-operate with his

Austrian enemies. She assured him, however, that he might depend on her forbearance, though she would not agree to assist him. He and his brother Henry now acted with spirit in Silesia and Saxony. The strong town of Schweidnitz was recovered; and the enemy suffered a defeat near Freyberg.

During these hostilities, peace was in a train of adjustment. The prime minister of Britain repined at the continuance of the war; and having engaged the mediation of the court of Turin, sent the duke of Bedford to negotiate in France, while he and the earl of Egremont, the successor of Mr. Pitt, treated with the duke de Nivernois in England. The disputes which occurred in the negotiation were not very violent, as the English ministers were willing to concede more than the French or Spaniards could expect.

While the cabinet thus gratified the enemy, a new conquest was achieved, more honorable than beneficial to this country, as it served only to swell the list of restitutions. Brigadier Draper and rear-admiral Cornish sailed to Luçonia; and, when a small force had effected a landing, preparations were made for the siege of Manilla, the capital of that island, and the seat of government for the Philippines. The Spaniards would very soon have been obliged to surrender the town; but the courage and ferocity of the barbarian natives of the island delayed it's reduction. Yet, even this addition to the strength of the garrison did not protract the siege beyond twelve days. The fortifications being then reduced to a ruinous state, the brigadier

gave directions for an assault; and the town was taken with scarcely any loss of lives. The governor retired into the citadel; but instead of defending it, he and the magistrates implored mercy, and consented to give four millions of dollars (900,000 pounds sterling), if the conquerors would save the city from destruction, and not seize the property of the inhabitants. It was also agreed, that the whole number of the Philippine isles should be transferred from the Spanish dominion to that of Great-Britain: but the promised ransom was not paid; and the islands soon reverted to their former possessors.

Soon after the fruitless reduction of the Philippines, but long before the intelligence of the exploit could reach Europe, preliminary articles of pacification were signed (on the 3d of November); and all the arts of persuasion, intrigue, and corruption, were exerted to procure from the parliament an approbation of the terms. In this point the court met with the desired success. The earl of Bute defended the articles, and boasted of his concern in the treaty; adding, that it would be a great consolation to him, in the last moments of his life, to reflect that he had been instrumental in restoring peace. The earl of Halifax, one of the secretaries of state, more ably supported the same side of the question; and the peers, without any calculation of the votes, approved the preliminaries. The chief speakers on this subject, in the other house, were Mr. Henry Fox and Mr. Pitt. The former, who was paymaster of the army, maintained, that the ceded territories in North-America would indemnify the British nation for the charges of the

war, and that it was expedient to make considerable restitutions, with a view of giving to the peace that permanence which the disgust and resentment of the enemy would not otherwise allow. Mr. Pitt (who, being indisposed, was excused from standing to speak) condemned the stipulations with his usual eloquence. To retain so little, he said, after such a series of conquests, was to encourage the insolence of our adversaries, and to sow the seeds of a new war. They would soon recover from the effects of the late hostilities, instead of being paralysed by the shock: far from being humbled, they would become more daring and arrogant: trusting to our weakness in negotiation, they would despise our strength in conflict.—After a spirited debate, the house, by an extraordinary majority (319 to 65), voted an address of thanks for the progress which had been made in the salutary work of peace.

Feb. 10, 1763. When the preliminaries had been framed into a definitive treaty at Paris, the chief stipulations were those which follow. The whole province of Canada, and the island of Cape-Breton, were ceded to Great-Britain, in whose favour the boundaries of Louisiana were more accurately fixed: the same power was permitted to keep possession of Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, and Tobago, on condition that Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia, should be restored to France: Belle isle in Europe, and Goree in Africa (Senegal being retained by the English), were given up to the French, who were also allowed to re-possess their Asiatic settlements. It was further agreed, that

his Britannic majesty should re-enjoy the sovereignty of Minorca, and receive both East and West Florida in exchange for the territory which his arms had reduced in Cuba. This treaty was quickly succeeded by that of Hubertsburg, which ordered a reciprocal restitution of conquests between Prussia on the one hand, and Austria and Saxony on the other.

War is so serious an evil, and so pregnant with miseries of the worst complexion, that every humane prince will endeavour to put a speedy end to its ravages. But his humanity ought to be accompanied with prudence and discretion; for the manifestation of an eager desire of peace only serves to invite the negotiatory encroachments of the enemy, who, trusting to the ready acquiescence of the pacific prince or minister, will avoid such concessions as would otherwise have been offered, and insist upon much more advantageous terms than the incidents of the war can justify; threatening, in case of non-compliance, a vigorous renewal of hostilities. An acceptance of such terms might eventually be injurious to the cause of humanity, as it would tend to render the peace less permanent, by leaving the foe in a better condition to violate the agreement. In the present case, there was little (perhaps no) risque of the protraction of the war by the French and Spaniards, if the British court had been less liberal in its surrenders, less disposed to relinquish the fruits of persevering activity and patriotic valour.

CHAPTER LII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE factions which, as our historic predecessor observes, had been for many years nursing, seemed now ready to harass and afflict the young monarch. The powerful and opulent Whig families which had long endeavoured to give law to the throne, and had in various instances accomplished their ambitious aims, could not tamely submit to the sway of the Scotish favorite, or patiently acquiesce in the predominance of the Tories. They inveighed against the peace which the latter had concluded; accused them of having betrayed the honor and sacrificed the interest of the nation; and charged the earl of Bute, in particular, with having infused arbitrary notions and unconstitutional principles into the mind of his royal patron.

Disgusted at their ill success on the discussion of the preliminaries, they now held meetings for the purpose of strengthening their party, and cementing their confederacy; and, when they had made new arrangements, and bound themselves by promises of strict and vigorous concert, they formed confident hopes of driving the obnoxious peer from the helm. As he employed writers to panegyrise and emblazon his administration, they also made

use of the press to support their cause; and their mercenaries were more successful in the contest than those whom he retained in his service. They reviled his government, depreciated his abilities, and aspersed his private character, with great acrimony and rancor. He seemed to bear these attacks with coolness; but they certainly made some impression upon his mind, and embittered the joys of power and patronage.

An opportunity of harassing the minister was afforded by a new loan and a consequent tax. The terms of the loan were stigmatised as not sufficiently prudent or œconomical; and a duty on cider, involving an extension of the odious system of excise to the gentry, was loudly condemned as an invasion of constitutional rights, and as a step to a series of similar encroachments. Strong appeals were made to the people, who were taught to believe that their liberties were in danger; and an extraordinary ferment was excited throughout the realm. The two parties tried their strength in repeated divisions: even the peers, in repugnance to an established custom respecting money-bills, divided on the occasion. The bill, however, was not relinquished by it's framers, who carried it triumphantly through both houses.

The earl's courage and firmness, in thus resisting the popular torrent, seemed to indicate that he would not easily be induced to retreat from power. He was not, however, so pleased with his situation, as to wish cordially for the liberty of retaining it. He found himself unable to produce union in the cabinet: he was menaced with a continuance of

strong opposition and virulent abuse from the Whig party; and, being satisfied with the success of his administration, as far as peace was concerned, he was willing to leave to others the burden of ministerial labors. Thus circumstanced, he (on the 8th of April) resigned his office, in which he was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville.

The earl of Bute was not an eloquent orator, an able minister, or a truly wise man. Arbitrary in his notions, inflexible in his prejudices, and reserved in his manners, he was ill calculated for the station of prime minister in any country, but more particularly unfit to be the ruler of a free nation.

Mr. Grenville was soon involved in a contest which excited universal attention. The speech which he and his chief associates framed for the king at the prorogation, was attacked with great asperity, and with indecorous vehemence (in the 45th number of the North-Briton), by John Wilkes, a man of wit and talents, but debauched, unprincipled, and profligate. Incensed at this freedom, the court resolved to punish the daring calumniator of majesty. The earl of Halifax issued a general warrant against the authors, printers, and publishers, of the scurrilous libel; and, among others, Wilkes was taken into custody: his papers were sealed up; he was examined by the two secretaries of state, and sent to the Tower. When he had procured a writ of *habeas corpus*, the case was debated in the court of Common-Pleas; and the chief-justice Pratt, with the concurrence of the other judges, declared that the offence in question could not destroy the privilege which the accused person

derived from being a member of parliament. He was therefore discharged, to the great joy of the populace, who, not aware of his interested motives, hailed him as a spirited opposer of an arbitrary cabinet, and a true friend of his country.

This affair, during the recess of parliament, tended to cherish the animosities of party. Other incidents, connected with British concerns, in the mean time occurred, demanding the notice of an historian. In India, disturbances arose from the encroachments of the servants of the company, from the desire of the nabob Cossim to shake off a yoke which he found oppressive. Not satisfied with the indulgences which they had already obtained, the English claimed additional favors, and aimed at the reduction of that prince to a state of complete vassalage. Vansittart, however, was not so ambitious or unreasonable as the generality of his countrymen; and he agreed to a treaty which tended to maintain the authority of Cossim. The council of Calcutta refused to ratify this agreement, and accused the governor of having been bribed to sign it. The nabob, being desired to desist from enforcing it, opposed what he deemed an unwarrantable requisition. Both parties now made preparations for hostility: Patna was taken by a *coup de main*, but was speedily recovered by the troops of Cossim, who also defeated the English in their retreat toward Calcutta. The treacherous murder of some individuals who had been deputed to treat with the offended prince, so incensed the council against him, that a resolution was formed for his dethronement. Major Adams, a gallant

and able officer,—not discouraged by the great superiority of the nabob's forces in point of number, or by that improvement of their tactics which rendered them more formidable than they were when they opposed Clive,—advanced with alacrity to meet them, triumphed in the battle of Balla-serai, forced their entrenchments near Mourshed-abad, routed them in another engagement, stormed the works of Audah-Nullah, reduced Monghir and Patna, and thus, within four months, completed the conquest of Bengal. But the council, not thinking it prudent to assume the absolute sovereignty of the country, permitted Jaffier Ali Khan to re-ascend the throne.

War also raged in North-America, in the course of this year: but the foes of Great-Britain, in that part of the world, were less disciplined and civilised than her enemies in Asia. Alarmed at the augmentation of her colonial power, experiencing some encroachments from the provincials, and dreading others, the savages rushed into the back settlements, ravaged the country, murdered many of the planters and traders, and overpowered the garrisons of the inferior forts between Pittsburgh and the lake Erie. Captain Dalyell having attacked them, they slew him, and compelled his men to retire to a neighbouring fort. Colonel Bouquet checked them in several conflicts, though they sometimes nearly defeated him. They continued this desultory war till sir William Johnson, who was distinguished by his extraordinary influence over their tribes, persuaded them to agree to a peace.

Dissension still prevailed in England, and faction

seemed to gain strength. Wilkes took every opportunity of inflaming the minds of the people, and openly defied the resentment of the ministry. The earl of Egremont dying in the summer, the weakness and inefficiency of the cabinet became so evident, that the earl of Bute requested Mr. Pitt to resume his ministerial station; but the terms on which the popular senator insisted were not so agreeable to the court, as to produce his reinstatement. The king now accepted the promised aid and interest of the duke of Bedford, whom he declared president of the council, while the earl of Sandwich was appointed secretary of state.

As soon as the parliament re-assembled, the delinquency of Wilkes was taken into consideration. The obnoxious paper was pronounced a seditious libel, and ordered to be committed to the flames with the usual forms of publicity. A motion was then made, intimating that parliamentary privilege did not extend to the case of a libel of that description. The advocates for the rights of the two houses resisted this proposition, as too courtly and servile; and it was contended, that it was unnecessary and improper to interfere with the courts of judicature, to which the cognisance of such an offence belonged. It was observed, in reply, that no privilege ought to operate as a protection for crimes; that a seditious publication might be more injurious than some of those offences which were allowed to supersede the privilege of parliament; and that it behoved each house to testify a strong abhorrence of such guilt. The proposition received the assent of the majority; and, when the burning

of the North-Briton had produced a riot in the metropolis, both houses concurred in a vote of censure against all who were concerned in the disturbance.

[1764.] The expulsion of Wilkes from the house of commons was afterwards voted, while he was absent from the kingdom. He was tried by the judges of the King's-Bench for the libellous paper, and also for having printed (though not published) an Essay on Woman, which disgusted and shocked even profligate readers by its obscenity and impiety. Being convicted, and not appearing when summoned, he was outlawed; but he affected to disregard this stigma, and to glory in suffering for the public good.

A warm debate arose from the proposal of one of the members of opposition, for voting general warrants to be unlawful, in the case of supposed libellous guilt. It was affirmed by the courtiers, that the practice had been followed for a century past, and had not been found productive of any injurious consequences to the public; and that the commons had no right to declare the law, but ought to leave the point to the determination of the judges, or bring forward a regular bill upon the subject. Mr. Pitt, however, and other speakers, argued, that nothing but great public danger could justify a practice which, if left to the discretion of the ministry to be used in ordinary cases, like that of a libel, might become subversive of the freedom and security of the subject. The house, by an adjournment of the discussion, evaded the decision of the point.

This session was remarkable for the first display of an impolitic system, pregnant with very serious

and extensive mischief. To the imposition of new duties upon the commerce with North-America, the objections of the public or of the colonists were not so strong as those which were offered to the intention, at the same time announced, of requiring stamp-duties from the provincials. This intimation was resented as a menace; and, when coupled with some regulations which had been so strictly enforced by the officers of revenue as nearly to annihilate the lucrative clandestine trade between the British and Spanish colonies, it excited strong disgust and loud clamors.

The object of government was to derive from the colonies, not merely a sufficient revenue for defraying the ordinary expence of the peace-establishment of the different provinces, but also an annual sum for the purpose of relieving Great-Britain from the heavy burthen of debt contracted for the defence of those dominions. This, certainly, was not an unreasonable expectation; but the mode in which the court resolved to gratify it was not the most eligible.

The taxation of the Americans by our parliament cannot be justified on principles strictly constitutional. As they were unrepresented in that assembly, the house of commons might be induced to treat them with little regard, and not be sufficiently moderate in ordaining taxes from which the imposers would be free. If it should be said, that the colonists would not have been liberal in their grants, it may be alleged, in answer, that, if governed with wisdom and equity, they might have been so far grateful as to give what they could

spare, although they were not immediately influenced by the crown; and it would have been much more prudent to accept their offers, though small, than to exact large contributions in a mode which militated against the rights of British subjects. It has been affirmed, that the objection to parliamentary taxation was a mere pretence for complaint, propagated by artful demagogues, who wished to excite such an opposition to the parent state as might lead to independence. But this seems to have been an after-thought. If an idea of revolt had really been entertained, in so early a stage of the dispute, by some men of ability and influence, they could have no hope of succeeding, unless British tyranny should be so glaringly exercised, as to arouse general discontent and bitter resentment. The bulk of the people, in all probability, complained only in the hope of a redress of grievances, without any intention of shaking off the yoke of Great-Britain.

[1765.] The threat of parliamentary taxation was at length enforced by statute. The minister moved fifty-five resolutions, exacting stamp-duties from the colonists; and the bill, being supported by a great majority, received (on the 22d of March) the royal assent. Its most eloquent supporter, in the lower house, was Mr. Charles Townshend, who asserted in strong terms the right of the parliament to tax every part of the dependencies of the crown. The chief speakers against the bill were general Conway and colonel Barré. Among the peers, no debates occurred in its progress.

Some have supposed, that this measure was entirely the result of Mr. Grenville's speculation; but it is more probable (says Mr. Burke) that his own ideas coincided with the instructions which he had received. The late minister had perhaps recommended to the king the taxation of the colonies; and his successor, being a more able financier, adjusted the particulars of the scheme.

Attentive to the improvement of the revenue, Mr. Grenville considerably checked, by new regulations, the prevalent practice of illicit trade; and with that view, he proposed to his majesty the purchase of the regalities of the Isle of Man, a notorious receptacle for smugglers. The duke of Athol, for seventy thousand pounds and a pension, surrendered to the crown his rights over that island, the government of which thenceforward became more settled and regular.

A bill for a future regency was enacted in this session, in consequence of an illness which seised the king. He was empowered to appoint the queen, or any other person of the royal family, to be regent of the kingdom, in case of his death, until his successor should complete the eighteenth year of his age; and the regent was to be assisted by a council, composed of the princes of the blood and the chief officers of state. In a debate upon the bill, it was asked, "Who are to be considered as persons of the royal family?" As the answer given to this question confined the expressions to the descendants of George the Second, the mother of his present majesty was excluded. The ministry disgusted the friends of the princess by this omis-

sion; and a majority of the members insisted on the introduction of her name.

The duke of Bedford, to whom even the first lord of the treasury was subservient, did not, on every occasion, consult the inclinations of his sovereign: indeed, he seemed to wish for an uncontrolled sway at court. Unwilling to submit to the arrogance of that nobleman, and reflecting on the unpopularity which the ministry had incurred, the king resolved upon a change. He desired his uncle, the duke of Cumberland, to solicit the good offices of Mr. Pitt, in framing a strong administration; but this application was unsuccessful, chiefly because the earl of Northumberland was proposed by the duke to be at the head of the treasury. His majesty then sent for Mr. Pitt, with whom, however, he could not agree. The marquis of Rockingham, a man of integrity, but of no great talents, now listened to the offers of the court, and became (on the 12th of July) the director of the treasury; the aged duke of Newcastle was appointed keeper of the privy seal; the earl of Winchelsea, president of the council; and the seals of the secretary's office were delivered to the duke of Grafton and general Conway.

Mr. Grenville had been bred to the law; from which study, without mingling sufficiently with the world to be well acquainted with men and manners, he passed into the details of office. He had a good understanding, and was a diligent conductor of ordinary business; but he was not profoundly conversant in legislation, considered as a science, and was better qualified to fill the speak-

er's chair, to be a special pleader, or a chamber counsellor, than to act as a minister of state. His friend the duke of Bedford was more useful in the administration by his influence than by his abilities or his official assiduity.

The stamp-act, as might have been foreseen, kindled a flame in North-America. The previous notice of it had produced a confederacy among the presbyterians in the different colonies; and every effort was made to excite discontent and indignation. When copies of the impolitic act arrived, the guns at Philadelphia were spiked, and the bells of the churches of Boston were muffled, so as to toll a melancholy knell. The assembly of Virginia voted a summary enforcement of chartered rights, particularly insisting on that of internal taxation, and reprobating every extrinsic attempt to levy imposts, as illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust. Before the bill passed, the assembly of Massachuset's Bay had controverted the right claimed by the parliament of Great-Britain; and it was now proposed, that deputies from the legislative body of each province should meet at New-York, for the discussion of grievances. Out of thirteen colonies, nine sent delegates, who (in October) agreed to various resolutions, asserting their rights as subjects of the British crown, and condemning the stamp-act in strong terms. That statute was not suffered to take effect; and the people declared, that they would cease to import British manufactures.

While the Americans were thus embroiled with the mother-country, the inhabitants of British

India regained the blessings of peace. Cossim, on the subjugation of his territories, had retired across the Ganges into the province of Oude, accompanied by a military ruffian, whom he had employed to assassinate about two hundred prisoners, taken in the retreat from Patna. Shujah-ul-Dowlah, nabob of Oude, after some months of indecision, took arms in 1764 as the ally of Cossim; and the Mogul embraced the same cause. Major Hector Monro was attacked by the confederates at Buxar; but he defeated a very numerous force, and intimidated the weak Mogul into an humble submission. The nabob continuing the war, sir Robert Fletcher, early in the next year, put the hostile army to flight, and reduced the strong town of Allah-abad. About the same time, Jaffier Ali Khan died, and was succeeded by Najem, his illegitimate son, who bribed the council to support him on the *musnud*. General Carnac now advanced against the troops of Shujah, and routed them at Calpi before the Mahrattas could perform their promise of a junction. These intruders soon after appeared, but were easily driven across the Jumnah. The nabob, who had rejected every application from the English for the surrender of Cossim and his murderous friend Somers, permitted those objects of just odium to escape; and, having thus answered the demands of honor, personally solicited peace. Lord Clive, who was then governor of Bengal, granted (on the 16th of August) better terms than the vanquished prince expected. A small part of Oude being assigned to the Mogul, Shujah retained the rest of the province, on paying above 500,000 pounds to

the company; while the descendant of the great Timour consented to aggrandise a body of mercantile colonists, by intrusting them with the collection and management of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Such was the fortunate issue of a war which had required extraordinary exertions to bring it to a conclusion; and it was properly followed on the part of the governor by civil and military reforms.

In the mean time, the king and his ministers were harassed with doubt and perplexity. By the cabinet, the American concerns were referred to the privy council; and this assembly thought, that the parliament alone could properly discuss such an important subject. In the speech with which he opened the session, his majesty [1766.] lamented that disorders and riots had occurred in the colonies, and hoped that the judgement and moderation of the two houses would conciliate the Americans, without a renunciation or a derelict of the rights of the legislature. The motion for an address of thanks led to an interesting debate. Mr. Nugent condemned the opposition of the provincials to an easy and reasonable tax: yet he would agree to it's abandonment, if they would solicit the repeal as a favor, and fully acknowledge the rights of parliament. Mr. Pitt maintained, that the Americans, being the sons, not the bastards, of England, were entitled to all the privileges of Britons; that taxation was no part of the governing or legislative power; that taxes were properly the grants of the commons alone; that, when the house ordered any grant, the members

gave their own property and that of the people of Great-Britain; but that, if they should tax the Americans, they would grant to the crown the property of those whom they did not represent, of which they had no right to dispose; that only the colonial assemblies could justly tax the inhabitants of the provinces; and, therefore, that the stamp-act ought to be repealed. He allowed, at the same time, that the parliament might regulate the trade of the colonies, and exercise a general supremacy in point of government and legislation. General Conway concurred with Mr. Pitt in these constitutional sentiments. But Mr. Grenville contended, that taxation was a part of the supreme power, and one branch of legislation; that it was exercised in England over those who were not represented; for instance, over the East-India company and some of the great manufacturing towns; and that, as Britain protected the Americans, they were bound to obey her laws. He was disgusted at their ingratitude, and at the endeavours of factious spirits in England to stimulate them to disobedience and sedition. Mr. Pitt replied to the last speaker, over whom he easily triumphed. After other speeches, the address was voted without a division of the house.

Petitions from British traders, as well as from some of the American assemblies, were afterwards considered; and the ministry prepared to comply with the chief object of those applications, by introducing a bill for the repeal of the stamp-act. A bill was previously enacted, asserting the right of parliament to make laws obligatory on the Ameri-

cans in every case whatever. This act was too comprehensive, as it declared that branch of taxation to be lawful which the best judges of the constitution deemed unjust and illegal; whereas the claim of right should have been confined to legislation and commercial imposts. This statute, therefore, displeased the colonists, and detracted from that joy which the act of repeal was calculated to excite. Lord Camden, while he approved the latter, strongly opposed the former act; but it's advocates were very numerous. The bill of repeal was vehemently reprobated, as tending to encourage colonial arrogance and insubordination: but all the efforts of Mr. Grenville and his friends were exerted in vain.

The subject of general warrants being again debated, they were pronounced illegal by the commons. The excise upon cider was abrogated, so far as it affected private individuals. The weavers, who had been occasionally guilty of riots, were gratified with an act which restrained the importation of foreign silks.

These and other marks of attention to general and individual interest, did not secure the permanency of the Rockingham administration. After the loss of the brave and patriotic duke of Cumberland, who had died in the preceding autumn, the influence of the marquis visibly declined; but his majesty retained him in office to the end of the session. Even before the prorogation, the duke of Grafton, alleging a deficiency of strength and vigor in the cabinet, resigned his office, which was conferred on the duke of Richmond. A dispute

on the affairs of Canada accelerated the ministerial changes. The earl of Northington, who, from the beginning of this reign, had presided in the court of Chancery, now intimated to the king the necessity of new arrangements. Mr. Pitt, being again courted to enter into power, proposed the following appointments, in which his sovereign acquiesced. The duke of Grafton was declared (on the 2d of August) first commissioner of the treasury, and Mr. Charles Townshend chancellor of the exchequer: the great seal being given to lord Camden, the earl of Northington was constituted president of the council: the earl of Shelburne was authorised to act as secretary of state, with general Conway; and the new keeper of the privy seal was Mr. Pitt, who condescended to accept the title of earl of Chatham. The marquis of Granby (already master of the ordnance) was invested with the chief command of the army; and sir Charles Saunders was named first lord of the admiralty.

It was not supposed that the administration thus formed would long remain embodied. It was (says Mr. Burke) "a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tesselated pavement without cement;" such a strange combination of "patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans, Whigs and Tories, treacherous friends and open enemies;" that few hopes could be reasonably entertained of continued concert or compact durability.

At the time of these arrangements, the poor suffered so severely from the high price of the neces-

saries of life, that they not only murmured and complained, but disturbed the peace by riot and outrage. That the scanty stock might not be diminished, the privy council prohibited the exportation of corn, and detained all vessels preparing to sail with that commodity. As this was an irregular proceeding, the ministers foresaw that it would be censured in parliament; and, therefore, they agreed to a bill for indemnifying the officers who had enforced the illegal proclamation; but they refused to include the privy counsellors. The earl of Chatham affirmed, that the measure in question was an act of necessity, and was the exercise of a lawful prerogative for the benefit of the people; and that no indemnity was necessary. The lord chancellor also argued, that the necessity of the case legalised it, and that the king, as guardian of his subjects, was bound to attend to their interests, during the recess of parliament. Even if an illegal measure had been enforced in that interval, it was "at most (he added) a forty days' tyranny." The chief-justice Mansfield distinguished himself on this occasion as an assertor of the principles of freedom. He maintained, that the power of dispensing with an act of parliament had justly been denied to the king by the bill of rights; that, although it seemed to have been exercised in this case for the public good, it was highly improper to represent it as lawful or constitutional; that the allowance of such a prerogative might lead to the destruction of liberty; and, therefore, that an act of indemnity was requisite, not only for the officers, but for the ministers who had recommended, or concurred in,

the order. Earl Temple, whom his brother-in-law Mr. Pitt had disgusted by not giving him an equal share in the formation of the ministry, also opposed the court on the discussion of this question; but the king was requested by both houses to continue the prohibition.

The part which the earl of Chatham and his friend took in this debate, tends to prove the occasional inconsistency even of men of penetrating minds. If they had not borne any office in the state, they would not, in all probability, have hazarded such assertions, or have made use of such arguments. But, in their eagerness to support a measure which they had found expedient, they seemed for a time insensible of the true spirit of the constitution, and of the mischievous consequences to which their reasoning might lead. If the king might suspend the operation of one act of the legislature, he might also dispense with others; and to suffer him to determine the necessity of such suspension, would be equivalent to a surrender of the whole body of the statutes to his discretion. The learned lord spoke lightly of the tyranny that might be exercised during the recess: but it ought to be considered, that much injury may be done in a short time; and no opening ought to be left for an invasion of the rights of the people. It must be allowed, that the king, in this case, provided for their benefit: but the manner in which the conduct of the council was defended, required parliamentary animadversion, that it might not become a precedent for multiplied infractions of law.

The earl, perceiving the insolidity of the fabric

which he had raised, invited the duke of Bedford to join him. While his grace hesitated upon the terms, the sudden dismission of a courtier produced the resignation of sir Charles Saunders, and of others whom the earl wished to retain in the service of the crown. The supply of the vacancies neither pleased the duke, nor materially strengthened the ministry; and the earl, harassed by chagrin and the gout, was incapable of official application.

Some important incidents occurred in the session. Disputes having arisen at the India-house, an inquiry was made into the state of the company's affairs; and, after warm debates, it was resolved that an agreement beneficial to the public should be concluded with the directors. They were required, by an act, to pay eight hundred thousand pounds in two years, for the privilege of retaining the territories which they had gradually acquired. A high dividend of India stock being voted at a meeting of the proprietors, the duke of Grafton, alleging that the rate was extravagant, and that it might lead to hazardous speculations, proposed a bill which should confine it to ten *per cent*. The chancellor of the exchequer condemned this restriction; affirming, that the addition to the usual interest was justified by the improved state of the company's finances, that such a rise as might eventually prove delusive might easily be prevented, and that this infringement of the rights of a chartered body was unjust and impolitic. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition in both houses, the bill passed into a law. [1767.]

Taking advantage of the indisposition of the earl of Chatham, Mr. Townshend (who had been obliged, by the anti-ministerial leaders, to reduce the land-tax) proposed a scheme for raising a revenue in America. He pretended that it was free from the chief objection to which the stamp-act was liable, and that it would not give offence to the colonists, as it would only affect commerce. The import of the bill was, that duties should be charged upon tea, glass, paper, and colors used by painters, whenever they should be imported into any of the provinces; that the money thus levied should be applied to the support of the civil government, and the surplus paid into the English treasury. This bill met with little opposition in parliament: but it was justly considered by the Americans as a deceptive measure, being similar to the stamp-act in it's grand object; and it tended to the revival of a question which ought to have been consigned to oblivion.

This imprudent measure was followed by an act for suspending the legislative power of the assembly of New-York, as that body had refused to comply with a statute which required the grant of additional sustenance to the British troops stationed in the province. The assembly, thus stigmatised and menaced, did not prosecute the contest with the parliament, but obeyed the former act.

The political aid of the earl of Chatham being in vain solicited, Mr. Townshend aspired to the station of prime minister: but he died without attaining the summit of his ambition. The last specimen of his talents did not prognosticate that he

would be a very wise or judicious director of the cabinet, however eloquent and able he might be in debate. He was so capricious and inconstant, that it is difficult to conceive how "the ministry, under him, would have assumed (as an historian observes) a more decided character." A character subject to the instability of a fickle chief would not have been, in a strict or useful sense, decided or decisive, but would merely have been so for a time, until the premier should change his opinion. Lord North, joint paymaster of the army, was appointed to succeed the defunct minister; and, to gratify the duke of Bedford, earl Gower was permitted to become president of the council, on the voluntary resignation of the earl of Northington, while the secession of general Conway furnished a high post for lord Weymouth. A new office being deemed necessary, the earl of Hillsborough was constituted secretary of state for the American department.

The administration formed by the earl of Chatham did not long subsist in full vigor: indeed, soon after the dispute respecting the embargo, it ceased to be animated by his spirit. At one time, the duke of Grafton took the lead; at another, Mr. Townshend was the dictator; and, as the death of the latter was followed by some changes in which the earl did not concur, the appellation of the Grafton ministry was substituted for his name.

Although the earl had now lost his power at court, his abilities did not desert him. He was, indisputably, a man of extraordinary talents; quick, sagacious, and acute. He possessed great vigor

of mind, and was distinguished by expansion of intellect. He could frame bold schemes of policy and of war, and enforce their execution with a spirit which rose above all sense of difficulty or danger. Being favored by the great body of the people, he disregarded the occasional opposition of the aristocracy, and could (as he said) defy the proudest connexions of the country. No minister ever conducted the British arms to greater success or more brilliant fame. In each of the four grand divisions of the world, victory attended the steps of our countrymen; and, under his auspices, glory was abundantly acquired both by sea and land. He seemed to infuse his own spirit into every department of the public service; and, while his commanding eloquence over-awed the senate, his influence suspended even the contests of faction. In private life he was, perhaps, too haughty and unbending: he did not practise the arts of conciliation, and, therefore, he was less beloved than esteemed by his friends.

CHAPTER LIII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE storm which the impolicy of the court had excited in North-America, might have gradually subsided into a calm, if the national affairs had been directed by an union of judgement and patriotism. But, unfortunately, these qualities did not uniformly predominate in the British cabinet. At a time when harmony seemed to be restored, the revival of an odious claim was indiscrete and unseasonable, and threatened to re-kindle the embers of contest.

Loud clamors arose against the new act; and discontent was widely propagated in newspapers and pamphlets. The inhabitants of Boston and other considerable towns protested against the use of British manufactures, and resolved to direct their industry so completely to objects of art and internal improvement, as to supersede the necessity of importing from the mother-country.

The parliament disregarded the murmurs of the colonists; and the duke of Grafton, although he had objected to the statute which they reprobated, did not propose it's repeal. The session was unimportant; and only one topic of deliberation demands our notice.

The grant of a lease of lands by the crown to sir James Lowther, the son-in-law [1768.]

of the earl of Bute, was treated as a question of party; and, as the Tories favored the baronet, the Whigs supported the claim of the duke of Portland to the honor of Penrith, of which the new grant, they affirmed, was a part. Even if the lands now assigned were not included in the original grant from William III., long possession, it was said, ought to be a bar against resumption; but the reply was, that no length of time could operate against the royal pretensions; and, when a bill was proposed by sir George Savile "to quiet the possessions of the subject," the ministerial members exploded it for the present. Such a bill, however, was enacted in the sequel.

In the last year of the war, the supplies had exceeded 18,600,000 pounds: but a state of peace had so far reduced them, that in some years they scarcely rose beyond 7,700,000 pounds. In the session of which we are treating, they amountd to 8,300,000 pounds. As this was the seventh year of the parliament, his majesty dissolved it in the spring; and an unusual eagerness of contest was displayed in the new elections.

A popular personage, whom we have for some time left unnoticed, again brought himself forward to harass the ministry, and excite commotions. He had in vain requested the marquis of Rockingham and the duke of Grafton to intercede with the king in his behalf; and, irritated by his disappointment, he now returned from exile, and solicited the votes of the livery-men of London for a seat in parliament. The citizens did not elect him; but, when he applied to the freeholders of Middlesex,

he was warmly encouraged, and chosen with great marks of favor. As his outlawry had not been reversed, he submitted to imprisonment; from which, however, the rabble would rescue him, that he might make his appearance in the senate. A riot ensued: a party of soldiers fired, with permission of the civil power; and some lives were thus sacrificed. Wilkes stigmatised this effect of the riot as a deliberate and horrid massacre, and applied the terms *bloody scroll* to a letter recommending military interference, addressed to the magistrates by lord Weymouth. A proclamation was issued against tumultuous meetings of the people; and the two houses thanked the king for this mark of his attention to the peace of the realm. They also continued some former acts, encouraging the importation and prohibiting the exportation of corn; and notice was taken of that delay of seising the turbulent outlaw, which had given him an opportunity of being elected a member. The outlawry was annulled by the court of King's-Bench; and the two verdicts produced a sentence of imprisonment for twenty-two months, besides the exaction of a fine, and of bail for future good behaviour. The populace exclaimed against this treatment, and profaned the name of liberty by connecting it with that of a seditious delinquent.

The affairs of North-America requiring our renewed attention, we may now observe, that the assembly at Boston, influenced by spirited leaders, voted a circular letter, complaining of the late conduct of Great-Britain, and recommending such an association and concert as might procure a re-

dress of colonial grievances. The governor desired that this bold resolution might be revoked; but his proposal was rejected by a majority of seventy-five, although it was known that he acted in consequence of express orders from the cabinet. The people even broke out into riotous acts, and denounced vengeance against the commissioners of the customs; and when the offended governor had dissolved the assembly, the mal-contents summoned a convention, which, without presuming to govern the colony, voted a petition to the king against the proceedings of the parliament. Order was now restored, not merely in consequence of the arrival of a military force, but because the people were inclined to await, with patience, the effect of the application to his majesty.

In India, after the return of lord Clive to England, the miseries of war again prevailed. A soldier of fortune, named Hyder Ali, had seised the government of Mysore, and added various conquests to that principality. The nizam or viceroy of the Decan was persuaded to become the ally of the usurper; and both began to prepare for war. The council of Madras, suspecting danger, sent out an army to watch the motions of the confederates, whose approach soon led to actual hostilities. Near Tirni-mali (in September 1767) colonel Smith engaged their forces, and triumphed over a great superiority of number. The dispirited nizam now sued for peace, which was concluded on terms advantageous to the company. In the next campaign against Hyder, the English

reduced Mangalour; but it was soon retaken. While Smith was advancing toward Seringa-patam, Hyder ravaged the Carnatic, until he was checked by the return of the British commander. An engagement afterwards occurred between the enemy and colonel Wood; and, although victory at first leaned to the former, the English ultimately obtained the honors of the day. Hyder, still resolute and sanguine, hastened toward Madras, and infused such terror into the officers of the government, that they proposed peace, to which, as well as to an alliance, he acceded, without granting such terms as would recompense the company for the charges of the war.

Amidst the agitations of India and North-America, and the contests of faction at home, the king did not neglect the concerns of art and science. He had commissioned captain Byron (in 1764) to explore the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and sail round the globe, for the improvement of navigation, astronomy, and geography, and the increase of general knowlege. This officer diligently examined the Strait of Magellan, corrected former charts by his own observations, and discovered various islands in the South-Pacific. The next circum-navigator was captain Wallis, who (in 1767) added many islands to our charts, and acquired distinction by the discovery of Otaheite. Carteret also traversed the Pacific, and encompassed the globe, with safety and success. At the request of the Royal Society, his majesty ordered a voyage to be undertaken, chiefly for the facility of observing a transit of the planet Venus over the

sun's disk. Captain Cook commenced this voyage after the prorogation of the new parliament, and proved, by his continued conduct, that a proper choice had been made of a navigator for scientific as well as general purposes.

For the promotion of architecture, painting, sculpture, and engraving, a charter had been granted (in 1765) to a society of artists, who had been accustomed collectively to exhibit their performances. Some of these cultivators of the arts having seceded from the association in consequence of a dispute, proposed (in 1768) the formation of a more respectable establishment. The king, pleased with the scheme, promoted it with his purse, and declared himself the patron of the new society, which was incorporated under the appellation of the Royal Academy of Arts. Sir Joshua Reynolds, the celebrated painter, was the first president of this flourishing academy.

