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THE
CRIMINAL HISTORY
OF THE
ENGLISH GOVERNMENT;

FROM THE
FIRST MASSACRE OF THE IRISH, TO THE POISONING
OF THE CHINESE.

BY EUGENE REGNAULT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH, WITH NOTES

BY AN AMERICAN.

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ENTERED, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1849,

BY J. S. REDFIELD,

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P R E F A C E.

FOR four hundred years, France was at war with England, and for four hundred years the power and influence of France increased : for twenty-five years the two powers have been allies, and for twenty-five years the glory of France has lost its brightness, and her power has been diminished. Powerful and respected so long as she resisted the encroachments of her rival, she has received nothing but insult and contempt since the inglorious treaty of alliance has been formed.

Happily, such bonds are broken. The treaty of the 15th of July was the signal for the divorce of this unnatural union. But in this divorce, France has felt all the shame of repudiation : and that the lesson might be thoroughly learned, the ministry which depended for its permanence upon the happiness of this English alliance, has been the first victim of its rupture. We ought, however, to be grateful that it hastened a separation, demanded by the nature of things.

Among the vast conceptions of Napoleon, the greatest, undoubtedly, was the gigantic plan of a continental blockade, the only effectual method of retaliation against the universal and insupportable tyranny of the English government, which had outraged the world by its perfidies. It

was a measure of morality, as well as one conducive to the public safety : the honor of nations was protected, and their peace preserved, when they had no communication with a power which sustained war by corruption, violated peace by intrigue, and disgraced both peace and war by its artifices. England, imprisoned in the seas which surround it, was pointed at by the world as an infected plague-spot, which ought not to be approached. Concentrating its vices in itself, as in an immense lazaretto, it would have perished had nations listened to the voice of Napoleon, who, on this point at least, was the organ of civilization. There is, however, still time to do this. It is justified by new transactions, it is deserved by former crimes.

The Criminal History of the English Government requires neither declamation nor hyperbole. The facts speak for themselves. To narrate, is to accuse ; to read, is to condemn. In these hideous annals, where every page is a blot, and every line an injury, we are embarrassed only by the fecundity of crime, and the richness of the subject. Let us not, however, be misunderstood : we shall not pretend that the English people are accomplices of the government. Such an accusation would be too general, and to it we must make exceptions. Nations are responsible only in proportion to the degree of liberty they enjoy.

We wish, however, to oppose that criminal oligarchy which Napoleon cursed on his death-bed ; we wish to hold up to the execration of every people, that odious community of feudal merchants, which has systematized pillage, and made a tradition of deceit.

We extend our hand readily to the *people* of Britain, but the aristocracy which holds them enchain'd in pompous slavery must be overthrown.

Hitherto, success has seemed to reward broken faith, and justify dishonor. Those greedy calculators who speculate in politics, and make a brokerage business of diplomacy, display with pomp their ill-gotten wealth, and insult virtue by the magnificence of their unusual fortune. Will not a people arise to avenge the nations? And will France, always the aid of the oppressed, will she now refuse to succor Providence?

In former times, when this same England swerved from the paths of Christianity, and returned slowly to Saxon Paganism, it was from the borders of France that the soldiers of the sovereign pontiff departed. The time has now come to chastise these degenerate Normans, as it was done in former times. England has violated the rights of all nations, and has thereby put herself out of the pale of justice. May the banner of the European crusade be unfurled against her! May every nation and city repeat the sacred cry! God wills it! Never was excommunication more deserved: and when the colossus of clay shall crumble beneath the blows of an indignant people, never in the history of empires will a larger ruin present a more instructive lesson.

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THE
CRIMINAL HISTORY
 OF THE
ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER I.

IRELAND.—INTRODUCTION.

THE history of almost every nation teaches that war has been a means of intellectual development, rather than an engine of destruction: invasion, by bringing men violently together, has formed between them social bonds which they would not have accepted without this powerful intervention, and most frequently great conquerors have done much to advance civilization. In Ireland, war has been unattended with recompense; invasion has produced only a dissolution of the social ties, and conquest has served but to establish barbarism.

We have to read over annals different from everything else taught by history, to relate crimes without precedent, unparalleled atrocities, and inhuman deeds of cruelty. First, bloody battles, where victory has no future; furious encounters, which leave nothing decisive, except carnage; then a legal persecution, a judicial assassination, the tortures of a subtle process: no longer victories in the field of battle, but triumphs in courts of assize; no one of those noble deeds which serve to excuse war, but a combat by decrees, an invasion by constables, a spoliation by judges.

The law is stripped of its sanctity and changed into an instrument of war, and the law-book becomes a catechism of immorality ; honors are paid to informers, encouragement is given to family discords, and rewards are offered to the parricide. The manufacturing industry is destroyed by prohibitory duties ; agriculture is ruined by a partition of farms ; the extortions of landholders are superadded to the exactions of the government ; and finally religious martyrdom is added to political martyrdom, a Protestant inquisition is established, a hundred times more intolerant than that of Torquemada, and the cottage of the Catholic peasant is sold to pay tithes to its inquisitors. These are the exploits by which England has signalized her rule over Ireland — these are the glorious titles of this commercial government, which, even in her tyranny, may defy competition.

Time brings relief to every sufferer : in every country civilization assuages some pains, and dries some tears. But in Ireland time has wrought no change ; civilization has taken nothing from the executioner, has given nothing to the victim. Like Ixion on his wheel, the Irishman passes uninterruptedly through the same succession of pains, meeting a torture at every point of the circumference of ages, and contending vainly in a bloody circle, which always brings the same agonies.

I.— FROM THE FIRST INVASION TO THE REFORMATION — 1168—1509.

It is worthy of remark, that Pope Adrian IV., who, in the name of the Church, invited Henry II. to the conquest of Ireland, was by birth an Englishman. It seems that from the very first, the hatred of the Irish for every one of English descent may find its justification even in the person of the sovereign pontiff, who gave the signal for persecution. It was not, however, till twelve years afterward,

that the Anglo-Normans invaded Ireland, upon the invitation of Dermot, king of Leinster, who had been driven from his estates by Roderick O'Connor, supreme chief of Erin.

To his call responded Robert, son of Stephen, then Richard Strongbow, count of Pembroke, with a numerous suite of Norman chevaliers.* These formidable warriors soon restored Dermot to the possession of his estates. Their large horses cased in iron, their lances eight cubits long, their cross-bows and coats of mail, gave them an irresistible superiority over the Irish, who were mounted on small horses, and who had as means of attack thin javelins, and for defensive armor only light wooden bucklers and long tresses of hair twisted and pendent from each side of the head.

But these formidable allies soon assumed the language of rulers. Thus, when Dermot, who had conquered by their aid, requested them to return to England—"What do you ask!" said Robert to him; "we have left our dear friends and our much-loved country; we have burnt our vessels; this was not done with the idea of flight; we have already fought your battles at the risk of our lives; and now, come what will, we are destined to die or live here with you."

Other adventurers soon came and joined those who had first disembarked, and then most cruel robberies and massacres commenced. The first vassal of the Anglo-Normans was the very Dermot whom they had come to assist; their first possession was this kingdom of Leinster which they had come to protect.

The Anglo-Normans then proceeded westward, and drove before them the inhabitants, who, after ineffectual attempts at resistance, emigrated in crowds, and took refuge in the mountainous countries situated beyond the river Shannon. The invaders divided among themselves the lands of the fugitive Irish, and when the latter were compelled by fam-

* Hammer's Chronicle; Augustin Thierry; De Beaumont.

ine to return, the Anglo-Normans received them as serfs upon the soil of their own fields.*

The invasion, however, was arrested by the courageous defence of the chiefs of the west and north ; and although masters of the east and the south, the adventurers were obliged to cover the territory they occupied with fortresses, to protect themselves against the continual uprisings of the oppressed Irishmen.

The conquered territory was then called *the pale*, on account of its numerous palisades and fortifications ; but these palisades were often overturned by the heroic efforts of the natives, and in terrible contests, the Irish poured forth their blood in torrents, which the cruelty of their conquerors found inexhaustible. During four ages of constant warfare, the invaders were confined to the Pale, notwithstanding the reinforcements sent to them from England ; and they continued seemingly encamped in an enemy's country rather than peaceable possessors of a conquest, the beginning of which had been so easy.

We must say also that the English kings endeavored to keep up hostilities, and to prevent any alliance which might give repose to Ireland. For in every period, in the middle ages as well as at present, the English government has always acted the part of an oppressor. As soon as amicable relations began to be established between the Anglo-Irish and the natives, the kings interfered, and if they could not again cause a commencement of hostilities, laws were passed which separated the one from the other, and kept them constant strangers to each other. In the reign of Edward I., however, the native clans, who found that the English establishments were encroaching upon them, and therefore that it was very important to conciliate them, offered of their own accord to terminate the war by submission, and demanded to be considered as *subjects* of England. But the term subject would have bestowed upon them the bene-

* Augustin Thierry ; Spenser's State of Ireland.

fits of the English law, would ensure them against the constant and regular depredations of their powerful neighbors, and the official title of servitude was refused, lest it should become a title of protection.

Formidable insurrections responded to tyranny which no longer sought disguise ; and then came royal armies, who understood the practice of massacre and confiscation by wholesale, better than the barons.

At every insurrection came new troops of English adventurers who were in need of lands ; and every poor and ruined nobleman sought to repair his fortune in a country where murder and pillage gave a title to property.

The Irish had tried submission, but to no effect ; they had resisted, but ineffectually ; they now had recourse to the last resource of the oppressed, emigration. Many left their desolate country to eke out on the continent a less cruel existence. But this act of despair was soon forbidden. A law of Henry IV. "forbade the *Irish enemies* to leave the country." They were not wanted as subjects, but were kept as slaves.

This invariable system of hostility and oppression soon descended to the children of the ancient colonists, who had adopted a wiser policy than the government, and who by commerce, marriage, and alliance, accustomed the natives to peace. This abnormal tranquillity was soon interrupted by royal laws.

It was ordained that every Norman or Englishman by birth, who should marry an Irish woman, or should assume the Irish dress, should be treated like a native of Ireland, that is, should be a serf both in person and property. There were royal ordinances in regard to the dressing of the hair and beard; every man having a moustache after the manner of the Irish, or wearing any many-colored garment, might be lawfully killed. Every English merchant who traded with the Irish was punished by the confiscation of his goods, and every Irishman who was found travelling in that part

of the island inhabited by the Anglo-Normans, was regarded as a spy. The grand council of the Irish barons and chevaliers, who, like those of England, assembled annually in parliament, were regarded nearly with as much hatred and contempt as the national assemblies held by the native Irish upon the summits of the hills.* By an ordinance of Henry VII., Parliament was forbidden to assemble without the approbation of the king, and even then it could only vote upon propositions drawn up in England. Thus this union of the colonists, called the Irish Parliament, was not permitted to have an independent action, lest it might be beneficial. The impulse of the evil took its departure from the government, and it appeared excessively jealous of this horrible commencement. The colonists, who had received the law, might depend upon it; the native could not call upon it for defence; for him it was only an instrument of vengeance. If he dared to accuse, it was referred to its judges; if he was accused, he was obliged to appear before an English tribunal, and prompt justice was rendered to the paria.

II.—FROM THE REFORM TO CHARLES I.—1509—1625.

The Irish had been declared enemies by the English law, as we have already seen in the ordinances of Henry IV.; and it is the only article of the English law, says Thomas Moore, to which they have remained constantly faithful. From that time, they repelled with holy anger the men, the laws, and the institutions of England. The term English was the greatest offence in the vocabulary of their injuries.

Some opinion may then be formed of their just indignation when the English armed themselves with a new form of tyranny, termed *the Reformation*; when those who had robbed them of their property, their houses, and their country,

* Augustin Thierry; *Ancient Irish Histories*.

wished also to despoil them of their religion ; to torture their souls as they had tortured their bodies, and to drive them away from the belief of their fathers, which alone had consoled them under so much misfortune. A benefit, if offered by the English, would have been received with distrust : what reception, then, could be given to that worst of bad actions, apostacy ?

Despotism became more furious, and resistance more obstinate. In vain did Protestant fanaticism tear open the bleeding wounds of Ireland. National hatred strengthened itself with religious hatred, and persecutions imparted to the victim a new degree of vitality, which fatigued the executioner.

Elizabeth, who was equal to her father in her conceptions of wickedness, resolved to conquer this obstinate rebellion. Her plan of pacification was very simple : it was to exterminate the natives. Her idea is found in this remark of one of her intimate counsellors : "If we undertake," said he, "to restore to this country order and civilization, it will soon become powerful and rich. The inhabitants might then think of being independent. It ought, therefore, to be our principle to keep the country in a state of confusion ; for so long as Ireland is lacerated by internal dissensions, she will never attempt to detach herself from the crown of England."* These words express the policy which was constantly followed in regard to Ireland. And no one of Elizabeth's successors has forgotten this lesson.

This advice was soon followed by action. One of the most powerful chiefs of Munster, Count Desmond, who only asked to live in peace with his powerful neighbors, was obliged by constant provocations to revolt. Then commenced the work of destruction, and the whole country was soon changed into a frightful desert. "This province," says a contemporary author, "which was heretofore rich, very populous, and fertile, covered with green pastures,

* Letters of Sir H. Sidney.

crops, and herds of cattle, is now deserted and barren ; it bears no fruit ; there is no grain in the fields, no cattle in the pastures, no birds in the trees, no fish in the rivers ; in short, the curse of Heaven on this country is so great, that you may pass through from one extremity to the other, and you rarely see a man, woman, or child."*

Another eye-witness remarks : " Although this province was extremely rich and fertile, yet in a few months it was reduced to a scene of desolation, and its inhabitants to a state of misery unexampled in history. These unfortunate people came from the recesses of the woods and from the depths of the valleys, crawling upon their hands, for their legs could not support them ; their features were those of death, and their voices were like those of spectres from the tombs. They lived upon the carcasses of animals which had been left in the roads to die, happy when they could find them, and they were often obliged to dig up dead bodies to gorge themselves with fetid flesh. When they found a spot of cresses, or even of trefoil, they crowded to it as to a festival. But these herbs were soon exhausted, and in a short time neither man nor beast was found in this country, formerly so rich and beautiful."†

Famine succeeded so well in the province of Munster, that it was applied systematically in Leinster and Ulster. The soldiers received orders to destroy the grain in the fields, to burn the harvests in the barns, and to leave the inhabitants no means of subsistence. The chiefs set them the example. The governor of Carrickfergus, Sir Arthur Chichester, marched at the head of his troops and burned all the vegetation for twenty miles around. Sir Samuel Bagnal, commander at Newry, followed his example. Famine was the political remedy for all the evils of Ireland, and it was found to be the most expeditious mode of pacifying the country.

In proportion as the desolation extended itself, the revolt

* Hollingshead ; De Beaumont. † Spenser's State of Ireland.

increased. But Elizabeth and her friends found this a new source of profit. One of her ministers told her that a powerful chief, O'Neal, was suspected of revolt. "Do not be uneasy," replied she, "but inform our friends that I shall have new lands for their disposal."

And in fact six hundred thousand acres of land were confiscated in the province of Munster alone, and distributed to the English, but with the express condition that the new possessors would not permit a single farmer of Irish origin to live on their lands. The ancient inhabitants of the soil, being dispossessed of their domains, sought an asylum in the wilds and forests, and on the rough and uncultivated mountains of Ireland.*

The murderous action was so well performed, and the triumph of desolation so perfect, that Lord Gray, governor of Ireland, wrote to the queen that "her Majesty would soon reign over only ashes and dead bodies." Elizabeth had a medal struck, with this legend: *Pacata Hibernia*. And in fact all the powerful chiefs of Ireland were killed; the clans were dispersed or extinguished; the Celtic feudality was conquered; and then was commenced upon the people a war in detail.

The succession of the Stuarts imparted some hopes to the Irish, it being generally understood that these princes favored Catholicism. James I. soon undeceived them by issuing the following proclamation: "His Majesty having learned that his Irish subjects have allowed themselves to be deceived by false reports, and that his Majesty would grant them liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their religion, his Majesty declares to his dearly beloved subjects of Ireland that he will admit no such liberty of conscience, nor any of the acts mentioned in these false reports," &c. &c.

The king was faithful to his promise; the exercise of the Catholic religion was severely prohibited, the priests were

* De Beaumont; Leland.

banished, and terrible were the chastisements reserved for those who gave them an asylum. All the Catholics were obliged to attend every Sabbath the Protestant service, and, by a refinement of persecution, Catholics of high rank were selected as spies to denounce those of their brethren who did not worship at the Protestant churches. Those brave men who refused to take part in this infamous espionage were thrown into prison, and subjected to heavy fines.

But the most odious character of this reign was the hypocritical legalization of the pillage, aided by the assistance of the tribunals. This sophistical king, who was pleased with the chicanery of law and theology, exercised the subtleties of his mind in making a legal war upon the Irish. Under pretence of rendering to every one his due, he established a general investigation into all the titles of property: and as these titles were obliged to be in conformity to the English law, most of the heads of Irish families, who held their lands only by tradition, were driven from their possessions, which were annexed to the royal domains, or were bestowed on lords who came from the borders of the Thames or Clyde. Those who had titles, saw them contested by lawyers, who came in crowds to sustain the rights of the king. Throng of pettifoggers travelled about through cities and country, verifying and contesting titles, deciphering parchments, and disputing the right to property.

To add to the cruelty of this legal mockery, the decision of contested cases was intrusted to a jury. But every juryman who did not decide in favor of the crown was immediately thrown into prison. In one case, by this method of intimidation, an entire county was annexed to the crown. In 1611, a commission was instituted to examine the rights of his Majesty to the county of Wexford. The jury responded to the royal claim, and gave a verdict of *ignoramus*; that is, against the crown. The commissioners refused to accept the verdict, and summoned the jurymen

before the court of exchequer. Five of them, having persisted in their decision, were imprisoned by order of the commissioners.* In the same way, under pretext of a conspiracy, which for the first time perhaps in Ireland was imaginary, six entire parishes of Ulster were annexed to the crown.

More than five hundred thousand acres were thus placed at the disposal of James ; and as he did not wish to forget his countrymen in the division of his favors, the Scotch were invited conjointly with the English to share the confiscated property. From this period dates the Presbyterian colony, which founded the city of Londonderry in the north. Finally, to prevent the Irish from concealing their misery, they were chased from the woods which had served them for an asylum, and they were compelled to live in the plains.

The indigenes, says Leland, were driven to the woods and mountains by the colonists of Elizabeth, and had found there natural fortresses, of which they took possession. Here they lived in obscurity, strangers to the habits and arts of agricultural life, upon the spoils of the chase, and the milk of their cows. As their numbers increased in spite of their misery, they soon became formidable, because, being concealed, they could conspire and plot against the English in secret and with impunity.

James, who dreaded secret enemies, obliged his new colonists to reside in the woody and mountainous parts of the country, while the native population was driven from them and compelled to wander in the plain, where it was more easily exposed to the mercy of its oppressors. One of the most dangerous instruments in the hands of this subtle king was the Anglo-Irish parliament. This colonial parliament had been hitherto considered only as an impediment by kings who preferred to appeal to the power of their swords. But James, who loved disputation rather

* Leland.

than contests, understood thoroughly all the advantage which he could derive from a slavish constituency. Profiting by the good examples in England, he created a number of rotten boroughs, which elected all the civil and military officers of the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. When representations were made to him in regard to this subject, he answered by buffoonery, verifying the old proverb — *the bigger the fool, the more he laughs.*

III.—FROM CHARLES I. TO WILLIAM OF ORANGE—1625— 1688.

Charles I. had, as the executor of his will in Ireland, one of those energetic despots whose acts necessarily lead either to absolute power or to the scaffold,—Wentworth, afterwards known as Lord Strafford. He was as cruel as Elizabeth and as cunning as James, and combined the two systems of oppression. He availed himself with equal dexterity of the powers of the man-at-arms and of the man of law.

One province of Ireland had hitherto escaped confiscation, and no English colony had as yet been established in it, to wit, the province of Connaught. Strafford resolved to do homage to his sovereign by despoiling this province for the king's benefit, and to do away with an exception which served as a bad example. He assembled his forces and took up his line of march, followed by an army of bailiffs and a troop of soldiers. The first were designed to falsify the law, the others to do it violence. The former proved, by all the arguments of legal logic, that Connaught belonged to the king alone, and the others scrupulously executed the decisions of this high tribunal, and impressed upon all a salutary terror, which curbed all opposition to the law. In the county of Galway, however, Strafford met with an obstinate resistance; and no less than a dozen juries were called to decide between the inhabitants who

wished to keep their lands, and the crown who wished to take them.*

Strafford understood thoroughly the importance of the triumph in this first public discussion. Every pains was taken, and neither promises nor threats were spared, and yet, notwithstanding all these efforts, the juries decided against the pretensions of the crown.

No language can paint the fury of Strafford when he heard this verdict. By his own authority he imposed a fine of a thousand pounds sterling on Sheriff Darcy, who was guilty, as he said, of summoning an evil-disposed jury. He even arrested the jurymen, and brought them before the star chamber of Dublin, where each one was compelled to pay a fine of four thousand pounds sterling, and to declare before the lord deputy, not only that his opinion was erroneous, but also that he had perjured himself. They all energetically refused to submit to this humiliating decree.†

While the minds of men were still terrified by these acts of violence, a new jury was called together by Strafford, which decided that the county of Galway, like the rest of Connaught, had always belonged to the king. The confiscation was then complete, and all the Irish possessions were seized. The history of the government of Strafford is only a constant series of such outrageous acts of violence, that they served as the basis of an accusation which brought him to the scaffold. Among other misdeeds, his accusers state that he said publicly that "Ireland was a conquered nation, and might be treated by the king as he saw fit." This was certainly the first time that English judges considered the oppression of Ireland as a crime; and one can form some idea of the enormity of the excesses, when their recollection was useful to the anger of its enemies.

The royal master of Strafford, however, already punished in the person of his minister, was alarmed by this

* De Beaumont.

† Leland; Lingard; De Beaumont.

terrible lesson, and now turned his attention towards the Irish people, who had been so unworthily sacrificed. Fidelity to misfortune ought to be found in a nation always unfortunate. From this time, he attempted to cover the past with oblivion ; every project of colonization was abandoned ; and even the Irish were assured that the idea of taking their lands *had never been entertained*. But as Beaumont remarks, with much truth — “ From the time that Charles I. ceased to persecute Ireland, and abandon the leading feature of the age, which was to convert it at any price to Protestantism, he was no longer king of England.”

We may add also, from the time that the Irish undertook the defence of the king, they declared by that that they did not recognise him as the representative of the English government. Besides, they were Royalists rather by circumstance than by sympathy. Resisting the cruel fanaticism of the Puritans, they found natural allies in those cavaliers, who were contending against the same enemies.

New and less practised provocations were still necessary to excite a rebellion, from which some greedy Protestants wished to profit. It is well known that the parliamentary government, faithful to the traditions of preceding governments, obliged the Irish to embrace revolt as a refuge against greater evils. One of the lord justices of Ireland, Sir William Parsons, went about proclaiming everywhere that the Catholics must be utterly exterminated. Sir John Clotworthy exclaimed in Parliament that her papists must be converted with the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other. The Puritans, masters of the king and of England, proclaimed a crusade against modern Babylon. Ireland did not wait for an invasion, and in October, 1641, a general insurrection broke out. Those ancient proprietors whom James I. had driven from their land, then returned and demanded their property from the Protestant colonies. In a few days, in the province of Ulster alone, O’Neil, leader

of the rebellion, found himself at the head of 30,000 soldiers.

It is remarkable that in these first moments of reaction, and in the massacres of the Protestant colonists, not a Scotchman was slain. The English were the only enemies, and the insurgents swore not to lay down their arms until Ireland was freed from its oppressors. England responded to this oath with a loud cry of vengeance ; parliament ordered the destruction of the Catholics ; an act was passed by government, to pursue the Irish both on land and on sea, and to kill them wherever they might be taken.

Faithful to these instructions, the captain of a vessel named Swanley, having seized a ship in which he found seventy Irish flying towards the Continent, tied them back to back and threw them into the sea. At Philippaugh, a hundred Irish prisoners were shot by the Scotch. Another troop of Scotch, garrisoned at Carrickfergus, invaded a poor district termed the Island of Magee, the inhabitants of which had taken no part in the rebellion, and cruelly massacred the whole population. 3000 individuals, men, women, and children, were thus inhumanly butchered. In another part, Colonel Matthew massacred 150 peasants, whom he had tracked into the woods, as if they were hares.

The English parliament sent an army of 50,000 men to execute its cruel orders, and the lord justices, commissioners of parliament, gave the soldiers the following instructions :—

Order to attack, kill, massacre, and extinguish, all the rebels, their adherents, their connexions and accomplices ; to burn, destroy, devastate, pillage, consume, and demolish, all places, cities, and houses, where the rebels have been assisted or received ; all the crops, wheat or hay, which may be found there ; to kill and destroy all male individuals, and all capable of carrying arms, who may be found in the same places.*

* Lingard.

To pay the expenses of the war, parliament procured as a loan a large sum of money, for the payment of which the property of the Irish Catholics was made responsible. Two millions five hundred thousand acres of land were hypothe- cated to those who speculated on the price of blood.

A civil contest then commenced in the bosom of Ireland, which presented all the characters of a war of savages. Burning and pillage were the watchwords of both parties ; the prisoners on both sides were assassinated ; but the government had set the example.

Finally, the Irish united with the Royalists, and became masters of all the forts, and nearly all the cities of the kingdom, but as yet there was no end to the horrors of anarchy. The English and Scotch Presbyterians, although beaten on all sides, had yet force enough to ravage and destroy ; and this was done so thoroughly, that in many provinces the people were restored to their primitive state, and wan- dered about the country with their tents and their herds, stopping wherever they could find water, grass, and wood. Some counties were even so wretched, that, to use an ex- pression of the country, there was not water enough to drown a man, wood to hang him, nor earth to bury him. Immense portions of territory remained uncultivated and desolate, and the traveller was obliged to carry provisions for his jour- ney with him, as if he had been travelling through a desert.

This horrid state of things lasted for eight years until the coming of Cromwell, armed, as he said, with the exter- minating sword of Gideon. The cruelties of this ferocious conqueror far exceeded those of the Presbyterians who had preceded him ; upon his memory rests the obloquy of all the iniquities of this period ; and yet his army, so cruel in contest, was the first English army that observed a strict discipline in Ireland, and respected the inoffensive inhabi- tants. Thus, this Cromwell, who had massacred for five days uninterruptedly the brave population of Drogheda,

hung two of his soldiers in the presence of his army, for stealing two chickens from the cabin of a poor Irishman.

He, however, pursued his work of extermination with fierce activity, in which he was seconded by a new auxiliary, the plague. Nothing could resist this double scourge. Ireland was rendered pacific when it was depopulated.

The whole soil was now divided like a domain legally confiscated. Those merchants who had advanced funds for the war were paid, and the remainder was distributed to the officers and soldiers. Ireland became a fund to discharge all the claims of the conquerors ; it served to pay the immense debt of the civil war, and to satisfy the avidity of the army.*

The plague, famine, the scaffold, and the battle-field, had not yet had enough of victims. The Catholic population was still in the majority. Other expedients were now adopted. A thousand young girls were taken from their mothers, and transported to Jamaica, where they were sold as slaves. In this manner, 100,000 persons were transported.

But death and transportation did not do the work fast enough ; there were still too many Catholics for the safety of the English. It was then resolved to expel them in a mass. Three of the four provinces of which Ireland is composed, were reserved exclusively for the Protestants ; the Catholics were banished to the fourth. This province, the last asylum offered to the remains of the proscribed nation, was Connaught. It is separated from the rest of Ireland by the river Shannon, and presents a vast country, which had been entirely desolated by the plague and by massacres. By an act of parliament, the Catholic Irish were obliged to proceed to this province on a certain day, under pain of death, and their English rulers had the right of killing all who disobeyed, and even the women and children. “*To Hell or Connaught*” was the laconic order.

* Villemain ; *Histoire de Cromwell*.

These proscriptions, however, were made after a terrible war ; these confiscations were ordained by a conquering enemy ; the acts of violence were explained, but not excused, by religious fanaticism. But what was the despair of the Irish, when Charles II. assented to the proscriptions against the partisans of his own cause, and sustained the confiscations of the Long Parliament ! On the death of Cromwell, who had robbed them, on the return of the kings whom they had defended, the Irish expected to be restored to their rights, and to the possession of their property. They regarded their rights as the same as those of Charles Stuart. But Charles Stuart declared them rebels, and legalized the conquest made by his Protestant subjects, the term he applied to Cromwell, Ireton, and Broughhill. The only effect of the restoration was to place an official seal upon the pillage of their property, and to legitimize their sufferings.

The Irish Parliament, full of Protestants, sanctioned the royal decision, and the natives awaited a new occasion to revolt against England. This was presented when James was expelled by the aristocracy. For three years they battled manfully against their eternal oppressors, although receiving but little assistance from the king, whom they were defending against a wily antagonist.

One remark of an Irish corporal, taken prisoner at the battle of the Boyne, proves that they fought from national feelings, and not from any special regard for their monarch. "Let us change kings," said he to his captors, "and we will begin the battle again."

Finally, the siege and capture of Limerick terminated the war. The Irish obtained an honorable capitulation, and laid aside their arms under the guarantee of a solemn treaty, known as the "Articles of Limerick," which confirmed to the Catholics liberty of conscience, and the enjoyment of their property. This treaty was solemnly ratified in England, and sealed with the great seal of the

chancellor. But it was also violated. The Catholics were again persecuted furiously. The responsibility of this persecution, in violation of the treaty, must rest entirely with the English aristocracy, because William III. often tried, but in vain, to protect the Irish ; he was obliged to close his eyes against the cruelties of his ministers ; and in 1692 the English parliament complained, in their address to the king, of his too great indulgence for the Irish people.

IV.—FROM THE TIME OF QUEEN ANNE TO THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND — 1701—1800.

At this period, legal persecutions were established with a violence which recalled the odious days of Queen Elizabeth. At this period was passed the infamous law entitled "An Act to prevent the Increase of Popery." By this law, if the eldest son of a Catholic embraced Protestantism, the father was at once reduced to the condition of a "tenant for life," reversion in fee being secured to the convert, and to the detriment of his co-heirs. A Catholic was not permitted to be the heir of a Protestant ; a Catholic father was forbidden to educate his children and to be their tutor, but they were placed under the charge of the nearest Protestant relative, or of a tutor named by the court of chancery. A Protestant proprietor could not marry a Catholic female ; and, finally, no Catholic was permitted to purchase ground or to take long leases. The Catholics had nothing to do with the soil, except to labor on it ; they were, in fact, the agrarian vassals of the Protestants.

Such was the code of morals formed by the Irish Parliament, under the direction of the court of England. Every political event, even occurring out of Ireland, became a pretext for new cruelties upon the people. Thus the Scotch insurrection of 1715 acted against the Irish. On this occasion, the parliament recommended the magistrates to act vigorously against the Catholic priests, unless they

wished to be declared enemies of the constitution. In 1726, it was ordained that every Catholic priest who should consecrate a marriage between Catholics and Protestants, was guilty of a felony, punishable by death. In 1744, the monasteries were abolished, the churches were closed, worship was forbidden, even the priests were pursued and trailed like wild beasts, and all the Catholics were disarmed. In 1745, the Protestants became terrified by a new insurrection in Scotland, and the propriety of a general massacre of the Catholics was discussed in the privy council of Dublin.

The fact that violent persecution strengthens belief was seen particularly in Ireland. The Protestants, notwithstanding the reinforcements which they were constantly receiving from England, remained always numerically inferior to the Catholics, and a starving population crowded around them. Even the oppressors suffered from the advantages conferred upon them. If a Protestant landholder wished to dispose of his grounds, he could find no buyers, because the Catholics were disqualified from purchasing. If he wished to increase the value of his property by a long lease, there were no lessees; if he desired to loan his money on bond, he dared not lend it to a Catholic, for he was exposed to the danger of seeing his money pass into the hands of an apostate son, who might take it from his father by becoming a Protestant. Finally, the Protestants saw *their* resources diminish constantly, in consequence of the legal incapacity of those around them. All business transactions were hampered with restrictions, and the Protestant himself was most deeply interested in violating laws which granted to him his odious privileges. In every part of the kingdom, contracts were made secretly and contrary to law. There was a legislation of contraband, in which the whole nation became an accomplice. This, doubtless, was a remedy for legal wrongs, but the remedy was very weak, for any one might be victimized by the

faithlessness of the man with whom he had made an illegal contract. The father remained constantly exposed to the spoliations of his son ; the property of the Catholics was unsafe ; the life of the priest depended on those who knew his hiding-place ; and marriages contracted contrary to law might be broken at any time.

From this time, there were found Protestants in the ranks of those who contended against English influence. The quarrel assumed a national character ; even the descendants of the ancient barons of the Pale—the colonists who were identified with the soil—were as loud in their exclamations as the rude children of the Celts ; and the Presbyterians united with the Catholics to attack the English aristocracy which ruled at Dublin.

In the Irish Parliament, hitherto mute and servile, were heard loud exclamations, and the ministry expended enormous sums to purchase a majority. This necessity of purchase was doubtless extremely disagreeable to England, who had so long commanded the votes gratuitously. In 1785, Lord Claire, the attorney general, said in open parliament, addressing himself to the opposition—"More than half a million has been expended within a few years to triumph over the opposition. You ask still more ;"—and his gestures seemed to add, "You shall have it."