When the parliamentary deliberations were resumed, the case of Wilkes was debated, on the offer of a petition for the redress of his supposed grievances. The majority of the commons were not disposed to allow, that he had suffered more than he deserved; and it was moved, that [1769.] he should be expelled for his libellous remarks upon the epistle of the secretary of state, and his prior offences. This complication of charge was censured as an act of injustice. The offender, it was said, had already been punished for his former conduct, both by a court of law and by the house of commons; and to couple old charges with a new one, would be to chastise him

twice for the same delinquency. Besides, the new accusation did not belong to the cognisance of the house; and to expel him on these grounds would be a gross violation of constitutional privileges. The motion, however, was adopted by a great majority of the members.

The arbitrary conduct of the house only served to render Wilkes more popular. If the king had pardoned him, or the commons had forborne to molest him, his fame as a patriot would have gradually declined, and his pretensions would have given way to new topics of interest. But the ministry, by aiming at his ruin, elevated him to an importance which he could not otherwise have acquired, and added fuel to the flame of party.

The freeholders of Middlesex, considering his expulsion as unjust, eagerly re-elected him. The house declared that he could not lawfully be re-chosen for the existing parliament; and, therefore, a new election was pronounced to be necessary. Wilkes being the object of renewed choice, the commons again superseded the nomination. Colonel Luttrell offered to brave the popular indignation, by opposing the uncourtly candidate; but he had only 296 votes, while Wilkes had 1143. A warm debate arose when this return was announced to the commons, who at length decided that Luttrell was the legal representative, as the suffrages given for his adversary were rendered unlawful by the late vote of the house. The public loudly and justly exclaimed against these irregular proceedings, these gross infringements of the rights of electors.

The late transactions in North-America having given great offence to the court, the peers, influenced by the ministry, requested that the names of such individuals, as had been most forward in illegal acts, might be communicated to the house, with a view to their being tried in England, upon a statute of the thirty-fifth year of the eighth Henry. When the commons were desired to concur in this proposition, Mr. Pownall, who had been governor of Massachuset's bay, vindicated the conduct, not of the rioters, but of the principal colonists; represented the meeting at Boston as a mere convention of the committees of various towns, not a convention of states, which would have been illegal; and warned the courtiers of the danger of provoking men who were animated by a high spirit of freedom, and a strong detestation of tyranny. This appeal had no effect on the members to whom it was directed; and the house adopted the menace couched in the address of the peers.

After the enactment of a bill which required, for five additional years, the payment of the annual sum of 400,000 pounds by the India company, and permitted a gradual increase of the dividends to twelve and a half *per cent.*, the king closed the session with an earnest recommendation of peace and good order to his subjects. In support of his power against the attempts of faction, many addresses had been lately presented; but these were counter-balanced by complaints, remonstrances, and petitions for a change of ministry; among which that of the city of London was most conspicuous for its asperity, exceeding, in this respect, even

the intemperate address from the freeholders of Middlesex.

The threat of reviving against the Americans a severe statute which had long ceased to be enforced, disgusted even those provincials who had hitherto been most loyal and submissive, and thus strengthened that influence which the Massachuset leaders had acquired over the colonial confederacy. The assembly at Boston, being again permitted to sit, accused the governor of misconduct, and asserted the right of trial within the colony; and other assemblies insisted on the same privilege. The combinations against British trade were continued; and the people were not satisfied with the promise of the earl of Hillsborough, who had been ordered by the king to intimate to the governors of the provinces, that a repeal of the late duties would be proposed to the parliament.

When the two houses met, the discontent manifested in Great-Britain was more noticed by the different speakers than that which had been evinced beyond the Atlantic. An amendment, recommending an inquiry into the causes of the former dissatisfaction, was moved in each house, but without effect. [1770.]

Among the peers, the debate was invigorated by the manly eloquence of the earl of Chatham (who had resigned the privy-seal), and the argumentative abilities of lord Camden. The earl affirmed, that the liberty of the subject had been attacked, in the case of Wilkes; and that the commons had violated the rights of election. The attack, he was particularly sorry to observe, was vindicated upon

principle, not excused as an occasional irregularity. One branch of the legislature, by declaring and enforcing the law, had assumed a power not allowed by the constitution; and power, unaccompanied with right or justice, was the most odious object that could be conceived. The freeholders of every part of the kingdom ought to consider this cause as their own, and unite in stemming a torrent which might otherwise inundate the country with the bitter waters of slavery. It was admitted by lord Mansfield, that general declarations of law, proceeding from either house, were improper and injurious; but the case in question, he contended, was merely a particular decision, which the commons, as judges of their own elections, had a right to pronounce. The chancellor argued against the vote which had declared Wilkes incapable of being re-elected. It was, he said, unjustified by precedent, by law, or by reason. He also condemned, as an insult to the whole body of provincial voters, the *appointment* of Luttrell to be a representative of Middlesex: an *election* it could not be called, as a majority of the freeholders never would have chosen him. He strongly censured the conduct of the court, and dreaded, from such a cabinet, farther attacks upon the rights of the people.

The speeches, in the other house, were equally animated. Mr. Edmund Burke and Mr. Charles Fox, who afterwards became so eminent and illustrious, spoke on this occasion. The former declaimed with vehemence against the ministers; the latter was their defender.

The free observations of lord Camden were so offensive to his majesty, that he ordered that nobleman to deliver up the great seal, which was put into the hands of Mr. Charles Yorke, who did not, however, live to do honour to the bench; for, having declared in strong terms that he would not accept the offered dignity, he was so ashamed of his compliance, that he hastened his death by violence.

The marquis of Granby, disgusted at the ministerial proceedings, resigned the post of commander in chief: Mr. Dunning, a distinguished pleader, refused, for the same reason, to act longer as solicitor-general: and the earl of Coventry, and some other peers, relinquished their employments at court.

Not being so strongly supported in the cabinet as he wished, the duke of Grafton was now disposed to retire from the helm. Perhaps, the severe animadversions and pointed reproaches of the celebrated Junius, who had assailed him in a series of well-written letters, accelerated his resignation. The duke was not destitute of talents; but he was not an able minister. He might have been useful as an official subaltern; but the chief department in the state was too high for his capacity, too important for his political knowlege.

The undaunted Junius, aiming at higher objects, had recently attacked the king himself. He did not presume to accuse his sovereign of a deliberate purpose of invading the rights of the people; but affected to separate the amiable good-natured

prince from the folly and treachery of his servants, and the private virtues of the man from the vices of his government. Yet the letter tended, in effect, to criminate a monarch who could suffer such misconduct to prevail. The writer acrimoniously traced the course of impolicy from the time of the king's accession; reprobated the indiscretion, the violence, and the unconstitutional spirit, of the ministers by whom he had been guided; advised a dissolution of the parliament, on account of the *abandoned profligacy* of the existing house of commons; and requested, that he would give his confidence to those only in whom his subjects could reasonably confide.

This author is now considered as an English classic: yet, if we reflect on his very intemperate language, the virulence of his abuse, and the unsupported nature of some of the charges which he has adduced, we should rather be disposed to exclude him from ordinary perusal, as one who would mislead his admirers. He certainly writes with animation, frequently with elegance, generally with force and perspicuity. He argues plausibly, but does not always impress conviction: he evinces a knowlege of the constitution, though he sometimes misrepresents its principles: he is an advocate for liberty, but occasionally carries it to the verge of licentiousness. A ministerial author says, "If we allow him only his merit, where will be his praise?" We answer, that his praise will be that of an ingenious and able writer, and an intelligent politician. At the same time, he deserves severe

censure for his seditious spirit, the foulness of his reproaches, and his transgression of the bounds of truth. It is a very remarkable circumstance, that the public never could ascertain who he was. With such secrecy were his transmissions of manuscript conducted, that all the eagerness of inquiry could not unmask him in the prosecution of his bold career; and, even since his supposed death, curiosity has not been gratified with the desired discovery. Various names have been confidently mentioned; but they have not been brought forward with such weight of authority as to silence doubt, or influence general belief.

An inquiry into the state of the nation being proposed in the house of lords, the duke expressed his willingness to enter into a full investigation; but, before it took place, he resigned his employment, which (on the 28th of January) was transferred to lord North. By the advice of the new premier, the earl of Halifax was appointed keeper of the privy seal; and the young orator Fox was gratified with a seat at the board of admiralty.

The debate on the state of the nation was opened by the marquis of Rockingham, who noticed various grounds of censure, but chiefly confined his remarks to the election for Middlesex. Eager to procure a condemnation of the conduct of the commons, he exhorted the lords to declare, that in judging of elections, the former house ought to adopt the law of the land and the custom of parliament. The earls of Sandwich and Marchmont, and the chief justice Mansfield, decidedly disapproved the interference of the peers in such points

as peculiarly belonged to the cognisance of the lower house: but the earl of Chatham asserted, that it was the duty of their lordships to oppose any invasion of the liberties of the people. A considerable majority exploded the proposition of lord Rockingham, and, by a strong declaration, disclaimed the idea of impeaching the judgement of the commons. The same subject had been submitted to the deliberation of that house by Mr. Dowdeswell, who had acted as chancellor of the exchequer under the administration of the marquis: and the minister then obtained an approving vote. The commons afterwards stigmatised, as unwarrantable and seditious, that part of a new remonstrance from the livery-men of London which denied the legality of the parliament and the validity of it's acts, because the house (said the citizens) had "done a deed which vitiated all the future proceedings" of the legislative body then assembled. The answer given to this remonstrance by the king, who pronounced it to be disrespectful to himself, injurious to the parliament, and unconstitutional, was intemperately censured by the earl of Chatham, who could not prevail on the lords to concur with him in a vote against it, or in an address for a dissolution. One point, however, was gained by the popular party, in the enactment of a bill which declared, that only for felony, and for crimes punished with the pillory, an expelled member should be incapacitated.

It was probably the frequent mention of the elective franchise in these debates, that suggested to Mr. Grenville the idea of reforming the decisions

of the commons in disputed elections. His bill, to which both houses gave their sanction, provided, that, out of forty-nine members named by ballot, the returned representative and his opponent should choose thirteen, who, with two nominees, should form a committee acting upon oath. The determinations of these committees have been generally impartial.

At the time of enacting this judicious bill for the gratification of his subjects in Britain, his majesty gave his assent to one which, he thought, would please the Americans. This was an act for repealing all the duties imposed by Mr. Townshend's bill, except that upon tea. The tax retained was so trifling, that lord North could not suppose it to be objectionable; but he did not consider that the colonists, regardless of the amount, controverted the claim of right. Mr. Pownall moved, that every part of the former statute should be abrogated; but Mr. Grenville, referring with self-complacency to his own bill of revenue, opposed at once the minister's scheme and the more prudent suggestion of the last speaker. The amendment was rejected by a majority of 62.

When the two houses had been prorogued, the corporation of the metropolis petitioned the king for new ministers and a new parliament. As the reply did not please Mr. Beckford, an opulent West-Indian planter, who was then mayor, he personally reprimanded his sovereign for listening to unconstitutional advice. The reproof was received with silent indignation.

The Americans were anxiously awaiting the new resolutions of the parliament, when an affray arose between some soldiers and the populace of Boston. It soon became so serious, that Preston, an officer, hastened to the scene of confusion. Irritated by reproachful language, and by blows, the soldiers fired, and killed four of the townsmen. The officer was accused of murder; but, being tried when the minds of the people were less inflamed, he was acquitted. The new act was received with some marks of favor; and the traffic with this kingdom was, with few exceptions, renewed.

While the colonial agitations were apparently subsiding, a dispute, which seemed to threaten war, arose between the courts of London and Madrid, respecting the Falkland isles in the South-Pacific. Captain Byron had taken formal possession of those islands (in 1765), and had extolled the advantages which they held out for a settlement. Encouraged by his too favorable report, the government sent out a small party to form a colony, which subsisted for several years in comfortless solitude. At length, the governor of another island of the groupe, occupied by the Spaniards, warned the English to retire, but not before captain Hunt had desired a Spanish schooner to depart from the coast. Unwilling to suffer any of the islands to be retained by British subjects, the Spaniards equipped an armament which rendered resistance unavailing; and the isle which had been garrisoned was evacuated by the English. As soon as the king was informed of this insult, he

ordered a fleet to be prepared, but did not neglect the means of averting war by negotiation. The French not being inclined to assist the Spaniards, the latter resolved to make such concessions as would appease a ministry not very regardful of national honor. The Spanish ambassador disavowed the enterprise of Buccarelli, who [1771.] had sent from Buenos-Ayres the force which had expelled the English colony; and it was agreed that the island in question should be restored, but that this stipulation should not annul or impair the pretensions of Spain to the general sovereignty of the insular groupe.

It is said, that his majesty promised, by a secret article, to recall his subjects from the settlement, after they should have been again put in possession of it, and to renounce all colonial views upon the islands. This would have been a disgraceful stipulation; and we have reason to think that no such article was signed. But it was, by both parties, understood (which, as it influenced the negotiation, is nearly the same thing), that Britain would not long retain the settlement, or renew the colonisation of any of the islands. This point ought not to have been mentioned on the occasion; and, upon the whole, the affair reflected no honor upon the king's confidential advisers.

The anti-ministerial members, in both houses, inveighed against the agreement with Spain, as unsatisfactory and delusive: but it received the approbation of the majority. Prudence and humanity certainly required, that a war should not

be undertaken on such grounds; but it might have been avoided with greater dignity.

The session in which this convention was ratified, was enlivened by a variety of debates: but of these we have very imperfect accounts. In one discussion, which related to the national defence, the lords would not suffer any members of the house of commons to be present; an exclusion which so offended the representatives of the people, that they, in return, refused admittance to the peers. The subject of libels produced some warm debates. Lord Mansfield denied to a jury the right of deciding upon the law in these cases: to the fact, he said, or the points of printing and publishing, their verdict ought to be confined. Lord Camden and the earl of Chatham justly condemned this doctrine, which, they thought, no true friend to the constitution would promulgate or maintain. If jurors should be thus restricted, judges, though they were in general upright and impartial, might sometimes be induced to exercise an arbitrary influence, to the prejudice of justice and liberty. Similar opinions were delivered in the other house, by serjeant Glynne, who moved that a committee should inquire into some recent decisions of the judges; but the proposal was rejected, although it was supported by a striking display of eloquence and ability.

At a time when the press teemed with libels, or publications considered in that light, the editors of news-papers, or the occasional contributors to their contents, may be supposed to have been par-

ticularly bold and licentious, as those writers seem to claim the privilege of extraordinary freedom of remark. One species of reputed libel was the misrepresentation of the debates of parliament. Two publishers were summoned to the bar of the house of commons, for a want of accuracy or of candor in the reports which their papers contained. As they declined obedience, the house sent the serjeant-at-arms to apprehend them; and, when they had eluded this order, the effect of a royal proclamation was tried. Wilkes (then a magistrate of the corporation of London), and alderman Oliver, discharged both individuals from an arrest which was said to be repugnant to the privileges of the city; and Mr. Crosby, the lord-mayor, not only liberated another publisher who had been seised, but signed a warrant, in concert with Wilkes and Oliver, for the imprisonment of the messenger who had apprehended him. After vehement debates, Wilkes was commanded to present himself at the bar: yet, with determined spirit, he resisted every order for his attendance; and the house forbore to prosecute the contest with him, but sent his two friends to the Tower.

It is still a standing order of each house, that strangers should be excluded; and any member may move for the enforcement of this rule: but the right is very rarely exerted. No persons are *permitted* to take notes of the speeches: but the practice is *suffered* by connivance, as all reporters are not blessed with the very retentive memory of a Woodfall; and from the year 1771 to the present day, with scarcely any interruption, the parlia-

mentary proceedings have been detailed in print, for the amusement and instruction of the public.

The Middlesex election was again productive of debate; but neither house could be induced to alter the resolutions upon that subject. In an inquiry respecting an election for New-Shoreham, in Sussex, remarkable instances of venality appeared; and, for this infringement of the constitution, eighty-one freemen of that borough were justly disfranchised.

Some ministerial changes may here be mentioned. The earl of Sandwich, on the resignation of lord Weymouth, had been nominated secretary of state; but he was quickly removed to a post for which he was less qualified, being appointed to succeed sir Edward Hawke in the direction of the admiralty. The earl of Halifax again became secretary of state for the northern (or home) department, while the earl of Rochford, who had succeeded the earl of Shelburne in 1768, acted in a similar capacity for foreign affairs. Mr. Bathurst received the great seal: Thurlow and Wedderburne, men of considerable abilities, were declared attorney and solicitor general. Lord Halifax dying in the summer, his employment was given to the earl of Suffolk; and the privy seal was delivered to the duke of Grafton.

[1772.] When a new session was opened, the opposition appeared to have declined in strength; yet some spirited debates occurred, particularly on the affairs of the church. A petition was presented from many clergymen, academic civilians, and physicians, alleging a scrupulosity of

conscience, which prompted them to request indulgence in point of doctrinal subscription. The parliamentary supporters of this solicitation argued, that the strict enforcement of confessions of faith, of articles which all could not believe, not only obstructed that freedom of inquiry which led to the full discovery of truth, but superinduced habits of prevarication and evasion, injurious both to religion and morality; that the thirty-nine articles were framed in an age less enlightened than the present, when the errors of popery had not entirely lost their influence upon the minds of the clergy; and that genuine Christianity could not be impaired by a removal of the necessity of giving an outward assent to such points of belief, but would derive fresh spirit and lustre from a relaxation of unreasonable rigor. The opposers of the petition, among whom the minister ranked himself, affirmed, that a compliance with such a request would tend to the ruin of the church, as it would encourage sectaries to propagate heterodox tenets under the shelter of the clerical establishment. They insinuated, that persons who were so affectedly conscientious as to with-hold their belief from the articles of our reformed church, might resign it's emoluments and benefits; and maintained, that the doctrines in question formed a fundamental law, which the parliament, even if it had the power, ought not to annul. The commons resolved, by a majority of 146, that the petition should not be honored even with reception.

When a particular religion is so established as to form a branch of the general government of a state,

and funds are assigned for the support of it's ministers by the ruling power, it seems proper that an uniformity of doctrine and discipline should be settled by the heads of the church, to prevent irregularity and confusion, and avoid that appearance of instability and caprice which would make unfavorable impressions on the minds of the people. Time, however, may be allowed to produce occasional alterations, not affecting the essentials of religion; and, as some of the articles of our church are confessedly inconsistent and objectionable, the hand of reform may be permitted to touch them, without injuring the grand fabric of Christianity. To excuse individuals from assenting to the prevailing creed, and yet suffer them to enjoy all the advantages of subscription, may be deemed an impolitic indulgence, as those who are unwilling to agree to the terms of admission, have no right to expect the favors of the church: the conscientious spirit which would disdain or disapprove the required assent, may easily stimulate it's possessor to that self-denial which would decline intrusion. To revise and alter the articles would be a preferable expedient. Our present rulers have the same right to enforce such a reform, that our ancestors had to explode the corruptions of the Romish system of Christianity.

The professed dissenters, being excluded from the emoluments of the church, and tolerated in the exercise of different modes of protestant worship, solicited relief on better grounds; and a bill was proposed to the house, to excuse them from signing those articles which the act of king Wil-

liam the Third required them to subscribe. It was urged, however, that the penalties imposed by that statute were not exacted from the persons who evaded it; and, therefore, that the dissenters, sustaining no injury, had no reason to complain. But it was observed, in reply, that they were at all times liable to the operation of the act; and that as the idea of legal tolerance implied a permission to maintain opinions differing from those of the established church, there was a gross inconsistency in holding out the risque of a penalty. The bill was sanctioned by the commons; but the peers refused to agree to it. The bishops who opposed it had more influence in the debate than reason could justify.

The warm friends of the ecclesiastical body also thought themselves bound to resist a proposal for securing the possessors of estates against obsolete or dormant claims of the church. They alleged the expediency of reserving pretensions which were not extinct, to check the encroaching spirit of the laity. This insinuation was counter-acted by a denial of all wishes, on the part of the landholders in general, to oppress or harass the clergy. The motion for the bill was rejected by a small majority.

A bill of restriction, with regard to the marriages of the royal family, excited equal attention with the concerns of the church. It was deemed adviseable by the court, on account of the conduct of the duke of Glocester, the king's brother, who had given his hand to the widow of earl Waldegrave, and also because the duke of Cumberland had

presumed to marry the daughter of lord Irnham. It imported that none of the descendants of king George the Second (except those of foreign birth) should enter into the matrimonial state, under the age of twenty-five years, without the consent of the sovereign; and that, even after the completion of that age, the approbation of parliament should be requisite before the marriage could be lawfully contracted. The courtiers spoke plausibly of the disgrace, inconvenience, and danger, that might attend imprudent and precipitate connexions. The adversaries of the bill argued with greater force, and condemned the restraint as repugnant to law, morality, and sound policy: but it triumphed over all opposition by the force of number.

Other incidents connected with the royal family claim our present notice. The princess Caroline-Matilda, sister to our sovereign, had been married (in 1766) to Christian VII. king of Denmark, when she was only in her sixteenth year. That prince was weak in his intellects, and capricious in his humour; open to flattery, and easily deceived by artful persuasion. His queen was lively and volatile; and her manners had a tincture of levity. Count Struensee, a man of talents and insinuating address, not only governed the king, but rendered himself highly agreeable to the queen. His influence at length excited the envy of the courtiers; and a strong party was formed against him, headed by the queen dowager and the half-brother of the feeble monarch. Caroline was also an object of the malice of this faction, from her supposed influence over her husband, and her encouragement

of the ambitious adventurer who presumed to domineer over the nobles. The count was accused of various offences against the state; and to the queen was imputed the foul crime of adultery, said to have been committed with the obnoxious favorite. An order was procured from Christian for her imprisonment; and Struensee, after an unfair trial, was beheaded. It was even reported that the enemies of Caroline intended to bring her to the block; but the interposition of her royal brother over-awed them into forbearance; and a British squadron escorted her to the mouth of the Elbe. She passed the remainder of her life at Zell, where she died (in 1775) of a malignant fever.

No proof was ever adduced of the truth of the charge against this princess; and the probability of her innocence is considered by many, if not by the generality of people, as stronger than that of her guilt. Though it may be said that she was giddy and imprudent, we cannot decisively affirm that her indiscretion hurried her into criminality.

Soon after the arrest of the queen of Denmark, her mother died in her fifty-fourth year. The private character of this princess is allowed to have been amiable: but her influence over the king her son is supposed to have been exerted in favour of the prerogative, rather than for the interest of the people.

CHAPTER LIV.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE great increase of the power and importance of the India company, after the memorable success of Clive in the preceding reign, had been followed by gross mismanagement and enormous abuses; not by the exercise of political wisdom; and the grant of the privilege of administering the financial concerns of three provinces did not tend to diminish the prevalence of misconduct, although some regulations of reform were adopted. The servants of the company, whether in a civil or military capacity, were more intent on the acquisition of wealth than on the performance of their respective duties; and, as the ordinary modes of obtaining property were not sufficiently rapid, recourse was had to the most iniquitous means of accumulation. The natives were plundered in every form that unfeeling rapacity could devise; and to such a nefarious height was the spirit of monopoly carried, even in the necessaries of life, that many thousands of the natives perished by famine. While remorseless avarice swayed individuals, such prodigality prevailed in public concerns, that bankruptcy seemed to menace the company. To reform the government, and pre-

serve the establishment from ruin, supervisors were sent out with extraordinary powers; but they were wrecked in the voyage.

The weakness and folly of the directors, and the misconduct of those whom they employed, at length called forth the strong exertions of the ministry. It was the opinion of some members of the cabinet, that it would be expedient for the government to withdraw the territorial possessions from the hands of the company: but the majority advised the king to adopt a middle course, and diminish, not annihilate, the authority and control of the directors. A plan was framed for this purpose, and submitted by lord North [1773.] to the deliberation of the commons. He proposed, that the directors should remain in office four years; that none should vote at the elections for that employment without having owned for twelve months the requisite stock; that the qualification for a proprietor should be the possession of one thousand pounds in stock; that the parliament should appoint the governor and council of Bengal; that these officers should exercise a superiority over the administrators of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay; and that the crown should depute four judges to compose a supreme court. The directors, and many of the proprietors, loudly complained of this scheme. The rights of the company, they said, were openly invaded; and the plan seemed to threaten mischief, rather than to promise benefit. The leaders of opposition concurred in these sentiments, and, in particular, reprobated the tendency of the new arrangements to an augmentation of

royal and ministerial influence. Besides the bill that comprehended this plan, and which passed into a law, one was enacted for the loan of 1,400,000 pounds to the company.

In consequence of the investigation of the affairs of India, the malversations of the officers of the company were represented as sufficient grounds not only of censure but of severe punishment. Lord Clive, in the preceding session, had been roused, by the insinuations thrown out against him, into a spirited defence: but he then confined himself to the measures and conduct which he had pursued after his return to India in 1765. He boasted of his endeavours to improve the state of the country, to prevent the natives from being oppressed, and to introduce order and good government. He asserted his forbearance of extortion, and intimated, that his opposition to the rapacity and mal-practices of his countrymen had subjected him to calumny and odium. In this session, the commons were requested to vote, that he had illegally acquired (in 1757) the sum of 234,000 pounds, through the influence of powers with which he was intrusted. He did not deny the receipt of large presents; but affirmed that he merited them by his services to Jaffier, and that he had rescued the British power in India from ruin. The solicitor-general, with plausible and attractive eloquence, defended the accused hero, and emblazoned his exploits; and the majority allowed, by a formal resolution, that he had "rendered great services to his country." Wounded, however, by the attack upon his character, and by the com-

punctions of conscience, he was prompted, in a moment of rashness, to dismiss himself from the world.

The cabinet, amidst these and other debates, paid some attention to the concerns of the continent. The Russians had, for several years, been at war with the Turks; and, as the French were desirous of stimulating and assisting the Swedes against the former, the British court thought proper to remonstrate against all acts of hostility. A fleet was prepared with expedition; and this appearance of vigor intimidated the court of Versailles into a promise of forbearance.

The Americans were not so easily over-awed. The inhabitants of Massachuset's Bay, in particular, still breathed the murmurs of discontent; alleging, that Great-Britain had no intention of renouncing the high claims of arbitrary taxation; that the judges in the colonies had been rendered, by new regulations, dependent on the crown; that by a recent act, their countrymen might be sent to England for trial; and that their commerce was burthened by tyrannical restrictions. Some confidential letters from governor Hutchinson, recommending strong and coercive measures to subdue the refractory spirit of the mal-contents, were treacherously disclosed by Dr. Franklin (deputy post-master) to the assembly at Boston; and their effect on minds previously irritated may readily be conceived. The arrival of three ships laden with tea, which the India company had been allowed to export free from duty, increased the ferment to

such a height, that, on the refusal of the captains to carry back their cargoes without the formality of a written discharge, a party, in the arms and dress of American savages, rushed into each of the vessels, opened the chests, and threw their contents into the sea.

This outrage was considered, by the court, as nearly equivalent to an act of rebellion; and the minister harangued the commons on the seditious spirit of the inhabitants of Boston, and the [1774.] expediency of repressing their contumacious arrogance by condign punishment. He then recommended a forcible suspension of their commerce; and, although the motion was opposed, as tending to involve the innocent with the guilty, he was permitted to introduce a bill for that purpose. A fine being proposed, in lieu of a stoppage of trade, it was said, in answer, that such a punishment would be ridiculed and despised; and the bill reached the last stage unaltered.

Mr. Fox then appeared in the ranks of opposition. This young member had been removed (in 1772) from the admiralty to the treasury; from which board, early in this session, he was abruptly dismissed, probably because the king did not think that he would prove sufficiently subservient. He now became a decided antagonist of the court, and was soon enabled, by his commanding talents, to assume the direction of the anti-ministerial phalanx. He denied the policy and propriety of the new bill, condemned it as arbitrary, and derided it as inefficacious. Lord Camden and the earl of

Shelburne strongly opposed it in it's progress through the house of peers; but it passed without a protest.

This remedy not being thought fully adequate to the evil, lord North stated the necessity of reforming the constitution of the Massachuset province, so as to give due energy to the executive power; and, with this view, he brought forward a bill which provided, that the nomination of the council should be transferred to the crown, and that the power of the governor should in various instances be augmented. The charter of that colony, he said, ought not to be deemed so sacred, as to prevent the parliament from making new regulations, calculated to stem the torrent of faction. Mr. Dowdeswell deprecated the annulment of a charter which had been found to be admirably adapted to the spirit of the people for whom it was framed, and which, by facilitating their commercial progress and general improvement, had proved beneficial both to the provincials and the parent-state. Sir George Savile and general Conway advised, that the parties interested should be heard in their own defence before the abrogation of their charter; but Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards earl of Liverpool) maintained that, in a great point of political expediency, there was no obligation to hear evidence. Mr. Pownall warned the ministry of the danger of provoking the Americans, and exasperating them into the most determined implacability; and other members alleged the probable inefficacy of the act, as those colonies which were already governed in a mode resembling the present scheme, were

strongly disposed to resist the parliamentary claims. The great powers of Fox, Dunning, and Burke, were displayed on the same side of the question; but the bill was sanctioned by a majority of 175, and (in the upper house) of 72.

To give effect to these statutes, another was prepared, which authorised the governor to send to a different colony, or to this country, any persons who, in assisting the civil power, should commit murder, as it was not supposed that such offenders would have a fair trial in the town or province where the incident occurred.

Speaking of the three acts, lord North confidently intimated his hopes of plenary success. Refractory spirits, he thought, would be subdued, and tranquillity restored. The issue of such regulations, he affected to prognosticate, would be advantageous and happy to Great-Britain.

A motion for a repeal of the duty on tea gave Mr. Burke an opportunity of establishing his oratorical fame. He surveyed the conduct of Britain toward the Americans, from the time of the colonisation of each province to the accession of his present majesty; and endeavoured to prove, that it was much more judicious than that which had been since adopted. As the trade of the colonies considerably benefited the mother-country, she was content (he said) with that advantage, and forbore to indulge a spirit of taxation. The alteration of the old system, from whomsoever it originated, evinced a narrow mind, intent on petty objects, not actuated by manly or liberal policy. The different ministers, instead of viewing at once,

with an intelligent eye, the complicated interests of the state and its dependencies, looked only at parts and scraps, as they casually offered themselves. They had no system, but thought only of incidental expedients. The authority of parliament (he allowed) was supreme; but it ought not to be rendered incompatible with the just freedom of the colonists. The power of taxing might, in this case, be considered as an instrument of empire, rather than as the means of supply. It would be prudent to omit discussions of right, and revert to the practical wisdom of former reigns.—He illustrated the subject with other judicious observations, but could not prevail upon the house to accede to the proposal.

Both parties exerted extraordinary efforts in a contest which related to the province of Canada. The ministerial members supported a new bill for the administration of that territory, by arguing, that true policy required, in general, an adaptation of the form of government to the temper and habitudes of the people, and that a compliance with the wishes of the Canadians would be more expedient than the complete introduction of the English constitution among them. As they requested that they might retain the former mode of deciding civil causes, without a jury, there was no necessity (said these speakers) of altering that arrangement, although it was adviseable (and indeed the provincials wished) to follow the English practice in point of criminal jurisdiction. As a representative assembly was not desired, a council, com-

posed of about twenty persons, nominated by his majesty, would form a legislature adequate (without the general power of taxation) to the ordinary purposes of colonial administration. With regard to religion, no danger would arise from allowing the free exercise of that of the church of Rome, subject to a recognition of the royal supremacy: and, as the catholic priests would be permitted to receive tithes from the inhabitants who followed the same creed, the protestant clergy would be gratified with stipends from the king.

These regulations were opposed on various grounds. It was alleged, that the proposed government would be too despotic for British subjects, even those who had been under the sway of France; that the latter, except the higher class, were willing to accept all the benefits of the English constitution; that such a mixture of systems formed a strange incongruity; that the governor would be enabled, by an artful use of his power, to tyrannise over the colonists of both descriptions; that the extension of the limits of the province would subject the English, who should pass the former boundaries, to the rigors of the French mode of government; that the non-permission of the writ of *habeas-corpus* would be a great obstruction to general liberty; that a religion hostile to freedom would not merely be tolerated, but established; and that a bill of this complexion would reflect great disgrace on a British parliament.

Upon the whole, the act was of such a nature as to furnish strong grounds of animadversion: but it

appears to have been an acceptable measure to the far greater part of the colony; and that is a point of no small importance.

A question of moment, though of less consequence and interest than the grand political objects of deliberation, was decided by the house of peers in this session. It arose from an appeal of some Scotish booksellers, who complained of a decree of the lord-chancellor, on the subject of literary property. The chief point was, whether an author had, by common law, a perpetual right to the exclusive publication and consequent profit of his works. An act of the eighth year of queen Anne had allowed a right of copy to be enjoyed for fourteen years, by a writer, or by any person to whom he should assign or transfer the profit of a work; and had prolonged the right for another term of fourteen years, if the life of the author should be continued by Providence to that extent. This statute, said one party, invalidated the claim of perpetuity: but, in the opinion of lord Mansfield and the chancellor Bathurst, while it confirmed the right for the time mentioned, it did not annul the original claim derivable from the maxim, that all are entitled to the fruits of their genius and the produce of their industry. Lord Camden and other peers, and indeed the majority of the assembly, declared the act to be restrictive, and reversed the decree. The utmost extent, therefore, of legal copy-right, can only be twenty-eight years. Doubts have been entertained with respect to the true meaning of the statute; whether the purchaser of the right of copy from an author may hold it

to the *end* of the second term of fourteen years, if the latter should die at the *beginning* or long before the expiration of that term. In our opinion, it is clear that he cannot; for he stands precisely in the same predicament in which the writer would have been if he had not alienated the copy. The former term, we may observe, is absolute: for, if the author should die before its close, his heir or assignee may enjoy the property to the last day of the time specified.

The French, at this time, did not manifest the least desire of encouraging the Americans in their opposition to British authority. Louis the Fifteenth, a weak and dissolute prince, had lately died; and his successor was more attentive to the arts of peace than fond of war. But there was reason to apprehend, that, if an open rupture with the colonies should ensue, the new king, not being remarkable for firmness, might be influenced by his ministry to augment the embarrassments of Great-Britain.

The first intimation of the act against the trade of Boston filled the Massachuset province with clamor and alarm. Terror seised the minds of many of the inhabitants; but indignation was the prevailing sentiment. The other colonies, except Georgia, partook of the same spirit, and agreed to discontinue their commerce with Great-Britain, until so oppressive a statute should be abrogated. The committees, instituted in the different provinces by the advice of Dr. Franklin, framed an association, which they denominated the "solemn league and covenant," and issued a manifesto against

all friendly connexion with a country that seemed to wish to enslave them.

When copies of the other obnoxious acts arrived, the enraged people would not suffer the alterations of the Massachuset government to be enforced. General Gage, the new administrator of the British interests, scarcely found himself safe, even with an augmented army; and his efforts to promote submission served only to inflame discontent.

The general association led to important consequences. A continental congress was organised by the counsels of Franklin and other provincial leaders; and (on the 5th of September) the representatives of twelve colonies assembled at Philadelphia. In a declaration which they gave to the world, they asserted the right of possessing the freedom of legislation, except that their trade might be regulated by the British parliament; of retaining all the privileges granted by their charters; of enjoying the benefit of the common law of England; of holding meetings to consider of grievances; and of being free from the control of an army in time of peace. They afterwards voted an address to the British nation, urging the reasonable claim of a participation of rights and liberties, and hinting that the eventual success of the court, in a contest with the colonies, would lead to the establishment of despotism over the whole empire. An application to his majesty followed, stating grievances, and desiring redress; professing warm attachment, yet declaring an inflexible resolution of opposing a continuance of those oppressive

measures which had alarmed them with the dread of ruin.

To extinguish the rising flame, all the wisdom of the legislature was urgently required. The king again appealed to his people by a dissolution; and, when the new parliament met, he expressed his opinion of the propriety and necessity of maintaining that authority to which the provincials were unwilling to submit. In each house, the address was debated; but it was sanctioned by that commanding majority which convinced the Americans that their claims would be disregarded.

[1775.] Their late conduct was discussed by both parties, in consequence of a motion from the earl of Chatham for the recall of the troops from Boston. The eloquent peer endeavoured to rouse the ministers (who seemed undetermined with regard to their future measures) to a sense of the danger of a civil war. He did not blame the colonists for their resistance to severe acts; but applauded their courage and fortitude. They had shown the spirit of true Whigs—the spirit which had opposed ship-money, and repressed the tyranny of the Stuarts. Their perseverance would ultimately force the parliament to revoke it's acts, and alter it's system. It would therefore be politic to retract immediately, rather than await the disgrace of compulsion. Concession alone would prevent the mischiefs of unnatural hostility. The earl of Shelburne, while he asserted the general supremacy of the parliament, denied it's right to tax unrepresented America, and warmly condemned

the coercive system. Lord Camden was no advocate for sedition; but he was inclined to justify the association of the provincials against a government by which they were oppressed rather than protected. The marquis of Rockingham supported the motion, as the presence of the army, he thought, would only irritate the colonists. On the other hand, the earl of Suffolk, after reprobating the insolence and audacity of the mal-contents, asserted the justice and expediency of having recourse to arms. The earl of Rochford and lord Townshend imputed a rebellious spirit to the leaders of the congress; and ridiculed the idea of concession, as a degrading meanness, that promised no efficacy or benefit. The motion was rejected; as was also the outline of a bill, which the same nobleman offered, for conciliating the Americans by renouncing the exercise of taxation, on their explicit acknowledgement of the legislative rights of Great-Britain in all affairs of general policy and imperial sway. The debate upon this bill was marked by indecorous personalities and acrimonious reproaches not perfectly suited to "the noble natures of the lords."

It was warmly debated by the commons, whether the commotion in the Massachuset province could be justly termed rebellion. This was denied by some of the speakers; while others represented the people of that state as traitors and rebels; and several military boasters added, that they were cowards: but, in the language of logicians, this point remained to be proved. Mr. Fox prophesied, that even if the provincial soldiery had not

always displayed the courage of regular troops, they would not appear deficient in that quality, if a war should be produced by the rashness of the ministry. He proposed, that the house, instead of voting an address (moved by the premier) for the coercion of the supposed rebels, should stigmatise the measures of the court as tending to widen the breach and obstruct reconciliation. This amendment, however, was exploded by a majority of 199.