On the other hand, at the same period, one of the members of the opposition most remarkable for his talents and incorruptible firmness, Grattan, exclaimed, "You have no law of responsibility for your ministers, and your men of state laugh at that justice which spares the head and compromises only their reputation. And yet we have had in this country many bloody scenes : the aristocracy has had its victims, the church has had its victims, the people have had their victims—why not then the ministers ? But here history presents a gap. In Ireland, Mr. President, you are not armed with the axe, and that is the reason you have not known a good ministry." On another occasion, Grat-

tan exclaimed against the English administration : " Do you believe, then, that the laws of this country can have any authority under a system like yours ? — a system which has not only sullied the ermine of justice, but has even poisoned the sources of legislation ? You have done well ; your purchased majorities may pass a law, but purchased majorities cannot give authority to the law. Notwithstanding all the assertions of your paid friends, I regard you all as the leaders of faction invested with authority."

This language was uttered by a Protestant against the English authority. Another Protestant, a descendant of one of the Norman families, who was one of the early invaders of Ireland, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, was still more energetic in his opposition. It was at the time that the French Revolution filled the world with agitation and the Irish with hope. These latter, like the revolutionists of Paris, had formed themselves into associations, the most numerous of which was that of the *United Irishmen* ; they had organized a national guard. The Irish harps, surmounted by the cap of liberty, floated on their standards ; and their sympathy with France was avowed as boldly as their hatred for England. On the 14th of July, 1790, the fête of the French federation was celebrated with great pomp at Dublin ; many addresses were sent from all parts of Ireland to the constitutional assembly ; and when the coalition of kings at Pilnitz declared war against France, the *United Irishmen* of Belfast voted money to aid the French armies. When the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick was known, there were public rejoicings in many of the cities, and the *United Irishmen* of Dublin sent committees to all the members of the society to celebrate this happy event.

These manifestations terrified the government. The lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation to interdict the society. To give this proclamation more force, he submitted it to the sanction of parliament. An address was therefore

proposed to the lord-lieutenant in the session of the 31st of January, 1793, in which the chamber approved of the proclamation, and offered its assistance to prevent the assemblages of the societies. The principal members of the opposition, and Grattan himself, terrified by the republican language of the clubs, had spoken in favor of the address, when Lord Edward Fitzgerald arose. "Sir," said he, addressing the speaker, "I disapprove of this address entirely; for, in my opinion, the king has not in the kingdom a subject more disloyal than the lord-lieutenant, and in this assembly members more evilly disposed than the *members* of the majority." A violent clamor then ensued; the cry, "To the bar!" was heard on all sides; the assembly left their seats, and, during three hours of agitation, they attempted in vain to obtain a retraction. It was finally decided that Lord Edward Fitzgerald should appear the next day at the bar of the house. As the house went into secret session, the explanations of Fitzgerald are unknown, but they could not have been very humble; for when the vote was taken whether his excuse should be admitted or not, the proposition was rejected by a majority of sixty-five. The destiny of Lord Fitzgerald was so singular, and the latter years of his life are connected so intimately with the history of Ireland, that a few words in regard to him will not be uninteresting.

Edward Fitzgerald, fifth son of the Earl of Leinster, one of the chiefs of the Irish opposition under George II., was about ten years old when his father died. A short time afterward, in 1773, he was brought by his mother into France to Aubigny, which belonged to his maternal uncle, the Duke of Richmond. There he spent the six most pleasant years of his life, and the constant affection which he always exhibited to France and to Frenchmen, was, in his opinion, only a debt of gratitude.

He returned to England in 1779, and two years afterwards was appointed lieutenant in a regiment which was

ordered against the Americans. Here he soon distinguished himself by his talents and courage, and took a very active part in every battle, until he was obliged to quit active service by a severe wound. Peace was concluded before his recovery. It was, however, at this period that his republican principles became established, and it was in fighting against the cause of Liberty that he learned to die in her service.

From the United States, Fitzgerald went to Canada, where he availed himself of the leisure of a garrison life to visit the tribes of Indians. There, taking part in their adventurous existence, he passed with them through forests unexplored by Europeans, sharing their dangers and their fatigues, and finding, as he says, an inexpressible charm in the life of the desert.

In 1789 he returned to London. Shortly after his return, the Duke of Richmond, his uncle, presented him to Pitt, who offered him the command of an expedition which was preparing against Cadiz. Fitzgerald accepted it eagerly; but the next day, the Duke of Richmond gave him to understand that the minister expected to have the vote, which he could command in the Irish Parliament, as deputy from the county of Kildare, when Fitzgerald rejected the overture with indignation, declared that he would not accept the command which had been offered to him, and the uncle and nephew separated in anger.

For two years he attended to his parliamentary duties, but the glorious events which had occurred in France had awakened all the ancient sympathies of Fitzgerald. Without intrusting any one with his confidence, he went to Paris without the knowledge even of his mother, the Duchess of Leinster, who was ignorant of it until she received a letter with this date: "Paris, Oct. 30. *The first year of the Republic.*" At the close of the letter he gave his mother the following address: "Citizen Edward Fitzgerald,

White's Hotel, passage des Petits Pères, près du Palais Royal."

A few days afterwards, the following article appeared in the journals of Paris and London :—

" Yesterday the English residents of Paris assembled at White's Hotel, to celebrate the victories obtained by the French armies over the coalition. Although the meeting was designed principally for the inhabitants of Great Britain, it was attended also by citizens of other countries, deputies to the convention, generals, and other officers stationed at Paris. M. Stone was in the chair.

" Among the toasts we remarked the following :—

" 'The armies of France ; may the example of the citizen soldiers be followed by all nations, until there are neither tyrants nor tyranny.'

" Toast by citizen Sir R. Smith, and Lord Fitzgerald : ' May the patriotic airs, *Ca ira*, *La Carmagnole*, *La Marseillaise*, soon become the favorite music of every army, and may the soldiers and citizens shout them in chorus.'

" By General Dillon : ' The Irish people ; may the government profit by the example of France, in order that revolution may be prevented by reform.'

" Sir Robert Smith and Lord Fitzgerald having renounced their titles, the former proposed the following toast : ' The prompt abolition of all hereditary titles, of all feudal distinctions.'

We will here quote a letter written two days after to his mother ; it serves to show the feelings with which he was inspired by the noble efforts of the French nation.

" DEAR MOTHER—

" I received your letter yesterday. You are right in speaking of my joy at the capture of Mons, and of the successful issue of the battle of Jemmapes. I was at the assembly when the news of it arrived ; it was an imposing scene, like everything else occurring here. You who know the French, can understand it. I am enchanted with

the dignity with which they celebrate their successes; there is no boasting, no arrogance. They refer all to the grandeur and goodness of their cause, and seem to think of the good effects which this will produce in Europe, rather than of their personal glory. In fact, all the good feelings of the French stand out in bold relief, while, in my eyes at least, all defects have disappeared. The city is very tranquil, the theatres and public walks are crowded. I see no changes except in the small number of equipages, the simplicity of dress, &c. &c."

A few days after the date of this letter, Fitzgerald, being at the opera, observed in an adjacent box a young lady of remarkable beauty. He soon found that her name was Pamela Sims, the adopted daughter of Madame de Genlis, then citizen Sillery. Report said, and Fitzgerald's historian, Thomas Moore, asserts positively, that she was the daughter of Madame de Genlis and Philippe Egalité. We know not if Fitzgerald was acquainted with this circumstance, but, full of that enthusiasm with which the Irish are so easily led away, he was introduced to the citizen Sillery, and in a month afterwards offered his hand to Pamela.

But the marriage was celebrated at Tournay, because Madame de Genlis was then conducting Madame Adelaide her pupil out of France. The names which appear in the marriage contract are as follow:—

"To all, &c., &c., be it known, that before me, Ferdinand Joseph Dorez, a republican notary public, resident at Tournay in Flanders, in the presence of the citizens Louis Philippe Egalité and Sylvester Mirys, present at Tournay, and the requisite witnesses appeared, Edward Fitzgerald, aged about 29 years, generally residing at Dublin in Ireland, born at Whitehall, London, son of James Fitzgerald, Duke of Leinster, and of Lady Amelia Lennox, Duchess of Leinster, on one part, and Citizen Ann Caroline Stephanie Sims, aged about 19 years, living in Paris, known in France by the name of Pamela, native of Fogo, in the Isl-

and of Newfoundland, daughter of William of Brixey, and of Mary Sims, attended by citizen Stephanie Felicité Ducrest-Brulart-Sillery, known in 1786 as the Countess of Genlis, authorized by two depositions taken before the honorable William Count of Mansfield, peer of the realm, and chief justice of England, both dated January 25, on the other part, &c."

The following signed the original documents : Edward Fitzgerald, Pamela Sims, the Lieutenant-general James Omoran, Stephanie Felicité Ducrest-Brulart-Sillery, Adèle Eugénie Egalité, Hermine Compton, Philippe Egalité, Pulchérie Valence, Henriette Screey, Cesar Ducrest, Louis Philippe Egalité, Sylvester Mirys, and F. J. Dorez, notary.

It was during his marriage fête that Lord Fitzgerald learned that the English ministry had erased his name from the list of officers in the army. This measure, which concerned others as well as himself, excited great indignation in the ranks of the British opposition. Fox reproached ministers severely for this arbitrary act, which, it was said, had no foundation, other than the sympathy of the officers for the French nation.

At the opening of the session, Fitzgerald returned to Dublin, about the end of January, and it was shortly after resuming his seat that he used the bold language cited on a previous page. From that day his fortunes were attached to those of Ireland.

The Catholics, however, had not yet joined the United Irishmen ; for the government had relented somewhat towards them, in consequence, probably, of the patriotic demonstrations made by the Protestant Irish. The *relief bill* of 1793 granted the Catholics the right of election; and admitted them to sit as jurymen, and to the bar. But these concessions were only illusory ; for in bestowing the right of election without the right of eligibility, it was to admit into the constitution the least enlightened, and to repel from it the most capable. In summoning them as jurors, the

duties of sheriff devolved alone on Protestants ; now as the sheriff selects the jurors, Catholics could always be prevented from exercising their right. In admitting them to the bar, all access to the magistracy was sedulously closed. The temple of the law was opened to them, but they could not cross the threshold ; they might speak in behalf of their suffering brethren, but they could not pronounce the decisions of justice. It was too much, or too little ; it was to emancipate them from slavery, without giving them liberty. They demanded a complete emancipation : it was promised them.

At this period, Pitt, who saw that he was about to lose power, endeavored to form a ministry by conciliation. The Duke of Portland, a moderate whig, offered his support, but stipulated expressly that emancipation should be granted to the Irish Catholics. A political coalition was formed on these principles. Lord Fitzwilliam, an avowed partisan of emancipation, was named lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Grattan, the Diomede of the Catholic cause, was called to the administration. All the Irish were full of hope : discords were healed ; the act of emancipation was drawn ; all was ready for legislation ; when suddenly Lord Fitzwilliam was mysteriously recalled, Lord Camden was named as his successor, and Grattan was succeeded by Lord Castlereagh ! Catholics and Protestants were again deceived.

The secret of this duplicity was the news received by Pitt from the continent. The internal dissensions of France, its momentary reverses in Flanders, the embarrassments in its finances, had convinced the minister that the young republic must soon yield ; and throughout Europe there was a vivid reaction against revolutionary principles, the effects of which were felt particularly in Ireland. The tories had made concessions in a moment of fear ; on resuming their courage, they resumed their tyranny over the whigs.

Instructed by these examples, the Catholics delayed no longer. They associated in crowds with the United Irish-

men ; a vast confederation was organized, with a view to the extinction of the English power, the independence of Ireland, and the formation of a republic. In every county the society had numerous ramifications, and three hundred thousand armed men were ready to respond to its call. An executive directory was established at Dublin, on the model of the Directory at Paris. Among the chiefs of the conspiracy were Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Wolfe Tone, and Arthur O'Connor.

Wolfe Tone was sent to France to claim the support of the Directory, under the express condition that the French should come to Ireland as allies, and should act under the direction of the new government, as Rochambeau had done in America. With this view, Tone had frequent conferences at Paris with Hoche ; and the Directory finally determined to send from Brest a fleet of forty-five sail, with an army of fifteen thousand men, under the charge of this able general, December 15, 1796. England was saved by a violent tempest. For six days the fleet contended against the elements, but in vain ; and of all this formidable armament, there returned to Brest only four transports, two frigates, and a lugger. Hoche, separated from the command of the fleet, was obliged to throw himself into a small boat, and land at Rochelle.

But the English government had been warned. By recurring to its usual means of corruption, it purchased some traitors, who disclosed the plans of the association, the names of the chiefs, and designated their place of rendezvous. Arthur O'Connor, Quigley, and many others were arrested ; warrants were issued against Fitzgerald and those who were concealed. Fitzgerald, however, was not disengaged ; he remained at Dublin, where he could watch the movements of government, and send his instructions to the provinces ; and escaped all pursuit by frequently changing his place of residence. A reward of one thousand pounds was offered for his arrest ; and on the 20th of May, 1798,

the police was informed that he was in the house of a Mr. Murphy. The mayor of the city, Mr. Sirr, attended by two police-officers, Messrs. Swan and Ryan, and followed by a guard of soldiers, immediately went to the house designated.

Fitzgerald had dined with Murphy and a friend named Neilson, when the latter took his leave, and, either intentionally or unintentionally, left the street door open. Murphy attended Fitzgerald to his chamber, where he lay down in the bed dressed, when he heard a step on the stairs, and Swan entered the room, and fired on Lord Edward; but in his haste he missed him. He then turned to Murphy, and struck him violently in the face with the breech of the pistol, saying to a soldier who entered, "Take this droll one away." At this moment, Fitzgerald jumped from his bed, leaped upon Swan and stabbed him, and also Ryan, who fell, bathed in blood. Mayor Sirr, however, rushed into the fight, fired on Lord Edward, who was contending vigorously against his assailants, and broke his right arm. Armed soldiers were then called in to conquer him, and his resistance did not terminate until he was ironed, having received a sabre cut in the neck.

The arrest of Fitzgerald produced a vivid sensation among his partisans, and the government could not dissemble their joy at this important capture. But they were not accustomed to be generous in the moment of victory. Fitzgerald was confined in a narrow prison, and was not permitted to see his relatives; even his wife was not admitted, although it was known that his wounds were mortal. When he wished to make his will, the notary was not allowed to communicate directly with him; but was obliged to draw up the will at the door of the prison, while the surgeon was the medium of carrying to him the last words of the dying man. These acts of cruelty towards a chief of the aristocracy indicated what was reserved for the people.

On the third of June, Fitzgerald was awakened from his

agony by a loud noise : it was caused by the hanging before his window of one of his accomplices, Quigley.

The next day, death relieved Fitzgerald of his sufferings. But death without condemnation deprived the minister of one of his victims ; and to satisfy his implacable vengeance, a posthumous inquest was called on the cadaver. A bill of attainder was presented to the parliament against the memory of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, confiscating his goods and chattels for the benefit of the crown. The celebrated advocate, Curran, appeared at the bar for the defence. "Often," said he, "have I been called by my professional duties to the dungeon of the captive, but never to the tomb of the dead. Never until this day have I had to meet an accusation beyond the grave ! The charges, which the accused might have destroyed by a few words, if alive, must be buried with him in eternal silence. By the bill which is now presented, you may conquer when proof is impossible, strike where crime cannot exist, confiscate the property of the widow, and rob the orphan. A state must descend to the lowest depths of degradation, when it is obliged to seek support in the violation of law, and the sad confession of its weakness and terror."

The noble efforts of Curran failed : the two houses of Parliament passed the bill, and George III. gave it his royal sanction. This was not enough for the cabinet of St. James. The leaders of the association were dead or dispersed, but the association itself existed ; and in order to destroy its members, it was necessary to excite them to an insurrection, to which they did not seem disposed. The government then had recourse to those means of provocation for which it was so cruelly adapted. All Ireland was placed in a state of siege ; a general disarming of the inhabitants was ordered, and under pretence of searching for arms, garrisons were established in the houses. Soldiers were sent from England expressly to persecute the Irish, and obeyed the orders of their chiefs with phrensicd

zeal. The inhabitants who were suspected, rightfully or wrongfully, of having arms, were subjected to the rack ; their hair was torn from their head ; others were hung on trees, and taken down just before death ; others were scourged to excoriation, and their bloody wounds were covered with salt and pepper. In those villages where the peasantry were entirely unarmed, and consequently could not respond to the demand for guns, having none, the soldiers set fire to their houses. Murder, violation, pillage, formed the usual service of the troops ; and the excesses of this inebriated soldiery became so intolerable, that the commander-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces in England, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, wrote to the ministry : "The army under my orders has become formidable by its license to the whole world, except to the enemy." Sir Ralph Abercrombie was soon recalled, as a man on whom no dependance could be placed.