When the address was reported, a re-commitment was moved; and Mr. Burke inveighed against the folly and obstinacy of the king's advisers. The lord-mayor now appeared as a speaker against the coercive system. This was no other than Mr. John Wilkes, who, having been re-elected member for Middlesex, had taken his seat (we do not say without notice, but) without molestation or inquiry. He maintained, that the provincials had acted like freemen, not like traitors; that, if the contest should proceed to sanguinary extremities, the fault would be in the ministry, not in the opposers of unlawful claims; and that the conduct of the cabinet was as impolitic as it was unjust; for, though the force proposed to be employed might garrison Boston, or might reduce that town to ashes, it would not be sufficient to conquer or retain a single province. He was confident that the Americans would sooner declare themselves independent, and risque every consequence of such a contest, than submit to the yoke which the ministers were preparing for them. Some of the members accused the bold magistrate of encouraging sedition,

treason, and rebellion: and a great majority supported the address, to which also the peers, after some animated speeches, agreed.

Pleased with the address, his majesty ordered an addition to his forces, both by sea and land; and the commons readily voted supplies for the increased expenditure. The augmentation, however, was so inconsiderable, that it did not intimidate the colonists.

A bill was now introduced to punish the four provinces of New-England, by depriving them of the freedom of trade with other countries, and of the advantage of the Newfoundland fishery. While it was depending, lord North surprised the house by a proposal which appeared to be conciliatory. He held out a promise of suspending the exercise of the right of taxation (except the imposition of commercial duties), if any colony would of itself grant supplies, disposable by the parliament, not only for the purposes of ordinary government, but also for the common defence. Mr. Fox said that this proposition exhibited a double aspect: it seemed to be concessive to the Americans; and it gratified their adversaries by reserving the right which the court and the two houses had constantly maintained. Mr. Welbore Ellis, and several other courtiers, disapproved the motion, as inconsistent with the address; an objection which embarrassed the minister, until sir Gilbert Elliot rose to reconcile the difference, by alleging that the threats of coercion to the refractory were not intended to exclude the grant of favor or indulgence to those who should be inclined to submit. Mr. Dunning argued, that

the scheme was not really conciliatory, but ensnaring and treacherous. The bill which contained it, however, was sanctioned: the restrictive bill also passed; and similar prohibitions were extended, by a new statute, to Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Maryland, South-Carolina, and Virginia.

Mr. Burke, having condemned the scheme of accommodation proposed by lord North, thought it his duty to bring forward a plan which, he conceived, would be more efficacious. He traced, from their English origin and other causes, that love of liberty which characterised the colonists; praised their good sense, and their agricultural and commercial industry; and observed, that such a race could only be governed by politic management. Instead of dividing them, or ruling them by discord, he hoped to reconcile them to each other in the same act, and by the bond of the same interest, which would reconcile them to British government. He would give to every province the constitutional rights which it claimed, and trust to the honor and prudence of the people for obedience to the laws, and to their gratitude for supplies of revenue. But this scheme was unpleasing to the majority, and was dismissed, not in a respectful mode, by the previous question.

In the mean time, a provincial congress sat at Cambridge, in the Massachuset territory, and, guided by the counsels of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, influenced the proceedings of other colonies. Arms were provided for self-defence against the troops of Britain: the militia were

trained; and even the stores of government were seised, that they might not be used against the people.

It was generally supposed, that unequivocal hostilities would soon follow the preparations which had been made on both sides. Hearing that a considerable quantity of stores, purchased by the Americans, had been deposited at Concord, general Gage sent a detachment from Boston to destroy them. At Lexington (on the 19th of April) the troops observed a small body of colonists in arms. The commanding officer ordering them to retire, they began to march off: but a skirmish quickly arose. Both parties are at issue with regard to the aggressive firing: but, as professed soldiers are usually very forward in making use of their arms, particularly against persons whom they have been taught to consider as seditious malcontents or daring rebels, it is more probable that they fired first. While a part of the royal force destroyed the stores, the rest encountered the provincials near a bridge. In the two conflicts, and in the retrograde march to Boston, sixty-five of the king's soldiers lost their lives, and a hundred and eighty were wounded. As the colonists, on this occasion, trusted more to ambuscade than to open fighting, they did not lose so many of their number. Thus commenced an unnatural war, which did not promise, to the parent who acted like a harsh step-mother, a favorable issue.

Before another engagement took place, a military reinforcement from England arrived in North-America. While these troops were on their voyage

for the attack of their fellow-subjects, and the prosecution of a system which proves that even the most civilised communities retain traces of brutality and barbarism, captain Cook was returning to his native country from a voyage calculated (among other objects) to increase the comforts and improve the attainments of barbarian tribes. We left this illustrious navigator entering (in 1768) upon his first voyage round the world. He discovered some isles in his way to Otaheite, where he, and his philosophical associate, Mr. Banks, viewed the passage of Venus over the sun with scrutinising accuracy. They were the first observers of a cluster of islands, to which the name of Society was given: they examined New-Zealand with great attention; and explored the eastern coast of New-Holland for the space of two thousand miles. In a second voyage, (which began in 1772,) Cook and Furneaux made a fruitless search for a southern continent; the farther they advanced, the more they were endangered by great accumulations of ice. After they had reached the Friendly Islands, the two captains were separated; and their ships did not meet again. Cook then re-sailed toward the south pole, without finding the object of his pursuit. He discovered New-Caledonia, a very large island in the South-Sea, and made other additions to the stock of geographical knowlege. Furneaux was not so successful in that respect; and he had the misfortune to lose ten of his men, who were killed and even devoured by the ferocious inhabitants of New-Zealand.

CHAPTER LV.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

RARELY has a more impolitic war occurred than that which Great-Britain now began to wage with her colonies. She could gain no honor by being victorious over her own subjects, as they fought in defence of violated rights and in vindication of just claims; and, if her arms should be unsuccessful, she would be punished with loss and disgrace. The powers that wished to humble her, would (it might be supposed) watch her conduct with eager eyes, and seek an opportunity of profiting by her distress. A wise minister might have foreseen the difficulties and perils of such a war, and have averted it by equity and moderation, without betraying any symptoms of timidity. But the British cabinet could neither conciliate nor over-awe, and knew not how to preserve a due mixture of lenity and spirit. Arrogance led to precipitation, and want of judgement produced numerous errors. The treasures of the country were idly lavished: mismanagement, in every form, pervaded the public service. The parliament readily supported the measures of the court, and seemed to meet only to sanction the proposals of the minister, as if they were the produce

of extraordinary sagacity and the most profound wisdom.

The plan of accommodation, sanctioned by the parliament, did not conciliate the Americans. It was taken into consideration by some of their assemblies; but it was not honored with an approving vote. When the congress re-assembled, bold resolutions and spirited measures marked the progress of the contest. It was voted, that a great force should be raised; that the royal army or navy should not be furnished with provisions of any kind; and that the same prohibition should extend to every town or place which continued in obedience to the British legislature. The compact between the crown and the Massachuset province was declared null, as the charter had been grossly violated. Articles of confederation were adjusted; and, as there is some effect even in a name, when concert is requisite, the provinces assumed the denomination of the United Colonies. For the executive government of the body thus formed, twelve members of the congress were appointed. The Georgian province soon entered into the union; and the colonial cause acquired strength and dignity.

General Gage, having able officers and a gallant army under his command, now resolved to march against the enemy. It was his previous wish to erect fortifications on Bunker's-hill; but the Americans secretly anticipated his intention. He ordered major-general Howe (on the 17th of June) to assault their entrenchments: they received him so warmly, that his men twice recoiled; but he re-

animated them by his example; and, with fixed bayonets, they repelled their antagonists. Another detachment drove the foe from a redoubt; and Charles-town was reduced to ashes. Above a thousand of the king's soldiers, and about four hundred and fifty of the provincials, were killed or wounded.

This battle sufficiently displayed the valor of both parties. The honors of victory were claimed by the royalists; but the opposite troops controverted the importance of the success, and continued that blockade of Boston which had been formed after the action at Lexington. Their chief commander, for the future war, was George Washington, who had served against the French in North-America in the reign of George the Second.

Mr. Washington was in the forty-third year of his age, tall in stature, and dignified in his deportment. He was well qualified for the station which he was now appointed to fill. He was distinguished by command of temper, by firmness, patience, perseverance. His courage, if not of the most fervid species, was sufficient to exalt him above the unmanly sense of personal fear: if it did not hurry him unnecessarily into the midst of danger, it enabled him to face it with coolness and presence of mind. If he had not the alertness of a partisan, he was not inactive or indolent; if he did not exhibit the fire and impetuosity of a youthful warrior, he was far from being deficient in spirit or in vigour. He was prudent, vigilant, circumspect: he could weary the enemy, like Fabius, by delay and by defensive calmness; and, on the other hand, he was

ready to act offensively, whenever he had a prospect of advantage. As a statesman, he was not undiscerning or injudicious: he had good sense and judgement, if not a high degree of acuteness or penetration. He was just, upright, and disinterested. He was, in general, moderate and humane; but, in some cases, he appears to have been harsh and unrelenting. He did not shine or please in social life: his manners and address were rather repulsive than attractive: he was more respectable than amiable.

The appearance of the new general in the camp animated the army; and, when he had read a manifesto of the congress, asserting the necessity of a defensive war, applause and acclamation followed. He examined the state of the military force; and, observing various deficiencies, warned the assembly of the danger of an attack from the English, while his men were so ill provided with the means of hostility. General Gage, however, forbore to take advantage of the wants or the distress of his adversaries.

In an expedition which was undertaken toward the north-west, the colonists deviated from the strict line of merely defensive hostilities. Alleging that Carleton, governor of the Canadian province, intended to invade New-England, the congress sent a small army to lake Champlain, under major-general Schuyler. Before the commencement of this enterprise, Ticonderoga and Crown-Point had been taken by an American party; and *bateaux* were ordered to be built near those posts, for the conveyance of two thousand six hundred men along

the lake. Montgomery, who was a native of Ireland, of tried courage and a respectable character, assumed the command when Schuyler was disabled by illness; and, having reduced the forts of Chamblée and St. John, in Canada, took possession of Montreal. With a force diminished by the retreat of a great number of his men, who alleged that they had completed the term of their engagement, he advanced toward Quebec, and formed a junction with colonel Arnold, whom Washington had detached with about twelve hundred men, by an unfrequented and very difficult *route*, in the hope of effecting a surprisal of the Canadian metropolis. If this officer could have crossed the river St. Laurence as soon as he reached its banks, he might perhaps have been successful; but high winds and the want of boats delayed his passage, and gave time for putting the town in a better posture of defence; so that, when he attacked one of the gates, he was repelled with loss.

In the cold climate of Canada, a winter siege was a discouraging service. Montgomery, therefore, resolved to make a speedy assault, although none but the most sanguine of his followers conceived strong hopes of success. Amidst a violent shower of snow (on the last day of the year), he led the New-York troops along a narrow path, under a projecting rock, on the point of a precipice leading to the river. A battery was now hastily relinquished by an intimidated party of Canadians; but, as he was boldly advancing, some individuals suddenly returned to it, and fired one of the guns, which killed the general himself and two of his

officers. Dispirited by this misfortune, the division precipitately retired.

At the head of another body, Arnold marched forward to assault a different part of the town: but, receiving a wound in the leg, he was carried away from the scene of action. Captain Morgan then forced one barrier, and attacked a second with great intrepidity. The overwhelming force of the enemy, however, surrounded this division, and seised all who had escaped death.

About five hundred provincials, on this occasion, were killed, harassed or disabled by wounds, or captured. The congress ordered a monument to be erected to the memory of the gallant general, and animated by praise the surviving soldiers.

During the campaign, a new petition was voted by the congress to the king, composed in respectful terms. Its chief purport was, that, instead of unlimited parliamentary control, only such an authority should be enjoyed by Great-Britain, as might leave to the colonies the constitutional privileges of the mother-country. The secretary of state for the affairs of America (the earl of Dartmouth) intimated to the agents who presented this petition, that his majesty would not give any answer to it. But, although it came from an assembly not legally constituted, it deserved some notice and attention.

The leaders of the cabinet seemed to imagine, that the Americans would be subdued in one campaign; but they did not sufficiently reflect on the impulse which is given to native courage by the idea of fighting in the cause of liberty. The pro-

vincials were unused to arms, and unacquainted with military discipline: they were husbandmen, traders, and mechanics; but they had a high spirit, and were active and resolute. They could not cope with an equal number of British soldiers in the open field: yet they could harass the enemy in desultory warfare, and protract the campaign where they had no opportunity of signal advantage. As they might have been ruined by rashness and precipitancy, they were cool, considerate, and patient. Even when the great efforts of Britain seemed to threaten them with subjugation, they were not discouraged; or, if they were for a time, their animation soon returned, from a sense of the danger of submission. A knowlege of reading being generally diffused through the provinces, the newspapers and pamphlets, written in strong language, full of acrimony and invective, contributed to keep up the spirits of the people, and cherish that flame of liberty which might otherwise have languished.

That the provincials aimed at independence, his majesty affirmed in his speech to the parliament; but the assertion was denied by anti-ministerial orators, who alleged that they might be reclaimed by conciliatory wisdom. As the king, that he might be enabled to employ a greater force in America, had sent Hanoverians to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca, the same speakers inveighed against his conduct, as an illegal act of prerogative, portending danger to the liberties of British subjects; and a bill of indemnity was proposed for the advisers of the measure: but the idea of such a bill

was ridiculed by the court party, and lord North was blamed for listening to the suggestion. It was voted by the commons, but rejected by the peers. In the latter assembly, a warm debate was occasioned by a motion, respecting American affairs, from the duke of Grafton, who had resigned his office from a conviction of the imprudence and rashness of his associates. He censured the management of the war, and urged the impolicy of continuing it. Lord Lyttelton (son of the historian) defended the ministry with spirit; and lord Mansfield opposed all concessions to the provincials, as he was fully persuaded that they wished to renounce all dependence on the crown. On another occasion, the duke of Richmond and the earl of Shelburne represented the petition of the congress as a fair basis of reconciliation; while lord Lyttelton condemned it as an insidious and traitorous attempt to amuse and delude the king and the two houses.

The efforts of Mr. Burke were again exerted for the purpose of conciliation. He moved that the general taxation of the Americans should be renounced by statute; that the parliamentary duties upon imports and exports should be employed at the discretion of their assemblies; that all obnoxious bills, enacted since the year 1766, should be repealed; and that an act of amnesty should be granted. Mr. Hartley, in moving for a treaty, proposed even farther concessions: but the house, instead of agreeing to either scheme, sanctioned a bill introduced by the premier, which, he said, pursued peace through the medium of war. It's

chief provisions were, that all trade and friendly intercourse should cease with the thirteen colonies, and that their ships and goods should be seised; but that commissioners should be invested with the power of granting pardon and protection to the penitent and the submissive. An amendment was offered, importing that the bill should only repeal the act against the trade of Boston, and the subsequent statutes of which the Americans complained; but this proposition was rejected, because it did not combine punishment with indulgence. The attorney-general thought, that the bill would serve as a test of the good dispositions of the provincials, who, if they did not aim at independence, might effect a reconciliation upon reasonable terms. It's principal advocate, in the upper house, was lord Mansfield, whose eloquence, however, was not in this instance accompanied with true wisdom.

In this session, the peers met in Westminster-hall as a court of judicature, for the trial of the countess of Bristol, commonly called Duchess of Kingston. The process was continued for five days, and terminated in a verdict, imputing to her the guilt of bigamy. The conviction was unanimous, except that the duke of Newcastle qualified his declaration of her delinquency, by adding that she was guilty erroneously, not intentionally. She was not punished for the offence, as she pleaded the privilege of peerage. She was a lady of an unsteady and eccentric character, and of manners not the most correct.

To prosecute the war with more decisive effect,

the king had hired troops from the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and other mercenary and inhuman despots (for princes who sport with the lives of their subjects deserve such epithets); and, notwithstanding severe attacks upon the object and terms of the treaties thus concluded, they [1776.] were confirmed by a courtly majority.

The war was condemned with indignant asperity by the duke of Grafton and lord Camden, when the duke of Richmond moved for it's discontinuance. The same subject was again debated, when the former duke submitted to the peers a conciliatory proposal; and the ministerial lords declared, that the Americans would be expected to acknowlege, unequivocally, the legislative supremacy of parliament, and fully return to their obedience, before orders would be given for a cessation of hostilities.

The Americans, who had early intelligence of the schemes and intentions of the British court, did not suffer themselves to be unmanned by terror or despondency. They even blamed their prudent general for not making vigorous efforts to expel the English from Boston: but he disregarded all censures which he deemed unjust, and patiently waited for opportunities of useful exertion. At length, however, having received a reinforcement, he resolved to fortify the heights of Dorchester, from which it would be easy to annoy both the garrison and the shipping. This scheme was executed in one night, to the great surprise of Howe, the successor of general Gage. Lord Percy was ordered to attempt a dislodgement of the foe: but, before

he reached the spot, the works were too strong to be easily forced; and it was resolved that Boston should be relinquished. Washington, apprehending that the English would destroy the town if he should obstruct their departure, remained quiet while they were retiring; and, considering this success as equivalent to a victory, entered the place in triumph. He found a considerable supply of artillery and stores; and vessels, laden with various articles of which his troops were in want, were soon after captured, on their arrival in, or approach to, the harbour.

While general Howe remained at Halifax after his constrained retreat from Boston, sir Peter Parker appeared off the coast of Carolina with a fleet and army. He and Clinton, with this force, sailed to Sullivan's Island, near Charles-town; and a fierce attack was made by sea upon the fort by which it was defended: but the ships were severely injured by the well-directed fire of the enemy; and, as the troops could not find a ford between Long Island and the former isle, their commander resigned the hope of success.

After a winter blockade, the conquest of Quebec was attempted in the spring by Arnold. He had not conciliated the Canadians, and was therefore ill supported by them: he could not establish that strictness of discipline which would have concentrated the energy of his soldiers: the small-pox greatly diminished his effective force; and he did not possess the requisite *apparatus* for a vigorous siege. He erected batteries, however, and prepared fire-ships to burn the vessels in the harbour;

but failed in both respects; and, when major-general Thomas assumed the command, it was resolved in a council of war, that the siege should not be prosecuted. While he was embarking the sick and the stores, some ships of war forced a passage through the ice: a sally threw the Americans into confusion; and all their stores, with many of the disordered soldiers, were taken. The governor did not immediately pursue the retiring general, who reached the mouth of the Sorel, where he died of the small-pox. Thomson, who succeeded him, rashly attacked brigadier Fraser near Trois-Rivières, and was made prisoner with two hundred men. Sullivan resolved to defend the post at Sorel; but his officers dissuaded him from his intention; and, after destroying the fortifications of Chamblée and St. John, he conducted to Crown-Point the remains of an unfortunate army.

Although the Americans were sensible of the great power of Britain, and were doubtful of their own ability of resistance, they were still determined to prosecute the contest. We can scarcely affirm that they were decisively encouraged in this resolution by the spirit with which the anti-ministerialists in England opposed the war, as they at the same time perceived that all the arguments and invectives of the party did not prevent the court from obtaining whatever it desired from the parliament, or preclude the grant of liberal supplies for the continuance of vigorous hostilities. They would probably have continued their exertions, even if no attempts had been made to harass and confound the ministry. They gloried in the justice of their

cause, and hoped to succeed by firmness and perseverance. They apprehended that, if they should now submit, after having aroused the keen resentment of Britain, she would wreak her vengeance upon them in various forms, with almost the same severity which she would exercise in the case of complete subjugation; whereas, by remaining in arms, they had a chance of baffling the aims of their adversaries, since they had reason to expect assistance from France, if not from other powers. Revolving these considerations in their minds, their leaders at length ventured upon a bold scheme, which, they concluded, would invigorate the efforts of the provincial warriors, by convincing them of the necessity of acting with unimpaired energy. Dr. Franklin, the philosopher, and other strenuous promoters of the war, proposed that the thirteen colonies should declare themselves independent, and erect a new republic, as the king had excluded them from his protection, and had even engaged a foreign mercenary army to destroy the people whom he was bound to govern with wisdom and equity.

The momentous question of independence was debated in the colonial conventions, in consequence of a vote of the congress, advising the inhabitants of those provinces in which the mode of government had not been properly settled, to frame such a system as might be adequate to the exigency. The writings of Paine and other republicans had already influenced the people to wish for a separation from Great-Britain; and, when the assemblies of the colonies had agreed to this spirited measure (not, however, without strong re-

sistance in Maryland and Pennsylvania), it was formally proposed to the congress. The chief speaker in support of the motion, was John Adams, who was feebly opposed by Mr. Dickenson. After frequent renewals of debate, the proposal was adopted; and (on the 4th of July) a consequent declaration was promulgated.

Of the act of independence, these are the opening terms: "When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God, entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to the separation."—The causes we need not enumerate; they consist of a series of alleged abuses and oppressions. It is then declared, that "a prince, whose character is thus marked by every act that may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people." Upon the British nation, for having neglected the appeals of the colonists, a temperate attack is made. "Our brethren (it is said) have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we would the rest of mankind,—enemies in war—in peace, friends."

The declaration is thus concluded: "We, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United

Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; that all political connexion, between them and the state of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other *our lives, our fortunes,* and *our sacred honor.*"

Many of the Americans censured the republican chiefs for thus rushing to extremities: but the latter vindicated their conduct by alleging, that they had no hope but in resistance; that the effects of defeat would scarcely be more calamitous or deplorable than those of submission to an exasperated foe; that the late act, by demanding the utmost exertions, would call forth all the energy of the new nation, and thus afford a better prospect of success; and that no foreign power would assist the colonies, without full assurances of such a prosecution of the contest as would preclude a return under the British yoke.

The coolness and moderation of Washington induced him to think, that his countrymen had gone too far on this occasion; that their resources were insufficient for their defence; and that the thirteen states would not so firmly coalesce under the general control of the congress, as to meet the danger with due energy. He wished that an opening for

honorable terms might be reserved: he aimed at colonial freedom rather than republican independence. But, as the majority preferred the latter species of dignity, he acquiesced in the decision, and consented to retain the command of that army which was destined to rear the infant state.

The English general, and his brother the naval commander, endeavoured to open a negotiation, as they were authorised to grant pardon where they might perceive a wish to submit. For some time, the congress eluded all applications; and, in the mean while, preparations were made for the acquisition of New-York—an important post, the possession of which would facilitate the attack both of the northern and southern colonies. Many of the inhabitants of that town were well affected to the cause of Great-Britain; and a plot to favor the landing of the royal army was detected by Washington, who capitally punished some of the conspirators. He was unable to prevent Howe from disembarking his troops either on Staten Island or on Long Island. He, indeed, fortified Brooklyn, and hoped to check the invaders, if they should assault that post. Expecting a battle, he said to his men, "Be cool, but determined;" and he reminded them, that they must conquer or die.

Howe's immediate object was to turn the left flank of the provincials, and thus force them to risque an engagement. Clinton (on the 27th of August) dexterously performed that service, and threw the enemy into confusion. A body of Hessians attacked the centre, and, though they met with a spirited resistance, drove that division into

the woods. Here some brisk skirmishes arose; and the Americans were put to flight. Lord Stirling, who commanded their right wing, finding that the English had penetrated to the rear, gave orders for a retreat; and, to secure it, boldly attacked lord Cornwallis; but, being assailed by major-general Grant, he and many of his followers were captured. About one thousand five hundred of the provincials were killed on the spot, drowned, or wounded; and the number taken amounted to one thousand, among whom were major-general Sullivan and brigadier Woodhull.

The victorious general might probably have forced the lines of Brooklyn, if he had assaulted them immediately after the pursuit: but he neglected the opportunity, and ordered regular approaches to be made. He, perhaps, wished to conciliate, by his moderation in success, those with whom he had been directed to negotiate.

Apprehensive of the interception of his retreat to New-York, Washington now resolved to evacuate Long Island; and he drew the remains of his army from the works with that caution and secrecy which secured their escape. The embarkation was well conducted; and the troops, in their new cantonments, had leisure to reflect on the late unfortunate conflict. The general observed their despondency, and endeavoured to re-animate their hopes; but, in the circle of his friends, he could not conceal his chagrin and anxiety.

A negotiatory conference took place between lord Howe, and Dr. Franklin, who had been sent by the congress to Staten Island, with two other

strenuous advocates for independence, to hear the propositions of the British court. The admiral intimated, that, if the colonists would submit to their sovereign, they might expect a repeal or revision of the offensive statutes, and might depend on the equity of his government. Franklin and his associates replied, that the Americans were determined not to renounce their independence, and would only treat on that basis. Lord Howe answered, that, while they held such sentiments, an accommodation could not be adjusted.

As an attack upon New-York was now meditated by general Howe, whose great force (it was thought) could not be effectually resisted, a council was called by the American general; and the result was, that the town should neither be wholly abandoned, nor be occupied by the bulk of the army. But, when the division of the troops seemed to expose them to great danger, the expediency of abandonment was so fully admitted in a subsequent consultation, that preparations were made for that purpose, even before an attack upon a post above the town had produced such confusion among the provincials, as to hasten their retreat, which they effected with a small loss of men.

In the station which the fugitives had chosen, Howe did not venture to attack them; but, by his arrangements and operations, he constrained them to quit the island upon which New-York is situated. They then formed a line of entrenched camps near the Brunx; and, after a spirited but partial engagement on White-Plains, they made choice of a more defensible post near the Croton.

The English now met with a series of success. They stormed Fort-Washington, and compelled two thousand six hundred men to become prisoners of war. They took Fort-Lee, and over-ran New-Jersey; while the American force was so diminished by desertion, that it's commander, in his flight to the Delawar, had scarcely more than three thousand effective men to accompany him. Rhode Island was taken with facility; and the colonial interests were, in other respects, materially injured. The sun of American independence seemed to be on the point of sinking into total darkness; but, from the negligence of those who wished for it's extinction, it soon rose again with fresh lustre.

The congress, although obliged to transfer it's sessions to Baltimore, in Maryland, preserved a firm countenance amidst the peril which menaced the new republic, and took judicious measures for recruiting the army, encouraging the people, and cementing the union; "maintaining in all it's public acts (says a writer decidedly hostile to the American cause) an unvaried appearance of dignity and sovereignty."

At a time when many of the provincials in various parts of the continent, not partaking of the undaunted spirit of the congress, were avoiding danger by a submission to the crown, general Washington resolved to make an attempt for the retrieval of the American affairs. Observing that the British troops were incautiously dispersed through New-Jersey, he sent two divisions across the Delawar to amuse the enemy, while, with another body, he passed the river in the night, amidst

masses of ice, and assaulted a Hessian post at Trenton. The commandant was mortally wounded, and nine hundred men were made prisoners. Washington afterwards eluded the endeavours of earl Cornwallis to bring him to an engagement, and suddenly made his appearance at Prince-town, where (although general Mercer, who headed the van, was defeated and slain) he engaged with such spirit, as to defeat three gallant regiments. He thus revived the drooping spirits of his countrymen, by closing the campaign with honor.

CHAPTER LVI.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

WHEN the people of Great-Britain received intelligence of the success of the royalists in the provinces of New-York and New-Jersey, of the retreat of the congress from the seat of government, and of the reduced and enfeebled state of the republican army, it was the opinion of many of the sanguine friends of the war, that resistance would soon cease, and the authority of parliament be re-established. More judicious politicians, however, thought that the war would still be continued by the colonists, whose cause, though depressed, might again flourish: and it was easy to foresee, that some of the European powers would be induced to assist the contending provincials, either with troops or with pecuniary supplies. Even some of the zealots of coercion were sensible of the difficulties in which the parliament had involved itself, and doubtful of the issue of the contest.

The renewed deliberations of the legislature were attended with great acrimony of debate, although many of the adversaries of the court seceded from the house of commons. Lord John Cavendish and the marquis of Rockingham, without success,

moved an amendment to the address, in each house, and reprobated that misconduct which had produced, first murmurs, then clamors, and, finally, a general revolt. To restore that harmony which had formerly subsisted between this country and the colonies, far different measures from those which the ministry pursued, were declared to be requisite; and, if the system should not be speedily changed, the recovery of American subjection was pronounced impracticable. The interference of France in the contest, as an ally of the new state, was said to be inevitable; and the most serious calamities were apprehended from the rashness in which the war had originated. The courtiers, on the other hand, vindicated that spirit which aimed at the coercion and punishment of factious incendiaries and audacious rebels; affirmed that the revolters were encouraged by the suggestions of English mal-contents; denied that the French or any other nation intended to assist them; and asserted the capability of Britain to carry on the war, in defiance of much greater difficulties than had hitherto appeared.

The *habeas corpus* act being one of the pillars of British liberty, every suspension of it ought to be watched with jealousy. It could not there-
[1777.] fore be supposed that a bill for that obnoxious purpose would escape strong animadversion. It was introduced by remarks on the difficulty of proving the guilt of many persons whose conduct might have excited strong suspicions, and on the expediency of debarring such individuals from the full power of propagating their seditious

notions, and executing their malevolent intentions. It bestowed the power of seising and detaining persons accused or suspected of treason, committed in North-America or on the high seas, or of the crime of piracy. It was worded in a manner so arbitrarily comprehensive, that even individuals who had never been out of England might be imprisoned at home, or banished to a distant settlement, on pretence of having been the instigators or contrivers of treasonable offences committed abroad by others. Mr. Dunning and Mr. Fox argued, that such a latitude of construction as the bill seemed to allow, would leave every one at the mercy of the crown; that the most innocent would not be safe; and that liberty might thus be rendered an empty name. Lord North and the attorney-general denied that the bill was intentionally framed for such a despotic purpose. When it was in the proper stage for alteration, it was so far amended, that persons residing in Great-Britain at the time of the offence were to be secured from it's operation, and the confinement was only to be within the kingdom. It was still opposed as an unconstitutional measure; but it was voted by a great majority, and (without debate) sanctioned by the peers.

That the French and Spaniards would take an opportunity of embarking in the war, was the opinion of persons of merely common understanding: yet the prediction of such a contingency has been adduced as a striking proof of the very extraordinary penetration and perspicacity of the earl of Chatham. In a speech with which he introduced

a motion for peace, he repeated his sentiments upon that point. Such an extension of the war, he said, was not less probable, because it had not yet been declared. The only preventive of it would be a speedy reconciliation with the Americans, who would be so pleased with a repeal of all the oppressive statutes enacted since the year 1763, and with the liberty of taxing themselves, that they would be inclined to return under the British dominion. He denied that they originally aimed at independence, or that they were the aggressors in the contest. Lord Lyttelton was shocked at the idea of treating with rebels, and making humble concessions from a fear of the hostilities of France; and the ministerial influence easily baffled the motion.

The affairs of India, which had for some years been scarcely mentioned in parliament, were now productive of debate. Mohammed Ali Khan, nabob of the Carnatic, or of Arcot, had invaded the principality of Tanjour, stormed the capital, and seised the rajah and his family. As the presidency of Madras had assisted the nabob on this occasion, the India company stigmatised such injustice with strong censure, and ordered lord Pigot, a brave and respectable nobleman (newly appointed governor), to reform the abuses of the settlement, and restore the rajah to his authority. He succeeded in the latter object, but was prevented by the council from accomplishing the former. Having suspended two of his opponents by his casting vote, and commanded the arrest of general Fletcher, he became highly obnoxious to an unprincipled party;

and, by the intrigues of the nabob, and the treachery of colonel Stuart, he was deprived of his power and his liberty. After repeated discussions, the court of directors voted for the recall of the governor and his chief adversaries, that a legal inquiry might be made into their conduct. It was proposed by governor Johnstone, in the house of commons, that this resolution should be rescinded, as lord Pigot had only exerted a justifiable authority, and promoted the interest of the company. Mr. Fox condemned that violent spirit which had perpetrated the outrage against him, that ambition which had usurped the authority of government, and that corrupt meanness which acted in subserviency to an artful prince. Mr. Burke declaimed against the atrocity of the conspirators and the arrogance of the nabob; reproved the ministry for encouraging the dangerous influence of that prince; and stated the necessity of parliamentary interference for the preservation of the British territories in India. The motion was rejected by a small majority. At the time of the debate, it was not known that the imprisoned governor had ceased to exist. To prevent a recurrence of this subject we may now observe, that four members of the council of Madras were tried for their violation of law, but were merely fined.

When copious grants had marked the liberality of the commons, the propriety of paying the debts of the sovereign, and of increasing his income, came under consideration. Above one half of a million had been voted for the former purpose in the year 1769; and the house now granted, with the same

view, a sum exceeding 618,000 pounds. Lord John Cavendish complained of the loose and indefinite manner in which the accounts were stated, and asserted the sufficiency of the king's revenues for his dignified support. As lord North had traced the royal expenditure from the beginning of this reign, to prove that the allowance was inadequate to the disbursements of each year, Mr. Burke justly observed, that such an argument tended to make the prodigality of an individual the measure of his supply. Because a prince, inconsiderately and unnecessarily, had accustomed himself to an expence that surpassed his income, it was absurd to pretend, that his profusion ought to be encouraged by the grant of a larger revenue. Wilkes animadverted on the inhumanity of thus fleecing the people, in the midst of an expensive war; and insinuated that a great part of the money was ill employed, as the court exhibited little splendor. Sir Fletcher Norton, speaker of the house, seemed to entertain a similar opinion; for, when he presented the bill which allowed nine (instead of eight) hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, he adverted to the almost intolerable burthens of the people; mentioned the addition as great beyond example, great beyond his majesty's highest expence; and expressed the confident hope of the commons, that "what they had granted liberally would be applied wisely." For the seasonable hints contained in this speech, sir Fletcher deserved and received the thanks of the house. Mr. Rigby, who, though a forward overbearing man, was sometimes a servile courtier, urged the house to disclaim the ob-

servations of the speaker; but Mr. Fox insisted on the applicability of the remarks, and their consistency with the general sense of the assembly; and a resolution was voted to that effect; with which, we may suppose, the king was not pleased.

Reverting to military transactions, we have no hesitation in affirming, that the negligent inactivity of Howe gave Washington time to strengthen his army and improve it's discipline. Having suffered the spring to elapse without any spirited effort, the former commander at length advanced against the enemy. The Americans were then posted at Middle-brook in New-Jersey, behind a ridge of strong heights near the Raritan. Their army at this station, exclusive of a small body of cavalry, did not amount to eight thousand five hundred men, of whom more than one half had never been in any military action. An attack of their fortified camp being deemed too hazardous, the new knight of the Bath (for the general had been so honored) endeavoured to draw them from their post by a feigned retreat. This manœuvre deceived even the circumspect Washington, who detached a part of his force, under general Greene, to harass the English, and advanced from his camp at the head of his main body, while lord Stirling conducted another division. Howe, concluding that he had now an opportunity of engaging, recalled his troops, and, sending earl Cornwallis to secure the heights, marched to attack the enemy at Quibbletown. By rapid movements, Washington, now sensible of his error, regained his camp; and lord Stirling only sustained a trifling check. Thus

disappointed, sir William Howe retired to Staten Island. Thence, after unnecessary delay, he repaired by sea to the capes of the Delawar; but, finding that the Americans had obstructed the navigation of that river, he sailed to Chesapeak Bay, and disembarked his army in Pennsylvania. Washington had already arrived in that province; and, as he had considerably augmented his force, he was not unwilling to risque an engagement for the protection of Philadelphia.

Being informed that Howe and Cornwallis were advancing (on the 11th of September) to attack his right wing near the Brandywine, the American general made proper dispositions to receive them; and the conflict was for some time brisk: but his troops were thrown into confusion, from which they only recovered to be again disordered by the vigor of the foe. The centre did little more than check the pursuit; and the left, assailed by Knyphausen, soon retreated. Three hundred of the provincials lost their lives on this occasion; twice that number were wounded, and about three hundred and fifty were captured; while only one hundred of the British combatants were slain. Howe did not pursue the retiring army with eagerness or diligence: but, when he heard that general Wayne was posted in a wood, with orders to harass his rear, he sent major-general Grey against him; and above three hundred men were killed or made prisoners, with the loss of only eight individuals of the English detachment.

The victorious army now crossed the Schuylkill, and gained possession of Philadelphia, which the

harassed and ill-provided troops of Washington could not protect. The Delawar being blocked up by sunken machines (consisting of transverse beams pointed with iron), and also secured by floating batteries, as well as by works upon each bank, it became necessary for the captors of the city to open the navigation. Howe having detached some regiments against the works, his vigilant antagonist, who had received considerable succours, resolved to aim a blow that might, he hoped, be severely felt. The surprisal of the British army at German-town was the object which he had in view. He directed his chief officers to attack the two wings in front and rear at the same time; and the early movements of his troops seemed to promise success. Assaults were made with spirit, and (on the 4th of October) several brigades penetrated into the town: but the English at length checked the intruders; and, although Sullivan's division fought with great courage and alacrity, the Americans were obliged to retire. About twelve hundred of their number were killed, wounded, or captured; and between five and six hundred, in the opposite army, were deprived of life or injured by wounds. No small loss was afterwards sustained in attempting to clear the river; but the service was ultimately effected.

The advantages obtained by sir William Howe, in this campaign, were not very important: yet he displayed some skill as a general, and his troops acquired fame for courage and discipline. He had been desired by lord George Germain (who, before the battle of Minden, had been deemed a

good officer, and, as secretary for the affairs of America, had been for some time the director of the war), to aim at a junction with Burgoyne, who commanded an army destined to act in the north. But he had no opportunity of joining that officer, whose operations we now proceed to relate.

In the autumn of the preceding year, the command of Lake Champlain had been contested in a remarkable engagement, between a *flotilla* of gun-boats constructed in England (and conveyed in pieces to America), and a similar fleet equipped by Arnold, who, indeed, suffered a defeat, but signalised his skill and intrepidity. Sir Guy Carleton, who was present in this conflict, but permitted captain Pringle to direct it, then approached Ticonderoga, but was induced to postpone the siege of that fortress. In the following summer, Burgoyne commenced the siege with a well-appointed army, and soon constrained the Americans to evacuate the post. As they were pursued with celerity, two hundred were slain, and five hundred wounded, of whom the greater part (it is said) miserably perished in the woods for want of relief.

The loss of Ticonderoga alarmed general Washington: yet both he and Schuyler, who commanded in the north, predicted that the early success of Burgoyne would inspire him with a degree of confidence which would lead him into great danger, and might tend to the ruin of his army. His alacrity and ardor, indeed, were checked by the difficulties which impeded his march. The roads having been broken up, and the bridges destroyed,

the reparation of the former and the re-construction of the latter required great labor, and consumed much time. In this interval, Schuyler recruited and animated his troops; but, not thinking that it would be prudent to attack the English, as they approached Fort-Edward, he retired to Still-water, with intentions of mere defence. Here he was informed of the investment of Fort-Stanwix by colonel St. Leger (with fifteen hundred men, savages included), and of the defeat of a considerable body of militia sent to the relief of the garrison. He now detached Arnold against the besiegers, and removed his camp to some islands near the confluence of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers.

The want of various supplies, by prompting Burgoyne to send troops for the seisure of stores deposited at Bennington, subjected him to a loss of five hundred men, who were killed or made prisoners in two conflicts near that station. An exaggerated account of this misfortune concurred with the approach of Arnold to produce a precipitate retreat from Fort-Stanwix.

Schuyler being suspected of not being zealous in the American cause, Gates was appointed to succeed him in the command; and, when he found that Burgoyne was advancing along the Hudson with a view of co-operating with the grand army, and putting an end to the war, he marched against him with a recruited force. At Still-water, Arnold engaged the right wing, which Burgoyne personally commanded; and great valor was displayed on both sides. The republicans did not retire from the field before they were attacked by a part

of the left wing; and they did not scruple to claim the victory. The loss was not inconsiderable, about six hundred men being killed or wounded on each side.

While the two armies remained inactive after this conflict, sir Henry Clinton undertook an expedition from New-York; and, while one of his divisions stormed Fort-Montgomery, near the Hudson, another attacked Fort-Clinton with equal success, though with greater loss. He then received some intelligence of the state of affairs to the northward; but, instead of advancing, contented himself with sending general Vaughan up the river, to seek an opportunity of assisting Burgoyne.

Despairing of the co-operation of Clinton, the leader of the northern army resolved to try the effect of a vigorous conflict. Attended by major-general Philips, and other officers in whom he reposed great confidence, he advanced with a select body in the hope of dislodging the Americans from a post which enabled them to obstruct his march: but the attack was anticipated by the vigilance of Gates, who disordered the left division by a fierce onset, and would have overwhelmed it, if a corps, sent to the aid of the right, had not altered it's course so as to assist the more endangered party. In this service, the gallant brigadier Fraser was mortally wounded. The right defended itself with spirit, but could not avoid the necessity of a retreat. The enemy now assaulted the camp, and Arnold even entered the works; from which, however, being wounded, he was soon driven. The German entrenchments were forced, and not re-

covered. Burgoyne now changed his position; and Gates endeavoured to prevent him from reaching Lake George, but suffered him to retire to Saratoga.

The danger of the incautious general was now extreme. His force was nearly surrounded by one which trebled it in point of number: even the danger of famine was apprehended; and he could neither advance nor retreat without the most alarming peril. He therefore resolved, with the concurrence of all his officers, to negotiate with the hostile commander. Gates required, that all should surrender themselves prisoners of war: but this demand was rejected with disdain; and it was agreed (on the 16th of October), that the troops should lay down their arms, after marching to a fixed spot with the usual honors of war, and should be conveyed from Boston to Europe, with a proviso that they should not serve against the Americans without the balance of an exchange. Exclusive of Canadians, the number of men exceeded four thousand six hundred; and, while they were piling their arms, the polite victor would not suffer their feelings to be wounded by the presence of his men at the humiliating ceremony.

As Burgoyne had commenced his expedition with pompous boasts and lofty menaces, contained in a haughty manifesto, penned by himself with the vanity of an author, and answered by Gates with the plainness of a soldier, the unfortunate conclusion of the enterprise was more particularly striking, and exposed him to a greater weight of censure. He was certainly a brave officer, but

was not fully qualified for high command. The expedition, indeed, was not well planned at home, or well conducted on the theatre of action.

Some blame was imputed to the general for the cruelties committed by the Indians whom he employed; but it appears that he checked their barbarities as far as his influence and authority would extend. The earl of Chatham, in parliament, took an opportunity of reprobating, with indignant warmth, the employment of such brutal warriors against civilised enemies; and every humane auditor felt the force of his eloquence: but the ministry seemed to think that no chastisement could be too severe for rebellious traitors.

The terms of the capitulation were not honored with observance on the part of the congress. The troops were detained in America, on pretence of their not having given up all their arms, accoutrements, and stores, but chiefly because it was apprehended that, if they should be suffered to return to England without delay, the king would add them to the standing army, out of which he would send an equal number to serve against his late subjects.

The fame of general Gates was so established by his recent success, that a strong party in the congress endeavoured to procure his elevation to the supreme command of the American army, particularly when Washington had forborne to attack Philadelphia, which some of his sanguine countrymen thought he might have taken by storm. The majority of the assembly, however, were so fully convinced of the merit of the commander-in-

chief, that they would not suffer the shafts of envy or of calumny to wound his fame; and even the soldiers who had conquered under Gates disdained the idea of the proposed transfer of authority.

Howe marched out of Philadelphia in the winter, with an intention of attacking Washington; and, at a time when each occupied opposite eminences, the Americans had a superiority of number. The English commander could have forced them to engage; but his caution prevailed over his courage; and Washington was not so rashly confident as to rush spontaneously to a general conflict. Sir William, after a few evolutions, retired toward the city; and the republican army withdrew to Valley-Forge, a strong post near the Schuylkill.

The American soldiers, for several months, were exposed to serious inconveniences. A great number were almost destitute of clothing: shoes were very scarce among them: and they could only procure a scanty allowance of ordinary food. Many desertions ensued; but those who remained preserved their spirits, and nourished their fortitude with the inspirations of hope.

CHAPTER LVII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE chief powers of the continent could not view, unmoved, the proceedings of Great-Britain against the Americans. Despotic princes, from their ordinary feelings, were inclined to consider the authority of the crown as paramount and supreme, and all opposers as traitors: yet, when envy or jealousy intervened, they were disposed to countenance and encourage the revolters, that the parent-state might be weakened and humbled. The sovereigns who had colonies did not reflect on the danger of propagating, by such encouragement, a spirit of freedom which might be adverse to their own claims; and those who had no colonial dependencies, however arbitrary in their own governments, were not very ready to assist in the enforcement of subordination among the subjects of another prince. The French and Spanish courts were anxious spectators of the growing variance and discord between our monarch and the colonies: they watched the conduct of our cabinet (as the earl of Chatham observed), and waited the maturity of it's errors. Louis the Sixteenth, indeed, was unwilling to interfere: but, as he had not the spirit to withstand the importunities of the queen's party, he in an

evil hour acquiesced in pernicious counsel. Aid was promised to the congress; and the provincials were encouraged to a vigorous prosecution of their revolt. It was intimated, that the co-operation of Spain might be expected; and the Dutch, it was added, were well-wishers to the glorious cause. The French ministers, however, did not speak thus openly before they were informed of the success of general Gates at Saratoga. Dr. Franklin and Mr. Silas Deane had been long negotiating with them, but could only procure vague promises, until they were animated by that important intelligence. Then M. Gerard announced to the deputies, that his master had at length resolved to acknowlege the independence of the United States, and conclude two treaties with the rising republic. Such agreements were therefore framed, as tended to unite the contracting parties in commerce and in confederacy.

Before the French so decidedly favored the American cause, their preparations induced his Britannic majesty to increase his navy; and a knowlege of their inclinations prompted the earl of Chatham to propose the interference of parliament for the speedy procurement of peace. It was impossible, said that nobleman, to subdue the Americans. In three campaigns, nothing had been done, and much had been suffered, by their adversaries. British valor had not prospered in so iniquitous a war; and the efforts of alien mercenaries had not been successful. While there was yet a chance of conciliating the colonists, an offer

of honorable peace ought to be made. If they should insist on independence, he would not support them; but he did not suppose that they would be obstinate in this respect. The peers were also addressed by lord Camden in terms which strongly condemned the war; and, with regard to independence, he declared that he would rather acquiesce in the claim, than promote the subjugation of the Americans, whose slavery might eventually be extended to the inhabitants of Great-Britain. The earl afterwards moved for copies of the orders and instructions given to Burgoyne, and reprobated the plan which that officer had endeavoured to execute, as a wild, uncombined, and mad scheme: but his various motions were rejected.

After warm debates in each house, upon various national topics, the minister, humbled by misfortune, brought forward two bills of a pacific [1778.] tendency. One provided for the abandonment of the disputed right of taxation; and the other empowered commissioners to make ample concessions. Many members properly observed, that these offers would formerly have been accepted with pleasure and gratitude, but would now be fruitless, as the Americans, irritated and injured, were inflexibly determined to support their independence. The altered tone of the court was ridiculed, and imputed to the dread of a war with the house of Bourbon. The most indignant opposer of the bills, in the upper house, was earl Temple, who accused the ministry of depressing

that spirit which the new levies had evinced, and of disgracing the parliament and nation by a base subserviency and submission to rebels.

The levies to which the earl referred arose from the zeal of corporations and private persons, who subscribed large sums for new enlistments. Objections were made, in both houses, to these instances of public spirit; and the ministers, who had encouraged and accepted such offers, were censured for raising money without the consent of parliament.

Soon after the enactment of the conciliatory bills, the king informed the parliament, that he had received a note from the French ambassador, announcing the conclusion of a treaty of *friendship* and *commerce* with the United States of North-America, yet disclaiming all *hostile views* against Britain; and that, in consequence of this offensive communication, he had recalled his representative from France. Some of the anti-ministerial speakers advised a concession of the grand point of independence to the Americans, as the only means of detaching them from their new engagements, which the congress had not ratified; while others reprobated such meanness, as pregnant with misfortune and disgrace. Each house voted an address of support, without agreeing to an amendment which proposed a change of the ministry.

The earl of Chatham had been lately requested to superintend new arrangements: but the negotiation for this purpose proved abortive. That nobleman, being informed of an intended motion from the duke of Richmond (on the 7th of April)

for a speedy adjustment of all disputes with the Americans, whose independence the mover and his friends were even inclined to acknowlege, resolved to oppose the humiliating concession with those powers of which his indisposition and infirmity had not deprived him. When lord Weymouth had argued against the motion, the earl rose with his usual dignity of deportment, and expressed a sincere joy in being able to attend his duty, at a time when ideas were entertained of surrendering the sovereignty of the crown and parliament over the American provinces. He rejoiced that he was "still alive, to lift up his voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy."—"Where is the man (he asked) who will dare to advise such a measure?—shall a nation, seventeen years ago the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon, and stoop so low as to say to it's inveterate enemy, Take all that we have, only give us peace? It is impossible!"—As the kingdom still had sufficient resources for the maintenance of it's just rights, he hoped that one effort might yet be made to avert such disgrace.

In attempting to rise again after a reply from the duke, the venerable statesman lost, for a time, the faculty of speech and the power of action; and only instantaneous support could prevent him from falling. The debate was adjourned out of respect for his character: he was removed to his villa, and died in the following month. His funeral was solemnised at the public expence: a monument was decreed to his fame by the representatives of the

nation: his debts were paid by the liberality of the same assembly; and it was ordered, that four thousand pounds *per annum* should pass with the title to his heirs.

While the earl yet lived, bills promotive of Hibernian commerce, which he would probably have supported, were in a train of settlement: but, being censured in numerous petitions, they did not, when altered, grant such advantages as their advocates originally proposed.

Trusting to the liberality of an enlightened age, the English catholics, at this time, entertained hopes of relief; but, in an address to the king, promising support against foreign enemies, they did not presume openly to solicit indulgence. In consideration of their loyal and decorous behaviour, sir George Savile urged the propriety of repealing the most rigorous provisions of an act of the year 1699; and, as the ministry did not oppose the measure, a bill passed for that humane purpose. The liberty of religious worship, and the free inheritance and acquisition of landed property, were now allowed to that class of dissenters.

At the prorogation of the parliament his majesty, adverting to the conduct of France, declared that, as it had been his constant care to give no just cause of offence to any foreign power, the prince who should dare to disturb the tranquillity of Europe would be answerable, to his subjects and to the world, for all the fatal consequences of war.

The failure of the scheme of pacification was prognosticated by every intelligent politician. Be-

fore the arrival of the commissioners (the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnstone), the congress, in answer to letters from sir Henry Clinton and lord Howe, enclosing the conciliatory acts, had hinted it's resolution of maintaining independence. This insinuation, alone, was sufficient to show that no treaty would be concluded. When the three agents had reached Philadelphia, they proposed very favorable terms of accommodation in an epistle to the congress. That assembly, far from acceding to the offer, replied in the language of asperity. To a second letter no answer was given, because it neither contained an acknowlegement of the independence of the United States, nor a promise of the speedy recall of the fleets and armies. The arrival of M. Gerard from France, as minister plenipotentiary, did not tend to relax the spirit of the republican leaders, or to produce an acquiescence in the proposals of the British delegates.

Weary of fruitless campaigns, Howe had resigned his command; and Clinton (who succeeded him) prepared, early in the summer, for the evacuation of Philadelphia, in consequence of orders delivered by the commissioners. Even before the whole army had retired, a body of republicans entered the city; but Clinton prosecuted his march across New-Jersey with little annoyance, until he reached Freehold court-house. Major-general Lee then advanced to assault the British rear, but quickly retreated. Being met by Washington, he was reproved for this conduct, and ordered to return to the charge. He again retired, when he had checked the enemy for a time. The generals Greene and

Wayne behaved with greater spirit, and maintained the conflict till the evening. On each side, about three hundred and fifty were killed or wounded. Clinton now proceeded toward Sandy-Hook, whence he and the army sailed to New-York. An attempt upon Rhode-Island being meditated by the enemy, he sent a strong detachment to Newport, and warned major-general Pigot of the necessity of being upon his guard.

A naval engagement was now expected. The count d'Estaing, who had sailed from France with twelve ships of the line and some frigates, hoped to find lord Howe in the Delawar; but being disappointed in that respect, he hastened towards the harbour of New-York. Discouraged by the difficulty and danger of the entrance, he left Howe unmolested, and sailed to Rhode-Island. The English admiral, being reinforced, pursued him, and would have engaged him, if a storm had not dispersed and injured both fleets.

The appearance of the French armament had induced the English to destroy five frigates, that they might not be captured; and Newport was endangered by the attempts of general Sullivan, who raised the siege, however, on the precipitate retreat of the count to Boston. The retiring Americans were harassed by a detachment from the town; and, besides mere skirmishes, a sharp conflict arose from the efforts of the royalists to dislodge general Greene from a redoubt. The failure of the enterprise excited great clamors against the French.

An invasion of the province of Connecticut be-

ing deemed adviseable, Clinton employed major-general Tryon in that service. Some villages were plundered and burned; but no great benefit resulted from the expedition. The war was prosecuted in various parts of the continent, with a spirit of revenge and barbarity, rather than with manly hostilities. Clinton and Washington watched the motions of each other; and each forbore a general attack.

The Georgian province was invaded with success. Sir Henry detached colonel Campbell by sea, and directed major-general Prevost, who commanded in East-Florida, to lead a sufficient force by land. Robert Howe, an American general, had recently made an attempt upon the last-mentioned province; but, being constrained (chiefly by disease) to retire with loss, he had stationed his small army near Savannah, the capital of Georgia. He did not strongly oppose the disembarkation of Campbell, but made such arrangements as, he thought, would enable him to save the town. The colonel, however, discovered a private path, which led through a swamp, round the right of the American lines, into the rear; and, by thus surprising the enemy, he obtained a decisive advantage. Above four hundred and fifty of the republicans were made prisoners, and about one hundred were killed or drowned. A large supply of stores, and forty-eight pieces of cannon, were taken, with the town, by the troops of Campbell; and that officer, as humane as he was brave, conciliated the provincials by his lenity and moderation. Prevost, having reduced Sunbury, assumed the command

of the united force, and completed the conquest of the country.

While the count d'Estaing lingered in the harbour of Boston, the marquis de Bouillé, without waiting for his assistance, conducted an armament to Dominica, and, with little difficulty, gained possession of the island. The count at length proceeded to the West-Indies, and attempted to relieve St. Lucia, which was exposed to an attack from admiral Barrington and a land-force under Meadows. The French fleet twice encountered the admiral without effect: the troops, led by M. d'Estaing himself, were equally unsuccessful in an assault; and he retired with loss and disgrace. The governor, soon after, surrendered the capital and the whole island.

In Europe, an engagement occurred which excited strong animadversion. The reputation of admiral Keppel having pointed him out for high command, he undertook the maritime defence of the country, and was sailing with twenty ships of the line when two French frigates came within view. Being chased, one of them fired both with cannon and musquetry, and instantly exhibited a signal of surrender: the other fiercely encountered a pursuing vessel, and was not taken. Having captured one which was seen the next morning, Keppel was informed that thirty-two sail of the line were nearly ready for sea; and he therefore returned to Spit-head for the augmentation of his force. Ten ships being added to his fleet, he re-sailed down the channel, and observed the enemy near the Breton coast. The count d'Orvilliers, not very desirous of a con-

flict, retired; but Keppel (on the 27th of July) brought him to action. When the engagement had continued for some hours, with much greater loss of men on the side of the French than on that of the English, it ceased, because the fleets, sailing in contrary directions, had passed each other. After a hasty reparation of damages, Keppel ordered the van and the rear to concur with him in a new encounter. Harland obeyed; while sir Hugh Palliser, merely because his own ship was considerably injured, refused to bear down upon the foe with the whole or the greater part of his division. The admiral, however, might still have obtained an important advantage by proper exertions; but he suffered the French to retire. A Hawke or a Boscawen would not have been so inattentive to the call of British honor.

Such an appearance of misconduct required a scrutiny. Palliser, being attacked in a daily print devoted to the cause of opposition, and offended at the refusal of the admiral to vindicate him, accused the latter (among other charges) of having, by a movement to leeward, lost an opportunity of victory. Both were tried by courts-martial.
[1779.] Keppel was acquitted in terms of high approbation, to the great joy of the populace. Palliser was also acquitted of criminal disobedience; but his connexion with the ministry rendered him very unpopular.

The admiral did not scruple to affirm in parliament, that the glory of the British flag had not been tarnished in his hands. He was even thanked by both houses for his conduct; but we do not

think that he merited such a distinction. Both officers appear to have deserved censure: both injured their former reputation.

Keppel endeavoured to justify himself by criminating the lords of the admiralty, when his friend Mr. Fox had proposed that their negligence should be censured by the house of commons. The dismission of the earl of Sandwich was the particular object of a subsequent motion in each house: but his lordship was firmly supported by the majority.

Animated debates arose from the repeated investigation of the American concerns. As the commissioners, in a manifesto which they addressed to the congress and the provincials in general, had threatened them with all the outrages of military licentiousness, to punish them for their connexion with the French, a just indignation was expressed, in both houses, at the unfeeling spirit which could prompt such menaces. The supposed misconduct of sir William Howe, and more particularly that of the minister who directed his operations, aroused the keenness of censure; but the inquiry which took place did not subject either to the stigma of the house.

As the catholics had been lately favored, the protestant dissenters had reason to expect that relief which the parliament had hitherto refused to grant. A bill was therefore enacted, to excuse their ministers and school-masters from subscribing the articles of the church: they were merely required to signify their belief in the Old and New Testament.

The session was near it's close, when lord North

gave notice of the intended hostilities of Spain. As such an extension of the war had long been expected by almost every one except the ministers, the intelligence was not received with surprise. His catholic majesty, affecting a desire of peace, had persuaded the British and French monarchs to send to Madrid their respective propositions, that he might communicate to each court the sentiments and offers of it's rival. But, as the French insisted on the confirmation of American independence, the mediatory endeavours, which indeed were not sincere, were ineffectual and nugatory. An aggressive manifesto was issued by Spain: it was ably answered by Britain; and preparations were made for the chastisement of the new enemy.

The supplies voted when the war was on the point of breaking out with the colonies, were so moderate, as not to rise beyond 6,600,000 pounds. In the succeeding year, they were above nine millions: they were soon after nearly augmented to thirteen millions: in another year, they exceeded 14,300,000 pounds; and, in 1779, it was thought necessary to make a demand of more than 15,700,000 pounds. For the year 1775, only 18,000 seamen had been voted; a smaller number than had been allowed in some years of undisturbed peace. The number of soldiers, voted at the same time, did not amount to 22,000. For the next year, 28,000 seamen and 20,700 soldiers, besides a numerous body of foreign subsidiaries, were voted. After intermediate augmentations, the number of sailors became, in 1779, 70,000; and the whole military force in British pay, foreigners

included, bordered on the same amount. The members of opposition frequently asserted, that the public accounts were carelessly kept; that great profusion and waste prevailed; and that more effectual service might easily be performed with supplies considerably inferior: but the ministry imputed these clamors to a spirit of faction, and would not agree to a regular inquiry into the management of the national treasure.

The occurrences of the war, in this year, were not particularly remarkable or splendid. The chief commander in North-America did not undertake any memorable expedition; but he prevented Washington from profiting by the inactivity of the British army. He sent to Virginia about one thousand eight hundred men, who deprived the Americans, by capture or by destruction, of many vessels and considerable stores. He dispossessed them of some forts on the Hudson; but they assaulted one of these posts with success, though they did not venture to retain it. The province of Connecticut was furiously ravaged, without drawing Washington to it's relief from his station near the Hudson. To punish the savages for the cruelties which they had perpetrated by the direction or with the connivance of the English, that commander detached Sullivan toward the Susquehannah; and eighteen villages were destroyed in this incursion. In the north, the American marine suffered a serious diminution, when commodore Collier had sailed to the relief of a garrison of royalists in the bay of Penobscot. The besiegers were compelled to retire; and nineteen ships were

burned or captured. A considerable number of sailors, and many of the soldiers of the besieging party, died in the retreat, of hunger and fatigue.

In the southern provinces, general Lincoln was ordered by the congress to act with great spirit. One of his detachments being routed with the loss of three hundred men, exclusive of prisoners, he made all possible exertions to procure a reinforcement before he marched into Upper Georgia. Prevost now hastened into South-Carolina, in the hope of surprising Charles-town. He found the fortifications unfinished; but as the place was well-garrisoned, he forbore an attack; and, leaving a part of his army on John's Island, returned into Lower Georgia. Lincoln assaulted the post upon the island, but met with so warm a reception from a very inferior force, that he retired with loss of reputation.

The arrival of the French on the coast of Georgia invigorated the hopes of the Americans. The count d'Estaing had sent four thousand men to the island of St. Vincent, which the governor soon surrendered, as many of the inhabitants were disaffected, and the soldiers were not sufficiently numerous for a vigorous defence. Grenada was the next object of Gallic hostility. With twenty-six sail of the line, and about nine thousand soldiers, the count appeared near St. George's town, and a strong detachment assaulted the works, which were bravely defended, but without effect, by a very small party. The fort was then attacked; and, as the French would not permit the governor to capitulate, he was constrained to surrender at

discretion. Admiral Byron, with twenty-one ships of the line, had sailed to the relief of the island; but it was taken before his arrival. He engaged the French fleet as closely as the count would allow; and suffered considerable loss, but inflicted greater injury. M. d'Estaing afterwards sailed to Georgia, and made a descent near Savannah. In conjunction (though not in full concert) with general Lincoln, he commenced the siege of that capital; and, after the formality of regular approaches, had recourse to the vigor of an assault. Each division of the besiegers planted a standard upon the walls; but, being at length driven from the fortifications with great loss, they relinquished the siege.

With regard to the operations of the catholic confederates of France, we may observe, that the governor of Louisiana invaded West-Florida in the summer, reduced a fort near the frontiers, and took possession of some settlements bordering on the Missisippi; while another body of invaders harassed the logwood-cutters on the Mosquito shore. The garrison of Omoa being too vigilant to be surprised, the fort was cannonaded by the English both by sea and land; but the Spaniards did not abandon it's defence before the walls were scaled by the intrepid besiegers, who also captured some rich vessels. When the British squadron had retired, the enemy re-took the fort.

In Europe, the French and Spanish fleets threatened, by their conjunction, to overwhelm the British navy. Against sixty-six sail of the line (thirty-six of which were furnished by Spain), the government could only equip thirty-eight to form

the grand fleet for the defence of the island. The appearance of the allies before Plymouth excited strong alarm, as that port was inadequately provided with the means of defence: but they contented themselves with the capture of a ship of the line, and retired after an ostentatious parade. They pursued admiral Hardy for a time, without seeming very eager to bring him to action. Notwithstanding the panic which an invasion might have produced, the tutelar genius of Britain would still have animated her sons; and her foes would have been crushed or expelled by the spirit of the country.

While a foreign confederacy thus insulted Britain, an association of the subjects of the crown gave considerable embarrassment to the ministry. We allude to the state of Ireland; a kingdom which we have not often mentioned in our history of this reign. It's affairs, during the agitations consequent on the war, acquired, from the energy of the people, an unusual degree of importance. The sister realm had been long treated more like an alien or a stranger than a friend. Her interests had been neglected, her commerce restricted and fettered, her offspring impoverished and oppressed. We do not deny that the state of the country had been improved, and the comforts of the people augmented, in the two preceding reigns: but much remained to be done, and many grievances called for redress. A free parliament, it was thought, would more studiously promote the prosperity of the nation, than a legislature dependent upon that of Great-Britain; and a freedom of

trade was also desired, as it's good effects were so conspicuous in this island. To promote the acquisition of these great objects, the Hibernian patriots encouraged a popular union. Amidst the dread of foreign invasion, the government permitted the lieutenants of counties to give out arms to active and able-bodied men. Hoping to intimidate the court by a display of force, the gentry stimulated the people to form associations, and learn the military exercise; and the volunteers soon became so numerous, that the public stores could not answer the extraordinary demand for arms. The purses of individuals supplied the deficiency; and a great national force was embodied —"an army (says lord Sheffield) unauthorised by the laws, and uncontrolled by the government of the country."

At the commencement of a new session of the British parliament, the royal speech recommended an attentive consideration of the means of benefiting Ireland, without injury to the rest of the empire. The earl of Shelburne enumerated the distresses and grievances of his countrymen, and moved that the house of peers should censure the ministers for having neglected the application of seasonable remedies to the alarming evils of which they had full knowlege: but the proposal was too uncourtly to be adopted.

The plan of commercial relief, adjusted in the cabinet, embraced three objects—namely, the repeal of such clauses (or parts of British statutes) as prohibited the exportation of wool, wrought or unwrought, from Ireland; the annulment of all

prohibitions of the export of glass; and the grant of a free trade with the colonies in America and with the African settlements. As both parties concurred in these points, bills were soon enacted, which allayed the discontent of the Irish traders and manufacturers. The volunteers, however, continued to over-awe the government, in the hope of procuring a compliance with other demands.

The wanton prodigality of ministers had long been a subject of complaint; and the extension of the influence of the crown, studiously promoted by an extraordinary number of place-men, officers, dependents, and expectants, embittered, in the minds of freemen, the evils arising from an unprecedented increase of the public burthens. The freeholders of Yorkshire persuaded the inhabitants of other parts of the realm to petition the house of commons for redress; and the leaders of opposition framed a regular plan of parliamentary hostilities against the court.

After severe attacks upon the ministry in both houses, the commons were urged by Mr. Burke, in a speech which all admired, to attend to [1780.] the voice of the people. National œconomy, he said, was an object which he would earnestly recommend, and strenuously promote, until it should be adopted by the executive power. It was not only necessary in itself, as tending to alleviate the burthens under which the nation groaned, but was also highly requisite for the diminution of the exorbitant influence of the crown. He did not wish to offer violent remedies for the evil, as temperate applications would be more effectual. A

tax upon all offices had been proposed; but to this he objected, as a measure of mere compromise, calculated to prevent reform,—a fine paid by mismanagement for the renewal of it's lease.

The general rules, upon which he founded his plan, were seven in number. He first proposed, that all jurisdictions, more expensive, and more subservient to oppression and corrupt influence, than advantageous to justice or political administration, should be abolished. Under this head he ranked the principality of Wales, the duchy of Lancaster, and other miniature regalities. He advised, secondly, that all public estates, more productive of vexation to the tenants than of benefit to the revenue, should be sold—for instance, the crown-lands. Thirdly, he suggested the propriety of suppressing offices attended with greater charge than proportional advantage to the state, or uniting them with others upon a moderate salary. This was a copious head, as it included the civil list.

The royal household, he said, still retained the cumbrous charge of a Gothic establishment, although it "had shrunk into the polished littleness of modern elegance and personal accommodation." Many of it's offices were continued for the purposes of influence, rather than for real use or from necessity. He therefore hoped, that the posts of treasurer of the household and the chamber, master, comptroller, cofferer, and a multitude of other offices in the department of the lord-steward, would no longer be suffered to subsist. He mentioned the board of works, and that of trade, as wholly useless to the public, and trusted that the parliament would agree to the abolition of

both. In the civil branch of the board of ordnance, a great retrenchment, he thought, was adviseable: the offices of military paymaster and naval treasurer ought to be subjected to a less prodigal management: the income of the places holden by patent, in the exchequer, ought to be very considerably reduced: the mint might easily be simplified: the pensions might be limited to sixty thousand pounds *per annum;* and many other defalcations of expence might be made without the least detriment to the public service.

The fourth rule tended to the annihilation of such offices as obstructed the operations, or impaired the proper exercise of the functions, of the financial superintendant. The fifth related to an invariable order in all payments: the sixth involved the reduction of every establishment, and of all it's parts, to certainty; and the seventh opposed the continuance of subordinate treasuries, as they might be called the nurseries of mismanagement.

The eloquent projector of this plan did not expect that the whole would be adopted by the parliament: he was aware of the obstinacy with which the court and the ministry would maintain the established system of abuse and prodigality. Of the five bills which he brought forward in pursuance of his grand scheme, not one became a law. All the arguments adduced in their support served only to amuse the house. A vote, however, was obtained (by a majority of eight voices) for the suppression of the board of trade and plantations; and, when Barré had proposed, that commissioners should be named for the revision and adjustment of the public accounts, lord North introduced a bill

for that purpose; which, though it did not fully answer the general wish, was at least a testimony of ministerial condescension.

The leaders of opposition collected all their strength, and much more than their usual strength, upon a question submitted to the commons (on the 6th of April) by Mr. Dunning. Referring to the accumulated petitions, which had been feebly opposed by a few ministerial addresses, he forcibly contended for the obligation, which the nature of the business imposed upon the house, of pursuing the two objects recommended by a numerous and respectable part of the community. They were so far connected as to be easily consolidated, in point of general argument; for a system of œconomy would reduce the influence of the crown. The increase of that influence had been foreseen by Hume; and, if not seasonably checked, it would overthrow, or dangerously weaken, the barriers of the constitution. When he had ably argued the case, and indignantly satirised the proceedings of the ministry, he requested the house to declare, that the influence of the crown had increased, continued to increase, and ought to be diminished. Sir Fletcher Norton considered the progress of this influence as so clear, that no reasonable person could doubt it; and he called upon every friend of the constitution to join in repressing it. Mr. Dundas affirmed, that it was by no means greater than the due balance of the constitution required it to be. On a division, the numbers were, 233 for the motion, and only 215 against it.

The success of the anti-ministerial party, on

this occasion, seems to have exceeded the general expectation: but the union which produced it was merely temporary. All the members who composed the majority were not actuated by the same impulse: some (we hope, many) were patriots: a considerable number were merely instigated by a desire of embarrassing the ministry: not a few, perhaps, hoped to please their constituents, and secure their re-election; others may have voted from caprice and versatility. When a point has been obtained with difficulty, the retention of it is, in some cases, easy: but, when it depends on the fluctuations of a popular assembly, there is little security for the permanence of the acquisition. The persuasions of artful emissaries, and the intrigues of interested place-men, recalled some into the paths of servility, and seduced others to an acquiescence in the system of the court, and a connivance at ministerial misconduct. Thus the hopes of the public were unfortunately baffled, almost as soon as they were excited.

So successful were the endeavours of lord North and his colleagues for the recovery of a parliamentary majority, that when Mr. Dunning proposed an address to the king against a prorogation or dissolution, while the alleged grievances were unredressed, the court was gratified with a plurality of fifty-one votes. When the same member afterwards moved for a confirmation of the vote of a committee of the whole house for the exclusion of some officers of the household from parliament, a majority of forty-three exploded the proposition.

CHAPTER LVIII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

VERY serious mischief has frequently arisen from religious zeal and bigotry. Many of those who have deliberately embraced particular doctrines, are exasperated at the disagreement or opposition of others, not only where the dissimilitude of sentiment is very considerable, but even where the difference is much less important. In the latter case, the animosity is often greater than in the former, perhaps because, when such near approaches are made in point of belief, it seems more particularly unreasonable to each, that the other should differ from him, than in the case of an opposite religion, where that fundamental contrariety exists, which no arguments or persuasions can be expected to remove. Hence the presbyterian and the catholic, though they agree in being followers of our Blessed Redeemer, are sometimes more hostile to each other than the Christian and the pagan. The animosities, however, of those sects in this country, had long seemed to be on the decline, when the statute which relieved the catholics aroused the zeal of presbyterian and methodistic devotees. Lord George Gordon, a man of an unsound mind, fanned the flame of bigotry by his

enthusiastic representations; and, as president of a protestant association, he proposed that the enemies of Romish superstition should accompany him in a numerous body to the house of commons, to present a petition for the repeal of a statute which disgusted their intolerant spirit. About forty thousand persons, chiefly of the lower class, flocked (on the 2d of June) to St. George's fields; and having received directions from lord George, marched in four divisions to Westminster. Loud shouts announced their arrival at the scene of action. They did not all behave in that decorous and respectful manner which their leader affected to recommend; for many of the party insulted the members whom they saw approaching, and even attempted to force their way into both houses.

When lord George had moved for the immediate attention of the commons to the subject of the petition, almost all who were present voted against such a deliberation, as it could not be perfectly free amidst the clamours and threats of a licentious multitude. Some troops arrived near the close of day, and the mob retired; but many, before they returned to their respective homes, attacked two Romish chapels, burned one, and committed great devastation in the other.

On the following day, earl Bathurst, the president of the council, declaimed against the insolent and injurious treatment which some of the peers had suffered from the rabble, and the outrages which had been perpetrated in the evening; and moved for the prosecution of the rioters. The earl of Shelburne hoped, that the prosecutors would

distinguish between the efforts of religious opinion, however ill directed, and the lawless violence of unprincipled depredators. He blamed the ministry for not having prevented the riots by timely precautions, and took an opportunity of inveighing against the *guilty* premier and a *venal* house of commons.

Encouraged by the timidity and negligence of Kennet, the chief magistrate of the capital, the populace, after an interval of only one day, renewed the exercise of bigoted fury and outrage, which continued with increasing violence, until the soldiery fired upon the turbulent incendiaries.

During four days, riot, pillage, and conflagration, prevailed. Many houses of catholics and protestants were destroyed: Newgate and other places of confinement were burned, after the release of the prisoners; and so extensive was the havock, that a dread of the general demolition of the city began to agitate the terrified inhabitants. One night (the 7th of June) was particularly terrific and alarming. The Fleet and King's-bench prisons were fiercely blazing: thirty fires were seen at one instant: individuals were running in every direction, some removing their effects for the purpose of security, some feloniously carrying off the property of others: shouts of barbarous transport were succeeded by the appalling roar of musquetry, the yell of intoxication, and shrieks of horror.

Amidst scenes so disgraceful to humanity, two hundred and ten persons were shot; and seventy-five others afterwards died of their wounds. This

statement is taken from a military return: but it must be observed, in addition, that some were crushed by the fall of houses, and others perished in the flames; and that, in the conflagration of a distillery, many destroyed themselves by drinking spirituous liquors to excess.

These melancholy incidents gave birth to a variety of reflexions. Some of the adherents of the ministry affected to believe, and ventured to affirm, that the rioters were subsequently encouraged, if not primarily instigated, by the parliamentary opponents of the court: but this was the effusion of party malice. If some of the ministerialists were mal-treated in their persons, and injured in their property, so were several members of the opposition: in this respect, therefore, the rioters were impartial. It was insinuated, on the other hand, that the emissaries of the court fomented the disturbances, with a view of repressing, by a display of the mischiefs of public commotion, the rising spirit of popular association. The riots certainly had that effect: but the insinuation was not founded in truth. The ministry, and the magistrates, were negligent in their endeavours to suppress the commotions; but this tardiness arose from a hope that the storm would quickly subside, and from an unwillingness to exercise the rigors of military execution. When the disturbances assumed a more serious complexion, the attorney-general Wedderburne advised, that the soldiers should be allowed to fire upon the mob, by order of their officers, even without the presence or authority of a magistrate. The ministers were then

blamed for being too violent; and those who admitted the necessity of this measure, were yet of opinion that *they* (and not merely the inferior agents) ought to have sought refuge in an act of indemnity, to preclude the establishment of such a dangerous precedent.