A man of eminent merit, Sir Edward Crosbie, had declared in favor of a parliamentary reform ; on this account the military judge concluded that he was a republican, and consequently he was brought to the bar. Witnesses who could not be suspected — Protestants, devoted but impartial friends of the government — appeared in crowds to give their depositions in favor of the accused, but their testimony was rejected ; they wished to force their way into the tribunal, where they knew that an innocent man was accused, who could be saved by a word from their mouths ; but they were stopped by the bayonets of soldiers, who repulsed them with violence. This was not all : as there were no witnesses against the accused, the military judge sought them in the prisons ; here he promised life if the prisoners would testify against the accused ; threats and even tortures were used to obtain false testimony from them. The doom of the accused was thus soon sealed : a gross, ignorant, and brutal man, the president of the

council of war, condemned him to death, and he was then executed.

While these things were going on, the Irish tories employed by the government, and others, organized into armed bands under the name of *Orangemen*, rivalling the soldiers in their cruelty. They attacked the houses of Catholics in open day, set them on fire, and stabbed the inhabitants who tried to escape from the flames. In the county of Armagh, the Orangemen swore to expel all the Catholics, and consequently issued a proclamation, in which they ordered the Catholics to leave the county by a certain day. Those who did not obey, saw their houses burnt, their property destroyed, and their families murdered. More than seven hundred Catholic families were thus expelled violently from the county of Armagh ; and all this took place under the eyes, or rather with the connivance of the magistrates.

When Lord Moira stated all these outrages in the House of Lords, a minister rose to deny it, and added, "If this be true, the people would rise." The people did rise, and the government wished it. Unhappily, the insurrection occurred without concert, and in consequence of the sufferings which were caused. The rising was in detached places, so that the English army could exterminate the small troops of insurgents one after another.

These uprisings at first commenced in the country which separates Dublin from the mountains of Wicklow. They then extended to Wexford, where a provisional government was established, under the title of the *Executive Directory of the Irish Republic*. A few partial successes attracted there a great many partisans. But most of them were armed with pikes, they had no artillery, and it was not to be expected that they could sustain a regular contest against the English army, who advanced to meet them with all the advantages of discipline, and a formidable park of artillery. They, however, were intrenched upon Vinegar Hill, near Wexford, and they defended themselves

with energy until they were entirely surrounded. The prisoners were tortured, to ascertain the names of their chiefs; but they could only denounce those who were already slain or were prisoners.

Another battle was fought near Wicklow, and lost. This discouraged the Irish, and arrested the insurrection in the southern and eastern provinces.

The insurgents doubtless committed some outrages, but they were not to be compared with those of the English upon them while they were quiet, before the insurrection commenced. Whatever may have been their excesses in other respects, says Augustine Thierry, the insurgents always respected females; but this was not done by the Orangemen, nor even by the officers of the English army, notwithstanding all their pretensions to honor and civilization. Those military men who reproached the rebels bitterly for the murder of one prisoner, sent all their captives to the executioner, because they said it was the law. There were entire provinces in rebellion, where not a single Protestant was killed; but none of the rebels who were captured with arms in their hands were spared; and the chiefs of the United Irishmen said, "We fight with the halter round our necks."

This insurrection had hardly been subdued, when another one broke out in the north, among the Scotch Presbyterians. As in the preceding, there were brilliant actions and deeds of rare courage; but all the efforts of the English troops being directed to one point, resistance was unavailing. The insurgents, however, did not wish to lay down their arms except under a general amnesty. It was promised; and as soon as they were disarmed, the English violated their promise by executing their principal leaders.

The contest had been ended about a month, when a French detachment disembarked on the western coast. This late succor comprised only fifteen hundred men, commanded by General Humber. If he had arrived a few

weeks sooner, he might have aided the natives efficiently ; but now they came to brave a useless, and, in this war, a very untimely danger. The career, however, of this small army was brilliant, and worthy of the soldiers of Italy who composed it. They attacked the city Killala, in the county of Mayo, and made prisoners of all the English in the garrison, and there displayed the green standard of the United Irishmen. But in this province, where all the Protestants were attached to the government, they were joined only by a few badly-armed Catholic peasants, and General Humber soon saw that he must depend on his own resources. He then marched towards the south, leaving the garrison at Killala, and taking with him about eleven hundred men. At Castlebar, he found General Lake intrenched with four thousand regulars. The French attacked him with spirit and routed them, taking eight hundred prisoners and ten pieces of artillery.

Notwithstanding this brilliant success, but few Irish joined the French. But the small victorious army were undaunted, and proceeded towards Dublin. During this time, thirty thousand English regulars, who were assembled under the command of Lord Cornwallis, advanced against General Humber, and waited for him near Ballinach. Notwithstanding this great disproportion of forces, Humber accepted the contest ; and, after a short and spirited resistance, himself and corps capitulated. On seeing the small number of French — eight hundred and forty-four, including officers, who had resisted the entire army — the English were astonished, and uttered serious accusations in Parliament against the inefficiency of the Irish parliament, who had permitted Humber to pass through the country like a conqueror. Colonel Charost, who commanded the small garrison of Killala, could not hold it a long time ; but when the city was surrendered, the archbishop's palace, which had been occupied by the French, was found in the same state in which it had been left. Not a single article

of furniture was missing, and even the silver plate of the prelate had been untouched. The English commanders admired this strict discipline, instances of which were sought for in vain among *their* soldiers.

A month afterwards, a new and still more rash attempt was made by the French Directory. A small squadron, composed of one ship of the line and eight frigates, sailed from Brest to Ireland. It was met on the coast of Ulster by Admiral Sir John Warren, with a much larger force. After an heroic defence of six hours, the ship of the line and six frigates surrendered. Among the prisoners was the celebrated Wolfe Tone, the founder of the association of United Irishmen, and one of its most active agents. He was brought before a court-martial at Dublin, where he did not attempt to deny his projects against the English government. "I entered into the service of the French republic," said he, "with the sole view of being useful to my country. To contend against British tyranny, I have braved the fatigues and terrors of the field of battle; I have met the dangers of the sea, covered with the triumphant fleets of my antagonists; I have sacrificed my comfort, have courted poverty, have left my wife unprotected, and my children without a father. After all I have done for a sacred cause, death is no sacrifice. In such enterprises, everything depends on success: Washington succeeded — Kosciusko failed. I know my fate, but I neither ask for pardon nor do I complain. I admit openly all I have said, written, and done, and am prepared to meet the consequences. As, however, I occupy a high grade in the French army, I would request the court, if they can grant me the favor, that I may die the death of a soldier." After a long silence, interrupted by some expressions of admiration, he was told that his request should be submitted to the lord-lieutenant. Thinking, however, that there was but little prospect, he committed suicide in prison.

With Wolfe Tone, terminated the insurrection of 1798.

He was the prime mover of it, and was its last victim. A few obstinate rebels still remained in the woods and mountains ; but they served as sources of amusement for the English officers, who *hunted them down* during the leisure from their garrison duties.

This insurrection, although badly planned and badly executed, gave the English government so much alarm, that they resolved to take away from Ireland the last remnant of official nationality, the Parliament. Although the vote of this assembly was always purchased, yet its debates preserved for the country a fictitious independence, which many persons imagined to be real.

Besides, the orators of the minority constantly pointed out the crimes of the government, gave patriotism many noble lessons, and reminded the Irish that they ought still to be regarded as a nation.

That odious measure of state policy, the union of Great Britain and Ireland, was now introduced. At this news, mutilated Ireland again rattled her chains, and showed her scars. Of thirty-two counties, twenty-one protested energetically against the abolition of their parliament. This parliament, the extinction of which was demanded, is again reanimated. The last struggles of dying nationality were marked by stormy discussions ; and foremost among the combatants stood Grattan, who never abandoned the cause of misfortune. One of the ministerial orators referred in favor of the measure to the great insurrection, when Grattan rose and exclaimed, "Is it you who revive the memory of that bloody epoch ? If there were crimes committed, they were excited by you. If there were acts of heroism performed, they were accomplished against you. From 1782 to 1798, the government were constantly attempting to destroy all that remained of our institutions, and of our virtues. You have introduced here a system of corruption unknown in the annals of any parliament. You have added intimidation to corruption, and to crown your work,

you have introduced the torture under the vain pretext of an insurrection, caused by your crimes. So far as I am concerned, the events have not changed my convictions. I think now as I thought then ; the treason of ministers against the liberty of the people, is much more culpable than the rebellion of the people against ministers."

At first the efforts of the Irish patriots triumphed. The act of union was *at first* rejected. It was not that the majority was less servile than formerly ; but among the numbers of this majority, were several rich proprietors who owned rotten boroughs, and who annually disposed of a certain number of representatives. To them this privilege was a prolific source of revenue, and they considered the bill as an attack upon their property. With them it was only a question of money, and it consequently gave the English government a solemn opportunity of developing the powers of corruption when employed on a larger scale. It was estimated that every rotten borough was worth fifteen thousand pounds sterling. This sum was promised as an indemnity for sacrificed privileges, and the whole indemnity amounted to one million two hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling.

The humblest opponent was quieted by a place, pension, or money ; and on the 26th of May, 1800, the project of union was adopted by a vote of 118 to 73.

Thus terminated this parliament, where Irish nationality was extinguished — where the last mark of the independence of a people was sacrificed.

V.— UNION AND EMANCIPATION — ACTUAL STATE OF IRELAND— 1800—1841.

If the act of union had been really an annexation of Ireland to England, the political approximation of the two people, with the same advantages and the same duties, the same privileges and the same expenses, one would nat-

rally be astonished at witnessing the existence of the same hatred as before, and at the continuation of wretchedness. One would be almost tempted to accuse the Irish of being unable to forget their resentment and their long suffering. But, as we have already said, the act of union was only a solemn lie. Nothing was changed except that parliament had been abolished. The evil still existed, and the slight image of independence which might have alleviated it was effaced. Ireland was not told, You shall suffer no longer, but, You shall suffer in silence. Its tortures were not relieved, but the cry of the victim seemed too loud, and the gag was applied. Article 8 of the act of union states : All laws and all courts of justice shall exist as they are now. This means, the same system of oppression shall be continued ; the Catholics shall be subject to the same restrictions, the same favors shall be granted to the Protestants ; the laborer shall be subject to the same exactions.

In this brief statement of the wretchedness of Ireland, we have referred only to political facts ; we have not described their general oppression, which weighs equally on the poor as well as the rich. But if we glance at social life, if we inquire into domestic wretchedness, if we look into the domestic circles, and ask what the government has given it, in exchange for its independence, a reply is unnecessary, the answer is addressed to our eyes.

"Imagine," says Beaumont, "four walls of dried mud, which a shower of rain easily restores to its primitive state ; a little thatch serves for a roof, and a hole in this roof for a chimney, and most frequently the door of the cabin forms the only place through which the smoke escapes ; one room contains the father, mother, and children ; there is no furniture in this wretched place, and one bed, generally of straw, serves for the whole family.

"Within, we find five or six half naked children, crouched near a miserable fire, the ashes of which covers a few potatoes, the only nourishment of the whole family ; in the

midst of all is a hog, the only inhabitant of the place who thrives, because he lives in filth. The presence of the hog in the cabin, however, is a sign of some luxury, and extreme is the poverty in the cabin where he is not found."

This picture, however, is not that of the poor man's residence, but of that of the farmer and agricultural laborer.

As to the mass of poor people, those who live one day and even two without nourishment, we cannot speak of them, because language has no words to express their misfortunes. We do not here allude to a few sad exceptions, but to a terrible whole. It follows from parliamentary investigations, that in Ireland three millions of individuals are annually exposed to die by starvation. Besides these three millions, there are as many more who just escape starvation, and are not counted.

In 1832, Bishop Doyle was asked, "what was the state of population in the west?" "Just as it always has been," said he; "they are starving, as usual." And yet the country is rich and fertile, the inhabitants are good laborers; but its riches and fertility are profitable to a few large proprietors, and the labor of the poor farmers puts millions of revenue into the pockets of some lords who have never resided in the country. Great opulence is seen by the side of excessive indigence.

The judges, who are all English, receive a salary of £5000; to the bishops, who are all Protestants, is paid the sum of £20,000; and it is this Catholic population who live in hovels, which supports an unfriendly church, the revenue of which amounts to the enormous sum of £1,000,000. No other part of the globe presents an instance of such a state of prodigality, with so much misery. In no other country have the people been starved in order to govern them, and never has despotism subjected the vanquished to such a terrible fate. Although, unhappily, in every country there are some classes who are poor, yet it was reserved for the infernal genius of the English government

to create a nation of beggars in the bosom of a rich and fertile country.

It is not surprising, then, that notwithstanding its recent political conquests, Ireland still pursues England with its threats and curses. It has doubtless obtained the right to send a Catholic to parliament; Ireland will doubtless go to the hustings, and give its vote in favor of the good cause; but after accomplishing this act of sovereignty which costs one day of labor, the same images of distress and despair reappear. The national candidate who is sent to parliament may cause a change in the cabinet of St. James, may transfer the ministerial honors from the head of a tory to the brow of a whig, but what can he do for the millions of his starving electors? How can he send a ray of hope into that cabin where bread and salt are luxuries of life?

Catholic emancipation was a great triumph of justice; it satisfied a moral want, but has not relieved a physical suffering; and yet the government imagined it had made a great concession. It wished to purchase repose, and thought it had paid dearly for it; and yet, notwithstanding these efforts of generosity, rest has not come. Ireland always threatens, for it is always wretched. Its social organization demands to be thoroughly modified, and is not content with those attempts at reform, which serve only to render its misfortunes more perceptible. It is useless to give the Irish a right to speak, if the means of living are refused to them.

To give a brief, faithful, but imperfect picture of the misfortunes of the Irish, we will here quote the testimony of De Beaumont, who inquired into the sufferings of the peasantry, while sitting with them upon the moist earth of their cabins.

"I have seen," says he, "the Indian in the forests, the negro in his chains, and I thought I had witnessed the extreme of misery; but I was then ignorant of the fate of Ireland. Like the Indian, the Irishman is poor and naked,

but he lives in the centre of a population who strive for luxury, honor, and wealth. Like the Indian, he is destitute of those comforts of life procured by human industry and commerce, but he sees a part of his equals daily enjoying those luxuries to which he cannot aspire. In the midst of the greatest distress, the Indian preserves a degree of independence, which has its charms and its dignity. Although indigent and hungry, he is yet free in the desert, and the feeling that he has this liberty, sweetens his sufferings. The Irishman experiences the same privations, but has not the same liberty ; he is subjected to rules and privations of every kind ; he dies of famine, and he has laws ; a sad condition, which combines the vices of civilization with those of savage nations. The Irishman who is about to break his bonds, and who looks forward with confidence to the future, has less cause of complaint than the Indian or the slave ; and now Ireland has neither the liberty of the savage, nor the bread of slavery."

Need we add anything further ? Are not these eloquent remarks sufficient to brand with eternal infamy a government which has invoked famine as an auxiliary to its tyranny, and which for six ages has condemned a whole people to the punishment of Ugolino ?*

* For further details in regard to the present condition and actual suffering in Ireland, see "The Condition and Fate of England, by C. E. Lester. New York, J. & H. G. Langley."

CHAPTER II.

WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

I.—ALLIES OF THE ENGLISH—SAVAGES, HESSIANS, AND NEGROES.

THAT fatal disease which punishes kings by blindness before destroying them, never led to fatal measures more rapidly than did the British cabinet on learning the bold protest of the North Americans against the tyranny of the mother country. Their complaints had been received with threats, and their insurrection was treated with contempt. One would think, from the remarks of the officers, that a few soldiers were sufficient to subdue this colony of merchants.

The Secretary of State, Lord Weymouth, remarked, with an air of mockery, in the House of Lords : "Fear nothing from our neighbors, my Lords ; they only fit out armaments to exercise their sailors." The Solicitor General, in the House of Commons, remarked : "The Americans cannot become free except by their defeat." The ministerial journals repeated these plain remarks, and Lord Chatham responded in a remarkable speech in the House of Lords. "Alas ! that we should seem corrupted by our strength and riches, that our statesmen should decry the Americans, and say they deserve our contempt. They state that they are poor, that they eat little, that they are thin, are cowards, and that they have no clothing but a blanket. My Lords, these cowards, these sick people, will defeat us."

Hostilities, however, were scarcely commenced when the English ministry could appreciate the merit of its boast. All of its operations resembled those of its

General Burgoyne, who wrote from his camp at Putnam Creek :—"It is on the field of battle that the ministers of justice and revenge will await these obstinate rebels : let them come there.

"Desolation, famine, and the horrors with which these two plagues are attended, will render their return impracticable."

Some days after this emphatic bulletin he was captured, with his entire army, and thirty-seven pieces of artillery, 16th Oct. 1777.

Hitherto the English government had uttered ridiculous threats, but the means which it adopted were infamous. The English sought for allies in the wigwam of the savage, and excited the ferocity of the Indians by offering a reward for every American scalp. A regular trade in human heads was commenced between the Indians and the English generals. The following document will show how eagerly this abominable traffic was conducted. A letter from Capt. Crawford to Col. Haldiman, Governor of Canada, accompanying eight packs of scalps.

"May it please your Excellency, at the request of the Seneca Chiefs I send, herewith, to your Excellency, under the care of James Boyd, eight packs of scalps, cured and dried, hooped and painted, with all the Indian triumphal marks, of which the following is invoice and explanation.