As the leader of the association of bigots had encouraged his confederates to persevere in their exertions, and, in some intercepted letters, had spoken in raptures of the glorious cause, even hinting an approbation of the conduct of the rioters, he was interrogated by the privy council on the subject; and the result of the inquiry was a full conviction, not only of his having abetted the zeal of the devotees of the kirk, who had excited riots beyond the Tweed, but of his contributing by his inflammatory speeches to the convulsions of the capital of the realm. He was afterwards sent to the Tower, upon an accusation of high treason; but, when he had undergone a regular trial (in February 1781), the jury acquitted him of that charge, although no one could pronounce him free from the guilt of sedition.

When the parliament re-assembled after the extinction of the riots, the house of commons, instead of agreeing to the repeal of the act of which the Protestant Association complained, consented to prohibit catholics from educating or instructing protestant children. The bill for this purpose, however, after having been so far amended, by a suggestion of the lord-chancellor Thurlow, as only to forbid such instruction in boarding-schools, met

with the disapprobation of the majority of the peers.

The restoration of tranquillity was followed by the trial of it's misguided disturbers. In the city, thirty-four men and women were convicted of capital felony; but his majesty spared the lives of fifteen of these delinquents. In the borough of Southwark, twenty-four received sentence of death, of whom fourteen were reprieved. Thus, amidst justice, the king remembered mercy.

Returning to scenes of foreign hostility from those of internal commotion, we are pleased with an opportunity of mentioning the maritime success of the English over their Spanish adversaries. Gibraltar was besieged and blockaded; and the defenders of that fortress required various supplies. As admiral Rodney was sailing to their relief, he descried, to the westward of Cape Finisterre, twenty-two sail, not one of which escaped. Fifteen were mercantile vessels: a ship of the line, frigates, and sloops, formed the rest of the prizes.

A more important advantage quickly followed. Don Juan de Langara was cruising off Cape St. Vincent (on the 16th of January), with eleven ships of the line, in the hope of preventing the relief of Gibraltar. Rodney had a greater force: but a conflict threatened peculiar danger to the fleet, as, in order to preclude the retreat of the Spaniards to the coast, he found it necessary to keep to leeward, in a dark and tempestuous night. In the first hour of the engagement, a Spanish ship of seventy guns blew up, with the loss of six hundred men. The

contest was prolonged for ten hours. Four captured ships reached Gibraltar in safety; one, which had been taken, went on shore (and the English seamen on board became captives); and one was lost on the breakers. About two thousand four hundred of the enemy, with don Juan himself, were made prisoners. The fortunate commander, having supplied the wants of the besieged, sailed to the West-Indies. While he was pursuing his voyage, a spirited action occurred between a British and French squadron, near the coast of Hispaniola. Commodore Cornwallis obtained the chief honor of the day, as M. de la Mothe Piquet retreated toward Cape François.

The fleets of Rodney and the count de Guichen (twenty against twenty-three sail of the line) engaged (on the 17th of April) near Martinique. The English admiral resolved to deviate from the established practice, and not attack all the hostile ships at once, but break their line by bearing down in force upon one division, the defeat of which, he concluded, would be followed by the discomfiture of the whole. His own ship beat three of the count's vessels out of the line; and several of the captains emulated his gallant conduct; but others did not bring their ships sufficiently close, or act in full obedience to his orders. He put the enemy to flight, however; and, as soon as he had partially repaired his damages, gave chase for three days, until the count arrived off Guadaloupe. Four weeks afterwards, the same commanders had another conflict, in which neither proved victorious. In a third encounter, also, little

advantage was gained by either party. In these actions, about two hundred of the English were killed, and six hundred and fifty wounded: of the French, about thirteen hundred lost their lives or received wounds.

A Spanish armament having joined M. de Guichen, it was expected that some of the West-Indian islands would be attacked, or that the combined fleets would assist in the reduction of New-York: but the ravages of an infectious disease, and a want of union between the admirals, produced an inactivity which favored the English.

Many French ships, both of war and trade, were captured in the former part of the year: but, in August, forty-seven British vessels bound for the West-Indies, and five destined to the East, having troops and valuable stores on board, became prizes to the French and Spaniards.

The campaign in America was attended with some important events. Clinton, being desirous of the reduction of South-Carolina, sailed from New-York under the convoy of vice-admiral Arbuthnot, and, landing on St. John's island, proceeded to the vicinity of Charles-town. The command of the harbour being a requisite preliminary to the capture of the town, Arbuthnot prepared to pass the bar or sand-bank, which he thought the Americans would defend, but from which they retired as he advanced. Fort-Moultrie did not greatly impede his progress; and he soon anchored near the town, but could not open the mouth of Cooper's river, as it was guarded by a line of sunken vessels.

The preservation of the town was considered, by some of the American officers, as very improbable, after the loss of the harbour: but general Lincoln was encouraged to defend it by the hope of receiving considerable succours, for the introduction of which he still had an opening. He therefore gave a peremptory refusal to the demand of a surrender, and defied the attempts of the besiegers. But his confidence was seriously weakened when he found that some of his posts of communication were forced; and, the town being at length completely invested, he proposed a capitulation, to which, as his terms were too high, he could not procure assent.

The besiegers, having carried on their works with great skill and regularity, approached within twenty yards of the American works, in the fifth week from the opening of the batteries; and sir Henry ordered preparations to be made for a decisive assault. Lincoln now (on the 12th of May) agreed to a surrender; and about six thousand men became prisoners of war. The whole province being subdued by some farther operations, earl Cornwallis governed it with prudence and ability; and he conceived sanguine hopes of adding North-Carolina to his new conquest. To prevent such a defalcation from the territories of the republic, the congress sent a respectable force to the southward, and conferred the command of it upon general Gates, who, finding an English garrison at Camden, on the frontiers of South-Carolina, encamped his army near that post.

The superior number of the provincials (being in the proportion of five to two) did not deter Cornwallis from marching to attack their camp. Gates did not await the assault, but began to advance toward Camden at the very hour when the English left that station. The most forward parties met in the woods (on the 16th of August); and a Maryland regiment was so disordered in the skirmish which ensued, that it did not effectually recover from the shock. The British infantry under lieutenant-colonel Webster attacked, and speedily routed, the Virginian militia, whose fears were communicated to the troops of North-Carolina. Gates endeavoured to rally the fugitives; but, being furiously pursued by the cavalry, they bore him away in their course. The regulars were charged by lord Rawdon, and did not disgrace themselves by their conduct. The reserve, assaulted both in front and in flank by Webster's division, recoiled twice, but renewed the conflict. Observing that the brigades which still resisted had no cavalry to aid them, Cornwallis sent a body of dragoons against them; and, being at the same time pushed by the bayonet, they fled with the utmost precipitation. Above seven hundred and fifty of the Americans lost their lives, and nine hundred were captured; while about three hundred and fifty of the victors were killed or wounded. Sumpter, a bold partisan, was afterwards attacked by colonel Tarleton, an equally enterprising officer, and defeated with considerable loss.

The victory at Camden was succeeded, on the

part of lord Cornwallis, by acts of severity. He put some of the prisoners to death, for having acted against his countrymen after serving with them; and he thus inflamed the animosity and resentment of the provincials. He then marched into North-Carolina, and seised Charlotte-town; but, when he was informed of the discomfiture of a strong body of loyal militia, he returned, disappointed, to his southern station.

After the return of Clinton from Charles-town to New-York, East-Jersey was invaded with little effect; and arrangements were made for an attack of Rhode-Island, where a French army under Rochambeau had arrived. While sir Henry was employed in this expedition, general Washington crossed the Hudson with ten thousand regulars, and hastening to King's-bridge, threatened New-York. Clinton now returned to secure that important station; and the Americans retreated to avoid an engagement. Their interests were at this time endangered by the treachery of major-general Arnold, who, expecting great rewards and powerful patronage from the British government, resolved to desert that cause in which he had so highly distinguished himself.

A strong post near the Hudson, called West-Point, had been subjected to the command of Arnold, who now offered to surrender it with it's dependencies to an English detachment. A clandestine negotiation was carried on for that purpose; and major André, a gallant, amiable, and esteemed officer, spontaneously undertook its final adjust-

ment. He passed up the river at night, landed upon ground that was not within the posts of either army, and conferred with the traitorous general, from whom he received confidential papers for sir Henry Clinton. For want of an opportunity of returning by water, he was constrained to attempt a retreat by land. Arriving unintentionally within the American lines, he assumed a disguise, and obtained a passport under a feigned name. He soon re-entered neutral ground, and flattered himself with the hopes of safety, but was suddenly stopped by three armed men, to whom he in vain offered his purse for a free progress. He now, under his assumed name, procured the conveyance of a letter to Arnold, who, instantly embarking, reached New-York, and was declared a brigadier in the royal service.

The case of major André was submitted to the consideration of general Greene and other field-officers, who unanimously pronounced him a spy, and advised that he should be punished with death. Washington, reflecting on the great danger which threatened his countrymen from the secret negotiation, was not inclined to favor the unfortunate prisoner; and, when Clinton, alleging that he acted under a flag of truce, requested his release, the republican general answered, that "he was employed in the execution of measures very foreign to the objects of such flags," and that, in the course of his examination, he had frankly and candidly disclaimed the supposition of his having come on shore under such a sanction. He was hanged

at Tappan, amidst the regret even of the American soldiery, who blamed the inflexibility of their stern commander.

Intent on a display of the leading features of the American war, and of the important events which arose from it, we have neglected the concerns of British India. Notwithstanding the severity with which lord North's plan for the administration of that territory was censured, the act contained some judicious regulations: yet it did not produce that reformation of government which it's promoters wished to establish. If the administration became more regular, it was still pregnant with abuse; and, if more firm, it was oppressive and tyrannical.

Mr. Hastings, and his subservient friend Mr. Barwell, had the chief sway at Calcutta when the bill passed: and the new members of the council were general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis. Hastings was certainly qualified, by sense and abilities, to govern a colony or a province; but his spirit was too high, and his ambition too inordinate, to allow him to rule with moderation and equity. Not content with the mere preservation of the territories which the company possessed at the time of his appointment, he wished to extend the British dominion in Asia by arms or by policy, although he might have supposed that such conduct would excite the jealousy of the native powers, and might give rise to a formidable league, which might ultimately defeat his favorite purpose. The three new counsellors opposed his views, and humbled his arrogance, until, by the death of the amiable and upright Mon-

son, he was enabled to make use of his casting vote, so as to obtain a paramount authority. He then reigned without control, tyrannised over nabobs and rajahs, levied contributions, and made war at pleasure. His internal government was arbitrary: but, as it was less rigorous than that of the native princes, it was sufficiently softened by contrast, not to render him the object of strong odium; and he threw a lustre over his sway by acts of liberality, and by the patronage of arts and literature. Such was the man who was destined to give occasion, by the bold exercise of his power, to the most sublime flights and most brilliant effusions of oratory that perhaps the British parliament ever witnessed.

The active spirit of the governor had been evinced by his joining in an unnecessary war, before the moderate party arrived to check him. The vizir of the Mogul empire (as the nabob of Oude was called) wished to add the Rohilla country to his territories; and, as tyrants easily find pretences for injustice, he stated plausible grounds for the war, in a conference with Hastings, whom he engaged, by liberal offers, to assist him with a brigade of the company's troops. The Rohillas were attacked and defeated; and, after a course of devastation, a multitude of their families were driven into exile, while the rest submitted to the dictates of the invaders.

A war against the Mahrattas had also been undertaken by Mr. Hastings, who, on the transfer of a part of Oude from the Mogul to that nation, seised the territory in question, and refused to con-

tinue the payment of the annuity due to the Indian prince, alleging that he had forfeited his claim to protection by connecting himself with the natural enemies of the company. During this war the nabob died (in 1775), and was succeeded by his son Asof-ul-Dowlah, to whom the disputed territory was secured, in consideration of new grants to the English. Hostilities were at the same time carried on against the Mahrattas by the presidency of Bombay, in support of the fugitive Ragonaut Row, who had offered, in the event of his attainment of the dignity of *peishwa* (or acting chief of the state), to cede some districts to the company. The majority of the council of Bengal condemned the war, and sent colonel Upton to conclude peace, the terms of which were more favorable than could reasonably have been expected.

When the governor had acquired a preponderating sway in the council, he prepared for a new war with the Mahrattas. He fomented the dissensions among the chieftains, and courted an alliance with the potent rajah of Berar, who had pretensions, by right of blood, to the supreme dignity in the former state. An army, sent to the Mahratta frontiers (in 1778), suffered great distress from thirst and fatigue, but took possession of several towns. The troops of Bombay gained a mountainous pass leading to Poonah, and hoped to reduce that capital, which, however, they were not suffered to reach. Finding that Ragonaut was not joined by the force which he pretended to expect, and that the enemy aimed at surrounding them, they commenced a retreat from Telligam. At-

tacked by a very numerous host of cavalry (on the 12th of January 1779), they with difficulty escaped destruction, and were glad to compound for safety by relinquishing their late conquests.

The rajah of Berar, unwilling to assert his claim by sanguinary outrage, declined the governor's offer, and advised him to cultivate peace. Not all the address of general Goddard could induce that prince to recede from his determination. His judgement controlled all ambitious thoughts; and he contented himself with the undisputed enjoyment of his own principality.

As soon as intelligence of the rupture with France reached India, the English took Chandenagore and other French settlements; and preparations were made for the siege of Pondicheri. A small squadron attacked the French marine near that port, and so far gained the advantage, that the enemy, when challenged to a new conflict, after the English had recovered their station, from which they had been driven by the wind and current, retreated in the night. The place was now invested both by land and sea; but the defence was resolute and even obstinate. The approaches of the besiegers were retarded by heavy rains; and, by the fire of the garrison, above nine hundred men were killed or wounded. When a bold assault seemed to promise success, general Monro resolved to risque it; but M. de Bellecombe (on the 17th of October, 1778) averted the peril of dreadful havock by a seasonable capitulation.

The French, exasperated at the loss of their settlements, filled the courts of the native princes with

clamors against the English, whom they accused of cherishing the most ambitious schemes, and of aiming at the conquest of the whole Indian peninsula. Hyder Ali, apprehensive of danger from the encroachments of such aspiring intruders, and also stimulated by a desire of conquest, was encouraged by Gallic emissaries to renounce his alliance with the company, and co-operate with the Mahrattas; against whom, in defiance of the treaty which followed the battle of Telligam, the presidencies of Calcutta and Bombay had ordered the renewed march of troops. The nizam, partaking of the alarm, entered into a confederacy with Hyder and the Mahrattas; and vengeance was denounced against the disturbers of the peace of Hindostan.

On the side of Guzurat, general Goddard advanced to engage the Mahrattas. Having invested the capital (Ahmed-abad), he soon made a breach in the walls; and colonel Hartley was directed to assault the city. It was difficult to make a better choice for such a service. Notwithstanding a spirited resistance, the assailants took the town with small loss; and the success was accompanied with moderation and humanity.

The Mahratta chiefs, Scindia and Holkar, cautiously avoided a general engagement. Goddard, however, with the light troops of his army, stormed their camp, and routed it's defenders: captain Campbell, with only two battalions of sepoys, repelled fifteen thousand men: Walsh and Forbes also defeated considerable detachments with a small force.

In the Gohud territory, major Popham highly

distinguished himself. Scindia had deprived the rajah of the greater part of his dominions, and had garrisoned Gwalior, a fortress so advantageously situated on a high perpendicular rock, and so effectually strengthened by art, that it defied the operations of a siege, and could only be taken by a surprisal or a blockade. Being informed that banditti had sometimes ascended the rock, and that the guards usually went to sleep after their rounds, the major discovered the most practicable spot, and secretly prepared ladders both of wood and rope for the bold attempt. A party of native grenadiers first reached the parapet: Popham followed with two battalions; the astonished garrison made little resistance; and (on the 4th of August 1780) the fort was taken without the loss of one life on the part of the assailants.

The hostilities of Hyder Ali were directed against the Carnatic. Finding the country ill defended, he diffused terror and devastation where-ever he appeared. Former ravages were trifling, in comparison with those which now ensued. The enemy of peace marked his route with blood and with flames. He at length formed the siege of Arcot, while Madras was filled with consternation.

The army under the immediate command of sir Hector Monro not being sufficiently strong to cope with the troops of Mysore, the general hoped to be joined by the force which colonel Baillie was conducting from the neighbourhood of the Kistna: but Hyder prevented the junction, and ordered Tippoo Saheb, his son, to attack the colonel with twenty-five thousand horse and seven thousand

foot. This great army assaulted about two thousand five hundred men, but suffered them to gain the victory. A detachment of two thousand men, under colonel Fletcher, now joined Baillie; and Hyder was advised by his chief officers to retreat, and recall Tippoo. Instead of complying with such inglorious advice, he enfiladed by batteries the roads along which his adversaries were expected to march; and, leaving a considerable force to watch the movements of Monro, he (on the 10th of September) advanced to overwhelm the devoted band.

The exertions of Baillie and his equally brave associate were for a time so successful, that Hyder and Tippoo, dispirited at the loss of their best troops, were preparing to retire from the field: but an accident revived their hopes. The explosion of tumbrels overturned the British artillery, and wasted the ammunition. Tippoo now rushed upon the sepoys with an overpowering force, and cut off almost the whole number. The Europeans, with swords and bayonets, still resisted: but Fletcher was killed, Baillie wounded; and only two hundred, besides their gallant commander, are said to have escaped the carnage.

The troops under Monro were so inflamed with a desire of retaliation, and so confident of checking the career of the foe, that they called upon the general to lead them to vengeance, to victory, and to glory. But, apprehensive of farther loss, he restrained their ardor, and slowly retreated; while the enemy, after the reduction of the capital of the Carnatic, prepared to prosecute their success.

From the southern parts of Asia we will call the attention of the reader, for a short time, to the north-eastern boundaries of that quarter of the globe, where successive attempts were made for the discovery of a passage to Europe by the northern ocean. The captains Cook and Clerke had sailed from Plymouth, in the summer of the year 1776, principally for that purpose. They reached Van Diemen's Land in the January following; and found a well-wooded and not unpleasant country, and a race of savages seemingly mild, but very unenlightened. Proceeding to New-Zealand, they kept the barbarous natives in awe, and escaped without injury. They discovered Mangeea and other well-inhabited islands in their way to Annamooka, where they procured, in return for nails and other trifling articles, an abundant supply of provisions. At Hapaee and Tongataboo, they were entertained and amused in various modes with an attentive kindness worthy of nations more civilised than the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands. They re-examined Otaheite and the neighbouring isles; and, sailing to the northward, were surprised (early in 1778) at the sight of a considerable insular groupe, to which they gave the name of Sandwich. They found that the people were of the same race with the Otaheiteans, but, in some respects, more civilised.

After a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of these islands, the two captains pursued their course to North-America; and explored a long range of coast, without being gratified with the appearance of any river which could be expected,

either by itself, or by a communication with other streams, to lead across the continent. Instead of finding a wide sea between those parts of America and Asia which are nearest to each other, they observed only a narrow channel of thirteen leagues, near the end of the 66th degree of northern latitude. They penetrated to the extent of five degrees beyond that distance; but the ice precluded farther progress. They therefore sailed back, and wintered in the Sandwich Islands.

Captain Cook intended to return to the northward, to resume his survey of the north-eastern coast of Asia and north-western parts of America; but while he remained at Owhyhee (in February 1779), a fatal accident occurred. The natives having not only committed petty thefts, but carried off one of his cutters, he resolved to seise the king, and detain him on board as an hostage. As the chiefs, however, insisted on the continuance of their sovereign among them, he gave up the point, and was retiring to his ship, when intelligence arrived of the death of a chief, who had been shot in a contest between some of the English sailors and a party of the barbarians. The men now sent away the females, put on their war-mats, and commenced a conflict with spears, stones, and long spikes of iron. The captain killed one of the assailants, but, when he turned to give directions to his men in the boats, and thus ceased to overawe the islanders by his aspect, he was stabbed in the back, and, falling, was quickly slain, to the great regret of his countrymen.

Another attempt in search of the desired passage was made by the captains Clerke and Gore, in the same ships. Having visited the dreary region of Kamtschatka, they crossed over to the American coast, and reached the 70th degree of latitude; but were then opposed by a barrier of ice, so as to despair of finding a north-east passage by that frozen sea to Europe. Returning to the Asiatic coast, they sought an opening on that side, until they were wearied by a fruitless search, in which they had persevered while the least glimmering of hope remained. The crew of each ship felt the greatest joy when the determination of abandoning the pursuit was announced; but their joy received a temporary check from the death of captain Clerke. In the prosecution of the homeward voyage, the intention of examining the Japanese archipelago could only be very imperfectly executed, as the weather proved extremely unfavorable. The ships returned by the Cape of Good Hope, and re-anchored on the English coast after an absence of above four years; during which, in consequence of the judicious regulations of captain Cook, better health prevailed among the men than in any former voyage of that extent and duration.

While this and other voyages tended to the improvement of navigation and astronomy, the latter science was cultivated in England with success, particularly by Herschel, a native of Germany, whom the king esteemed and patronised. In the progress of his observations, he discovered a star

which had escaped the notice of former astronomers. He ascertained it to be a primary planet, belonging to the solar system, much larger than the earth which we inhabit. In honor of his majesty, he gave it the appellation of *Georgium Sidus*.

CHAPTER LIX.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE Dutch had long been the allies of the English; but an exterior alliance is not always accompanied with cordial amity. Commercial jealousy and avarice pervaded their breasts; and they no sooner witnessed the rupture between Britain and her colonies, than they conceived the hope of profiting by the revolt. They were eager to enjoy the benefits of the American trade, and to supply Europe with colonial produce. The French took every opportunity of propagating this envious spirit; and their ambassador, the duke de la Vauguyon, was incessantly employed in encouraging the mercantile and republican party, and promoting a confederacy with the Americans. The stadtholder, on the other hand, supported the interest of his Britannic majesty, and enforced the propriety of maintaining that alliance which was so requisite for the protection of the United Provinces. But his adversaries were more active and successful than his partisans. They studiously vilified his moral and political character, and, by their artful insinuations, greatly diminished his credit and popularity. They furnished the French with naval stores; and, from the

island of St. Eustatius, carried on a commerce, mutually beneficial, with the Anglo-American provinces. To regulate and fix this traffic, they framed a treaty, by which, though it was not ratified in due form, both parties conducted their clandestine intercourse.

When the king required, from the republic, an execution of the treaty of alliance, no aid was granted to his solicitations. The memorials of sir Joseph Yorke were disregarded or resented; and, when Dutch ships were seised and detained for having contraband goods on board, loud complaints were made by the incensed merchants. The republican faction, headed by Van Berkel, became more bold and confident when the Russian empress, stimulated by the king of Prussia, promulgated a system more favorable to neutral powers than the established law of nations. She pretended that she had no wish to encourage the conveyance of *contraband* articles to any of the nations engaged in war; but insisted on such an explanation of that term as would confine it to few commodities; claimed a free navigation, even from one port to another, on the coasts of the warring powers; and asserted the right of trading with a blockaded port, unless the ships of the enemy should be so numerous and so closely stationed, as to render approach evidently dangerous. For the maintenance of these regulations, she equipped a considerable fleet: the Danish and Swedish courts applauded her spirit, and followed her example; and, in case of molestation, each power engaged to assist the others in defence of maritime dignity.

The French and Spanish monarchs declared their acquiescence in these arrangements, because they were sensible that Great-Britain would lose in proportion as they would gain by the new association. The Dutch were very willing to concur in the confederacy: but they delayed that complete accession to it, by which they might have secured the aid of the northern powers; and, in the mean time, a discovery of the treaty with the Americans prompted the British court, after another fruitless application to the states-general, to declare war against the republic.

The parliament had been dissolved at the close of the summer; and the elections were sufficiently favorable to the ministry. The motion for the usual address excited a warm opposition to the continuance of the war with the Americans: but the courtiers, particularly lord George Germain, still affected to believe that the enemy would soon be reduced to submission. In one house the numbers for the address were, 203 to 134; in the other, 68 to 23.

[1781.] The manifesto against Holland, being communicated to the two houses; produced animadversions on the violence of the court. Mr. Thomas Townshend disputed the necessity of a war with the United Provinces, and lamented that the ministers, instead of finding an ally, had sought a new enemy. Mr. Wraxall, the historian, took this opportunity of recommending, in a pompous but feeble harangue, an alliance with the emperor of Germany. Mr. Fox accused the king's advisers of having done more mischief to the country, than

any ministers under the worst princes of the Stuart family. The duke of Richmond and lord Camden vindicated the states-general from the charge of having aroused the just resentment of Great-Britain. They had been treated, said those peers, with arrogance and insolence, and driven into the arms of France.

Some attention was paid in this session to the affairs of Hindostan. Petitions were presented by the British inhabitants of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, against the tyranny of the supreme court of judicature, of which also the natives (not without reason) complained in strong terms. General Smith and Mr. Rous stated, that the court had arbitrarily extended it's jurisdiction, had grossly insulted the feelings of the people, and encroached on the immemorial rights of those whom it ought to have protected against oppression; and they proposed the formation of a select committee to inquire into the grounds of complaint. The house agreed to the motion; and a statute was framed for the better regulation of judicial proceedings in the three provinces.

Three bills which would not have disgraced the wisdom of parliament, were rejected by the commons. That house had passed a bill, in the preceding year, for the exclusion of contractors; but the peers, not very willing to promote parliamentary freedom, refused to sanction the measure. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke revived it; but even the commons now declined it's adoption. Another unsuccessful bill was directed against the votes of officers of the revenue, and was introduced by

Mr. Crewe. The third was that of Mr. Burke, for the regulation of his majesty's civil establishment, the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of useless places. Mr. de Grey, Mr. Perceval, and earl Nugent, argued against this bill; alleging, that it was unjust to resume what had been granted by parliament; that the attempt was disrespectful to the king, and the measure would be injurious to the constitution, as it would weaken the power and dignity of one of the three branches of the legislature. Lord Maitland forcibly recommended the bill; and Mr. William Pitt, son of the great minister who had elevated the name and glory of Britain, made his parliamentary *debut* in the same cause. Another young member, in a different debate, strongly excited the attention of the house. This was Mr. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, grandson of the eccentric friend of dean Swift. He took a survey of the riots, which he attributed chiefly to the imperfection of the police of Westminster. To that cause also, he said, must be imputed the order for employing the soldiery without directions from the civil power; a dangerous remedy, which, however useful in extraordinary cases, ought to be discountenanced by parliament, that it might not be used on ordinary occasions as a measure strictly constitutional. To the defects of the same police must likewise be ascribed the establishment of military power, for four months, not only in the capital, but in every part of the realm. Having keenly satirised the ministry, he moved (but without effect) for a declaration of the impropriety and unconstitutionality of such an employment of the

soldiery, unless when riots were so outrageous as to threaten the extinction of civil authority and regular government; and also for the appointment of a committee to investigate the conduct of the magistrates of Westminster during the late riots, and examine the state of the police in that city. Mr. Mansfield, the solicitor-general, vindicated the ministry, and defended an opinion which had been broached by the chief justice, intimating that, in case of an alarming riot, every man was bound to assist in the protection of the lives and property of his fellow-subjects, and even to make use of force for the restoration of tranquillity; and that a soldier, in attacking the turbulent rabble with arms, acted only as every other member of the community ought to act. This doctrine was censured by Mr. Sheridan and sir George Savile, as tending to legalise military usurpation, and pregnant with danger to public liberty.

The ministers found little difficulty in baffling, by the force of number, all the motions of the popular party. They procured the rejection of a petition from the *delegates* of several counties associated in the cause of œconomy and reform—not indeed so styling themselves, but merely assuming the designation of freeholders. They defeated the attempts that were made to stigmatise a loan which deserved severe censure for the extravagance of it's terms, and the corruption which it involved. They would not agree to any inquiry into the state of the navy; and, when Mr. Fox, ably supported by Mr. Pitt, moved for an inquiry into the Ame-

rican war, with a view to a speedy peace, they exploded the proposition as disgraceful.

Taking into consideration the disastrous effects of a hurricane in the West-Indies, the house of commons voted pecuniary relief to the inhabitants of Jamaica and Barbadoes. In the former island, the town of Savannah had been inundated and destroyed by an extraordinary swell of the sea; and, in various districts, the tempest, aided by an earthquake, destroyed a great number of houses and other species of property. Many hundreds of people also lost their lives amidst these convulsions of nature. In Barbadoes, the capital had scarcely a house standing: great havock was made in the plantations; and not only a multitude of cattle perished, but also a considerable number of human beings. Grenada and other islands likewise suffered very serious injury; and the French colonial establishments were not exempt from the like visitation.

An inquiry was proposed by Mr. Burke into the grounds of a confiscation of property, which had taken place at St. Eustatius. That island was subject to the Dutch, who had rendered it a general emporium. It was strong by nature; but the consternation of the inhabitants at the unexpected appearance of a British armament, commanded by sir George Rodney and general Vaughan, produced a speedy submission to the clemency of the invaders, who, without hesitation, ordered the seisure of all property, private as well as public, regardless of the remonstrances of the people. The

spoils were equivalent to three millions sterling, exclusive of some ships of war and one hundred and fifty mercantile vessels, many of which had valuable cargoes. Mr. Burke indignantly inveighed against the predatory injustice of the commanders, whose conduct, he said, disgraced their country, as it was inconsistent with humanity and repugnant to the law of nations; but it was observed, in reply, that the complainants, by supplying the French and the Americans with articles of illicit traffic, had forfeited all claim to that forbearance which would otherwise have been shown to them.

As the stadt-holder was very unfriendly to the war with Great-Britain, the chief blame of ill success was imputed to him, and his confidential adviser, duke Louis of Brunswick; but they, on stronger grounds, blamed the states-general for having provoked a war, not only without justice, but at a time when the republic was ill provided with the requisites of hostility, or the means of defence.

The Dutch having sent out eight large ships and ten frigates to protect their northern trade, an English fleet, consisting only of six sail of the line and five frigates, met the enemy (on the 5th of August) near the Dogger-bank. Courage, rather than skill, marked the conflict. Neither Hyde Parker, nor Zoutman, captured a single vessel: but both squadrons suffered very considerable injury, and one of the Dutch ships foundered in the night. About one thousand men, in the fleet of the republic, were killed or wounded; and, to the great mortification of the states-general, their traders, being constrained to return, were precluded

from an opportunity of procuring naval stores. In the British squadron, about four hundred and fifty men were deprived of life or harassed by wounds. The king honored the admiral with a visit at the Nore; but this testimony of regard did not allay the disgust which he had conceived at the inadequacy of his force to the attainment of decisive success.

The British squadron in the channel being too weak to cope with the French and Spanish fleets, the idle parade of a former season was renewed by the enemy, who did not dare to attack the English in Torbay, and failed in all attempts for the interception of the homeward-bound commercial fleets.

The proximity of Jersey to the French coast having long excited a wish for it's reduction, an attempt had been made for that purpose in 1779; but, as it proved abortive, it was renewed in the first week of the year 1781. The approaches to the chief town were so negligently guarded, that a body of French soldiers filled the market-place, when the majority of the inhabitants were yet in their beds. Corbet (who officiated for the absent governor, general Conway,) was seised by the enemy; and an agreement for the surrender of the whole island was reluctantly signed by him. Major Pierson, having hastily collected a small force, disclaimed obedience to an extorted capitulation, as did also the commandant of Elizabeth castle. The French were attacked with a spirit which ensured success. Those who survived the conflict became prisoners; and the island was saved, but

not without the loss of the brave and estimable officer whose exertions had opened the way to victory.

The French were more fortunate in the western hemisphere than in Europe. In the spring, one of their squadrons, attacked by vice-admiral Arbuthnot near the coast of Virginia, escaped defeat. The count de Grasse, with a more considerable fleet, being encountered by sir Samuel Hood near Martinique, prevented the English from gaining the advantage. The small island of St. Bartholomew was taken from the French; but this loss was over-balanced by their acquisition of Tobago, which, though defended with spirit, was reduced by the marquis de Bouillé, who also, in the autumn, re-captured St. Eustatius, and garrisoned it on behalf of the Dutch.

In the earlier part of the year, the possession of South-Carolina was actively disputed. General Greene, when Gates had been removed from his command, employed Morgan in acts of inferior hostility. To check this officer, Tarleton was sent with one thousand men; and, soon overtaking his adversary, he commenced an impetuous attack. He routed the first line with ease; prosecuted the advantage with his usual alacrity; and was flattering himself with the thought of having secured the victory, when the best troops of Morgan's corps, after a change of position which had the air of a retreat, attacked the too confident English, disordered them by a galling fire, and completed their confusion by a vigorous use of the bayonet.

Lord Cornwallis, who had been desired to take

an opportunity of pushing forward into North-Carolina and Virginia, that he might be joined or assisted by Arnold, severely felt the loss occasioned by this defeat; but, not discouraged, he marched toward the Catawba, passed it with small loss, pursued Greene with celerity, and drove him into Virginia. When Greene had returned, however, that he might obstruct the efficacy of the earl's endeavours to draw the people of North-Carolina to his standard, the English commander retreated.

When the American army in that province exceeded five thousand men, Greene hazarded an engagement in the spring, near Guildford. The risque, indeed, did not seem very alarming, as he had posted his force to advantage, and as Cornwallis had not two thousand men. The provincials of the front line fled at the first attack. Those of the second division fought for a time with spirit, but were at length put to flight. As the English were in danger of being out-flanked, they had extended themselves to the right and left, so as to form many distinct parties, irregularly pressing forward. Greene, hoping to triumph over them by the energy of his third line, consisting wholly of regular troops, now gave, with coolness and confidence, orders which he thought would be favorably decisive: but great was his mortification, when he witnessed the retreat of one of his regiments, and the consequent approach of a battalion of guards to the rear of another, which had been for some time engaged with colonel Webster's division. His hopes revived when the guards had recoiled, and Webster had been repelled; but he

at length found that he could not prevent a general retreat. In the prevailing army, about five hundred and fifty men were killed, wounded, or missing: the Americans lost about an equal number. The death of Webster, who did not long survive a wound which he received, was particularly lamented by the royalists.

Another conflict soon followed. While Cornwallis was advancing into Virginia, lord Rawdon, menaced at Camden with an attack from Greene, led a small corps from that post against the strongest part of the American camp at Hobkirkhill, and threw the enemy into confusion by a sudden assault. Greene, having rallied his men, endeavoured to surround the assailants, as his force more than doubled their number: but his politic antagonist, extending his ranks in one line, baffled the intention by an attack which proved victorious. The provincials afterwards invested Fort Ninety-Six: but the English defended the post with great courage and perseverance; and the siege was raised on the approach of lord Rawdon. When that gallant officer had been succeeded by colonel Stuart, a well-contested battle took place at Eutaw. The British left division fell into great disorder, and even lost it's artillery: but the men were again brought into action by the exertions of their officers. The right repelled the foe, and made great havock. A severe loss was also sustained by the Americans, in the course of an attack upon a large house and grounds, occupied chiefly by New-York royalists, who maintained the post againt every effort. The English justly claimed

the victory; but their loss was considerable. They retired towards Charles-town, while Greene took post on some hills near the Santee.

The commander in chief, during this campaign, seemed more anxious for the preservation of New-York than for any other object. Washington, being joined by a French army under the count de Rochambeau, threatened that city with an attack; and he still pretended to be so disposed, after he had altered his purpose, and fixed upon a southern expedition. Before we relate the important result of his new determination, it will be proper to make concise mention of the proceedings of Arnold and Philips on the one hand, and of the marquis de la Fayette on the other, in the province of Virginia.

The active brigadier injured his former friends by the destruction of valuable stores, and of ships richly laden; and then fixed his camp at Portsmouth, on Elizabeth River. Here he was blocked up by a French squadron, while the marquis harassed him by land. Major-general Philips committed farther ravages in the province, but died in the course of his operations. After the arrival of Cornwallis, the troops pursued la Fayette, and greatly distressed the Americans by pillage and devastation.

Desirous of profiting so effectually by the French alliance, as to rescue and relieve the provincials from the dangers and difficulties to which they were still exposed, Washington stated to Rochambeau the necessity of acting with extraordinary vigor; and it was determined between them, that Virginia

should be the scene of operation. Clinton, deceived by letters written with a view of being intercepted, was so weak as to imagine that the reduction of New-York was still the aim of the confederates, and therefore neglected such measures as might baffle their altered intentions.

A small army, conveyed to the Virginian coast by the count de Grasse, joined la Fayette, after he and general Wayne had unsuccessfully attacked an English detachment. The count then blocked up York river with a part of his fleet, leaving twenty-four sail of the line in a bay near the entrance of the Chesapeak. Some of these ships were brought to action by admiral Graves, who could not obtain any advantage in the conflict.

The Americans, and their Gallic confederates, were now intent on the ruin or the capture of the army under Cornwallis. He had fortified the town of York, and Glocester-Point on the opposite bank; and his batteries commanded the passage over York river. When the allies had advanced from Williamsburgh, and had taken different positions near York, the earl drew his men from the exterior posts, and concentrated his force within the works of the town. While Glocester-Point was subjected to a blockade, preparations were made for a vigorous siege of York. The batteries soon had a considerable effect on the works, and also on the vessels in the harbour, some of which were entirely destroyed. As the fire of two redoubts severely annoyed the besiegers, an impetuous assault was made upon each; and they were added to the works of the confederates, who, having completed

a second parallel, looked forward to the speedy accomplishment of their wishes. The sallies of the garrison gave little obstruction to the siege; and the earl at length found that his fortifications were in so ruinous a condition, as to be utterly inadequate to the defence of the town. Having made a fruitless attempt to escape across York river, he capitulated to avoid the destruction of his army. His terms not being accepted, he was obliged to acquiesce in those of Washington; and (on the 19th of October) about five thousand five hundred soldiers became prisoners to the Americans, while three ships of war and a great number of transports, with the seamen, were surrendered to the French.