"1. Containing 43 scalps of Congress soldiers, killed in different skirmishes ; these are stretched on black hoops, 4 inches in diameter ; the inside of the skin painted red, with a small black spot to note their being killed with bullets. Also 62 of farmers, killed in their houses, the hoops red ; the skin painted brown and marked with a hoe ; a black circle all round, to denote their being surprised in the night, and a black hatchet in the middle, signifying their being killed with that weapon.

"2. Containing 98 of farmers killed in their houses : hoops red ; figure of a hoe to mark their profession ; great

white circle and sun, to show they were surprised in the day time; *a little red foot*, to show they stood upon their defence, and died fighting for their lives and families.

“ 3. Containing 97 of farmers; hoops green, to show that they were killed in their fields; a large white circle with a little round mark in it for the sun, to show that it was in the day time; black bullet mark on some—hatchet on others.

“ 4. Containing 102 of farmers, mixed, of the several marks above, only 18 marked with a little yellow flame, to denote their being of prisoners burnt alive, after being scalped, their nails pulled out by the roots, and other torments; one of these latter supposed to be of a rebel clergyman, his band being fixed to the hoop of his scalp. Most of the farmers appear by the hair to have been young or middle aged men; there being but 67 very gray heads among them all; which makes the service more essential.

“ 5. Containing 88 scalps of women; hair long, braided in the Indian fashion, to show they were mothers; hoops blue; skin, yellow ground with little red tadpoles, to represent, by way of triumph, the tears of grief occasioned to their relations; a black scalping knife or hatchet at the bottom, to mark their being killed with those instruments; 17 others hair very gray, black hoops; plain brown color, no mark but the short club or casse-tête, to show they were knocked down dead, or had their brains beat out.

“ 6. Containing 193 boys’ scalps of various ages; small green hoops; whitish ground on the skin, with red tears in the middle, and black bullet marks; knife, hatchet, or club, as their deaths happened.

“ 7. 211 girls scalped, big and little; small yellow hoops, white ground; tears, hatchet, club, scalping knife, &c.

“ 8. This package is a mixture of all the varieties above mentioned to the number of 122, with a box of birch bark, containing 29 little infants’ scalps of various sizes—small white hoops with white ground.

"With these packs the chiefs send to your excellency the following speech, delivered by Coneiogatchie in council, and interpreted by the elder More, the trader, and taken down by me in writing.

"'Father, we send you herewith many scalps, that you may see we are not idle friends. A blue belt.'

"'Father, we wish you to send these scalps over the water to the great king, that he may regard them and be refreshed, and that he may see our faithfulness in destroying his enemies, and be convinced that his presents have not been made to ungrateful people.'

"'A blue and white belt with red tassels.'

The following letter shows that the Englishmen attempted to speculate in their commercial operations with the Indians.

"Father, we have only to say further that your traders exact more than ever for their goods, and our hunting is lessened by the war, so that we have fewer skins to give for them. This ruins us. Think of some remedy. We are poor, and you have plenty of everything. We know you will send us powder and guns, and knives and hatchets; but we also want shirts and blankets"

"A little white belt."

"I do not doubt but that your excellency will think it proper to give some further encouragement to those honest people. The high prices they complain of are the necessary effects of the war. Whatever presents may be sent for them through my hands shall be distributed with prudence and fidelity.

"I have the honor of being your Excellency's
most obedient and most humble servant,

"JAMES CRAWFORD."

These packs and letters were found among the baggage of the royal army after the defeat of General Burgoyne. The Americans preserved these sad remains of their brethren as a mark of the ferocity of their enemies.*

* The annals of the war of the American revolution are full of examples

Other bargains of a similar debased character were made in Europe ; the British cabinet excited the cupidity of the small electoral princes of Germany, and purchased soldiers to send to America like so much merchandise. As the weak states of these princes could not supply the demand for men, recruiting parties were sent to Hamburgh and the other Hanseatic cities, whose independence permitted this kind of commerce. The constant confusion of these human bazars disturbed the repose of the citizens. All the vagabonds of Germany came to be enlisted, and as each of the small princes had his agent to buy in order to sell again, the trade assumed a great degree of activity. Sometimes ten men were engaged in bargaining for one, and often disputed with sword in hand, throwing steel in the scale when gold failed them. The Englishman waited quietly for his cargoes of soldiers, which were embarked at Ochsenfurt or Coblenz, after verifying their number and quality. It was truly a trade in white men.

" This nation," said a German, speaking of England, " was made to disturb the repose of other nations. She has no wood, and wishes vessels ; she has no men, and wants a large army ; she inhabits only an angle of the earth, and wishes to govern the whole world. Powerful without real force, she will neither keep her prosperity nor her power long ; even now she is ruining herself and those around her."

England paid dearly for all the men she purchased of these electors. Besides the bounty pay, twenty pounds sterling were allowed for every soldier killed in America, where the native ferocity of the savage was stimulated by his British allies. The murder of Jane McCrea, the massacre of Wyoming, the cruelties of Barry St. Leger, and many other instances which might be adduced, testify amply to the blood-thirsty spirit which marked the course of England in this revolutionary struggle. The English themselves were not far behind the savages in deeds of horrible atrocity. " The cruelties," says General Gates, in a letter to Burgoyne, " which mark the retreat of your army, in burning the gentlemen's and farmers' houses, as it passed along, are almost among civilized nations without precedent."

or who did not return from there. Such at least was the agreement made with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

The following is a curious document published on this subject in the papers of the day.

Copy of a letter from the Count of Schaumburg (alias, the Prince of Hesse Cassel), dated Rome, February 18, 1777, to Baron Hohendorff, commanding the Hessians in America.

"Baron Hohendorff—

"I received at Rome, on my return from Naples, your letter of the twenty-seventh of December last. I learned with inexpressible pleasure the courage displayed by my troops at Trenton, and you cannot imagine my joy on reading that of nineteen hundred and fifty Hessians who were engaged in the battle, only three hundred escaped. There were then just sixteen hundred and fifty slain, and I cannot sufficiently commend your prudence in sending a correct list of the slain to my agent in London. This precaution was more necessary, because the list sent to the English minister stated that only fourteen hundred and fifty-five were killed.

"In this way I should lose one hundred and sixty thousand and fifty florins. According to the account of the lord of the treasury, there would come to me only four hundred and eighty-three thousand four hundred and fifty florins, instead of six hundred and forty-three thousand five hundred florins, which I have a right to demand according to our agreement.

"You will understand how seriously my finances will be effected by an error in the calculation, and you will therefore take the utmost pains to prove that your list is correct and his is wrong. The British court objects that there were a hundred wounded, for whom they ought not to pay the price of dead men; but I hope that you remember the advice I gave you on your departure from Cassel, and that you have not attempted to restore to life those who could be saved only by depriving them of a leg or an arm. It would be a fatal present to them, and I am sure that they

would prefer to die with glory, rather than to live mutilated and not in a condition to serve me. I do not wish them to be sacrificed ; you must be humane, my dear baron, but you can hint to the surgeons, that a maimed man is a disgrace to their skill, and that it is a deed of charity to permit a warrior to die when he is no longer in a condition to fight. Farther, I am about to send you numerous recruits ; do not spare them ; remember that glory excels all things. Glory is true riches. You must think then only of honor and reputation, but this reputation must be gained amid danger. Remember that of three hundred Lacedæmonians who defended the defile of Thermopylæ, not one returned. I should be happy if I could say the same of my brave Hessians. It is true that the brave Leonidas perished at their head, but the present state of manners will not permit a prince of the empire to fight in America in a cause which does not concern him, and besides, who would receive the three hundred florins for every man killed if I did not remain in Europe ? And farther, I must attend to the departure of the recruits. You have done wisely in sending me Dr. Aumerus, who is so skilful in curing the dysentery. One must be very careful in relieving a man from this complaint ; it makes bad soldiers, and a coward does more harm in an army than ten brave men can do good. Tell Major Maudorff that I am very much dissatisfied with his conduct because he saved the three hundred men who escaped from Trenton. During the whole of the campaign there have not been ten of his men killed.

" Finally, be careful to avoid any decisive action ; for it is against my interests that this war should terminate. I am about making arrangements at Naples for the large Italian opera."

The enlistments became so outrageous, that the minister of France, M. de Vibraye, made active representations to several of the electoral princes, and stated that if their shameful enlistments of men continued, his court would regard it

as an act of hostility, and would suspend the subsidies received by these princes from France. England offered in vain to indemnify them. This incident drove off the British emissaries ; but we saw at Ochsenfurt one of these princes, irritated with his own troops, who refused to enter the boats, place himself at the head of his disarmed soldiers, and conduct his troops himself to Dordrecht. These odious practices of the English government were also condemned with indignation by Lord Chatham. "Behold," said he, "the allies of England : the butchers of Lower Saxony,—the Mohawks, the most cruel of men ; brigands who respect neither age nor sex, and who delight in the blood of disarmed weakness. Alas ! by mingling the tomahawk with the sword, the knife with the gun, we have stained our arms with a blot which all the waters of ocean cannot efface."

The British found other auxiliaries, no less formidable, in the black slaves who were liberated in all the countries through which the British armies passed. These unfortunate persons, as soon as liberated, were excited to burn and devastate dwellings, and were incited to show their gratitude to their liberators by deeds of cruelty towards their former masters. But so soon as the work of destruction was performed, they were embarked, and by a double act of treachery and a double act of theft, they were sold in the West Indies.

More than four thousand were taken from Georgia during the expedition of General Provost in that province. When the army retired, many were left behind, for want of boats to carry them away. These unhappy persons, who had been taught by the British to expect cruel treatment and even certain death if they returned to their masters, besought the English, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them. Many of them followed the army by swimming, and clung to the sides of the boats. Their hands were cut off. Those who were saved were assembled and abandoned in

the isle of Oter, where they suffered dreadfully from hunger and disease. Many hundreds perished there, and their bodies were devoured by wild beasts, often even before life was extinct.*

II.—RAVAGES AND CRUELTIES—NEW YORK PRISONS—OLD COLON—JULIA SMITH.

To narrate all the cruel excesses of the English generals in all the American provinces, would occupy too much space. The history of their campaigns is only a monotonous recital of murders and burnings. Europe saw with indignation an alliance with savage tribes, who were not acquainted with the laws of war, and would not respect them. The English generals knew those laws, and imitated the savage. Not only was the soldier shot who was taken with arms in his hands, but the laborer was shot down in his cottage, and the farmer by his fireside. Even women and children were not spared. And all those traits of ferocity belonged not simply to soldiers, who found their excuse in the defects of their education: their superior officers set the example. Colonels Tarleton, Ferguson, and Brown, gained a reputation for cruelty and perfidy which has remained proverbial. Every contract which was broken was called in America a Convention of Tarleton. This chief granted a capitulation, and when the American soldiery laid down their arms, they were mutilated; and for this deed of cold-blooded and perfidious cruelty, he received the public thanks of his general.

* England's partiality for stealing Africans for the West Indies still continues in 1842.

Within the last six months, a slave factory on the coast of Africa was broken up, and the slaves carried to Monrovia. The Governor immediately selected eighty of the most manly of them, and without any consultation with the agent of liberated Africans, and without asking their consent, within three hours after landing, they were dressed in the uniform of the West Indian regiments, and held in readiness to be shipped to that sickly climate whenever opportunity should offer.

Ferguson ordered the inhabitants to be shot in the presence of their wives, and when the latter implored his pity, they were threatened with the same fate. One day, when he had assembled a great many to be executed, he was surprised by the troops of the American General Sumpter, who killed him, with all his attendants.

Colonel Brown was captured in Fort Cornwallis, where he was in command, and he was escorted to Savannah. His road led through countries where he had recently burnt the houses and hung the inhabitants. On arriving at Silver Bluff, a female passed quickly through the ranks of the escort and faced him: "Colonel Brown," said she, "remember the day when I came into your camp, and begged on my knees for the life of my son! You were deaf to my entreaties, and the young man, hardly beyond the age of boyhood, was hung in the presence of his mother, and I saw the savages under your command take off his bloody scalp. Now you are a prisoner to my countrymen, and I suspend for a time my revenge; but as soon as you regain your liberty, I shall take up arms with my feeble hands, and shall go wherever you are, to demand satisfaction for the murder of my son."

These bitter words were long remembered by Colonel Brown; but this was his only punishment. The English were not so indulgent. General Mercer was captured at Princeton, January 3d, 1777, after a desperate contest, in which he was severely wounded. He was laid down in the English tents, when the soldiers entered, pierced him with their bayonets, and, after his death, disfigured him. A few hours after, the Americans removed his body to Philadelphia, where his horribly mutilated body was exposed to the eyes of an indignant people.

These traits of ferocity were numerous wherever the English army was successful. But they frequently assumed a more odious character, taking on the forms of law, which were an insult to justice. Colonel Hayne was taken

prisoner in South Carolina, and was imprisoned in the Charleston jail. He had not been there long before he received, on the 26th of July, two letters from Major Frazer, the commandant of the city. The first stated that he would be arraigned the next day before a council of war; the second was as follows:—

“ You will not be summoned before a council of war, but only a court of inquiry, composed of four general officers and five captains. They will assemble at the Provincial Hotel, at ten o'clock, to determine how you should be regarded.”

This tribunal, which had no legal character, assembled the next day, and the colonel appeared. Neither the members composing the court, nor the witnesses who were called, took the usual oath. The prisoner, satisfied that this court of inquiry had no right to pronounce a formal and decisive judgment, produced no witnesses, had no lawyer, and his explanations were followed by no examinations and no pleadings. The accusers were as mute as the defence. And yet, on Sunday, the 29th, Major Frazer signified that in accordance with the result of the court of inquiry, Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour had decided that he should be shot on Tuesday morning, at six o'clock; and the sentence was executed:

This abominable legal farce, terminated by assassination, excited general indignation; and even England was aroused. The Duke of Richmond demanded revenge of Parliament, beseeching them not to pass over in silence so foul an act: “ As yet, we do not know whether it is an individual or a national crime. Your decision is necessary to a determination. If a rigid inquiry does not prove that wretched individuals are the only ones to blame, but that we must blush for their crimes, the whole earth will then exclaim—‘ It is the English nation which has committed the murder;’ and the whole world will be right.”

Parliament took the responsibility of the act, and passed

to the order of the day. And in fact there was no need of this public avowal to prove that the government were accomplices in these acts of barbarity. If the executioners were beyond the waters, the handle of the sword was at St. James ! After the end of the war, one of the most furious and cruel partisans was reproached with the crimes he had committed. "Read my orders!" said he ; and his orders were found to be more cruel than his conduct.

When we wish to judge a government, we have only to inquire into the annals of its prisons. The tenants of the English prisons told some horrid details.

When New York fell into the power of the English, this city became the seat of the British government, the residence of their generals, and consequently the centre of persecution. The prisons of the city were filled : the most peaceable citizens were cast into them without examination. It was only necessary to denounce a man to Sir Henry Clinton, as a secret partisan of the American cause, and these denunciations were not rare ; for not only were the informers richly paid, but highly regarded : their political importance was in proportion to their infamy.

Among the most dangerous and influential was James Rivington, printer to the king, and editor of a paper. His journal was a table of proscription : whoever was mentioned there as suspicious, saw his house a few hours after attacked by soldiers and pillaged ; those who resisted were massacred, and those who submitted were led to prison. As the regular troops were not numerous enough to attend to these frequent executions, bands of volunteers were organized, composed of irresponsible individuals, whose thefts and robberies were thus legally sanctioned. Parties of adventurers and malefactors wandered about the country, robbing and burning in the name of the king, and returned with their bloody spoils, and bringing to the general some mutilated prisoners, after parading them through the public streets. Every night was marked by conflagrations, every

day by murders. At the head of these bands of assassins was one named Cardonnel, remarkable for his ferocity and bold recklessness. He directed all the night excursions.

Another villain was named Cunningham, jailer of the principal prison. "This man," says an eye-witness, "tortured his numerous victims with savage ferocity. Not a day passed without some terrible flagellations, the blows of which were heard as far as the groans of the victims." These were the men in power in New York, under the auspices of Sir Henry Clinton.

But in these prisons were seen noble scenes of courage and devotion. We will mention two instances:—

1.—*The Old Colon.*

A party of English arrived, at the break of day, in a small district of New Jersey. The soldiers, after firing the habitation of an old Dutchman, who possessed considerable wealth, concealed themselves behind the trees, uttering loud cries.

Colon and his two sons were awakened by the noise, and leaving their beds hastily, ran to the door in their night clothes. They were fired at: the two children were killed, and their blood stained the clothes of the old man, but he was not wounded. He was carried to New York, where he was imprisoned, but continued extremely dejected. His eyes were constantly on the ground; he remained silent, and every thought seemed obliterated,—not excepting even the recollections of his grief.

One day, Cunningham said: "The general, taking your age into consideration, permits you to return to your kindred, on condition that you swear not to take arms against the subjects of the king, and to live peaceably."

The old man, at these words, roused up as from a long sleep, drew himself up to his full height, and replied in a thundering voice:—

"If you and your general have lost your memory, say to

him, that I have forgotten nothing. If he proposes this dishonor on account of my age, tell him that my desire of vengeance has made me young again. What! promise not to punish the assassin of my children! It would be to insult God, who has made me a man and father!"

He ran to his chest and opened it. "There," said he, "is my shirt, stained with their blood: carry this to your general; it shall be my answer."

Cunningham, astounded with these remarks, remained motionless. "You propose to me to live peaceably," continued the prisoner. "As soon as I am free, I shall go to embrace my old wife, and then I shall march to vengeance—too happy to die, if, in falling, I kill an Englishman!"

"Don't you know," said Cunningham, in his fury, "don't you know that I have the keys of the dungeons, which are eight feet under ground?"

"Dig your dungeons a hundred feet under ground if you will," said the old man: "I swear by this bloody ground that their depths will not change my resolution."

"The cowards," said he, turning with a tender air towards his fellow-captives, "the cowards who captured me," said he, "kept me a quarter of an hour that I might witness the burning of my house; they imagined thus to add to my troubles, but they were deceived. My cup of grief was running over;—I had lost my two children!" And deep sighs escaped from the bosom of the old man, whose tears for so long a time had been dried up.

Cunningham withdrew without a word. Perhaps pity had moved his heart. Clinton, more insensible than the executioner of his base deeds, kept his noble captive in chains.

2.—*Julia Smith.*

Colonel Smith was an old officer, who lived with his wife and daughter in a very retired manner, in the country, near New York. His age and infirmities had unfitted him for taking part in the dissensions of the country; and what-

ever may have been his secret wishes, his residence had been protected by this tacit neutrality. General Clinton even had lived some time in his house, and promised him his support if he was disturbed.

One day, five men came to his house with all the marks of misery and deep affliction. "We are," said they, "your countrymen, born in Connecticut, where we wish to return and live in peace. We have with us four of our companions, who are wounded: they are but a short distance hence; in the name of God and humanity, give us a few rags to dress their wounds, and something to eat. We know that at heart you are a good American."

"It is neither as English nor Americans," said Smith, "that you have a right to my assistance; but as men, you have need of my succor." He went into the house, and soon returned with provisions and linen. The unknown persons thanked him for his generosity, and left him with every demonstration of lively gratitude.

The next day, the same number of men came to Smith, but they were in uniform. "You do not remember us?" said one of them.

"Yes; you are the persons I supplied yesterday with bread and meat."

"Bread and meat, you scoundrel! you would have given your blood, you villain, if we had asked it, for you considered yourself assisting the Connecticut rebels. You have knowingly violated the law which forbids any aid being given to the enemies of the king. Come and expiate your crime in the prisons of New York."

They then entered his house and sacked it, opening all the bureaus and closets, and taking all the silver they contained. While this was doing, the colonel's daughter, Julia Smith, aged eighteen, ran into her chamber to get thirty guineas which were concealed there, to give to her father. One of the ruffians who had followed her, seized her arm when she took the gold, and threatening her with a sword,

demanded her purse. "I would have given it to you yesterday," replied she, proudly, "if you had asked for it in the name of misfortune; but now it would only serve to repay your infamous treason." Without replying, the soldier grasped her hands; but, unable to overcome her resistance, cut her wrist with his sabre. The young girl seemed to derive new strength from seeing her blood, disengaged herself from the soldier, approached the window, and threw the purse to a negress, who was observing this scene in mute terror. Her father now entered, with the other attendants: "See, father," said Julia, "how this man has treated me; but my courage is not lost with my blood."

The soldiers now bound Colonel Smith, and carried him to a coach. Julia took an affectionate farewell of her old father. "Courage," said she; "I will see you soon." She kept her word. A Montauk Indian, who lived near her, dressed her wound, and five days after her father's capture, she entered his prison. This sad favor was not obtained without effort; at first, she was coldly repulsed by the English generals, but she finally triumphed by her fervent entreaties and the mildness of her manner. Her father remained three months in prison. She came daily to enliven the prison by her youth and sweet expression of face. Those who saw her, beautiful and gay, with her arm in a sling, a testimonial of noble courage, envied her old father, and almost congratulated him in his misfortune.

Every hour that Julia did not spend in prison, was devoted to urgent entreaties to obtain her father's liberty. Finally, after three months of effort, she obtained his release, on condition that no action should be taken in regard to the soldiers who had captured him, and that he should give security in the sum of five hundred guineas that he would not assist persons from Connecticut. Even in its mercy, the authority became an accomplice of this infamous imposture.

These details were furnished us by M. Crèvecoeur, who

was himself imprisoned in New York; in flagrant violation of every law of honor. Obliged by business to take passage for Europe, he had obtained a passport from the chiefs of both armies to pass through them in safety. At New York, he proposed embarking on board of an English vessel, when the commandant of the city sent for him. As soon as M. Crèvecoeur entered the apartment of the general—"I am ordered by the commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton," said the major general, "to send you to prison."—"But don't you know, then," said M. Crèvecoeur, "that I did not enter the British lines without the consent of Sir Henry Clinton? Will he forfeit his word of honor?"—"I know not, but I must obey. Captain Arthur, conduct this man to prison."

Thus M. Crèvecoeur became the witness and historian of the cruelties we have narrated, for no other crime than that of confiding in the honor of an Englishman.

CONCLUSION.

We do not intend in this work to give in detail a history of all the events which attended or followed the outrages we have narrated. Others have already written a history of that glorious struggle, which brought a new nation into existence, and gave the signal for the disfranchisement of the people of the new world. We might, however, compare the shameful conduct of the British cabinet, with the generous loyalty of the Americans, and contrast the base crimes of the former with the noble virtues of the latter. But such grave accusations do not require the artifices of style or historic antitheses. We have already stated the means employed by a powerful government against a young people, the cruelties perpetrated by regular armies upon their citizen antagonists, their horrible alliances with savages, mercenaries, and slaves, the burning of houses, the destruction of property, the war upon women and children;

the violation of the rights of war, and also the contempt of the laws of humanity ; and yet, to the shame of these iniquities, must be added that of defeat, and this time at least, England did not profit by crime.

It follows from the parliamentary debates that from 1775 to 1782, the enormous sum of £100,000,000 was spent in this disastrous war. "I would ask," said an opposition member, "what has been done with this one hundred millions sterling ? I know we have lost a hundred thousand men, and two thirds of the most valuable part of the British empire." The ministers retired from the cries of public indignation, and peace became necessary.

It was remembered that George III. had stated several times that he had rather retire to Hanover with his family, than acknowledge the independence of the colonies. In open parliament, however, he was obliged to disavow his haughty language, and sanction the resistance which his pride had caused.

But everything in this war proved disgraceful to England, its alliances as well as its enmities. Those American tories who had sacrificed their country to their old monarchical recollections, and had fought in the ranks of the English army, were basely abandoned by the government which they had supported. One can easily understand the severity of the conquerors against the partisans of England, against those defenders of the throne, who had retarded their triumphs ; but we seek in vain an apology for the ministry, who, in a treaty where so many concessions were made, did not introduce an article in favor of those inhabitants who had proclaimed themselves for so long a time the only representatives of loyalty.

The negotiators at London simply demanded of Congress, in Article 5 of the treaty, that the friends of the government should be treated with *moderation*. But this simple recommendation of a principle with which the English government itself was so little acquainted, had no effect on the

Americans, who did not consider themselves obliged to take any lessons from their enemy. They had gained the victory ; they used it, and declared the presence of those traitors who had abandoned their fellow-citizens in the period of peril, to be incompatible with the tranquillity and safety of the United States. The severity was excessive, but lawful. But what term shall be applied to the culpable indifference of the English to their brothers in arms ?

This improvidence was the cause of most cruel embarrassments. The English army who had been ordered to embark was obliged to remain in America, to grant an asylum in its ranks to the royalists who rushed to it in crowds. These refugees, mortified and desperate, tore in pieces and trampled on that English uniform which they had assumed, and for which they were proscribed. Many cursed this fatal war, and their blind fidelity. Their fate appeared so distressing to many of the patriots, that Dr. Franklin went to London with a view to obtain relief for their misfortunes, and presented to the king an humble address of the American royalists. The generous course of this celebrated republican gave the government a severe lesson. It was unsuccessful. The ministers granted a little relief, but it was more like alms than the payment of a sacred debt ; and when the general, Sir Guy Carleton, received the answer of government, he could not restrain his tears, on communicating it to the numerous body of royalists. All that he could do, was to offer them vessels to transport them to other parts of America. Some took refuge in Canada, others in Nova Scotia, and in the Bahamas. This was the reward of their devotion, and even of their shame. The government, whom they had preferred to their country, left them, in exchange for their property and blood, banishment and proscription.

CHAPTER III

THE INDIES.

I.—HISTORY OF PONDICHERRY—RECALL OF DUPLEIX—CAPTURE AND RECAPTURE OF THE CITY—VANDALISM OF THE ENGLISH.—1754—1793.

IN 1754, when the distinguished commander of the French Indian possessions, Dupleix, was recalled to Paris by the intrigues of the English cabinet, the power of France in this beautiful colony was strong and respected. Dupleix, the arbitrator for the kings of India, and his brave lieutenant, Bussy, passed over the whole Indian coast as conquerors, and had captured successively Trichnapaly, Gingy, Haider-Abad, the four northern provinces, Yalour, Mouzapha-Nagar, Rajamandrum, and Cikakol, comprising one hundred and thirty leagues of coast, twenty leagues broad. The city of Chanderpagor, where Dupleix had concentrated the commerce of Bengal, was rich and flourishing. Pondicherry, surrounded with high walls, flanked by the forts of Arriancoopum, Villenaor, Bahour, Valdaour, and their dependencies, governing a compact territory ten leagues long and as many broad, bringing to the state a revenue of 5,000,000 francs, formed the seat of government. Near that was Karikal, equally rich and powerful. If we add to all these conquests, Mazulipatnam, with Condavir, the island of Devy, the island of Siringham, Yanoon, and its dependencies, finally, Mahé, with four leagues of territory, its forts and its walls, we shall have but a slight idea of the French power in India.

Notwithstanding the incapacity of the governors who

were the immediate successors of Dupleix, the colony was still prosperous till the arrival of Lally-tollendal. On the 28th of April, 1758, he arrived at the seat of government, and January 22d, 1760, Pondicherry alone remained of all the French possessions. Mahé, Chandernagor, and Kari-kal were taken and dismantled; the four northern provinces were lost; all the islands and even the forts around Pondicherry were in the power of the English.

The siege of Pondicherry commenced. After forty days the English commander, Col. Coot, offered a capitulation. But Lally-tollendal surrendered his army at discretion.

January 17th, 1761, the British flag waved over Pondicherry, and was saluted with a thousand guns; but the former power of the French colony had caused the English great uneasiness, and they soon abused a victory to which they were unaccustomed. They razed the fortifications, and outraged the rights of humanity, by tearing down houses and destroying churches. They left the inhabitants without resources, and changed this flourishing city into a lonely solitude. Some of the proscribed and ruined French withdrew into the interior of the country, and others went to Hyder Aly, the Sultan of Maissour, where they were gladly received. The peace which was concluded the next year, 1762, restored Pondicherry to the French, but it was a mass of ruins. So with Chandernagor and Mahé. This latter city, which was remarkable for the beauty of its houses, presented only a few pieces of wall which were so firm that they had resisted the efforts of English vandalism. The ruins of the governmental palace, an elegant edifice in stucco, are now covered with vines loaded down with the richness of tropical vegetation.

April 11th, 1765, Law of Lauriston took possession of the ruins of Pondicherry. The renown of this new Governor, and the evidences which he gave of his talent, soon recalled the exiled inhabitants, who rallied with eagerness under the French standard. Pondicherry rose from its

ruins ; the houses and churches were rebuilt, and the fortifications were again constructed. Bellecombe, who succeeded Law in 1769, continued the work of reparation. The wisdom of his administration inspired confidence ; the city soon increased in population, commerce was resumed, and prosperity returned. The young city already promised to rival the old one, when, in 1778, the English, irritated by the support promised by France to the United States, came without any declaration of war, without any warning, assailed Pondicherry, and attacked with fury its inhabitants, who imagined that peace still existed.

The invading force was large, while the city was still dismantled and destitute of artillery and troops.

Bellecombe, although surprised, made a spirited and vigorous defence.

We regret that our space does not permit us to detail all the incidents of this siege, which are but little known. We would like to state the particulars of the heroic defence against an entire army made by a handful of brave men far from their country, without a prospect of success, and without a hope of glory. They were obliged to surrender, however, and the English again entered the city to destroy it. The inhabitants were once more driven from their dwellings, and mines were constantly sprung, until the conquest of the English was a mass of ruins.

The unhappy colonists were driven into the country, where they soon found a powerful ally who promised to avenge them.

In 1763, a soldier of fortune, Hyder Ali Khan, ascended the throne of Maissour, and these fertile countries soon became, through his activity, the centre of a powerful empire. With no rival to dispute with him the soil, he attacked all the small kingdoms on the coast of Malabar ; then marching to the east, he passed the Ghauts and deployed his forces on the vast plateau which extends from Trichinopoly to near Bangalore. An enthusiastic and fanatic Mussul-

man, he preached Islamism like the lieutenants of Mahomet, and massacred all who refused to be circumcised. Finally, after subduing the nation of Vedas, he found himself upon the borders of the English territory. It was soon found that one of these two rival powers must yield, and both, animated with instinctive hatred, proclaimed war to the knife. In order to expose the deception of his adversaries, who had already commenced their habitual intrigues, Hyder Ali commenced hostilities, and on the first of July he invaded the Carnatic, at the head of one hundred thousand men. In the first battle, he was obliged to yield to the superiority of European tactics, but he followed up the war with energy, and his repeated attacks weakened the English army, who could not repair their losses, as he could his. Under these circumstances France resumed hostilities with a vigor which threatened to extinguish the Anglo-Indian empire, if its success had not been interrupted by peace. The Bailey of Suffren appeared in the Indian seas at the head of a powerful squadron, and soon obtained a superiority in those seas, where the British flag had floated triumphantly for so many years. In six engagements in which Admirals Rodney and Hughes commanded, he gained the advantage ; and if Pondicherry had then belonged to the French, and could have been made the centre of military operations, the English would probably have been unable to resist.

April 27th, 1782, Suffren captured from them the fort and all the bay from Trincomaly to Ceylon, the finest seaport in the Indian seas. He then went to the assistance of Cuddalore, which was threatened by the British fleet. On the 13th of June was fought the battle of Cuddalore, and the English retired with considerable loss.

In the mean time, the brave Bussy joined the army of Hyder Aly, and in a succession of brilliant marches captured from the English their principal possessions on the coast of Mysore, and besieged Mangalore, which was

about to capitulate. Suffren on his part, at the head of his victorious fleet, went to attack Admiral Hughes, and to crush him by superior force, when he received the following letter :—

“ To his Excellency Pierre André de Suffren, Admiral and Commander-in-chief of the Naval forces of his Most Christian Majesty in the East Indies :—

“ Sir,—On arriving in this harbor with the squadron of his Britannic Majesty, I have received authentic despatches that the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and Spain, and also with the Americans, had been signed by Ministers Plenipotentiary at Versailles, the 20th of January, and were ratified in France on the 9th of February. I have taken the liberty to convey this information to you, and the copies of these documents, by which it seems to me that acts of hostility between Great Britain and France ought to cease.

“ I am satisfied that your Excellency appreciates my character as an officer, and my feelings of humanity as a man, in making this communication to you. I will therefore request your Excellency, after reflecting seriously on this despatch, to send me word as soon as possible whether the war is to be continued.

“ Lord Gower, captain of the frigate Medea, will have the honor to send to you my despatches under the British flag. In case he does not find you, he has been requested to leave them with the Marquis of Bussy. As it is our duty, being officers of our respective sovereigns, to put an end to all hostilities, I hope to find a friend in your Excellency, and have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

“ Yours, HUGHES.

“ Madras, June 5th, 1783.”

Five years previous, the English had attacked Pondicherry without any declaration of war. Suffren could now have avenged himself for this perfidy by rejecting the hum-

ble request of the English admiral. He might well have doubted the news of a peace communicated to him by an interested enemy. But Suffren showed himself a generous man and suspended hostilities.

Bussy withdrew his troops from Hyder Aly, and the latter was then exposed to the vengeance of the English. Surrounded by snares, and contending against intrigues, Hyder Ali died of mortification, bequeathing his hatred and his throne to his son Tippoo-Sultan.

By this peace, the ruins of Pondicherry were restored to the French. But the English kept possession of Valdaur and Villenaor, without the shadow of right. They surrendered Mahee, but not its territory. At a later period, and in 1816, when they yielded up to the French their Indian possessions, they profited by this fraudulent antecedent to retain Valdaur and the territory of Mahee. In regard to this last possession, they alleged that, according to the treaty, France was to receive the lands which she possessed at the time of the peace. "Now," said they, "the armies of Tippoo-Sultan, then the allies of France, had military occupation of the territory of Mahee: hence France did not possess it." Certainly it required a great deal of good nature to accept this argument of British diplomacy.