The capture of a second army animated the hopes of the Americans, and promised such a decision of the great contest, as would establish that independence for which they had so long hazarded their lives. The intelligence confounded the cabinet, and spread dismay and despondency among the ministerial ranks in parliament. Yet there were some courtiers, who, with incorrigible obstinacy, still cherished the expectation of subjugating the colonies. Those who maintained such an opinion were encouraged by the boastful declaration of sir Henry Clinton, importing that, if he could obtain a reinforcement of ten thousand men, he had no doubt of extinguishing the rebellion. An historian of this reign seems to concur in the idle and fallacious boast, which came with an ill grace from a commander whose blindness had precipitated the fate of Cornwallis.

The arms of Spain, in the same year, prospered on the American continent. West-Florida was again invaded; and Pensacola was invested both by land and sea. The besiegers were so slow in their operations, that almost two months elapsed before they had made such an impression upon the works as to be inclined to risque a general assault. An accident hastened the capitulation. A shell entering a magazine, the powder exploded with the loss of many lives; and one of the redoubts became a heap of rubbish. Considering the rest of the works as not tenable against a considerable force, amply provided with artillery, the commandant desired a parley; and it was agreed that he and the garrison should be prisoners of war.

In Europe, the Spaniards were unable to reduce a barren rock which the English formerly had taken with ease. They continued to block up Gibraltar, and prevailed upon the despot of Morocco to with-hold supplies from the garrison. At length, however, a great quantity of provisions and stores were introduced into the fortress by a fleet which the enemy only attacked with the petty hostilities of gun-boats. A vigorous siege was now prosecuted: numerous batteries played upon the fortress; and strong works were raised at a short distance from the walls. The fortifications of the place, however, were repaired almost as soon as they were injured; and the sacrifice of lives proved less considerable than the great discharge of balls and shells gave reason to apprehend.

The governor of Gibraltar was the gallant

Eliot, who had distinguished himself in the German campaigns of the preceding war. When the besiegers, with persevering labor and extraordinary expence, had extended and improved the works, he resolved to make a bold attempt for their demolition. A select body of two thousand three hundred men, sailors included, marched out of the fortress some hours before day-break (on the 27th of November), and assaulted the works with such impetuosity, that the Spaniards, after a short and irregular fire, fled on all sides. The pioneers and artillerists now spread their fire with great rapidity; and two batteries of mortars, three of cannon, and all the lines of approach, communication, and traverse, were in flames. The fire reached the magazines, which soon blew up; and the conflagration and havock appalled the astonished enemy.

The hopes which his catholic majesty had conceived of the recovery of Minorca had a better foundation. Fort St. Philip was insufficiently garrisoned; and the invading army amounted to sixteen thousand men, well furnished with all the requisites of a siege. The duke de Crillon, the chief commander of the combined force, endeavoured to procure the surrender of the island by the meanness of corruption; but general Murray scornfully rejected the degrading offer. The siege was well conducted; and the defenders manifested equal spirit, until the ravages of disease so diminished the effective force of the garrison, that the fortress could no longer be defended. A capitulation was then adjusted; and the men, after being allowed to

march out with the exterior honors of war, were obliged to pile their arms, and considered as prisoners. They left a large supply of various articles of provision in the fort; but the want of fresh meat and vegetables, and of free air, had produced the scurvy, a putrid fever, and the dysentery. Notwithstanding these obstacles to a long defence, the governor protracted it from August to the February following, so as to excite the admiration of the besiegers, while he severely exercised their patience.

The British government, thinking that the Cape of Good Hope might be easily reduced, had sent out an armament under Johnstone, one of the commissioners who had treated with the Americans. This commander suffered himself to be surprised at Praya (a port belonging to one of the Cape-Verd islands) by M. de Suffrein; but, although he did not evince great skill in his arrangements, or keep his squadron in good order, he compelled the French commodore to retire with loss. As Suffrein, soon after, reinforced the Dutch garrison at the Cape, Johnstone did not attack that settlement; but, in the bay of Saldanha, he met with five ships bound from India to Holland, containing valuable cargoes. He took four of these, while the other was burned by the crew. He then returned to England, instead of sailing to South-America (according to a part of his instructions) to attack Buenos-Ayres.

Another maritime occurrence remains to be mentioned. The French court having detached a fleet from Brest, with troops and stores under it's convoy, intended for different stations, rear ad-

miral Kempenfelt descried the armament within thirty-five leagues of the isle of Ushant; but, as the count de Guichen had a very superior force, the British squadron, without hazarding an engagement, could only take fourteen transports, which, besides artillery and stores, had on board sixteen hundred soldiers and seamen.

CHAPTER LX.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

IT has been frequently and peremptorily affirmed, that the American war was popular, at the beginning and in the progress of the contest: but this assertion is destitute of proof. A great number of persons, besides the court, undoubtedly favored the authority of parliament; but the opposers of the war seem to have been more numerous, both among the middle and the lower classes, although the minister, by securing a majority in each house, "made the worse appear the better cause." At length, the ill success of the war, and the enormous expence with which even defeat and disaster were purchased, opened the eyes of many senators, supposed to be independent, who yet had blindly supported the measures of the cabinet; and they resolved to exert their influence in promoting the return of peace.

The effect of this change of opinion did not appear in the parliamentary divisions at the beginning of the new session; for the court had still a very considerable majority. The opposing party wished to render the address less courtly than it had usually been; and even endeavoured to obstruct the grant of supplies: but the country gentlemen would not

vote against the ministry on either of those questions. When sir James Lowther, however, proposed that the commons should reprobate the prosecution of the American war, many of those who had originally promoted the views of the court, condemned by their altered votes the impolitic system: yet a majority of forty-one voices rejected the motion. In the other house, it was moved that the supplies should be with-holden until the king should discard his ministers, whose absurd conduct and mischievous proceedings were severely satirised by the marquis of Rockingham and the duke of Chandos: but the generality of the peers disapproved this suggestion. The misconductors of the national affairs were still more acrimoniously censured by Mr. Fox, when he moved for a committee (to which lord North agreed) to inquire into the causes of the ill success of the navy. He afterwards urged the friends of their country to declare, that the business of the navy had been grossly mismanaged in the preceding year; and he was pleased to find, that the ministry had only a majority of twenty-two against him in a general committee. When he renewed the motion with the hope of drawing off some of it's opposers, the house rejected it by a plurality of only nineteen votes.

[1782.]

The decision of the grand dispute, respecting the war with the Americans, now approached. General Conway deprecated the continuance of so unjust and calamitous a war, and conjured the house to agree to an address, requesting that his majesty would no longer suffer the war to be pur-

sued on the continent of North-America (as the purpose of reducing that country to obedience by force was obviously impracticable), and would endeavour to effect a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies. Lord North and Mr. Adam maintained, that it was impolitic to vote what might be construed into an acknowlegement of weakness and want of resources for continuing the war, as such conduct would increase the arrogance of all the enemies of Great-Britain, and lead to a dishonorable peace. The parties were so near an equality, that the votes for the address were 193, while the ministerial suffrages were 194.

Encouraged by this prospect of success, Mr. Conway (on the 27th of February) moved for a decisive vote against the war. As Mr. Adam had pronounced such an interference of the house to be unconstitutional, the general obviated that objection by referring to numerous instances of the offer of parliamentary advice to the crown on the subject of war or peace. Lord North allowed, that the motion was not repugnant to constitutional principles; but he contended that it would obstruct rather than promote that peace, which the king had declared (at the close of the last session) to be the earnest wish of his heart. A truce with America was proposed by Wallace the attorney-general, who also moved that the debate should be adjourned for a fortnight. For this delay only 215 members voted, and 234 against it: consequently, a majority of nineteen approved the motion of the patriotic general.

This vote confounded the court, and gave ex-

traordinary pleasure to the popular party. The avenues of the house resounded with congratulations: and the joy of success was rapidly diffused over the kingdom. The triumph, indeed, was not yet complete; for there was a possibility that the court might recover a majority. But, as this was not a probable event, the people indulged themselves with a prospect of the expulsion of ministers as incapable as they were rash, as blind as they were presumptuous—who had blundered and mismanaged from year to year, deluded and corrupted the parliament, burthened and impoverished the nation. Of the opposers of lord North and his associates, many were certainly influenced by a spirit of faction: but the gratified public thought more of the effect than of the motives. It was generally allowed, that worse pilots could not easily be found: it was therefore readily concluded, that the helm would be put under more skilful guidance, by which the vessel of the state might be rescued from danger.

When an address, corresponding with the late resolution, had been presented to the king, he was advised to give an answer indicative of a wish for peace, rather than one which promised a strict compliance with the vote of the house. Apprehending that the ministers might endeavour to evade the injunctions of the commons, Mr. Conway moved for an address, which, in thanking his majesty for his answer, re-urged the specific object of the vote; and also for a declaration, stigmatising, as enemies to their sovereign and country, all who should recommend or attempt the prosecution of offensive

war against the American provincials. Both these proposals were adopted without a division. The attorney-general then moved for leave to introduce a bill which might enable the king to conclude a peace or truce with the colonies. Mr. Fox ridiculed this expedient; and affirmed that the ministers had no wish for peace, and no intention of resigning their employments. They were, he said, unqualified to carry on war or adjust a treaty of peace. He was willing to act even an inferior part in a negotiation: but, if he should coalesce with any of the members of the cabinet, he would be content to be considered as the most infamous of mankind. Lord North vindicated himself against the aspersions upon his character, and declared his readiness to resign if his sovereign should command him to retire, or if the house should unequivocally withdraw it's confidence from him. Resolutions tending to the latter object were moved by lord John Cavendish and sir John Rous, and strongly supported. In one of these debates, sir James Marriott, judge of the admiralty, defended the war, and amused the house with a wonderful discovery, intimating that the colonists were represented in parliament by the members for Kent, as their territories, according to the terms of their charters, were holden of the manor of East-Greenwich. Even the gravity of the judge could not repress general laughter. The motions were rejected by a plurality of ten, and of nine; but the ministry did not deem such majorities sufficient to secure their power; and, when the earl of Surrey was on the point of addressing the house for the promotion of

the desired change, lord North declared that the administration was dissolved. He thanked the commons for the long support with which they had honored him; asserted his constant desire of contributing to the welfare of his country; and promised that he would not shrink from any inquiry into his official conduct. On this occasion, he received compliments, as might have been expected, from some of his adherents: and even one of his chief adversaries reprimanded some members of the victorious party for exulting in his defeat.

The ministerial arrangements were not immediately adjusted, as they required serious consideration. In the first place, lord Camden was (on the 27th of March) constituted president of the council, and the duke of Grafton keeper of the privy seal. The new secretaries of state were the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox. The marquis of Rockingham was commissioned to preside at the board of treasury; and lord John Cavendish obtained the office of chancellor of the exchequer. The new director of the admiralty was Keppel; and the treasurer of the navy was colonel Barré. General Conway was appointed commander in chief of the land forces; and Mr. Burke, paymaster.

Lord North was not destitute of talents, wit, or learning; but he did not possess the acute penetration or the sound judgement of a great statesman. He was an intelligent financier; but some of the taxes which he devised were partial and injudicious. As a war minister, he did not shine: his errors exposed him to ridicule, and his misconduct deserved great censure. If, as has been asserted, he

entered into the American war in repugnance to his private opinion, and suffered a court-favorite to direct him, we may justly blame his mean servility and time-serving hypocrisy. We think, however, that, whatever truth there may be in the report of his subserviency to a power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself, the war was of that description which suited his prejudices. In private life he claimed the praise of good-nature and humanity: he was a pleasant companion, and a benevolent friend.

The first act of Mr. Fox, after he had driven lord North from the helm, was the offer of a separate peace to the states-general, through the mediation of the empress of Russia, who admired the abilities and character of the popular secretary: but the French party procured a rejection of the proposal. The earl of Shelburne had frequently professed himself hostile to the independence of the American provinces; but he gave way to the general opinion of his associates; and it was now intimated, that this point would be conceded. Mr. Thomas Grenville was sent to France to open a treaty; and the public hailed the prospect of a speedy pacification.

The concerns of Ireland required the early attention of the new cabinet. Meetings had been holden in various counties of that realm, and instructions given by the electors to the representatives for various objects of reform, but principally for the emancipation of the lords and commons from the authority of the British parliament. The volunteer associations strenuously promoted the

claim of independence; and Mr. Grattan, one of the most eloquent members of the Hibernian senate, moved for an address to the king against the high pretensions of the legislature of Great-Britain. He failed in the first attempt, but succeeded on a renewal of his endeavours after the change of the ministry. Pleased with his patriotic zeal, the commons rewarded him with fifty thousand pounds. This subject had already been brought forward at Westminster by Mr. Eden, who, being of opinion that a country, sufficiently enlightened to make laws for itself, ought to possess such a power without control, moved for a repeal of the statute by which Ireland was in that respect fettered. Mr. Fox, offended at what he termed the indecent hurry of the mover, who wished to acquire popularity at the expence of the new ministry, desired him to withdraw the motion; and, on the following day, the secretary delivered a royal message, recommending such an adjustment as might give satisfaction to both kingdoms. After a delay of five weeks, he proposed that the wish of the people of Ireland should be gratified, not only from a regard to justice, but also because prudence and policy seemed to dictate acquiescence. It was hinted, that the mere abrogation of the controlling act would not unequivocally decide the dispute; but both houses deemed the repeal sufficient; and (on the 20th of June) a bill was enacted for that purpose, for which the Irish parliament thanked his majesty, although it did not give general satisfaction.

This session produced some acts restrictive of

royal and ministerial influence. The two bills, against contractors and officers of the revenue, were revived and enacted, notwithstanding all the efforts of the chancellor Thurlow for the overthrow of the former, and of lord Mansfield for the rejection of both. Mr. Burke's bill for the reform of the expenditure of the civil list, for the extinction of various offices, and the abolition of the boards of trade and of works, also proved successful. It was introduced by a message from the king, suggesting the propriety of strict œconomy: but some of the members, and the public in general, complained of it's imperfection; and, as it provided for the discharge of new debts contracted by his majesty, it was more delusive than beneficial.

The right of free election was strengthened by the success of Wilkes, who renewed a motion (which he had frequently tried without effect) for expunging from the journals the resolutions concerning the Middlesex election. Mr. Fox, *the man of the people*, resisted this reasonable proposition; which, however, was supported by a majority of 68. The purity of the elective branch of the constitution was also promoted by an act for disfranchising many corrupt voters of Cricklade, and extending the right of suffrage to the freeholders of the hundred. The lords Thurlow and Mansfield opposed this bill; but it was ably defended by sir Fletcher Norton and Mr. Dunning (who had been created barons of Grantley and Ashburton on the recommendation of the new ministers), and likewise by the duke of Richmond, who repre-

hended the former peers for acting as mere lawyers rather than as patriots.

Amidst the freedom of political thought which now prevailed, a reform of the parliamentary representation appeared, in the opinion of many reflecting persons, a very desirable measure. Some enthusiasts in the popular cause recommended a grant of the right of voting to male adults of every description; but this, if not absolutely impracticable, might be productive of disorder and confusion; and, as it would include the lowest members of the community, who are, for the most part, incapable of judging of the merits of a candidate, and are likely to be influenced by intriguing and factious men, it might have a tendency diametrically opposite to genuine reformation and constitutional purity. This extreme would be more pernicious than a paucity of electors; and a middle course would be the most rational mode of adjustment. The number of voters might be considerably enlarged without inconvenience or danger; and, at the same time, their qualifications might be so regulated as to afford a fair prospect of a general capability or competence of prudent choice. The number of respectable voters being thus augmented, there would be a great diminution of courtly and aristocratic influence, and a better chance of conformity between the opinion of the house of commons and that of the people.

The provincial delegates had included this branch among their objects of reform; and the cause was

sanctioned by many distinguished names. Referring to the sentiments of the earl of Chatham, who had pronounced a reform of this kind to be requisite for securing constitutional liberty, Mr. Pitt addressed the commons upon the subject. He affirmed, that an assembly, intended to represent the popular part of the nation, had so far declined from the object of it's institution, and so far deviated from it's original direction, that a due connexion was not preserved between the house and the public, the members in general being more influenced by the crown or the aristocracy than by the opinions or wishes of the people. Many boroughs, he said, had not a single quality of representation in them; but the most dangerous were those in which the votes were constantly *brought to market*. Such places ought to be disfranchised, or at least reformed; and, to the list of members for counties, an addition might be made with propriety and advantage. He requested that the house would permit this important subject to be investigated by a committee, with a view to a moderate reform. Mr. Fox objected to the present representation, which, he said, was not equal, regular, or strictly constitutional: he therefore wished for a deliberate inquiry into the best mode of improving it. Mr. Powys could not see the least utility in an examination or revisal of a system which had stood the test of ages. Mr. Thomas Pitt ridiculed the idea of equal representation, and affirmed that nothing of that kind was intended by the framers or improvers of the constitution; and Mr. Dundas was of opinion, that the inquiry did

not promise any real benefit, and might lead to evil. By a small majority, the proposal was rejected.

A secret committee had been appointed to scrutinise the abuses in the government of India; and, when several reports had been presented to the house, Mr. Dundas reviewed the affairs of the company, and the conduct of it's servants, with perspicuity and ability. He reprobated that spirit of ambition which had provoked the native powers, in the hope of profiting in point of territory by the contest; that perfidy which had produced frequent violations of treaty; that prodigality which had embarrassed and distressed the company; and that general misgovernment which had seriously injured the interests of our Asiatic establishments. Many resolutions were voted, stating acts of gross misconduct; and it was the opinion of the house, that Mr. Hastings, the chief justice Impey, and Hornby (governor of Bombay), ought to be recalled from India.

Amidst the parliamentary deliberations, intelligence of great naval success arrived. Admiral Rodney was preparing to act with spirit in the West-Indies, when he was informed that the island of St. Christopher was in danger. The marquis de Bouillé, having taken Nevis and Montserrat, attacked St. Christopher's with a force which could not easily be withstood. The chief town being indefensible, brigadier Fraser posted on Brimstone-hill the few troops that he had under his command, and, during four weeks, sustained a regular siege. Sir Samuel Hood engaged the count de

Grasse, and prevented him from co-operating with the marquis, but could not save the island. When he had joined Rodney, a defeat of the French fleet became necessary for the security of Jamaica. M. de Grasse endeavoured to avoid an engagement, that he might afford time for a Spanish armament to join him; with the aid of which, he thought, he might dispossess the English of all their remaining islands: but he was too sanguine in his expectations. Rodney having approached the French between Dominique and Guadaloupe, Hood brought a part of their fleet to action; but they found an opportunity of retiring. In the pursuit, one of the count's ships being threatened with capture, he imprudently bore down with his whole fleet for her protection, and thus furnished his more politic adversary with the means of forcing him into a conflict.

Signals being given by the admiral for close fighting, Drake's division (on the 12th of April) began the engagement with the usual display of British courage. Every gun had it's effect, as the enemy's ships were thronged both with seamen and soldiers. Affleck led the central division with equal gallantry; and Hood, though for some time becalmed, at length conducted the rear to a share in the glories of the day. The French had only thirty-three ships of the line, against thirty-six; but they had an equal weight of metal, and they fought for eleven hours with great obstinacy, long after Rodney, by breaking their line, had secured the success of his fleet.

The English purchased this victory with the loss of two hundred and thirty lives, as stated in the official account; but, of the seven hundred and fifty-nine who were mentioned as only wounded, many died soon afterwards. Above two thousand of the French were killed, and four thousand wounded. The Ville de Paris, the flag-ship of M. de Grasse, was taken with the admiral himself: three others were brought away: a ship of the line was sunk during the action; one blew up after being captured; and Hood took two in the following week: but, of the prizes thus obtained, three foundered in the sequel.

As Rodney was more attached to the Tories than to the Whigs, the new directors of the national affairs intended to call him to an account for the acts of rapine committed at St. Eustatius; and they had sent an order for his resignation of the command of the fleet to Pigot, before they were acquainted with his victory over the count de Grasse. Mr. Fox, however, condescended to move for a vote of thanks to the admiral, who was also ennobled, and rewarded with a pension. Some members wished to stigmatise the ministry for having recalled sir George; but the motions to that effect were exploded.

Peace was not yet restored to the nation, when the marquis of Rockingham died. He was a man of ordinary understanding rather than of shining talents: he loved his country, and studiously promoted what he considered as it's true interests: he was just and honorable in his intercourse with the world; mild, liberal, and humane.

The death of this nobleman dissolved the union of the ministry. The earl of Shelburne, who, with greater abilities, had less influence over the party than the marquis possessed, courted the smiles of his sovereign, and was removed to the station of first lord of the treasury. Mr. Fox, who was disposed to be *aut Cæsar aut nullus*, wished to act as prime minister, while he retained the office of secretary of state; but, being disappointed in that hope by the earl's procurement of the post for which *he* would have recommended the duke of Portland, he abruptly resigned the seals. His chief friends followed his example, and again became the determined adversaries of the court. The earl affected to disregard the secession of the offended politicians with whom he had acted: but they entertained sanguine hopes of shortening the term of his administration.

In a debate which followed the earl's promotion, Mr. Fox endeavoured to convince the house of commons, that nothing but a sincere regard for his country had induced him to resign: but Mr. Pitt insinuated, that the secession arose from mortified ambition rather than from genuine patriotism. This young orator had been neglected in the disposal of places, on the retreat of Lord North; but he was now appointed chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Shelburne, affirming that he attended more to measures than to men, imputed the late resignations to an opposite principle, which sought men in preference to measures, and to a domineering spirit of party, which had endeavoured to reduce the king to a state of vassalage.

The pacific views of the cabinet were announced to the American general by Carleton (who had become commander in chief), and admiral Digby. The intimation, although it was received with contempt, produced a state of inaction.

The French and Spaniards threatened to inflict serious injury on Great-Britain; but their menaces proved mere gasconades. They made extraordinary efforts for the reduction of Gibraltar, which, they thought, would not be able to withstand their new scheme of attack. They prepared ten large battering ships, so constructed, in the opinion of the builders, as to defy the bombs and balls of the garrison. The governor beheld these and other preparations without the least sensation of fear, and destroyed some of the advanced works by a vigorous fire. The enemy, irritated and incensed, kept up for several days a tremendous cannonade from all the land batteries, aided by frequent discharges from the ships and gun-boats. At length (on the 13th of September), the grand experiment was hazarded, within view of a numerous army, commanded by the duke de Crillon. Thirty Spanish ships of the line, and fourteen French, were then in the bay. The floating machines were moored within half-gun-shot of the walls; and the roar of artillery echoed around. For many hours no impression seemed to be made on the battering-vessels: but in the night, when the firing of both parties had abated, the effect of the heated balls, sent from the rock, appeared in the most awful form. The ship of commodore Moreno, and another of the new vessels, were in flames; and

amidst the confusion which now arose, the English gun-boats prevented the boats of the enemy from assisting the distressed occupants of the battering-ships, all of which were at length on fire. When the victory was thus secured, the humane conquerors were eager to rescue their adversaries from destruction. Many were floating upon fragments of wood, others were swimming, and a considerable number remained in the burning ships. It was extremely dangerous to attempt to afford relief; for the guns, heated by the flames, poured forth their combustible contents, and the vessels were gradually approaching the point of explosion. The captains Curtis and Knowles, however, and a party of intrepid seamen, saved above three hundred and fifty individuals. From the beginning of the attack to the close of hostility on the morning of the second day, about one thousand of the enemy were shot, burned, or drowned, while the garrison suffered a very small loss.

For this resolute defence, and these extraordinary exertions, Eliot merited and received the highest applause. He was pensioned for his services, created a knight of the Bath, and subsequently enrolled among the peers of Great-Britain.

After the renewal of the blockade, lord Howe entitled himself to praise, for maintaining the honor of the English flag. In the face of an enemy who had the advantage of the wind as well as a great superiority of force, and yet only dared to keep up a distant cannonade, he supplied Gibraltar with ample stores and a military reinforcement.

In the east, British valor was also displayed, though it was not in every instance successful. As soon as the defeat of colonel Baillie was known at Calcutta, sir Eyre Coote was requested by the council to hasten to Madras, with a body of Europeans, that the enemy might be more effectually opposed. Having taken measures for the security of that settlement, and for the restoration of order both in military and civil affairs, he re-took Carangoli, and intimidated the besiegers of other towns into a discontinuance of their attempts. He was long precluded, by the caution of Hyder Ali, from an opportunity of general action: but, when that commander had been considerably reinforced, the two armies (on the 1st of July, 1781) engaged between Porto-Novo and Mooteapollam.

The force of Hyder exceeded eighty thousand men, who were defended by strong works, and whose discipline had been improved by the instructions of French officers. The garrison of Chillumbrum having driven off a party of assailants, he was so elate, that he fully expected victory in the approaching battle. Coote had only seven thousand five hundred men to act against the numerous host of Mysore; but he did not despair of success. He attacked the left wing obliquely, with such energy and skill, that disorder began to spread among the hostile ranks: yet the resistance was long and spirited. His second line found great difficulty in repelling many violent assaults. An attempt to penetrate between his lines, and another to surround his small army, exposed him to serious danger: but, after a contest of seven hours, he tri-

umphed over all opposition. About three thousand five hundred of Hyder's men were slain: and his favorite general received a mortal wound.

When sir Eyre Coote had received a reinforcement sent by Hastings, he invested Tripassour, and reduced it at the very time when the van of Hyder's army, strengthened by recent additions, approached the town in the hope of relieving it. As the English and the sepoys advanced, the Mysoreans receded, until they reached a strong position. Here they were attacked (in August) by Coote, though he was obliged to form his front under a very heavy cannonade both from batteries and the enemy's line. After a long conflict, he was again victorious.

The opposite armies had a third engagement, in the succeeding month, near Sholingour. Hyder was again compelled to retreat with considerable loss; but, in all these actions, he secured his artillery and stores. He afterwards encountered the same troops in a desultory fight; and, again, sir Eyre had the advantage.

In the same year, the English met with success against the Mahrattas. They invaded the province of Malva, and routed the army of Madajee Scindia, who at length agreed to a separate peace.

In the first month of the following year, Telicheri was rescued from danger by a fierce attack upon the besiegers of that town, who were defeated by major Abingdon. Colonel Braithwaite, with equal courage, was less fortunate than that officer. Tippoo, with fifteen thousand of his countrymen, and a small body of French, approached the Cole-

roon (on the 16th of February), and assaulted about two thousand three hundred men, whom he could not vanquish before the third day shone upon the combatants. He then carried off, as captives, all who survived the defeat. The Mysoreans were soon after joined by a well-disciplined force, from the fleet of M. de Suffrein; and Cudalour was taken by the confederates, who also reduced Permacoli.

At Arnee, in the Carnatic, another contest occurred (in June) between sir Eyre Coote and Hyder Ali. The army of the latter had the advantage in every point and circumstance, except valor and discipline. The troops commanded by the former were harassed by a brisk cannonade, while the arrangements for battle were unfixed; but when sir Eyre had so disposed his small force as to prevent it from being overwhelmed, he put the enemy to flight. Hyder, however, some days afterwards, drew a body of his adversaries into an ambuscade, and destroyed or captured the whole party. The two commanders met no more. Hyder died before the end of the year; and sir Eyre, in the following spring, resigned his breath, with the character of an intrepid and skilful general, an amiable and respectable man.

Hyder Ali was the first Mohammedan who ruled in Mysore. At the age of twenty years, he obtained the command of a body of infantry in the service of the rajah of Seringapatam; and being endowed with great talents, he soon distinguished himself in the arts of war and government. He acted for many years as the chief adviser of Gora-

churi, the prime minister of the rajah; but was at length prompted by ambition to throw off all control. Having acquired a great influence over the army by address and liberality, he marched in a military form, seized the minister, put him to death, and enforced the submission of the rajah, from whom he received, for himself and his heirs, a grant of the office of political director. He thus became the actual sovereign of Seringapatam and it's dependencies, while the rajah, though honored with exterior respect, was a mere prisoner of state. Not content with the Mysorean territories, he undertook many warlike expeditions, and at length extended his dominions from Visapour to Madoura. He governed with wisdom and ability, personally inspected every department of administration, and considerably improved the state of the country. He was frank and affable in his manners, cheerful and entertaining in his conversation, and occasionally kind and friendly: but he had a tincture of cruelty in his disposition, and was capable of great enormities. The sultan Tippoo, who succeeded him in his usurpation, had fewer virtues and greater vices.

While sir Eyre Coote checked the progress of Hyder, sir Edward Hughes had inflicted some injury on that enterprising enemy of the English, by the destruction of vessels in some of his ports. The admiral then proceeded to the coast of Coromandel; and, although the garrison of Negapatam had been reinforced by a detachment of Mysoreans, and the works had received additional strength, he resolved, in concert with the troops under Monro,

to attack that important settlement. The advanced fortifications were stormed; and, after a short siege, the place was taken.

A farther loss was soon sustained by the Dutch. The fleet having reached Ceylon, a body of sepoys, aided by a party of seamen and marines, took by assault the fort of Trincomale; and, to this conquest, Ostenburgh was quickly added. Sir Edward afterwards encountered M. de Suffrein; but the engagement was more honorable than advantageous to the former.

When the British admiral had augmented his force, he again met Suffrein, who, still having a superior fleet, courted a new collision. Near the bay of Trincomale, the French commander, who had the advantage of the wind and of situation, bore down with two of his best ships on the flag-ship of Hughes, within pistol-shot, while the captains of the rest of his fleet also advanced with alacrity. The battle raged for five hours; and then the enemy drew off in great disorder.

These brave antagonists met a third time; and Hughes had a fair prospect of victory, but was disappointed by a sudden change of the wind. A French ship struck her colors; but, instead of actually surrendering, fired into the opposing vessel, and found an opportunity of escaping. Sir Edward now sailed to Madras, to complete the reparation of his ships, and procure various supplies.

Taking advantage of the absence of the English fleet, the French re-took Trincomale. Hughes, returning to the isle of Ceylon, resolved to make another attempt for the total defeat of the enemy.

He had eleven sail of the line, and one ship of 50 guns; while Suffrein had twelve of the former and three of the latter description. The engagement soon became general, and was very brisk and spirited. Of the French, above a thousand were killed or wounded; of the English, not more than three hundred and fifty. In the former conflict near Trincomale, there was a much greater effusion of blood.

In the spring of this year, Scindia mediated a pacification with the Mahratta state. It was agreed, that Salsette and some neighbouring islands should be ceded to the India company; that various places taken since a treaty had been negotiated by colonel Upton, should be restored; that Ragonaut Row should receive, from the peishwa, a pension for his support, and be no longer protected by the English; that all his stipulations in their favor should be annulled; that neither party should in any way assist the enemies of the other; and that the sultan of Mysore should be compelled to relinquish every town or district which he had taken from the company or it's allies.

The Mysoreans not being yet disposed to peace, the English resolved to attack them with redoubled vigor. Colonel Humberston met with success in the kingdom of Calicut and the adjoining territories; but he failed in the siege of Paligatcheri, and was obliged to retreat to Panian, where the troops, now reinforced and commanded by Macleod, were assaulted by Tippoo and M. Lally, whom, however, they repelled, by the extraordinary

exertions of a small body of combatants against a numerous host.

An army under Matthews now invaded the territory of Canara, which had been subdued by Hyder long before his war with the English. He took Onour by storm (in January 1783), and suffered his troops to treat the vanquished with cruelty. He reduced Hyder-nagur, Mangalour, and other towns and fortresses. He was, however, defeated by Tippoo near the former place, and obliged to trust to the strength of the citadel, until the progress of the besiegers rendered a capitulation adviseable. The terms were violated by the sultan, who, accusing Matthews of having robbed the fort of all it's valuable contents, put him and some of his officers to death, and imprisoned the common soldiers. He then formed the siege of Mangalour, and continued it even to the year 1784, when peace was concluded on the basis of reciprocal restitution.

The negotiations between the British and French courts were carried on during the greater part of the year 1782; and they were not brought to a conclusion before the parliament re-assembled. The king then informed the two houses, that provisional articles had been adjusted with the American states, whose independence, with a reluctance which nothing but the wishes of his people could subdue, he had promised to acknowlege in the definitive treaty. Mr. Fox having expressed a desire of knowing the precise terms in which independence had been offered (for he wished it to be

granted absolutely and unconditionally, not as the price of peace), Mr. Pitt would not agree to the production of any part of the preliminary agreement, but intimated that so great a favor would not be granted unless peace should attend it or result from it; and the prime minister made a similar declaration to the peers.

The conferences at London and Paris were at length productive of a series of articles, preparatory to a definitive peace. They [1783.] were signed at Versailles, on the part of the French monarch, by the count de Vergennes, and, for the king of Great-Britain, by Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, who, at the same time, agreed to a preliminary treaty with Spain.

The articles of peace furnished Mr. Fox with an opportunity of exciting odium and clamor against the earl of Shelburne, who had settled the chief points with M. Rayneval, a *commis* sent to England by the count de Vergennes. But all his efforts might have been withstood by the earl, if the leader of the Whigs had not been joined, at his own desire, by lord North and his Tory friends. The report of this heterogeneous and unprincipled coalition was, for some time, disbelieved by the public; but it's effect strikingly appeared when the preliminaries were debated in the house of commons.

The peers (by a majority of thirteen) signified their approbation of the articles, and thanked the king for the wisdom and patriotism which he had exhibited in thus relieving his subjects from war.

But the representatives of the people would not so far gratify the court. Lord John Cavendish objected to a complimentary address proposed by Mr. Thomas Pitt; and moved, that the house should thank his majesty for the communication of the treaties, and promise to examine them with due attention. Lord North, to this amendment, wished to add a clause in recommendation of the American *loyalists* (as the enemies of the congress were called); and he opposed the articles with asperity, probably because he had not been suffered to adjust them. They, indeed, merited some censure; but a minister whose incapacity had so evidently appeared during the war, had no right to censure any terms of peace, as the disadvantage or dishonor chiefly resulted from his errors and misconduct. Mr. Powys supported the original address, and took an opportunity of reprobating the coalition. As Mr. Dundas also censured the new combination of parties, he was rallied on the subject by Mr. Sheridan, who represented his alliance with Mr. Pitt, the friend of reform, as still more extraordinary. Mr. Fox vindicated his union with lord North, by alleging the cessation of the cause of disagreement—the American war. He inveighed against the terms, as humiliating and disgraceful; and declared his firm opinion of the facility of procuring an honorable peace. Mr. Pitt defended the stipulations, and affirmed that they were as favorable as any reasonable person, who considered the circumstances of the nation, could expect. On a division, the amendments

were carried by a majority of sixteen, the numbers being 224 and 208.

The subject was again discussed with warmth and asperity, in consequence of a motion from lord John Cavendish, intimating that "the concessions made to the adversaries of Great-Britain were greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual state of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength." This debate produced a renewed defence of the coalition from Mr. Fox and lord North; but their arguments on this head were not forcible. The resolution was voted by a majority of seventeen.

As the king was highly displeased at the object of the coalition, he did not immediately change the administration; but, when Mr. Coke had moved an address for that purpose, to which the house of commons readily agreed, new arrangements were ordered. Mr. Fox (on the 2d of April) was appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs, and lord North for the home department. The duke of Portland became first lord of the treasury; and lord John Cavendish was declared chancellor of the exchequer. The presidency of the council was transferred to lord Stormont: the great seal, which lord Thurlow had retained amidst the changes of the preceding year, was put into the hands of lord Loughborough and two other judges; and the privy seal was delivered to the earl of Carlisle. Mr. Burke re-obtained his former post: lord Townshend was selected for the mastership of the ordnance, and colonel Fitzpatrick for the office of

secretary at war; while lord Keppel was again commissioned to preside at the board of admiralty.

Mr. Fox gave early attention to the affairs of North-America: but, as a regular commercial treaty with the new republic required serious deliberation, he only proposed, for the present, a repeal of the prohibitory enactments, and an authorisation of the king to regulate the intercourse between the merchants of the two nations.

Before the change of the ministry, a bill, declarative of independent rights, had been introduced by Mr. Thomas Townshend (then secretary of state) for the gratification of the Irish, who were not content with the repeal of the obnoxious act of George the First. Being favored by the coalesced leaders, it was now enacted; but an union of the parliaments of the two realms would have been a preferable measure.

The two secretaries soon manifested the occasional difference of their political sentiments. When Mr. Pitt advised the commons to frame new regulations for the prevention of bribery and the reform of the representation, Mr. Fox maintained, and lord North denied, the necessity and expediency of such measures; and the house decided against the proposal. In a subsequent debate, arising from a bill of official reform brought forward by Mr. Pitt, these ministers were less at variance. They objected to it on various grounds; and, when it reached the upper house,

the peers of the coalition procured a majority against it.

While the new counsellors of his majesty retained their influence, definitive treaties were signed (on the 3d of September) with France, Spain, and the United States of North-America. To the first-named power, St. Lucia was re-delivered, and Tobago guarantied: Goree was restored, and the forts near the Senegal were ceded, while Great-Britain retained her settlements upon the Gambia: Pondicheri, and all other towns and forts reduced by the English in Hindostan, were given up; and, on the other hand, they recovered from the French six West-Indian islands which had been taken during the war. It was agreed, that Minorca should be ceded to the Spaniards, who were also permitted to possess both the provinces of Florida. The Americans were favored in point of boundary, as well as with regard to the Newfoundland fishery. The treaty with Holland was not finally settled before the year 1784; and the Dutch were then not only obliged to cede Negapatam, but to allow to all British subjects a free navigation in the eastern seas.

The peace which was now concluded did not meet with the full approbation of those who had a due sense of the honor of their country. It was too favorable to the French, whose exhausted finances did not promise an ability of continuing the war with effect. To the Spaniards it was more advantageous than their injustice deserved, as it allowed them to retain a province and an island

which they had subdued. To the Americans, the court seemed to give too much, in conceding more than the boon of independence. The Dutch, however, could not say that they had extorted terms which were dishonorable to Great-Britain: they were justly punished for their avarice and ingratitude.