The brave veteran Bussy was appointed governor of Pondicherry, and the city was rebuilt for the third time. But this talented commander did not long retain his power. He died suddenly a few months afterward (February 5, 1784), it was thought by poison. There was, however, no cause for this suspicion, except the previous deeds of the British cabinet.

The colony again became compromised by the unsuitable governors who succeeded each other rapidly after the death of Bussy. The colonial assembly, instituted in 1790, did not succeed in the country where a popular form of government was established too suddenly; the city was divided into furious factions, and its prosperity declined rap-

idly till 1793. Encouraged by the weakness of their enemies, the English besieged Pondicherry, which was surrendered to them on the first summons and without a contest by its last Governor, Clermont.

II.—NEW PERSECUTIONS OF THE ENGLISH—IMAGINARY CONSPIRACIES—PERFIDY OF THEIR CONDUCT AT THE PEACE OF AMIENS—BAD FAITH AFTER THE FINAL RESTITUTION—1793—1816.

THE English having obtained possession of Pondicherry once more, its fortifications, which had been destroyed and rebuilt so many times, were again prostrated. But the houses were spared. Former devastations had forced a great many desperate men to join the army, and these terrible adversaries had taught the English to pursue another course of policy. It was better to keep them in their power, and to strike them down in silence. As a pretext for harsh measures, it was pretended that Pondicherry was a focus of insurrection, which threatened to destroy the British power in India. A large body of spies were organized, and it was not difficult for informers, who were well paid, to hatch up a plot. A great many of the inhabitants were successively taken from their houses and transported, without trial, to distant colonies. But this persecution was too slow, and the proofs of the English informers were too suspicious, to authorize these punishments. It was necessary to find an accuser among the French, and a miserable man was hired to perform this part. It was suddenly pretended that a plot existed at Pondicherry against the British government; that the inhabitants proposed to join Tipoo-Sultan, and to aid him in expelling the British from India. Lists of the proscribed were drawn up under the direction of the informer, and, as would naturally be expected, the most respectable inhabitants of the place were found among the guilty. On the 15th of February, 1799, at eight o'clock

in the evening, a detachment of Sepoys, commanded by a British officer, passed through the streets of the city in silence. Every Frenchman on the list was taken from his house and family, delivered to Malabars, who chained them and conducted them before the English commander, Bosk, and thence to the vessel which was to transport them.

The Triton, a large vessel, was soon loaded with the prisoners, but could not take them all.

This ship departed under convoy of a frigate, and disembarked the French colonists into a hulk at Chatham, where they remained till the peace of Amiens. The rest of the prisoners were placed on board of a transport, which soon sailed under convoy of a frigate for England. But the fate of this vessel was different from that of the preceding. Among the prisoners was the captain of a privateer, named Pineau, a man of intellect and courage, a man who resolved to release himself and companions from this odious captivity.

The enterprise was difficult. The vessel was well armed, the crew numerous, and the frigate was always in sight. Every day the prisoners came on deck in small squads, to breathe the fresh air for an hour on deck, and then went below. A depository of canes was found behind the ceiling of the hold. These canes as they are cut in India are short, and resemble strong clubs. The prisoners were all to arm themselves with these; in fact, the ceiling was quietly removed, and every one armed himself with a club; then taking advantage of the period when a squad went on deck, they all followed quietly, attacked the crew, who were surprised, and did not have time to use their arms. The English were now in turn shut up below, when Pineau took command of the vessel. For a few hours he still obeyed the signal of the frigate, but when night came Pineau extinguished his signal lantern, and altered his course. He happily arrived at the Isle of France, where the vessel was declared a lawful prize.

The treaty of Amiens now caused strange transactions in India. One of the articles of this treaty stipulated that Pondicherry should be restored to France. A squadron was therefore fitted out at Brest, under the command of Admiral Linois, to effect this change. He carried about fifteen hundred men, under the command of General Decaen, who had the title of General-in-Chief of the French Establishment East of the Cape of Good Hope. The frigate Belle Poule, an excellent sailor, arrived on the 15th June, 1802, having on board Adjutant General Rinaut and 152 men, and also M. Leger, the colonial prefect, and his family. It was to the latter that the place was to be given up. The English commissioner, Cullen, permitted them to disembark quietly.

Twenty-five days afterwards, on the 11th of July, the whole squadron arrived at Pondicherry, and General Decaen summoned Cullen to execute the treaty and give up the place.

The latter pretended that he had not sufficient power; and General Decaen was obliged to send one of his staff-officers to Madras, on board the Belle Poule, to demand of the governor the execution of the treaty of Amiens. Cullen, notwithstanding his refusal, insisted several times that Decaen should disembark his troops. His urgency excited the suspicions of the general, who refused to disembark until the English surrendered the place. His suspicions were also strengthened by the appearance of an English fleet, which was stationed at Cuddalore, and had rapidly followed the movements of the French squadron. This fleet was commanded by Admiral Regnier, and was composed of five seventy fours, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates. This squadron was moored in the harbor of Pondicherry, to windward of the French squadron, which was composed of only one ship of the line, two frigates, and two transports. The instinctive distrust of General Decaen satisfied him that his position was dangerous. In-

his rear was the British fleet; before him, the country guarded by superior forces; and, above all, were the urgent entreaties of the commissioner Cullen, which were more suspicious, because they were very pacific. In fact, it was afterwards ascertained that the English, who knew how little reliance to place upon the permanency of the treaty, wished to blockade the French in port, while peace was still officially recognised. But the prudence of the general disappointed this perfidy. Soon after the Belle Poule left the port, the French corvette Le Belier arrived, bringing the news that hostilities were resumed, with orders for General Decaen to proceed to the Isle of France. Congratulating himself upon his caution, he lost no time in frustrating the projects of British policy. He confined the crew of the Belier aboard of their vessel, to prevent the news from being known, and sent for M. Leger to come on board his vessel, and there showed him his despatches, telling him that he should sail that night. M. Leger protested against this, and demanded that his wife and children should come on board, but in vain; for the safety of the squadron was at stake.

At night the cables were cut in silence, and before the English perceived any movement, the squadron was under sail.

The Belle Poule soon returned, with the peremptory refusal of the British governor. On approaching the harbor, the departure of the French fleet was observed, when she again made sail, and although pursued by the English, arrived at the Isle of France in safety. In his spite, the English admiral seized all the French vessels in the harbor. This was an act of piracy.

Adjutant General Binant, and the one hundred and fifty-two men whom he had disembarked with him on the faith of a treaty, still remained at Pondicherry. As the English flag had never ceased to float over the city, they could not, according to the laws of war, be regarded as prisoners.

Notwithstanding, they were besieged in the barracks where they were quartered, and summoned to surrender by an army of twenty-four hundred men. Binaut, justly indignant, replied that the French would defend themselves to the last. "In dying honorably," said he, "we shall disgrace you." This noble firmness suspended all attacks, and Binaut dictated to the English the terms of a glorious capitulation. The small detachment marched out of their quarters with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and colors flying. A short time afterwards, these same men were sent to France in an English vessel, according to the terms of the capitulation, having received to the time of their departure the pay allowed them by the republic.

At this time, the natives again became the object of persecution. It was pretended that a treasonable correspondence between the French and the Hindoo princes had been found on board of a vessel sent by Binaut to the Isle of France, to inform them of the capitulation. Many were now thrown into prison, where they remained so long as the fears or caprice of the government prompted.

But the maritime reverses of imperial France left the English in quiet possession of their conquest, and took away from the inhabitants all hopes of relief.

By the treaty of May 30th, 1814, England agreed to surrender to France all the Indian possessions she occupied in 1792; it was not till Dec. 4th, 1816, that Pondicherry was given up. But there were still spoliations, which the British government did not disguise. First, it retained the territory of Mahee, we have already seen under what pretext, and then the most important district of Pondicherry, Valdaur, which had always belonged to the French. For this last usurpation, it gave no reason. Finally, the whole French territory was cut up so as to be intersected in all points by English establishments, so that there could be no unity between them. The treaty of 1814 was thus executed in this fraudulent manner; and France has yet to demand redress for these scandalous usurpations.

III.—ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE ENGLISH POWER IN INDIA—RUIN OF THE MOGUL POWER—THE CONTESTS BETWEEN THE HINDOOS AND MUSSULMEN.

The English, in all of their colonial establishments in India, commenced very humbly, but rapidly advanced their fortunes. They presented themselves as suppliants, established themselves as friends, but soon assumed the tone of masters. The English agent is at first a peaceable merchant, who founds a commercial house under the high protection of a rajah or nabob.* His house is then enlarged, his possessions are extended; he builds a fort, and some soldiers come in quietly and take possession of it. If the nabob or rajah awakes from his slumber, he perceives that his ministers betray him, and that all of his counsellors are bought over. Does he wish to oppose intrigue by intrigue, he is soon enveloped in a net-work of domestic conspiracies, which terminate under the auspices of his English friend, by a revolt or poison.

Does he wish to act energetically, and get rid of his perfidious neighbors by force? behold a pretender comes to claim his throne, who is supported by a troop of English. For in this country of polygamy, it is not difficult to find an heir of the last prince wonderfully adapted to serve the ambition of his interested defenders. The English knew how to turn these pretenders to account, and in every one of their establishments is found an unhappy legitimist who awaits their justice to restore him to his rights.

The pretender, in their view, is an article of commerce, and a machine of war; he serves as a scare-crow to obtain concessions, or as a mantle to cover deeds of violence. According to the necessities of the case, he is either con-

* The rajahs are Hindoo princes; the nabobs are Mussulman chiefs. This term nazim, or sevah, is applied to other viceroys, who are the dependants of the great mogul.

fined in a palace, or is surrounded with all the glitter of royalty. Finally, when a titled rajah, fatigued with threats, and almost ruined by being plundered, wishes to terminate his concessions, the English will have nothing to do with this usurper ; they invoke the sacred cause of legitimacy, and replace the pretender on the throne of his fathers. But it is on condition that he will accept their exclusive protection ; they take charge of his revenue, direct his affairs, exact from him a large sum of tribute money, and order him to sleep in his palace. Such has been the constant and uniform progress of the English in all their usurpations, and thus the merchant becomes changed into a sovereign.

This system was commenced on the small rajahs or nabobs, too happy to sell their independence for a throne. But it afterwards extended to more powerful princes and large empires, and finally the great Mogul himself became the first vassal of the English company, who kept him strictly dependant on them, although extending to him the external homage of sovereignty. Thus they willingly bestowed on him all the ambitious titles of his powerful ancestors the Aurengzeyb and the Tehanguir ; he was called the sun of the world, the light of believers, his majesty Abool-Mozzufer-Surajouden-Mohammed-Behadour. But all these titles served only to disguise his slavery under numerous trappings of pompous ceremonies. Shut up in his harem as in a prison, Mohammed was surrounded by an English body-guard, who watched all his motions, escorted him from one apartment to another, and bestowed upon him those honors which he could not refuse. The English declared themselves his humble ministers, and in this character they took care of his revenues ; they proclaimed themselves his faithful servants, and claimed the privilege of watching over his valuable life. Did he wish to take the air ? So great a prince could not appear in public, unless surrounded by all the homage due to the

splendor of his rank ; the sun of the world could not appear, until his coming was announced to mortals. A thousand guns were therefore fired ; an army of elephants, cavaliers, and palanquins was paraded, and when everything was ready, the magnificent emperor could go out. He was, however, obliged to pay a pagoda for every gun fired, so that every promenade cost him seven thousand five hundred francs for smoke.

At one time this poor Mohammed, who was a brave and resolute young man, attempted to emancipate himself, and spoke freely to his humble ministers the English. Some pieces of cannon even were found concealed. This led to explanation ; complaints were made, and threats were uttered, and at one time the sun of the world was even to have been shot. Finally the great Mogul, circumvented on all sides, was obliged to become reconciled to his satellites, and concealed his anger and his humiliation in his harem. The same system of espionage oppressed the nabob of the Carnatic, Mohammed-Ghoos-Khan, that of Tandiman Raghauth, the rajahs of Mysore, of Travancour, of Cochin, and all the small Rajahs, Rajahpoots, and Mahrattas of the north, at Gwailior, Bhurkpoore, Karnoul Jessore, &c. &c.

As, however, the support of this system was expensive, the English company simplified the thing, by removing its pensioners, in a very simple way. It organized a conspiracy, at the head of which was always the compromised rajah, and this unfortunate man was suddenly seized and arrested for a conspiracy of which he was entirely ignorant. He was tried very quietly, and if not strangled, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. His pension was then awarded to the company, who had long before been in possession of his territory. In this manner the rajahs of Kourg, Karnoul, and many others were disposed of. In these bloody comedies, it is curious to observe the imperturbable gravity of the English when speaking with indignation of the bad faith or the treachery of those perfidious princes,

who had been loaded with benefits, but in whom they could place no confidence.

This was the manner in which England obtained possession of a vast territory of one million one hundred and twenty-eight thousand square miles, and embracing a population of two hundred millions. But these usurpations were aided by other circumstances, and this gigantic power was developed by other acts of wickedness. In order to understand the situation of the Indian empire correctly, let us refer a little to events of an earlier period.

In 1732, the Mogul power was ruined. The celebrated Thamas Koulikan, Shah of Persia, had conquered Hindostan, carried Delhi by assault, and made a prisoner of the great Mogul, with a booty estimated at more than five millions.

As a consequence of the wars in which the heirs of the conqueror were engaged, the Nabobs, Soubahs, Rajahs, and all the viceroys of the great Mogul endeavored to profit by the general confusion to render themselves independent. At the same time the two inimical races, who since the conquest have always lived on the same soil, but have never blended with each other, the Mussulmen and the Hindoos, resumed their former contentions ; and these latter judged the occasion a favorable one to strike off the Mussulman yoke, and avenge the religion of Brahma.

The Mussulman princes took up arms : they wished to enlarge their personal power by the remains of the Mogul empire, and at the same time to punish the temerity of the Hindoos, who threatened the disciples of Mohammed.

Among the Mussulman chiefs, Daoust-Aly-Khan, Nabob of Arcot, had assembled a formidable army, which was joined by a number of inferior nabobs, who took part in this religious war. He gave the command of his army to his son Sabder-Aly-Khan, and his son-in-law Sander-Saheb, and sent them to conquer the peninsula of the Ganges, which was then divided between the Hindoo rajahs of Tanjore,

Trichinopoly, Marava, Madura, and Mysore. The Mussulman invaders conquered and captured successively, Trichinopoly, Marava, Madura, and Cape Cormorin ; they then passed up the coast of Malabar ; they conquered Travancore easily, and then turned their attention to Tanjore.

The rajah of this latter province, terrified by the rapid progress of the Mussulman army, retired to his capitol and sent for aid to his father, the powerful rajah of the Mahrattas. To his solicitations were added those of all the small rajahs who had been conquered, who represented to the Mahrattas that this was a crusade of Islamism against the Hindoo worship. The ministers of the Maha-rajah, all Brahmins, sustained their request, and the deliverance of the peninsula was resolved upon.

The Maha-rajah levied an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and sixty thousand horses, the command of which he gave to his son Ragogi-Soubah. The Mahrattas commenced their march October 17, 1739.

Daoust-Aly-Khan also advanced and took up a position in the impregnable defiles of the Ghants. But he imprudently intrusted one of the defiles to a Hindoo prince who served in his army. The latter, secretly persuaded by those of his own faith, permitted a considerable body of the Mahrattas to pass, who advanced silently by certain by-ways, and violently assaulted the rear-guard of Daoust, while Ragogi attacked him in front. The battle was terrible and severe. There were two entire nations engaged in conflict, and immense troops of elephants added on both sides to the confusion and carnage. Daoust, surrounded with enemies, drove his elephant into the thickest part of the battle ; but the Hindoo infantry assaulted the Mussulmen with their slings, a weapon in the hands of a Mahratta as terrible as a musket. Daoust was struck by a stone thrown by his elephant, and his death became the signal of a general rout. Fifty thousand Mussulmen were killed in these defiles, where they expected to have captured the enemy,

and the Mahrattas took an equal number of prisoners with an immense booty.

This battle, which was fought on the 17th of May, 1740, was long remembered by the Mussulmen, for at this period commenced the decline of their power in India. From this time the Hindostan empire lost its unity. The rajahs were no longer obliged to bow before the power of Islamism, and profited by its disasters to become independent. On the other hand, the nabobs, who contended against the Hindoos, finding no support in the central power of Delhi, absolved themselves from all sovereignty, and the country was divided among a great number of hostile sovereigns. Things were in a most favorable position for foreign invaders, and this was the time that the English enlarged their establishments on the borders of the Ganges.