CHAPTER LXI.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE coalition has never been defended to the satisfaction of unbiassed minds and upright characters. It has been alleged, that men who have been decidedly hostile upon grand political questions, may, when the grounds of contest have been removed, renounce their animosity without being liable to just censure, and coalesce without meriting reproach, particularly when they are influenced to unite by a desire of promoting the public interest. Even if ambition should have a great share in producing the union, it may, say these politicians, be palliated and excused. But the coalition of Mr. Fox with lord North was of a nature so heterogeneous, so contrary to all just grounds of union, that (in our opinion) only those who are blinded by party, or are deficient in the faculty of reasoning, can presume to speak in it's vindication. It exhibited the strong features of political deformity, the unblushing front of interested ambition. One was a professed Whig, almost a republican; the other was a Tory, inclined to support the high claims of monarchy. Fox was so far a latitudinarian, that he wished to open to dissenters the emoluments of the church and the privileges of corporations; while North was so firm a friend to the ecclesiastical establishment,

that he invariably opposed the pretensions of the sectaries. Fox had — not merely in an occasional debate, but in the uniform course of many years — assailed the obnoxious premier with the most insulting scurrility and the most sarcastic asperity; had represented him as the most contemptible of all fools, the most incapable of all ministers, the systematic enemy of his country, the vile betrayer of the rights of Britons, the pertinacious promoter of an unnatural war; and had declared that he would not rest until he had brought him to the block for his multiplied enormities. An orator, in a popular assembly, may be allowed to make use of that figure which is technically called *hyperbolè*; but, when his effusions, after a fair restriction of their import, and a reduction of their embellishments within the bounds of common sense, substantially include an excess of pointed censure and invective, he cannot retract them so far as to enter into a close union with his principal adversary, without subjecting himself to the imputation of having opposed and thwarted him from the mere impulse of a factious spirit, and of having fulminated his anathemas against a respectable and patriotic minister, whom, for selfish purposes, he wished to drive from the helm. To say that the cause of opposition is removed, is inconsistent with such attacks; for, with every reflecting man, such grounds of political hostility must be eternal. The furious assailant who could thus coalesce proved himself to be either an illiberal and factious calumniator, unworthy of obtaining the least credit to his subsequent speeches, or so

appetent of power, that he would unite with any one, however weak or unprincipled, for the purpose of securing it. Lord North was less censurable than Mr. Fox for agreeing to an union; but, if we consider the difference of their principles, and the attacks which he had sustained, his assent to it seemed to involve a dereliction of all honorable and manly spirit.

Lord North had formerly distinguished himself by an act for the regulation of the government of India; and he now concurred with Mr. Fox in a plan of a bolder kind—a violent remedy, for which the dangerous nature of the disease seemed urgently to call. Soon after the meeting of parliament, permission was asked for the introduction of a bill, which would consign the management of the affairs of the India company to seven commissioners, who should possess for four years the powers hitherto enjoyed by the directors and the general court of proprietors, and not be liable to dismission unless the peers or commons should address his majesty for that purpose. Mr. Fox asserted the propriety of such a measure, and insisted on it's expediency for the preservation and security of our Asiatic settlements. He mentioned the want of harmony between the directors and proprietors, the confusion which prevailed both at home and abroad, the very low state of the finances, and the enormity of abuse, oppression, and grievance. This misgovernment, he said, would also be corrected by a second bill, which, by prescribing rules for the conduct of the officers of the company, would substitute moderation for tyranny,

equity for injustice, and regularity for disorder. Both bills were allowed to be brought into the house: and animated debates were expected from the nature of the scheme.

On the production of the former bill, Mr. William Wyndham Grenville opposed it with great warmth. He admitted the necessity of new regulations for the government of India, but protested against the adoption of a plan so iniquitous—a plan which would grossly violate a solemn charter, reduce the king under the sway of an unprincipled faction, and endanger the existence of the constitution. The pretended remedy, he thought, would be infinitely worse than the disease. Commodore Johnstone controverted the necessity of such an arbitrary interference in the affairs of the company, whose rights, he said, ought not to be annulled or even diminished without proof of delinquency. Mr. Fox and lord John Cavendish argued, that a new system was essentially necessary on this occasion, and that no charters ought to preclude a reform which was calculated for the most beneficial purposes. The new power (the secretary added) would not, as had been invidiously hinted, supersede or control that of the crown, but would be conjunct and co-operative with it. This assertion was contradicted by Mr. Pitt, who represented the powers as so far distinct in this case, that a junto, armed with the patronage of India, and swaying the two houses of parliament, would hold the king in a state of powerless vassalage.

Petitions being presented against the bill from

the court of directors and the body of proprietors, the house consented to hear pleadings in support of the allegations of persons so deeply interested in the proceedings. The counsellors, regardless of the opinion of the majority, declaimed against the bill as unjust and tyrannical, and with strong remonstrances deprecated it's enactment.

As the directors had exhibited a favorable statement of the commercial and pecuniary affairs of the company, Mr. Fox entered into an arithmetical detail, to prove the fallacy of the accounts: but some of his assumptions were as ill-founded as those to which he objected. He then defended the bill, by alleging the misconduct and incapacity of the directors; and lord North maintained the policy and utility of the measure, which, he also contended, was not inconsistent with justice, as the spirit of the charter had been scandalously violated. Mr. Pitt reprobated the bill in the strongest terms, and conjured the house to reject with indignation a scheme which militated against equity, honor, and justice, and would create a new and dangerous power in the state.

In a subsequent debate, when Mr. Powys had opposed the intended violation of public faith, Mr. Burke spoke of solemn charters with reverence; but he would not suffer his respect for such instruments to overbear his sense of equity, and his regard for oppressed fellow-creatures, particularly where they suspended (as in the case of monopoly) the natural rights of mankind. A charter of this kind, he said, ought not to become the source of oppression; and, if those who acted under it had

systematically deviated from it's spirit and object, they ought to be punished by a revocation of the grant. He affirmed, that the most nefarious outrages, and every species of tyranny, had disgraced the government of India; and that, if the directors either connived at, or could not prevent, the commission of such crimes, they were wholly unworthy of trust or favor. Commercial mismanagement, he added, was as prevalent as political delinquency; and, in every point of view, a new system was so necessary, that the parliament would deserve severe censure if it should not agree to the present scheme, or to some plan equally calculated to meet the exigency. He denied that the influence which the bill would grant or create would be dangerous, as the commissioners would be responsible to parliament for all their actions. After some spirited harangues on both sides, the commitment of the bill was ordered by a majority of 114. In the sequel it was opposed by lord Mahon, who called it an infamous bill; by Mr. Wilkes, who said that no epithet could be too harsh for it; by sir Richard Hill, who quaintly satirised it's chief authors; by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Jenkinson, who were of opinion that it would introduce a new power, independent of the crown. It was supported by general Burgoyne, who referred to the reports of different committees for proofs of the delinquency of the company; by Mr. Anstruther, who forcibly argued for the necessity of a reform; by Mr. Rigby and the attorney-general Lee, who maintained that a charter which ceased to be beneficial in it's effects ought for the public good to be abrogated.

It was then sanctioned by a majority of 106, the numbers being 208 and 102.

In the house of peers, it met with a different fate. Lord Loughborough was it's advocate; but lord Thurlow pointedly arraigned it's principle and tendency; and the duke of Richmond was equally warm in his censures. On a question of adjournment, the adversaries of the ministry prevailed.

The dispute at length (on the 17th of December) came to a crisis. The earl of Carlisle spoke with ability in favor of the scheme. As it was said to involve a confiscation of private property, he replied to this allegation by asserting, that it would increase the security of such possessions; that an endeavour to make the directorial government at home more respectable would not render this property more precarious; nor would an attempt to prevent disorder and confusion abroad diminish it's value. To speak of the wanton annulment of a charter was an imputation equally ill-founded. It was highly reasonable to alter or revoke such a grant, if it's continuance portended general inconvenience and public danger. All the British subjects in India would feel the effect of the wild ambition, the improvidence, and misconduct, of the company; and the inhabitants of Great-Britain would be more severely taxed, to make up the deficiencies consequent on the non-payment of the duties required from that almost-ruined corporation. The evils for which the ministers had proposed a remedy, could not be corrected by ordinary palliatives, but demanded strong measures; and, to ensure the permanence of the new authority, it was

proper that it should depend more on the parliament than on the crown.—Lord Camden affirmed, that no property could be secure if charters should thus be violated on the plea of convenience or necessity; that the mal-administration of the company had been artfully exaggerated; that the new scheme did not promise better government; and that it was a dangerous infringement of the constitution to commit executive power to the legislature. The debate terminated in the rejection of the bill, by a difference of 19 votes. It probably would have passed, if the king, feeling a strong repugnance to the scheme, had not communicated his disgust, by the medium of earl Temple, to many of his hereditary counsellors.

Whether the bill thus exploded was a justifiable measure is a point that deserves some investigation. It is highly proper that great regard should be paid to charters, whether granted only by the king or sanctioned by the legislature. Public faith ought to be as strong a tie as private honor. But the original purpose of the grant ought to be deliberately considered; and, if it should appear, to an impartial eye, that the intent and spirit of a charter have been grossly violated, and that a continuance of the same system may involve the society in ruin, and materially injure the state, there seems to be no criminality in punishing, by a revocation of the grant, the unprincipled mismanagers of such an important establishment; or, if the conductors have evinced great weakness and want of judgement, without being profligate, tyrannical, or unjust, their inadequate agency may, not impro-

perly, be superseded by the appointment of other managers. The act was certainly violent and arbitrary in appearance; but the necessity of powerful control was indisputable; and strong measures alone seemed to promise a retrieval of the affairs of the company.

The extraordinary power and influence which the commissioners might derive from the new arrangements, sufficient (it was said) to hold the king in bondage, were exaggerated by the opposers of the bill; but it must be allowed that the bold spirit of it's author had so framed it as to secure a greater degree of authority and patronage for himself and his friends, than even the urgency of the case required. By thus grasping at too much, he lost all; and, by soaring to an immoderate height, he precipitated his fall.

Although the ministers had lost the confidence of their sovereign, they would not condescend to resign their posts. They instructed Mr. Baker to move a resolution, intimating that it was a high crime and misdemeanour, invasive of the fundamental privileges of parliament, and subversive of the constitution of the country, to report any opinion or pretended opinion of his majesty, upon a bill or other proceeding, in the hope of influencing the decision of the members of either house. This motion was supported by invectives against clandestine advice and unconstitutional interference, and was sanctioned by a majority of 73 votes. It was then resolved, that the house should, in the following week, commence an inquiry into the state of the nation; and also (on the motion of Mr.

Erskine, a very eloquent barrister), that, as it was necessary to the most essential interests of the kingdom, and peculiarly incumbent on the commons, to pursue with unremitting zeal the consideration of a suitable remedy for the abuses which prevailed in the government of the British dominions in the East-Indies, every person who should advise his majesty to prevent, or in any manner interrupt, the discharge of this great duty, should be deemed an enemy to his country. The king, influenced by the adversaries of the coalition, resolved to disregard these votes, and change his ministry. He sent an order, at night, to enforce the resignation of the two secretaries: the duke of Portland, and the inferior members of the administration, were also dismissed from their employments. Mr. Pitt, though he was only in the twenty-fifth year of his age, was placed at the head of the new cabinet, being not only appointed chancellor of the exchequer, but also first commissioner of the treasury. The marquis of Carmarthen succeeded Mr. Fox, and lord Sydney (late Mr. Thomas Townshend) was substituted for lord North. Lord Thurlow was reinstated in the chancellorship: earl Gower was honored with the presidency of the council; and the duke of Rutland was intrusted with the privy seal. The duke of Richmond again became master of the ordnance: the secretary at war was sir George Yonge; lord Howe was the director of the admiralty; and the office of treasurer of the navy was conferred on Mr. Dundas, whom the young premier found a very useful auxiliary.

As the new ministers were not supported by the

majority of the house of commons, it was apprehended by Mr. Fox that a dissolution would be ordered; and he resolved to ascertain whether the spirit of that assembly would be able to control the king in the exercise of this branch of his prerogative. In a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Erskine moved, that an address should be voted, requesting the sovereign not to prorogue or dissolve the parliament, or "listen to the secret advice of persons who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interest of his majesty and his people." Mr. Bankes said, that he was authorised by Mr. Pitt to disclaim all thoughts of advising a dissolution; but Mr. Fox ridiculed this intimation; and the address received the assent of the house. The king gave a polite but ambiguous answer.

As soon as the two houses re-assembled after the Christmas recess, four motions, [1784.] tending to embarrass the ministry, arose from the vexation and disappointment of the coalition party. By one, the bill against mutiny was postponed for six weeks: by another, such ministers as enjoyed the confidence of the commons and the public, were required. Not intimidated by these attacks, Mr. Pitt brought forward a plan for the government of India, which Mr. Fox reprobated as too favorable to royal power, and, at the same time, too weak and inconsistent to be efficacious. The ministers were then assailed by a new vote (for which, however, only a majority of 21 appeared), declaring that their continuance in office, after the late intimations of the sense of the house, militated

against the principles of the constitution, and tended to injure the interests of the king and the nation. In another division, they were also outnumbered; but they were pleased to find, that the adverse party declined in strength; for it was only by a plurality of eight votes that Mr. Pitt's India bill was checked in it's progress.

As the premier refused to obey the repeated calls of the house of commons for his resignation, many of the members wished for a coalition between him and his rival; and a negotiation was proposed; but it failed even in the outset. The advocates for this union, at one of their meetings, agreed upon a declaration to be submitted to the house. It imported, that the critical state of public affairs "required the exertions of a firm, efficient, extended, united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of the country." Mr. Pitt concurred with his chief adversary in assenting to this motion, which the house unanimously adopted. He could not, however, be expected to vote for the next proposition, as it declared that the continuance of the new servants of the crown in their official stations proved an obstacle to the formation of such a ministry as could save the country. This question was decided in the affirmative by a majority of 19; and the house also resolved, that these votes should be imparted to the king by such members as were privy counsellors.

The house of lords having condemned some of the votes of the commons as unconstitutional, the

latter vindicated their proceedings by new resolutions; and when an incompliant answer had been given in his majesty's name, an address was voted (after some warm speeches on both sides), expressing a reliance on the royal wisdom for the removal of all obstacles to the administration desired by the commons. The king replied, that, as no specific charge had been adduced or even suggested against his ministers, he did not conceive it proper to dismiss them, particularly as such dismission did not appear to be calculated to promote the public security or general benefit. A second address, and a subsequent remonstrance (voted by a majority of *one*), did not subdue the firmness of his majesty; and the weakened party at length desisted from the unavailing contest.

The aspiring faction which had so long defied the crown, ceased to be formidable when it's views were unsupported by the nation. If the majority of the people had concurred in the wish for the expulsion of the young minister from the cabinet, the king would not have persisted in retaining him: but numerous addresses, though not always a sure criterion of the general opinion, sufficiently proved, in the present case, that Mr. Fox and his friends had lost the public favour. His new partisans, indeed, had never enjoyed it; and his association with them irreparably injured the fame of his patriotism. If he had enjoyed all the popularity of Pulteney or the elder Pitt, he could not expect to be a dictator: still less could he expect to rule with paramount sway, when he was considered, by all but his blind admirers, as a factious and unprin-

cipled intriguer. He knew that an attempt to with-hold the supplies would excite general indignation; and he foresaw that the majority of the commons would no longer support him if he should venture on so bold a measure.

Although the defeat of the party was evident, the court wished for that decisive majority, which the existing parliament did not, in every case, promise; and therefore (on the 25th of March) a dissolution was ordered.

That the king has, by constitutional right, the prerogative of ministerial selection, no one who is acquainted with our government will deny; and, when he has made such a choice as wisdom may be supposed to have dictated, loyal subjects are readily inclined to approve the choice. Even when the appointment has been attended with extraordinary circumstances, so as to excite unfavorable suspicions of the characters and views of the new leaders of the cabinet, the house of commons, although it is their duty to prevent the immoderate ascendency of the crown or the aristocracy, cannot, without the imputation of factious motives, pertinaciously recommend a better choice to the sovereign, unless they adduce some specific ground of crimination. After the incident of the coalition, we may reasonably doubt the patriotism of Mr. Fox and his noble associate, and conclude that they were more actuated by a thirst of power, and a desire of wreaking their revenge upon the men who had effected their removal, than influenced by public virtue, or a love of the constitution.

While this contest excited the attention of Eu-

rope, the French court endeavoured to repair the mischiefs which had flowed from it's rash interference in the war between Great-Britain and the colonies. The Spanish monarch, by the suppression of some monasteries, and by a retrenchment of various branches of expenditure, had recruited his finances; and he now employed a part of his treasures in preparations for the chastisement of the Algerines; upon whose capital, however, his armament made little impression. The states-general were involved in a contest with Joseph the Second, emperor of Germany, who had encroached on their territories, and alarmed them by threatening to open the Schelde: but, in the following year, he consented to an accommodation with the republic, in consideration of a pecuniary grant.

The new elections, being favorable to the cause of the crown, fixed Mr. Pitt in the ministerial seat. The first division, after the meeting of the parliament, gratified him with a majority of 147 votes; and, though his rival affected to prophesy that his power would not be durable, he himself seemed to entertain no doubt of it's continuance.

The Westminster election produced some acrimonious debates. This has been termed, by an annual historiographer, a struggle scarcely less conspicuous and memorable than a battle between contending nations, or a revolution in the structure of their government: but we do not affix such importance to it. The candidates were, lord Hood, Mr. Fox, and sir Cecil Wray. The baronet, having the smallest number of suffrages, and doubting the legality of many of the votes which

had been given for the discarded secretary, desired a scrutiny; and the return was thus delayed, without excluding Mr. Fox from the house, as he had been chosen for a Scotish borough. The commons, influenced by Mr. Pitt, refused to order an immediate return.

The most important act of the new session was that which was adopted in lieu of the India bill of Mr. Fox. It was introduced with a pompous detail of it's objects and advantages. It's chief features were, the erection of a board of control for the superintendence of the territorial concerns, the statement of general rules for regulating the conduct of the commissioners named by the king for that purpose, the reservation of commercial management and official appointment to the company, and the establishment of a court for the more speedy and effectual trial of delinquents.

Mr. Francis, well known as the determined adversary of Mr. Hastings, took the lead as an opposer of the new bill. It was intended, he said, to correct the abuse of power abroad, and supply the deficiency of power at home; and, to provide for these objects, it's author proposed to increase the former power, and diminish the latter. It would render the directors mere ciphers, and augment the influence of the ministry and the crown. Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan inveighed against it, as infringing the rights of the company, without promising a real redress of grievances or correction of misgovernment. It was rendered less objectionable in it's progress through a committee; and passed

both houses, after a short but strong protest from the earl of Carlisle and other peers.

The commissioners appointed by this bill soon exercised their power of control. The nabob of Arcot, involved in debts and difficulties, had agreed to a proposal from the presidency of Madras for the assignment of his revenues, that he might be less at the mercy of individual creditors. A strong party had opposed this measure; but the governor, lord Macartney, warmly supported it, and resolved to maintain it. Some of his friends apprehended that he might undergo the fate of lord Pigot; which, however, he averted by the arrest of major-general Stuart, and by other acts of spirit. The council of Calcutta ordered that the assignment should be superseded; but neither this injunction, nor the remonstrances of the nabob, could subdue the reluctance of Macartney. He at length received a similar order from the board of control; but, before it was enforced, he declined the offered honor of succeeding Mr. Hastings as governor-general, and returned to England with a fair character, and a very small share of the wealth of India.

An opinion of the delinquency of Mr. Hastings being strongly impressed on the mind of Mr. Burke, he moved that the house should inquire into the facts contained in the reports which had been presented on the subject of oriental maladministration. Lord Thurlow had declared, that he considered those reports as scarcely more worthy of regard than the history of Robinson Crusoe. That all the scenes of horror delineated in the volumes which the house had received, were mere fic-

tions, Mr. Burke sincerely wished: but, as he apprehended that the statements were in general true, he hoped that the offenders might not escape justice. But his various motions were discountenanced by the majority.

Reports concerning illicit trade being taken into consideration by the house, a judicious bill was enacted for the more effectual prevention of smuggling; and, as the duty upon tea was greatly evaded, the minister proposed to diminish the temptation to such fraud by a considerable reduction; a scheme which produced the commutation act, imposing new duties on windows, to compensate the loss of revenue in the article of tea.

During the session, the national taste for a pleasing science was evinced by a signal commemoration of Handel in the abbey of Westminster—a series of musical entertainment, which exhibited a greater number of performers, vocal and instrumental, than had been collected for many centuries. The varied strains soothed or enraptured the hearers; while the skill and accuracy of execution excited general applause.

CHAPTER LXII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE power of the new minister was now fully established, to the great disgust of his combined opponents, who found themselves the objects of severe attack and of general censure. He had baffled their utmost exertions; continued to enjoy the favor of his sovereign; and had acquired a considerable degree of popularity. He now directed his attention to the affairs of Ireland.

As the favors granted to the Irish, under the administration of lord North, were not completely satisfactory to the advocates of commercial freedom, it was proposed that the trade of the two nations should be brought as nearly to an equality as mutual convenience would allow. The adjustment of this business required delicacy and caution, that the manufacturers and traders of Great-Britain might not be disgusted while those of Ireland were gratified, and that the latter might not have a pretence for supposing that any of the new regulations encroached on their independence. After attentive and anxious deliberation, various propositions were framed by the cabinet, in concert with persons who had a considerable knowlege of mercantile concerns. They first received the assent of the Irish parliament, and were afterwards recommended to the commons [1785.]

of Great-Britain by the persuasive eloquence of Mr. Pitt. When he had illustrated and enforced the plan, he moved, that the intercourse between the kingdoms should be finally regulated on equitable principles for mutual benefit, and that a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, if her parliament, out of the surplus of hereditary revenue, would contribute to the protection of the trade and general interest of the empire.

While this scheme (against which, petitions were presented and witnesses examined,) remained under consideration, the Westminster scrutiny was warmly debated; and the majority at length voted against the minister, whose rival then took his seat for the town which he particularly wished to represent. A parliamentary reform was again proposed by Mr. Pitt, whose scheme involved a purchase of the elective franchise of small boroughs, a transfer of the right to towns of greater extent and importance, and an increase of the number of representatives of counties, as well as of voters for them. The motion for this salutary purpose was as unsuccessful in England as Mr. Flood's proposal of reform in Ireland: but Mr. Pitt was not opposed by the majority when he brought forward several bills of official regulation.

The commercial scheme consisted of twenty propositions, which the minister, in a renewed harangue on the subject, arranged under three heads. The first related to the colonial trade, which the Irish already enjoyed *directly*, and which they would now be allowed to carry on *circuitously*, im-

porting the commodities into Britain by the way of Ireland. The second respected the immediate intercourse between the realms, and provided for a general equality of duties; and the third included the return which Ireland would make for British indulgence. Mr. Fox admitted that the alterations which had been made in the scheme tended to improve it: but he did not see the necessity of it's adoption. It would not, he thought, be advantageous to either country. The British merchants and manufacturers deprecated it's completion; and the people of Ireland did not call for it. It was also opposed by lord North, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Courtenay, and other speakers, more plausibly than justly. Both houses agreed to it; and, when the subject was again considered by the Irish commons, the majority voted in favor of the propositions.

As Mr. Pitt was generally firm and unyielding, it was not supposed that he would relinquish the measure. But it was so strongly counteracted by the popular orators in Ireland, and, in consequence of their suggestions, excited such jealousy, that the minister desisted from the prosecution of a scheme which deserved encouragement.

The fourth article furnished a pretence for that clamor which occasioned the failure of the whole project. It imported, that all acts which had passed, or bills which should pass, in Great-Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to British, Irish, and colonial ships and mariners, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the colonies (the provisions of such acts being equal with regard

to both kingdoms), should operate in Ireland by means of re-enactment. It was contended (by Mr. Fox at Westminster, and by Mr. Grattan at Dublin) that this proviso would be an invasion of that right of exclusive legislation which had been recently acknowleged and confirmed. This allegation had such an effect on the feelings of the Irish, that it decided the contest.

A bill for the regulation of the police of the metropolis and it's environs met with strenuous opposition. It was pronounced arbitrary and unconstitutional, and was withdrawn by the proposer, the solicitor-general Macdonald. It was generally admitted, however, that the police required some emendation, as crimes had lately so increased in frequency, that twenty offenders were put to death at one time in the front of Newgate.

The danger of an invasion during the late war having impressed itself on the mind of the duke of Richmond, he devised an extensive plan of fortification. On this head we may observe, that the best fortifications of an island are it's wooden walls: in other words, the navy may be regarded as the best defence of such a country. But, as winds may sometimes favor an invading enemy, and obstruct the operations of the fleet intended for defence,—and as the whole extent of the coast of a large island cannot easily be protected by shipping —it is expedient to fortify various parts of the coast, particularly near the mouths of rivers, or where the harbours are commodious, and the landing easy. The duke, being a military man, thought more of the land-service than of that of the sea;

and, being enthusiastically fond of fortification, he formed a grand scheme of defensive works, better adapted for a continental frontier than for Great-Britain. Want of judgement, and neglect of œconomy, pervaded the plan. He secured, however, the approbation of the premier, who recommended the scheme to parliamentary support. But, when the house of commons divided upon the subject, so as to form an equality, the good sense of the speaker crushed the wild project by his casting vote. The first part related only to Portsmouth and Plymouth; but, as the permission for strengthening and extending the works near those dock-yards would have led to a general system of fortification, the house acted properly in giving an early check to the ill-judged proposal. [1786.]

The advocates for public œconomy were gratified, in this session, with the adoption of a plan calculated to preclude national bankruptcy. At the first view of the subject of a public debt, it seems reasonable, that only the existing generation should pay the taxes levied either for common or extraordinary occasions; and it may therefore be thought unjust to subject posterity to the payment of the annual interest of a debt contracted in our own times, and for our supposed benefit. Yet it may be alleged, that our successors ought to pay some part of the expence previously incurred in securing and preserving the state, and transmitting the establishment unimpaired to their time. The same argument, however, may be applied in another way. If we constrain our posterity to pay for

the prior improvement of the state, we also expose them to the weight of debts arising from an expenditure by which the nation may have been deeply injured. This, undoubtedly, is a serious grievance; but, if they take one contingency, they must incur the risque of the other. The great evil is that enormous and progressive augmentation of debt, which may, at no very distant period, render even the payment of the interest impracticable. The principal, we may predict, never will be completely liquidated.

As the people had a right to expect, in time of peace, that some attempts should be made for the reduction of a debt which exceeded 266 millions, Mr. Pitt turned his attention to that important subject. The idea of a sinking fund was not entirely novel; but some new arrangements marked his scheme. He took notice of the report of a select committee, representing the revenue, from Michaelmas 1784 to the same festival in the following year, as amounting to 15,379,180 pounds, which, after a deduction of 14,478,180 pounds for the expenditure, left a surplus of 901,000 pounds. He acknowleged that the annual expences, even since the termination of the war, had considerably exceeded the amount above stated; but he was confident of their speedy reduction to that standard. He congratulated the house on that extent of national resource which, after a very mischievous and burthensome war, would allow the appropriation of a large sum, in every year, to the reduction of the public debt. A million, he thought, would be a proper sum for

that purpose; and very few taxes would be necessary to raise the surplus to that sum. To prevent an application of this million, or any part of it, to a different use, he proposed that strict regulations should be enacted, and that persons of high station and character should be intrusted by parliament with the management of the scheme.

Some members objected to the inalienability of the stock in question; but this may be considered as one of the best features of the plan. Others doubted the facility of obtaining such a surplus; and Mr. Sheridan, in particular, animadverted on the erroneous principles adopted by the committee, the ill-founded calculations and visionary hopes of the minister. The bill, however, met with general approbation.

The late act for the better government of India was improved by a new statute. Persons returning from that country had been required to swear to the amount of their property; a demand which was now abandoned, not (said Mr. Dundas) from a conviction of it's impropriety, but because it had excited great disgust. To prevent faction in the council, the governor-general was invested with more effective power, being at the same time subjected to greater responsibility. Some points respecting the new court of judicature were altered; but trial by jury was not allowed to form a part of the institution.

The misconduct of Warren Hastings now became the subject of regular discussion, with a view to an impeachment. Mr. Burke expatiated on the offences of the governor, and called for a strict in-

quiry. He exhibited twenty-two charges: but, before they were brought forward with the pomp of oratory, the delinquent was permitted to read a written defence. At length (on the 1st of June) the accusing senator moved, that the house should declare the conduct of Mr. Hastings, with regard to the war against the Rohillas, to be a just ground of impeachment. He represented the war as unprovoked and consequently unjust, attended with many circumstances of wanton cruelty. Rohilcund had been styled the garden of India by the governor himself: but he had inhumanly ravaged that flourishing country. Mr. Powys reprobated the extirpatory violence of the nabob and his English ally, and concurred in the motion. Mr. Grenville vindicated the war, and denied the charge of cruelty, and that of extirpation. Mr. Burton maintained the justice of the war, and panegyrised the humanity of Mr. Hastings, whose *tenderness*, he said, sometimes approached even to *womanish weakness*. Mr. Fox attributed the confederacy between the nabob and the governor, on this occasion, to an iniquitous spirit of rapacity, and severely condemned the inhumanity of both. On a division, there appeared 119 votes against the motion, and only 67 for it.

The charge which related to the treatment of Cheit Sing, rajah of Benares, was decided against Mr. Hastings by a majority of 40. It was affirmed by Mr. Fox, that the governor, regardless of the laws of honor, and of express engagements, had wantonly exacted large sums from the rajah, and, on pretence of the disaffection of that prince to the

English, had unjustly ordered him to be seised, and deprived him of his territories. The minister surprised the house by agreeing to this charge. He asserted the governor's right to call upon the rajah for military or pecuniary aid, whenever the danger of the state or the wants of government required assistance or contribution. The agreement between Cheit Sing and the company, he said, related only to a time of peace, and did not preclude extraordinary demands during war. The rajah's unwillingness to acquiesce in a reasonable requisition, justified Mr. Hastings in punishing him by a fine; but the penalty ought not to have been too exorbitant for the offence. The intended exaction being so enormous, it was the duty of the house to impeach the tyrannical and rapacious governor.

The nations lately so hostile, Great-Britain and France, had been for some time negotiating a commercial treaty, which, being at length adjusted by Mr. Eden and M. Rayneval, was signed in the autumn at Versailles. It must be allowed, that our sovereign and his ministers were influenced, on this occasion, by liberal motives, by a desire of extinguishing ancient animosities and national prejudices, and of promoting reciprocal benefit by a free exchange of our manufactures and works of art for the produce of a soil and climate better than our own. The high duties on both sides were considerably reduced; and each kingdom placed the other upon the footing of the most favored community.

The king, speaking of this treaty when he again met his parliamentary subjects, [1787.]

trusted that they would find it's provisions calculated for the encouragement of industry, and the extension of lawful commerce in both countries; and hoped that it would give additional permanence to the blessings of peace. In the address of each house, his majesty was congratulated on his escape from the fury of a maniac named Margaret Nicholson, who, in the preceding summer, had aimed a blow at his breast in St. James's park.

Plausible objections were made to the treaty by Mr. Fox, Mr. Francis, the lords Loughborough and Stormont, the bishop of Llandaff, and other able speakers; who argued, that it would enable the French to rival our artificers and manufacturers, and injure the British trade both at home and abroad; that it did not grant an equivalent for the favors and facilities which the French would derive from it; that, although the duties were lowered, the free access of French ships would afford opportunities of unlawful trade to a considerable extent; and (in point of policy) that no dependence could be reposed on the friendship of our Gallic neighbours, who would take advantage of the treaty to undermine our interests, and delude the court and nation into a confidence of which they might have cause to repent.

The premier and his friends alleged, on the other hand, that the dreaded rivalry was more imaginary than real, as British skill was so pre-eminent; that Britain would be a great gainer, because she would procure a market of twenty-four millions of people, while France would only obtain about nine millions of additional purchasers; that smuggling

would necessarily be diminished by the measure; and that a commercial intercourse with a foreign nation could not justly be expected to produce such a state of infatuation, as to render the country a prey to an enemy, however artful and treacherous.

Both houses adopted resolutions calculated to carry the treaty into effect; and these provisions were inserted in a bill which included a plan for the *consolidation* of the customs, excise, and stamps, or the regular union of a great variety of duties, imposed at different times and in different modes, and so involved in confusion, as to occasion great perplexity and loss of time to merchants and traders. Mr. Burke candidly applauded this scheme; but it was not perfectly fair or proper to join a measure which almost every member approved, to one which a considerable number disapproved, as the freedom of decision was thus impaired.

The inquisitorial process being renewed, Mr. Sheridan acquired high fame for eloquence and ability, by a speech of extraordinary length, delivered (on the 7th of February) in support of that charge which imputed to Mr. Hastings the guilt of oppressing the *begums* or princesses of Oude. He affirmed, that this charge comprehended almost every species of human offence—insatiable rapacity, deliberate treachery, gross perfidy, unprovoked tyranny, and atrocious cruelty. It had been alleged, that the treasures of the begums belonged to the state. A part of the contents of the zenana or haram at Fyzabad, might, he said, be so

considered: but, when the money claimed by Asof-ul-dowlah on that ground had been given up, the remainder was private property; and it was so acknowledged in an agreement between the nabob and his mother, guarantied by the company. The *jaghirs*, or alotted lands, were secured by the same treaty. In defiance of these stipulations, the governor encouraged a son to plunder his mother, that the English might participate of the spoils. It was pretended that the begums had formed hostile intentions against the company, and had stimulated many of the *zemindars*, or great land-holders, to shake off the British yoke; but these assertions were ill-founded; and indeed, in the defence of Mr. Hastings, there was scarcely a single particle of truth. At Chunar he concerted with the subservient nabob a flagitious treaty, providing, among other objects, for the resumption of the jaghirs; an unjustifiable resolution, which was enforced with rigor and inhumanity. These and other enormities were detailed with an animation and force which electrified the house.

Many who had hitherto entertained a favorable opinion of Mr. Hastings, were influenced by the oratory of Mr. Sheridan to vote against him on this question. The governor, who was defended by major Scott, was strongly censured by Mr. Pitt; and a majority of 107 appeared for the charge.

The next article referred to the treatment of the nabob of Farruckabad, whom Asof-ul-dowlah had oppressed in various modes, having bribed the governor to suffer him so to act. This charge was

sanctioned by the house; as were also those which concerned the extravagance and profusion of Mr. Hastings, his treachery and injustice toward Fizoula Khan (a Rohilla chieftain), his unwarrantable acceptance of numerous and exorbitant presents, and his mal-administration of the revenues, including his oppression of the zemindars.

When the charges had been examined in a private committee, a debate arose on the presentation of the report. Lord Hood would not consent to the impeachment of a man who had saved India, and whose services far outweighed his supposed delinquencies. Mr. Wilkes was convinced that the charges rested on a very weak foundation; and the lord-advocate of Scotland (Ilay Campbell) advised the house to act like a grand jury, and not prefer a bill of indictment without better grounds than appeared in the present case. The articles being separately voted, it was resolved (on the 10th of May) that Mr. Hastings should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors; and, as Mr. Burke was the original prosecutor, he was ordered to announce to the peers the accusatory vote.

The concerns of delinquents of an inferior description also drew the attention of the house. Cook, the celebrated navigator, had given an advantageous account of Botany-bay in New-South-Wales (a part of New-Holland); and it occurred to the ministry, that, instead of dispersing transported felons on the coasts of America and Africa, it would be adviseable to form a distinct and remote colony from the full prisons of Great-Britain. As Rome was founded by fugitive adventurers,

who increased their population by inviting to their city the refuse of different states, it was imagined that the felons sent to New-South-Wales might gradually be weaned from their licentious habits, and that the territory might become an useful appendage to the mother-country. The expence, it was foreseen, would for many years be considerable, but not so great as to be a serious grievance. The scheme being matured, a bill was framed for the regulation and establishment of the colony; and governor Philip was sent with a number of convicts of both sexes, for whose coercion he was invested with extraordinary power.

The claims of the heir of the crown were at this time discussed, as were also the very different claims or pretensions of the protestant dissenters. The prince, after a course of indiscretion and prodigality, had retrenched his establishment; and to relieve him from his embarrassments, the commons (who, in the preceding year, had voted 210,000 pounds toward the payment of the debts of their sovereign) granted 161,000 pounds, when the king had consented to add 10,000 pounds *per annum* to the 50,000 which his son already enjoyed.

The dissenters wished to be rendered capable of holding offices by a repeal of certain clauses of the act for the sacramental test, and that which provided for the purity of corporations: but the house, being of opinion that those sectaries had no claim to power and office unless they would comply with the reasonable terms annexed to the grant, rejected the application by a majority of 78.

In this session, the commissioners who had been

appointed to "inquire into the state and condition of the woods, forests, and land revenues of the crown, and to sell or alienate fee-farm and other unimproveable rents," delivered their first report. It contained a schedule of all the lands in England and Wales holden by lease from the crown, exhibiting the annual value at the time of the latest grant or renewal of each lease. Exclusive of mines and other property of uncertain value, the specified estates produced 102,626 pounds *per annum*; and many of them were very improveable. A second report was presented in the succeeding session; and fifteen others followed, without being rendered subservient either to the correction of gross abuses in the management of the property in question, or to the relief of the people from any of the burthens imposed upon them for the expences of the civil government. The sale of these estates would have furnished a large sum for the public service.

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, lord George Gordon was tried for two libels, one reflecting upon the queen of France and the French ambassador, the other remonstrating against the new scheme of transportation. Being found guilty, he absconded; but was at length apprehended, and committed to Newgate, where he passed the remainder of his life, as no person would offer, for a man of his character, the bail required for his good behaviour at the expiration of the term assigned for his imprisonment.

When the king closed the session, he lamented the prevalence of discord in the United Provinces.

After the peace of the year 1783, the French had renewed, or rather continued, those intrigues which balanced the republican party in Holland against the stadt-holder; and the British court, at the same time, exerted it's interest in favour of that prince. The efforts of the opposite parties seemed, at length, to threaten serious consequences. The republicans encroached upon the supposed rights and prerogatives of the prince of Orange, whom, on the other hand, they accused of aiming at a degree of power incompatible with the constitution of the commonwealth. The former were so far successful in their views, that the friends of the prince were apprehensive of the ruin of his power. Sir James Harris, the English ambassador, endeavoured to rouse him to due energy; and assistance was promised to him for the defence of his rights. The princess, who was a woman of great spirit, repaired to the Hague to animate the adherents of the stadt-holder, and (as she wished) was stopped by a detachment of armed men, acting under the orders of a dictatorial committee of the states of Holland.

The prince who at this time reigned in Prussia was nephew to that monarch who was long the ally of Britain. The great Frederic (in 1786) had given way to fate; and the new king did not possess that ability or energy which had marked the character of his predecessor. But he was not deficient in courage or destitute of common sense; and he was sensible of the expediency of preventing the establishment of Gallic influence in Holland. He demanded reparation for the insult offered to his sister the princess of Orange; but

the republicans, trusting to the aid of France, refused to comply with the requisition.

The French monarch, involved in financial difficulties, neglected the performance of his promise to the adversaries of the stadt-holder. The British court, however, being officially informed that the French intended to make an effort in the cause which they had so long supported by intrigue, gave orders for the increase of the army and navy, and even contracted for a large body of Hessian mercenaries. The king of Prussia, encouraged by the dilatory languor of France, commanded his troops to invade Holland, and restore the prince to his rights.

The republican party being deserted by Louis, the duke of Brunswick, at the head of a Prussian host, took easy possession of Utrecht and other considerable towns, and diffused terror through the provinces. The reduction of Amsterdam being his chief object, he advanced to besiege that capital, not considering as a serious obstacle, the partial inundation of the adjacent country. The senate and the burghers, although they were intimidated, did not immediately submit to his arms, as they had formed a line of defence, which seemed to present a formidable aspect.

Distracting the attention of the enemy by a general assault in front, amidst the attack of other posts, the duke made rapid progress in the siege. His troops (on the 1st of October) made eleven assaults with small loss, and overpowered the spirit of resistance. A capitulation was adjusted, by which seventeen persons, obnoxious to the princess, were

declared incapable of serving the republic. The stadt-holder was allowed to new-model the provincial administration, and to exact a new oath, favorable to his claims and interests. In the following spring, the states-general, influenced by the prince, concluded treaties of alliance with Great-Britain and Prussia; and, in the summer, the last-mentioned power entered into a similar agreement with our court.

At a time when the king was assisting his relative, the prince of Orange, in the recovery of his former power, and even in the extension of it beyond the ordinary limits of a republican constitution, his late subjects in North-America were occupied in a similar way—in consolidating their commonwealth by the invigoration of the executive power. The wisest men of the state, apprehending that the provinces, when not united by the dangers of war, might not be sufficiently concordant, proposed a new constitution, which, by detracting from the independence of each province, would check divisions, and strengthen, for general safety, the aggregate confederacy. The plan was framed with judgement; and, being promoted by the influence of the esteemed Washington, it obtained the assent of the provincial assemblies, and became an operative law. The republican general was placed at the head of the union, under the title of president of the United States; and he superintended, with temper and firmness, the deliberations of the two assemblies which composed the congress, and administered the affairs of the nation with dignity and wisdom.

CHAPTER LXIII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE seasonable interposition of Mr. Pitt, in support of the power of the prince of Orange, was applauded by the majority of the nation, although some considered it as an arbitrary and unjustifiable interference. The king expressed his joy at the rescue of the provinces from oppression, and the "re-establishment of their lawful government;" and he added, that, after an amicable explanation, between him and his most Christian majesty, the navies of the two realms were to be reduced to the ordinary standard. The addresses were unanimously voted, even Mr. Fox approving the late conduct of the court.

Some naval promotions, which attended the late preparations, had given disgust to many of the true friends of the maritime service, because officers of great merit, not too old for action, had been neglected for the sake of juniors. The subject was brought forward in each house; but the majority refused to address his majesty on the [1788.] subject, or to agree to a vote of censure.

Very strong opposition was made to a bill which Mr. Pitt represented as merely declaring the import of a former act, but which the anti-ministerial

speakers viewed in a different light. When it was supposed that the dissensions in Holland might lead to a rupture with France, the commissioners who superintended the concerns of India had determined, in concert with the directors, to send out a body of soldiers for the defence of the British territories in that part of the world; but, when the alarm had subsided, the company retracted it's assent, though the ministry still resolved to strengthen the army in the east. Mr. Pitt declared, that all the powers enjoyed by the directors before the enactment of the bill of 1784 were granted by that act to the board of control, whose orders therefore were sufficient to authorise the present scheme of military augmentation, and the payment (out of the revenues of the company) of the sum necessary for the new arrangements. Some eminent barristers, however, differed from the board on this subject; and he therefore introduced a bill for the removal of doubt. It was opposed by counsel at the bar, as annihilating those rights of which no part of the regulating act could justly be said to have deprived the company. Comparisons were drawn by different members between the bills of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt; and the latter was arraigned as insidiously undermining what the former had boldly and manfully taken away. The minister condescended to restrict, in some points, the power and patronage of the commissioners; and the bill, after long and acrimonious debates, received the honor of enactment.

In an enlightened age, it is more surprising that any advocates should be found for the continuance

of a traffic in slaves, than that a great proportion of the public should wish for the abolition of a trade so disgraceful to humanity. Petitions had been presented against it; and a committee of the privy council inquired into the subject. Mr. Wilberforce, member for the county of York, was the person to whom the parliamentary management of the business seemed by the public voice to be assigned; but he and the minister deemed a postponement adviseable; and, in the mean time, both houses agreed to a bill for the better accommodation of the negroes, that they might not be so crowded as they had hitherto been in the voyage from Africa to the scene of their slavery.

No regular commercial treaty had been hitherto adjusted between Great-Britain and the American republic; and such a settlement was still deferred; but a bill of farther regulation, not inconsistent with the navigation-act, was prepared by Mr. Grenville, and adopted by each house. A bill was also enacted to promote the pecuniary relief of the American loyalists.

The inquiry into the guilt of Mr. Hastings was not neglected. The court being opened in Westminster-hall, Mr. Burke rewarded the eager attention of his hearers by four brilliant harangues. In the first of these speeches, he traced and justified the proceedings of the house of commons, enforced and illustrated the general accusation, and asserted the peculiar propriety of fixing upon a delinquent, who was the first in rank and authority, and under whom, as the head, all the peculation and tyranny of India were embodied and

disciplined. He admitted the difficulty of procuring that complete mass of evidence which some would think necessary; but he trusted that the testimonies and the proofs which would be adduced would convince every unprejudiced person of the atrocious guilt of the offender, whose destruction of recorded evidence, and influence over living testimony, ought not to be suffered to operate in his favor, or facilitate his escape from the hands of justice. He took a survey of the successive powers granted to the company from the time of queen Elizabeth (by whom it was instituted), of it's progress from merely commercial benefits to dominion and empire, of the rapacity and misconduct of it's officers, and the prevalence of injustice and oppression under it's name and authority. He entered into the early history of the country; treated of the manners and usages of the inhabitants, both Gentoos and Moslems; and maintained their natural and prescriptive right to a just and moderate government, which not even the descendants of Timour, the inhuman Tartar, had dared to violate with the systematic iniquity of the English governor.

In the second speech, the history of India was resumed. The consequences of the success of lord Clive, the encroachments of the company's servants on the rights of the native princes, and the various abuses of power, were detailed with spirit and force.

The third harangue strikingly exemplified the rapacity of Mr. Hastings, who, on pretence of ascertaining the value of the lands of the Zemin-

dars, put them up to auction, degraded the proprietors into mere farmers under government, and pillaged them without remorse. He also sold offices of justice (said the orator), successions of families, guardianships, and other trusts. He abolished six provincial councils of justice and revenue, and substituted a new council, composed of his own creatures, and chiefly directed by Gunga Govind Sing, the most infamous of all villains. Having, in consideration of a liberal present, decided a contest for Dinajpour in favor of an infant rajah, he consigned this prince to the care of Debi Sing, a monster of vice and cruelty, and suffered him to farm the revenues and tyrannise over the inhabitants of the principality.

In the fourth address to the court of peers, the subject of peculation was again brought forward; and the general charge of misgovernment was ably supported.

The Benares charge exercised the talents of Mr. Fox, and displayed also the rising eloquence of Mr. Grey. Mr. Anstruther, after evidence both oral and written had been adduced, spoke judiciously on the same head of accusation. Mr. Adam supported the cause of the Begums against their unfeeling oppressor; and Mr. Sheridan, in three admired speeches, exposed in the strongest light the delinquency of the governor.

The commons had been urged by sir Gilbert Elliot to impeach sir Elijah Impey, on six grounds. The chief article was that which related to Nunducomar, who, having given offence to Mr. Hastings by threatening to expose his mal-practices,

had been tried on a charge of forgery, condemned by Impey, and hanged at Calcutta. The house, having heard the defence of the judge, did not consider the law as inapplicable to the case of the unfortunate rajah; and therefore rejected the charge. The other articles were also exploded.

The public attention was now turned to the increasing disorder in the affairs of France, and to the war which the Russians and Austrians carried on against the Turks. But, in the autumn, a subject of more intimate concern excited alarm.

The royal family had passed some weeks at Cheltenham, where his majesty drank the mineral waters for the benefit of his health. Here he exhibited occasional symptoms of eccentricity, which, however, were little noticed at the time. After his return to Windsor and to Kew, his deportment became still more extraordinary; and it was announced that he was alarmingly indisposed. His loyal subjects were affected at the intelligence, and earnestly wished for his speedy recovery. It soon appeared that his life was not in danger; for his malady was that of the mind. It was supposed that he had lived too abstemiously for the great exercise which he daily took; and that his frame was thus weakened, and his brain injured. Others, affecting greater sagacity, endeavoured to account for their sovereign's derangement by different allegations and reasonings.

The minister was alarmed at an indisposition which required the appointment of a regent. He knew that it would be invidious to oppose the pre-

tensions of the prince of Wales to that office; and, as he was not in favor with his royal highness, he apprehended that his ambitious rival would have an opportunity of superseding him. On pretence of due decorum and delicacy, and of the necessity of mature deliberation, he resolved to delay what he might not be able to prevent, and to restrict, as far as his influence would allow, the power of the future regent.

The question which arose from the king's indisposition may easily be decided on constitutional principles. As the aggregate body of the parliament consists of three parts, not one of which can legislate without the consent of the other two branches, a seeming difficulty may strike some observers, who may be induced to think that the temporary disability of one branch must vitiate all the proceedings of that period; for the king, they may say, can no more make laws without the lords and commons, or the peers without the king and commons, than the lower house can legislate without the sovereign and the upper house. One assembly, they add, may be supplied by new creations, and the other by new elections: but what course is to be pursued when the king is incapable of acting? Our answer is, that the two houses may assume the supreme power as far as the urgent occasion requires, —that is, until they have *appointed* a regent to exercise the executive authority, and concur in legislative provisions. This procedure is more agreeable to the spirit of the constitution, than the mere acknowlegement of a supposed *right*, in the heir apparent or presumptive, to assume the re-

gency. The heir of the crown is merely a subject; and the two assemblies are not obliged to make choice of him, although it may, in general, be expedient to delegate him to the office. If they restrict his power, however, they seem to go beyond their duty, and, by encroaching on the executive department, to transgress the limits of that necessity which allowed them to name a regent.

The two houses not being content with the report of the privy counsellors who had questioned the physicians on the subject of the king's disorder, each assembly nominated a select committee for a similar examination. Precedents of the interruption of the personal exercise of royalty were then sought, that the proceedings might be regular and constitutional.

As Mr. Fox had declared, that the prince of Wales had an exclusive right to the regency, and that the lords and commons had no liberty of choice, but ought without hesitation to adjudge it to him, Mr. Pitt, who had denied such a right in the strongest terms, submitted the abstract question (on the 16th of December) to parliamentary consideration. He stated several historic cases, to prove that the two houses had a right of choice; and moved a resolution, importing that it was the *right* and *duty* of those assemblies to "provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his majesty's indisposition, in such a manner as the case might appear to require." Mr. Fox replied, that none of the cases adduced included the circumstance of

the majority or full age of a prince of Wales; and he strenuously maintained his former assertions. The motion, however, was adopted by a plurality of 64 votes; and, by another resolution, it was declared to be necessary, that the two houses should "determine on the means whereby the royal assent might be given in parliament to such a bill as they might pass respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on behalf of the king." The illegality of the proposed bill was asserted by lord North and Mr. Burke, who strongly reprobated the intended use of the great seal by ministers who had no authority for such extraordinary proceedings.

The resolutions were warmly opposed in the house of peers; and the friends of the prince recommended an address, requesting him to assume the regency: but a majority of 33 rejected this proposal. The lords having signified their concurrence with the commons, Mr Pitt [1789.] framed a plan of limitation, to the great disgust of Mr. Fox and his adherents. It was agreed that the prince should be regent, but that he should not be allowed to grant pensions or offices for life, or confer a peerage upon any individual except the sons of the king; and that the queen, with the aid of a council, should be impowered to regulate the household, appoint and displace all the officers of that department, and take charge of the royal person. These restrictions were plausibly defended by the lord-president Camden, and by Mr. Grenville, who had succeeded Mr. Cornwall as speaker of the house of commons; but Mr. Fox and other

members condemned them as invidious in their object and mischievous in their tendency. They were sanctioned by each house; and the prince, although he was disgusted at a scheme which threatened discord and inefficiency, promised to act as regent. He was treated with less disrespect by the Irish peers and commons, who voted an address, requesting him to govern Ireland in his father's name, with "all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, belonging to the crown."

The great seal was now put to a commission for opening the British parliament; and warm debates attended the progress of the bill which contained the above-mentioned plan.

The discussion of the bill of regency was protracted by it's advocates, who hoped that their sovereign might in the mean time recover the soundness of his mind. The opposite party wished to hasten it's completion; but, by proposing a re-examination of the physicians, they obstructed their own views; and the progress of the bill was so delayed, that, while it was yet depending in the house of lords, the king's approach to convalescence was announced by the chancellor, who, in consequence of this pleasing prospect, proposed an adjournment. Farther postponements were ordered by the peers; and it was at length declared that his majesty was able to resume his functions.

The leaders of opposition affected to partake of the general joy which pervaded a loyal nation; but their joy was less sincere than that which was

manifested by the majority of each house. From the exultation of some members of the party in their previous speeches, it was concluded that the mortification of disappointment was severely felt under the exterior of cheerfulness and satisfaction.

When the parliament had been (on the 10th of March) re-opened in the usual form, supplies were granted to the amount of 11,293,000 pounds. To the number of seamen voted for several preceding years, 2000 were added. A tax which, during four years, had been levied on shops, having excited great discontent even among the admirers of Mr. Pitt, was now repealed; and new duties on carriages and horses were expected to produce nearly an equal sum. Tobacco being smuggled to a great amount, a bill, not very popular, was enacted, for subjecting it to the laws of excise.

The slave trade was represented in it's true light by Mr. Wilberforce, who affirmed, that it produced frequent and cruel wars among the natives of Africa, and greatly obstructed their civilisation and improvement; and that the West-Indian islands might be properly cultivated without the continuance of such an inhuman traffic. As it was a question of considerable moment, the ulterior consideration of it was deferred to another session.

The lapse of a hundred years from the Revolution having led to a celebration of that great event, in different parts of the kingdom, Mr. Beaufoy proposed to the commons the institution of an annual solemnity, commemorative of the establish-

ment of the rights of the people. The house would not agree to a distinct day of thanksgiving, but merely consented to the introduction of a religious service, suitable to the occasion, on the Sunday before the 16th of December, the day of the enactment of the bill of rights.

The chancellor, proroguing the parliament in the king's name, intimated that, although the good offices of the three allied powers (Britain, Prussia, and the United Provinces) had not "hitherto been effectual for restoring the general tranquillity of Europe, the farther extension of hostilities had been prevented, and the situation of affairs continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace."

In the preceding year, the king of Sweden, offended at the intrigues of Russian emissaries among his subjects, jealous of the aggrandisement of the aspiring czarina, and desirous of recovering some portion of the territories which had formerly belonged to his realm, had commenced a war with the empress, both by sea and land. He had endeavoured in vain to draw the Danes into an alliance: they were engaged by treaty to assist the Russians, if the latter should be attacked by the Swedes. He was encouraged, however, by a subsidy from the Turkish sultan, and hoped to procure assistance from Great-Britain. He met with little success in Finland; and his fleet did not obtain any decisive advantage in the Baltic, though Swedish courage was eminently displayed.

The three allies offered their mediation between

the courts of Petersburgh and Stockholm; but Catharine rejected the offer. Their next step was to intimidate the prince of Denmark, who governed for his incapable father. Mr. Elliot, the British envoy, acted on this occasion with great spirit. He menaced the Danes with a vigorous attack, if they should persist in their hostilities against the Swedes. The prince at first resented this interference; but, with the consent of the czarina, he at length promised to be neutral. Having quelled the opposition of a party of nobles to the views of the court, the Swedish monarch prosecuted the war with alertness, and invaded Russian Finland, but inflicted no material injury on the enemy.

During the interval of peace which followed the recognition of American independence, the British nation so highly flourished in arts and prospered in commerce, that the permanent burthens consequent on a rash war seemed scarcely to be felt, or did not prove so grievous or oppressive as ill-boding fancy had represented them. The traffic with the subjects of the United States increased the revenue, without the charges of protection and defence. The plan for the gradual redemption of the public debt contributed to support the credit of the funds, and held out to the sanguine a favorable prospect. Amidst the retrieval of national prosperity, individual happiness was more prevalent and observable. The spirit of party declined in force and malignity; and social pleasure was more fully enjoyed. Such, in a general view, was the state of Great-

Britain, when a neighbouring kingdom exhibited symptoms of commotion, which, though not immediately portending danger to this country, and not viewed by the people with dread or alarm, excited some degree of anxiety in the cabinet.

CHAPTER LXIV.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THAT freedom of inquiry which produced the reformation of religion, extended it's effects to the amelioration of government: but it's advantageous consequences, in this respect, were slow and gradual, not sudden and rapid. In the countries which retained the catholic establishment, the authority of despotism could not be expected to suffer any considerable diminution; and, in the states which had received the light of protestant reform, the sovereigns were still tenacious of their supposed rights and accustomed prerogatives. Queen Elizabeth, for instance, was inclined to tyrannise both in church and state: yet the clamors and exertions of the puritans, in her reign, were favorable to the cause of liberty. Those convulsions, however, which proved fatal to the first Charles, checked the growth of freedom by leading to the formation of an arbitrary republic. Charles the Second and his brother would have suppressed all remains of liberty, if their power had corresponded with their inclinations: but their misgovernment occasioned that memorable revolution of which we still feel the beneficial effects. The true nature of freedom was then better understood, than it was in the

time of Cromwell. The conduct of the British nation tended to open the eyes of the people in other countries; but slavery had taken too firm a hold to be easily shaken off.

Amidst the blaze of genius which distinguished the age of Louis the Fourteenth (who promoted the arbitrary views of Charles and James, but could not prevent the Revolution), a greater force of thought and a more acute spirit of discrimination, than had before appeared in France, may be supposed to have prevailed; and the abuses of government must have been perceived in all their extent and variety. But the vigor and policy of that monarch repressed the effusions of discontent and the murmurs of patriotism. Under the succeeding prince, the voice of freedom was sometimes heard, particularly in the remonstrances of the parliaments; tyranny assumed a less stern aspect, and was less violent in it's operations. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and more obviously after that of Paris, the rulers of France and of the other European states evinced a greater regard for the welfare and accommodation of the people, and a more prompt inclination to mitigate the rigors of government.

While these symptoms of improvement cheered the philosopher and the philanthropist, the American war broke out; and the court of Versailles engaged in the contest, without foreseeing the consequences. Acting as auxiliaries in the cause of liberty, the French began to think that a prince who thus employed them ought to impart that blessing to his own subjects; and, after their re-

turn from the colonial war, they propagated ideas and schemes of political reform with great zeal and success. Louis the Sixteenth and his ministers were at that time involved in the most perplexing difficulties. The war had so drained the treasury, and so increased the public debt, that a national bankruptcy was apprehended. Desirous of receiving salutary advice at this crisis, the king called to his court an assembly of *notables*, or men of distinction and respectability; but their suggestions were of little use. He afterwards imposed some taxes by his own authority; and, on the refusal of the Parisian parliament to confirm them, banished the incompliant members into Champagne. As the people favored the parliament, he relaxed in his firmness; but he again assumed an arbitrary tone, and the contest continued until he promised to assemble the states of the realm, which had been discontinued from the reign of Louis the Thirteenth.

The representatives of the people being suffered by the court to extend their number to six hundred, so as to be equal to the nobles and clergy conjoined, the two higher orders began to fear the predominance of the *tiers état*, or third estate, because they had reason to believe that many individuals of their number would support the commons. The next object of the popular party was the consolidation of the orders, to which the privileged classes refused to agree. Disregarding this opposition, the usurping commons, on the motion of the intriguing abbé Sieyes, gave themselves the appellation of "the national assembly;" alleging

that, as their meeting was already composed of deputies returned by at least ninety-six in a hundred of the nation, they had a right to begin the great work of reform, whether the nobility or the clergy should join them or not.

The king commanded a suspension of these irregular proceedings; and having assembled the three orders, addressed them (on the 23d of June) in a judicious and patriotic speech: but, when he had ordered them to adjourn, and sent the marquis de Brezé to clear the hall, Mirabeau declared that he would not retire unless he should be compelled by the terrors of the bayonet. Other members said, "Nothing but force shall drive us hence;" and the commons, continuing to sit, declared the persons of the deputies inviolable.

Many of the clergy being intimidated by the menaces of the rabble, and others courted by the leaders of the *tiers état*, a majority voted for a junction. The nobility, however, were still unwilling to agree to the union: but, in compliance with an order from their sovereign, they at length joined the commons.

From this time the French revolution may be said to have commenced; for the democratic party had now acquired the ascendency, and the most important changes were expected from the zeal of pretended improvement. The French had now an opportunity of exploding abuses and grievances, and establishing a limited monarchy, resembling that of Great-Britain, and, in some respects, superior to our boasted government. But they were unwilling to follow old models, and had not a suf-

ficient degree of judgement or patriotism to frame such a system as might exclude wild innovation, and ensure the welfare of the people. Many of the deputies were men of talents; and some were distinguished by learning and science; but prudence, sober reflexion, and soundness or consistency of principle, did not frequently appear in the deliberations of the assembly.

In planning the overthrow of despotism, the advocates of the sovereignty of the people instigated the inhabitants of Paris to attack a prison in which many innocent persons had fallen victims to tyranny. The reigning prince, indeed, had rarely made use of *lettres de cachet*, and the Bastille was almost unoccupied: but, as it was apprehended that it might again be filled, it was taken by assault (on the 14th of July) by the people and a part of the soldiery, and quickly demolished. The governor, being accused of having fired upon some of the people, whom with an appearance of amity he had admitted within the gate, was beheaded by the fierce assailants.

The ministers of Louis would not at first believe there port of the capture of the Bastille: but the intelligence was soon found to be alarmingly indisputable. The king was appalled by the shock; and he resolved, instead of opposing the revolutionary torrent, to submit to the will of the great council of the nation.

M. Necker, being supposed to have accelerated the revolution by his folly or treachery, had been dismissed from the cabinet; but the clamors of the people, who considered him as an able

financier and a sincere friend of liberty, prompted Louis to recall him; and he was at the head of the administration when it was decreed, with his assent, that the king should only have a suspensive *veto*, or the power of suspending, not absolutely prohibiting, the enactment of laws which he might disapprove. Even the power that was ostensibly allowed him, however, he was not patiently suffered to exercise.

While his majesty, from a dread of being overwhelmed by the influence of the demagogues, negotiated with the marquis de la Fayette, commandant of the national guard, who was not so violent as some of the leaders of the assembly, a faction, bribed rather than governed by the infamous duke of Orleans, sent a numerous body of Parisians in the autumn to Versailles, to attack the palace, and bring the king and queen to the capital, where they would be more in the power of the rabble. Insults and outrages, not unattended with bloodshed, had such an effect upon Louis, that, although he was very unwilling to be guided by the mob, he consented to go in degrading procession to Paris. A deputation from the assembly accompanied him; and, on his arrival, a scarcity of bread, which had excited great clamor, and was calumniously imputed to the arts of the court, seemed to be suddenly removed.

The assembly, now fixed at Paris, proceeded in the work of regeneration; and a new constitution, outwardly monarchical, but intrinsically republican, was gradually prepared. In the mean time, the partisans of the court, in all the pro-

vinces of the kingdom, were discountenanced and insulted. Unprovoked murders were committed with impunity: many of the *châteaux* of the nobles were plundered and demolished; and the name of *aristocrat* became a term of reproach and a signal of outrage. Some of the acts of cruelty perpetrated on these occasions, were such as could only have been expected from savages or from cannibals: and the recital of them would shock a feeling heart. But they were less atrocious than many of the subsequent enormities, which exceeded even the sanguinary excesses of pagan Huns, Mohammedan Arabs, and catholic Spaniards.

This extraordinary revolution could not fail to attract the anxious notice of Europe. With regard to it's effects upon the feelings of our countrymen, we may observe, that many beheld the phænomenon with pleasure, some with suspicion and jealousy, others with anxiety and alarm. The friends of liberty rejoiced in the extension of that blessing to the subjects of another state, without considering whether the symptoms of freedom promised to be permanent, or were likely to give way to an altered form of despotism. Some politicians apprehended, that the French might be enabled, by the benefit of a free constitution, to become more formidable rivals of the English in commerce and the arts, and perhaps in arms and in power. Not a few imagined, that a volatile people, being unprepared for the cool and steady reception of the light of liberty, might be dazzled by it's glare, rush blindly into excesses inconsistent with due subordination, and be influenced by characteristic vanity to ob-

trude upon neighbouring nations their new ideas and their crude reforms.

While Louis was yielding to the force of revolutionary freedom, the emperor Joseph was prosecuting a wild career of despotism. On pretence of reforming abuses in the government of the Netherlands, he not only violated those privileges which rested on the basis of prescription, but annulled the rights and immunities granted by solemn instruments and charters.

This prince fancied himself born to reform and enlighten society. He was continually framing new projects, and was obstinate in the enforcement of all, until his fickle mind superseded them by others. He had not the requisite wisdom and judgement for a statesman; and, though he possessed some private virtues, he was not qualified to govern a nation.

The success of the French stimulated that spirit of resistance which the tyranny of the emperor had produced. The insulted, harassed, and plundered people, in Brabant and other provinces, resolved to oppose the despot with the utmost vigor; and hostilities arose from the effervescence of zeal and animosity. Vander-Noodt, an advocate of Brussels, encouraged his countrymen to revolt from Joseph; and Vander-Mersch, assuming the command of the patriotic army, repelled the imperial forces near Turnhout. Ghent was attacked with spirit: the occupants of the barracks, near the fort of St. Pierre, were made prisoners by the revolters; and the citadel was evacuated by the terrified garrison.

The imperial troops, and those provincials who adhered to the cause of the court, were filled with consternation at the progress of the opposite party. Concessions were made, and pardon offered. An armistice was concluded for ten days; during which, the patriots drew a considerable number of soldiers to their party, and prepared for the reduction of the seat of government. Even the women and children of Brussels joined in the insurrection; and the troops were unable to withstand the fury of the people. The flame of revolt spreading, none of the provinces, except Luxemburgh, remained under the imperial yoke.

Humbled by misfortune, Joseph implored the interposition of the kings of Great-Britain and Prussia, for the conciliation of the revolters. But the former, offended at the conduct of a prince who had acceded to the armed neutrality, and had annulled the treaty for the Dutch barrier, declined a compliance with his wishes; and the latter exulted in the distress of a rival.

The emperor, whose health was disordered, did not long survive the loss of his [1790.] Belgic territories. He was succeeded by his brother Leopold, who endeavoured to reclaim the revolters, by promising a restoration of their privileges, and, on their rejection of his overtures, prepared to subdue their opposition by arms. While his troops were on their march, he solicited the mediation of Great-Britain, Prussia, and Holland; and a congress was holden at the Hague. A day was fixed for the acceptance of his offers; but, when they were so altered as not to be perfectly

satisfactory, the time was suffered by the provincials to elapse without the desired submission. The army then rushed into the Netherlands, recovered Brussels, and restored the authority of the house of Austria. The king of Prussia sharply remonstrated with Leopold on his refusal to re-establish the unaltered constitution, and his orders for military violence; and our sovereign sent the earl of Elgin to Vienna, to recommend more honorable conduct. Count Merci, at the congress, signed such a convention as the mediating powers had proposed: but Leopold would not ratify this agreement, and the offended allies forbore to sanction his varied terms. He thus recovered the provinces without the full concessions or guaranty which the inhabitants wished, and inflamed that disgust which hastened their subjection to another power.

The change which had taken place in France was soon noticed in the British parliament. In a debate respecting the number of troops which ought to be kept up, Mr. Fox took an opportunity of applauding the conduct of the French soldiery, who, not forgetting that they were citizens, had joined the people against the tyranny of the court; and he observed, that in this and some other points the recent revolution resembled that of England. Mr. Burke imputed to the French troops a very reprehensible spirit of sedition, and denied the resemblance mentioned by his friend. Our revolution, he said, was founded on legitimate and constitutional principles: that of France was the offspring of an ardent thirst of innovation, of intemperate zeal, and of a restless spirit of insubor-

dination. One was conducted with regularity and moderation: the other with wanton licentiousness and anarchical ferocity. No real improvement could be expected from such a beginning. The career of such rash innovators promised nothing valuable, and threatened the most mischievous consequences.

The proceedings of the Gallic revolutionists, particularly in the seisure of ecclesiastical property, were again reprobated by Mr. Burke, when a motion had been made for a compliance with the wishes of the dissenters. The majority not only rejected this request, but also refused to adopt, at this critical time, a scheme of parliamentary reform. In the debate on the latter topic, Mr. Windham represented the present constitution of the house as adequate to every useful purpose; and he added, that, even if some new regulations seemed to be requisite for it's improvement, it was a very improper time to risque an experiment, when a hurricane was blowing in the neighbourhood.

The inquiries into the slave trade were continued in this session: but the decision was postponed. The merchants and planters exerted all their interest against an abolition; and some of them misrepresented the motives and vilified the characters of the advocates of that very justifiable measure.

The high territorial pretensions of the Spaniards, and acts of violence resulting from those claims, now produced an application to the parliament for the means of enforcing satisfaction. At Nootka

(or king George's) Sound, they had seised some British ships on pretence of encroachment, and detained the seamen as prisoners; and a building, fortified with a view to the security of the trade in furs, had also been taken. As the territory did not belong to the subjects of Spain, being very remote from the northern part of California, reparation for the outrage was demanded in a high tone by his Britannic majesty, who equipped an armament for the chastisement of the enemy, in default of satisfaction. Being unsupported by France, the court of Madrid condescended to make atonement for the alleged aggression, and agreed to full restitution and indemnification.

The negotiations with Spain were yet depending, when the king and his confederates were employed in mediating a peace between Leopold and the Turks. They found some difficulty in procuring his compliance; but they at length prevailed by expostulation and menace.

When a new parliament assembled, Mr. Pitt found that the elections had been favorable to his ascendency and power. Both houses signified their approbation of the agreement with Spain; and the taxes required for the charges of the armament were readily voted.

The trial of Mr. Hastings had been regularly continued from the year 1788: but, as a dissolution of the parliament had intervened, it was the opinion of many that the impeachment had *abated*, and ought to be considered as at an end. But this conclusion was adverse to the true spirit of the constitution. The arguments for the abatement

were urged with plausibility by the solicitor-general Scott, Mr. Hardinge, and Mr. Erskine, who contended that it was not only supported by the general complexion of parliamentary proceedings, and by the principles of the courts of common law, but by precedents which might be found in the journals of the house of peers. It was maintained, on the other hand, that the high court of parliament was at all times an existing court, as the privileges of it's members were not annulled or abridged by a prorogation or dissolution; and that an impeachment was not merely an act of the house of commons, but of all the commons of Great-Britain. The rights of the judges and prosecutors therefore remained unimpaired, notwithstanding the suspension of the means of acting; and a trial, left unfinished at the dissolution, ought to be considered as still depending, and to be carried on at the next meeting, instead of being either quashed, or brought forward *de novo*. It was added, that, even if some of the supposed precedents were applicable, they were counteracted and over-balanced by the discordancy of other cases, and by the great constitutional privileges of the commons. On this topic, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox concurred; and Mr. Addington, the new speaker of the house, satisfactorily supported this side of the question, which was sanctioned by a majority of 113. In the upper house, Mr. Grenville (who had been ennobled, and appointed secretary of state) joined lord Loughborough in defending the vote of the commons against the lord-chancellor and the chief-justice [1791.]

Kenyon; and the popular cause was also vindicated, against that exercise of the prerogative which might obstruct the progress of justice, by the high authorities of the earls Camden and Mansfield, although they did not harangue the peers on this important subject.

The opposers of the traffic in slaves again urged the house of commons to vote for it's abolition: but mercantile illiberality prevailed for it's continuance. The planters in the West-Indies pretended that they could not cultivate the islands without a frequent addition to the old stock of negroes.

While those cultivators were thus suffered to receive fresh supplies of enslaved human beings, the king provided for the improvement of their means of subsistence and comfort, by sending out two ships to convey, from Otaheite to the West-Indies, the bread-fruit tree and other vegetable productions, calculated for various purposes of utility. A former voyage of this kind had proved unsuccessful, in consequence of a mutiny among the crew.

The ministry had long deliberated on the means of improving the government of Canada; and a bill was now framed, establishing separate governments in that province, for the purpose of fully distinguishing the British colonists from those of Gallic extraction. It conceded the right of taxation; and was less favorable to the crown than the act of the year 1774; but Mr. Fox considered it as not sufficiently consonant with those enlightened principles of liberty which seemed to be hastening into general adoption. He did not approve the constitution either of the house of assembly or the

council. The former, he said, ought to be composed of many representatives beyond the small number assigned by the bill; and, instead of seven years, it ought to be dissolved and renewed once in three years. The latter ought to be formed by free and frequent election, not to consist of individuals appointed by the king for life, or of hereditary members. Indeed, the government of the United States of North-America seemed to him preferable in these respects: but the minister protested against a republican model. On the re-commitment of the bill, a debate of an extraordinary complexion occurred. On a former day Mr. Fox had bestowed high praise on the wisdom and patriotism evinced by the national assembly of France, in the formation of the new code of law and government. As Mr. Burke's sentiments were totally different, he could not conceal his disgust and indignation; and he now resolved to counter-act the influence of such a panegyric. In discussing the merits of the new Canadian constitution, he exposed the demerits of that of France, and signified his strong detestation of the conduct of the revolutionists. He was repeatedly called to order for wandering from the subject of the bill; and a warm altercation arose. When the clamor had subsided, Mr. Fox declared that he would persist in the opinions which he had delivered; and he applauded the French revolution as "one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind." He did not expect that his friend, who had so long been an advocate for liberty, would now desert that cause, and abuse all who supported it. From that friend he had derived al

most the whole of his political knowlege: yet he would not condescend to follow the changes even of so great an orator and statesman, but would defend the rights of man against every attack. Mr. Burke replied with asperity; and Mr. Fox, rising with an effusion of tears, regretted the dissolution of a long-subsisting friendship: he then renewed his animadversions on the language, behaviour, and principles, of his eloquent antagonist.

Of the two great men, who from this time ceased to act in concert, short characters may here be given.

Mr. Fox, at an early age, manifested extraordinary talents and a strong mind. He was not remarkable for application; but, when he was occasionally diligent, he quickly learned whatever he studied. Amidst a career of dissipation, he was introduced into the house of commons; a scene well calculated for the display of his abilities. His eloquence soon distinguished him from the ordinary class of speakers. Animated and vehement, like Demosthenes, he, as it were, carried his auditors with him; aroused their feelings, and enchained their attention. At one time, he was pleasingly declamatory; at another, forcibly argumentative. As a statesman, he was discerning and enlightened, bold and decisive. Temporising measures did not suit his determined spirit. That he was fond of power, appeared from his coalition with a minister whom he had uniformly censured as weak and incompetent, obstinate in error, a promoter of tyranny, and an enemy to his country. If such was his real opinion of lord North, he ought not

to have coalesced with him: if he threw out invectives in sport, without considering whether they were deserved, no parliamentary privilege could justify the very intemperate language which he frequently used. When he afterwards praised the object of his former abuse, what could the public think of such inconsistency, but that he altered his tone because he wished to secure an important accession of interest? It may be alleged that he only desired power with a view of directing it to the benefit of his country. That he had patriotism, we do not deny: but it was not so strong or so pure as his panegyrists pretend. He was a warm advocate for general liberty, but seemed to carry his zeal to the verge of republicanism. In private life, he was beloved for his mildness, candor, and good-nature; his affability, social manners, and freedom from pride.

Mr. Burke resembled Cicero in his oratory, which was fluent, diffuse, florid, and perspicuous. He was ready to harangue upon any subject whatever; and he adorned every topic with rhetorical illustrations, and dignified it with sense and philosophy. But we remember the time when he gave disgust by the frequency of his speeches, partly because sweets are cloying, and partly from his warmth and intemperance. He was a better orator than politician: his judgement was sometimes overborne by his feelings and imagination; and his wisdom was more speculative than practical. He strenuously defended liberty when he was out of office, and perseveringly encouraged the opposition of the Americans to the views of the court.