These details, though very imperfect, are important, as explaining the history of the English power in India. The Mussulmen alone could resist the British power, but they had lost their influence in a decisive battle. The Hindoo rajahs could neither act with the same activity, nor the same union. The powerful nation of the Mahrattas was doubtless strong enough to repel the strangers; but the changeable and versatile character of these people, their rivalries and rapacity, could not resist the slow but corrupt action of the British agents. Hence the only serious danger to the company came from a Mussulman chief, Hyder Aly, all whose efforts tended to elevate Islamism. The fall of the empire of Mysore was undoubtedly a most useful triumph to the English. It was the definite destruction of the Mussulman power.

**IV.—COL. CLIVE—CONSPIRACY OF THE ENGLISH AGAINST
THE SOUBAH OF BENGAL, SURAJAH DOULAH—HIS DEFEAT
AND ASSASSINATION—VILLANY OF COL. CLIVE—MISERY OF
THE INDIANS—ACCUSATION OF CLIVE BEFORE THE HOUSE
OF COMMONS—HIS ACQUITTAL.**

At the time when the French power, which had hitherto preponderated in India, was compromised by the feeble efforts of Dupleix, the English establishment on the borders of the Ganges was commanded by a bold, avaricious, and cruel man, who knew how to fight and to intrigue, and in whose opinion success justified every means. Colonel Clive, faithful to British habits, shrunk from no perfidy which seemed to him profitable ; when accused for his crimes, he justified himself by his triumphs ; it was the most acceptable argument he could use in a country where the honest man is he who succeeds.

Let us glance now at some of the principal events. After the death of Thamas Kouli-kan, and while his lieutenants were contending furiously for the succession, the Hindoos profited by the division of the conquerors, and placed on the throne of Delhi the descendants of Aurengzybe. But these degenerate kings could not regain their former power, and the nabobs, the rajahs, and soubahs, preserved their independence in spite of the fictitious sovereignty of the great Mogul, the Emperor of Hindostan. Among their princes, one of the richest and most powerful was the soubah of Bengal, Surajah Doulah. A neighbor of the English, and consequently surrounded by their spies, he entertained for them that deep hatred which they always knew how to excite, in order to justify their aggressions. Aided by the brave Bussy, he had several times succeeded in his contests with them, when his allies the French were recalled to Pondicherry, just as they were about to attack Fort William, at Calcutta, in 1757. Clive judged the opportuni-

ty to be favorable. He had, as usual, a pretender ready, Jaffier-Ali-Khan. But this was not sufficient. To facilitate the victory, it was necessary to find a traitor in the palace of Surajah Doulah. One of his principal ministers, Omichund, was purchased, and in a treaty signed by him, Clive, and Jaffier, it was agreed that Omichund should surrender the capital city Moorshedabad, and that he should receive, as a price for his treason, five per cent. of the treasures of the soubah, and thirty lacs of rupees. The treaty was written and signed on red paper.

The two armies took the field, and met at Plassey. Surajah Doulah defended himself bravely, but surrounded with traitors, and having with him no longer the French, by whose aid alone he was enabled to resist European tactics, he was obliged to yield, was deserted, and took refuge in the cavern of a Fakir.

The battle of Plassey occurred June 23d, 1747. This date is important, as it was the commencement of the power of the English, which soon afterwards was immensely developed.

Unfortunately, the Fakir with whom Surajah had taken refuge was a celebrated thief, whose ears had been cropped by order of the soubah. Either from resentment or the hope of recompense, the soubah's place of refuge was mentioned to the conqueror. The soubah was seized by Clive, and although a prisoner of war, yet Clive ordered him to be beheaded.

Shortly after, a new scene occurred at the palace of Moorshedabad. Omichund came to Jaffier and Clive, to receive the price of his treason. As the English chief paid Omichund much less than had been agreed on, the latter complained that he had broken his word. "Have we not," said Clive, "complied with the agreement?" at the same time producing an agreement which stipulated the sum which had been paid him. "But that is not our bargain," cried Omichund; "ours was on red paper."—"Very well,"

said Colonel Clive, "this is on white." Omichund was amazed to find his own perfidy exceeded, and made no further remarks ; they would have been useless or dangerous.

Colonel Clive gave Jaffier twenty lacs of rupees, as compensation for his services.

Having gained wealth for himself, Clive now wished to make some for the company, and he soon had an opportunity. Ramnarain, nabob of Patna, refused to acknowledge the authority of the new Soubah of Bengal, Jaffier-Ali-Khan. The latter called upon his friends, the English, to assist him in subduing the rebellious vassal. Clive joined him with his troops, but first stipulated that the revenues of the three districts of Brudwan, Nuddea, and Hougley, should be ceded to the company, Clive receiving an annuity of thirty thousand pounds sterling. On the approach of the English troops, Ramnarain surrendered, and was continued in the principality of Patna, notwithstanding the efforts of Jaffier. But it was policy in Clive to keep in reserve a rival to oppose to the soubah.

As a recompense for his services, Lord Clive was appointed by the company, Governor of Bengal. He kept this position only two years ; he was then forced to return to Europe, and was succeeded by Vansittart.

New discords, however, arose among the Hindoos, and afforded the company a new pretext for war, and an unlooked for increase of power. The great Mogul, Shah-Allum, who inherited the throne, endeavored to regain the authority possessed by his illustrious predecessors, and had commenced a war against Ramnarain and Sujah-ul-Doulah, and against Oude, a rich and beautiful province on the borders of Bengal ; he declared his intention of dispossessing Jaffier-Ali-Khan, who had manifested hostile designs against him.

The nabob of Patnah and soubah of Bengal had at first been assisted by the English, but the great Mogul having made magnificent propositions to the latter, they saw the

advantage to be derived from having the emperor, the king of kings, dependant upon them. The company then secretly resolved to abandon Jaffier-Ali-Khan. It was not difficult to become estranged from him, as he was extremely weak and irresolute, but his son, Chuta Nabob, a bold and enterprising young man, who was already known for his hatred of foreigners, was not so easily imposed upon. Already the English had complained of his indocility. While deliberating what was best to be done with him, the young nabob accompanied the English troops to Patna; one day he was found dead in his tent; the English said he was killed by lightning.

Disembarrassed of this obstacle, Vansittart sent to the soubah a long memorial, setting forth to his faithful ally the numerous grievances which obliged him to withdraw the protection of the English from the soubah. "It seems evident," said the governor, "that your ministers attend only to their interests; they neglect the good of the country, and oppress your unhappy subjects. On seeing the affairs in the hands of unworthy men, I raise my eyes to heaven, and complain to Providence of having been sent to this country in the midst of such great calamities." This hypocritical message closed by an amicable recommendation, in which the governor advised Jaffier to receive Cossien-Ali-Khan as his coadjutor.

Jaffier, unable to resist, was in no hurry to obey, and on the 19th of October, 1700, the day of the great Hindoo festival, Colonel Caillaud appeared in front of the palace at the head of the English troops, having with him Cossien-Ali-Khan. The doors were closed, and Caillaud sent to the soubah a messenger with a letter from the governor, in which it was stated that he, the governor, had detached an armed force to deliver him from his wicked advisers, protesting at the same time, and in the usual terms, that his only motive was the interests of the soubah.

On receiving this letter, Jaffier could not control his eme-

tions. Excited by anger and fear, he sometimes exclaimed that no oath was sacred with the English ; sometimes he deplored the death of his son, which exposed his old age to the mercy of traitors. While he was lamenting, the English commander sent him message after message, and finally sent word that he should commence an assault on the palace. The old man was terrified, submitted, and consented to abdicate in favor of Cossien, provided his life and honor should be respected, and that he should receive a pension suitable to his rank. These conditions were granted to him, and he retired to Calcutta with the governor, who was interested in keeping the soubah within his reach, as a means of assuring himself of the fidelity of Cossien-Ali-Khan.

Agreeably to the treaty previously signed at Calcutta, the new soubah granted to the company the revenue of several districts of his kingdom, and made, at the same time, a special donation of twenty lacks of rupees, which were divided between Vansittart, Caillaud, Holwell, and Sumner, members of the council of the presidency.

But scarcely were the presents given and received, than the agents at Calcutta complained of their new ally. Under Jaffier, every article of commerce had been subjected to exorbitant duties ; the English agents alone were exempted from paying any duty. This odious privilege constituted a monopoly in favor of the English which ruined all the Hindoo merchants, and brought considerable sums to the company. Cossien had obtained from Vansittart a convention, which, by diminishing the duties, permitted the natives to compete with strangers. The English merchants of Calcutta and other towns complained loudly, and the government sent a deputation to Cossien, to demand a modification of the treaty. But the soubah replied that he had complied with all his engagements, and he hoped that the English would be as faithful to theirs as he had been to his. Unfortunately, some of the natives who were inform-

ed of the visit of the English deputies, assailed them on their return, and massacred them. This act of violence gave the council of the presidency a legitimate pretext for breaking the treaties. Jaffier was invited to resume his dignity, and an English army advanced against Cossien-Ali-Khan.

Notwithstanding the capture of his capital, Cossien defended himself with vigor, fought two battles with the English, and retired with the remnant of his troops to Sujah-ul-Doulah, with whom also was the Great Mogul, who had accepted the alliance of this powerful nabob, or rather had been retained by him in a kind of honorable captivity. It was a good opportunity to penetrate into the rich province of Oude ; but it was with extreme repugnance that he took part in the war against Sujah-ul-Doulah. A passive instrument of British ambition, his chains weighed heavily upon him. Major Carnot, the English commander, then received an order to watch him closely, so as to prevent all correspondence between him and the nabob ; and Jaffier, the prisoner of his allies, was involved in a war against a prince whom he respected.

Chagrined and wearied, the unhappy soubah returned with an escort to his palace of Moorshedabad, where he was soon affected with a disease of debility. Perceiving that life was ebbing away, he called his son Najim-ul-Doulah, and in the presence of the English residents, gave him a paper containing his last instructions : he particularly recommended the rajah Nundcomar, a faithful and efficient man, for prime minister.

Jaffier had not been dead long, when the English envoys came from Calcutta, under pretext of offering condolence.

Their first visit was to Jugget-Seet, the treasurer of the soubah. "Do something for us," they said, "and we will protect you." As the treasurer pretended not to understand them, they made a more formal demand. "Give us," said they, "five lacks of rupees, and everything shall be as you

wish." In vain Jugget-Seet wished to avoid this official pillage ; after bargaining for a long time, they received one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees.

The envoys then came to Najim-ul-Doulah, and ordered him to take Reza-Khan as prime minister, who had always been the avowed enemy of Jaffier. The young soubah stated the dying wishes of his father, and showed them his written instructions. "What signifies that bit of paper?" said they ; "must our wishes give place to those of an old dead man?" And they forced him to receive Reza-Khan. The latter, as a compensation for this service, divided among his protectors the furniture, jewels, houses, and elephants of the soubah. This act of robbery was so scandalous, that Najim-ul-Doulah complained bitterly to the English authorities at Calcutta. But the leaders of the company could not censure actions of which they themselves had been guilty.

While these events occurred, and the war was continued against Soujah-ul-Doulah, Lord Clive arrived at Calcutta with the title of governor, and clothed with the full powers of the company. A signal victory was gained over the nabob, after which the great Mogul, Shah-Allum, escaped from Oude, and placed himself under the protection of the English.

Lord Clive received the king of kings with cordiality, and promised to restore him to his throne at Delhi, provided he would grant the company, perpetually, the revenues of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. His imperial majesty signed the firman, reserving to himself only an annual tribute of twenty-six lacks of rupees. Sujah-ul-Doulah soon followed the example of his sovereign. He consented to pay fifty lacks, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and also gave up the revenues of his province, receiving a personal pension of forty-two lacks.

These treaties were signed in August, 1765, and after that time the agents of the company were termed the mag-

nificent merchants of the East Indian Company, receivers of the magnificent provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, servants of the magnanimous emperor, Shah-Allum.

These concessions brought immense wealth into the coffers of the East India Company. In his account to the council at Calcutta, Lord Clive made a statement of the profits produced by these late treaties.

The revenues of the three provinces are two hundred and fifty lacks ; the pension granted to the nabob is forty-two lacks ; the tribute to the emperor is twenty-six lacks ; the civil and military expenses of the company are sixty lacks. There remain then as nett profit to the company, one hundred and twenty-two lacks of rupees (thirty millions and a half) per annum.

This immense fortune, however, did not satisfy the English agents. The cruelties of the war only despoiled their enemies ; the oppression of the laws was calculated to concentrate in their hands all the riches of the Hindoos who obeyed them. Commercial plunder, however, was to be more destructive than military pillage.

The articles of the greatest consumption in India, are salt, tobacco, and the betel-nut.* Upon these articles no duty had ever been imposed, for they were objects of primary necessity. It was this consideration which tempted the avidity of the English. A duty of fifty per cent. was imposed on the salt, fifteen per cent. on the betel-nut, and twenty-five per cent. on the tobacco. All these duties were paid into the treasury of the company ; but it was also necessary to satisfy many private individuals, speculators who came from London to explore the Asiatic continent. It was then decreed that the English merchants, as sovereigns, acknowledged by the great Mogul, should be exempted from all duty. This rendered competition impossible, and ruined at a blow all the Hindoo merchants. This ex-

* The betel-nut is a species of pepper, mixed by the Hindoos with the areca-nut, and is chewed by the natives.

clusive monopoly also enabled the English to demand an extravagant price for everything, and to realize large profits.

The right of territorial property was next invaded. According to Oriental law, the Zemindars or proprietors are considered as holding their lands directly from the sovereign, who is the master of the whole territory, with certain feudal reservations. These reservations constituted the territorial tax ; the English pretended to consider them as the rent of the farmers, and treated the Zemindars as lessees. Under pretext that most of the leases were irregular, they annulled all the titles, and without any regard for rights acknowledged from time immemorial, they sold the leases to the highest bidder. This act of extreme villainy, which changed entirely the territorial property of three provinces, brought with it ruin and desolation. Most of the rich Hindoo families were ejected from their property by the employers of the company ; it was the most outrageous act of robbery that could be imagined.

It was followed by what always happens after great social derangements ; the revenues of the company diminished in consequence of the misery they had caused. The natives, stripped by continual exactions, were obliged to renounce their betel-nut and tobacco. Those who cultivated the earth sowed with fear, and gathered in sorrow. Immense tracts of country remained uncultivated ; and a great drought added to the causes of distress, and cut off the crop of rice, which forms the principal subsistence of the Hindoos.

The English monopolists eagerly seized this opportunity to buy up all the rice in the markets ; and the Hindoos, who could on no account eat meat, had no alternative but to give the little money which remained, for a few handfuls of rice, or to die of starvation.

All the poor people (and the English administration had made many) lived for a long time on roots, but this unhealthy nourishment could not relieve their sufferings, and the hor-

rors of pestilence were soon added to those of famine. Let any one imagine the ravages of these two scourges, under a burning sun in a hot climate, and in the midst of an impoverished population, oppressed by greedy officers. Whole families perished ; cities were depopulated ; the waters of the Ganges were corrupted by the number of dead bodies which floated down its tide. These beautiful provinces, so peaceful and happy under the Mogul dynasty, were changed into terrific churchyards and charnel-houses. The English now saw that even pillage, to be profitable, must be subjected to certain rules. The revenues of the company were not sufficient to pay its expenses, and the privileged merchants derived no profit from a monopoly which had ruined and starved the population.

The pecuniary embarrassments of the company were also increased, by the war against Hyder Aly, to such an extent, that the annual pensions paid to the nabob of Oude and the great Mogul were reduced thirty-four lacs. It is true that a certain price had been paid for these revenues, but the English found it was extremely simple for an ally to pay for their improvidence.

Finally, affairs took so disastrous a turn that the court of directors at London thought necessary to send a commission of inquiry, with full power to remedy the evils of East Indian administration. This commission was composed of Vansittart, Scrafton, and Ford. They embarked in September, 1760 ; but either from accident or design, the vessel was never heard from. This vain attempt, which terminated so unfortunately, attracted the attention of parliament, and Lord Clive on his return to Europe was accused in the House of Commons by General Burgoyne, of the numerous robberies with which he had been connected. Among other facts, were stated the occurrences at the death of Surajah-Doulah, the treaty with Omichund, and the enormous sums paid by Jaffer-Ali-Khan. Lord Clive, when called before the committee of inquiry, stated that he saw

nothing reprehensible in his conduct; that he could not be blamed for accepting the presents; as the scabah, according to the Oriental custom, had tendered a recompense in a manner suitable to his rank, for the efforts of those who had been his friends. He added, that the only principles which governed him were the interests of the company, and the honor of his country. "Yes," exclaimed Colonel Barre in the House, "the immense fortunes amassed by the officers of the company have doubtless all been gained honorably! if the property of the natives has been taken by violence, you say, it is by the rights of war; if it has been extorted by cunning, it is a compensation for distinguished services; if it is taken by a monopoly, it is an act of trade. All these subtle distinctions between exactions and presents, between plunder and recompense, may satisfy the magnificent merchants of the company, but they are unworthy to be listened to by legislators."

Lord Clive, however, found some to defend him. His brilliant victories were eulogized, and attention was drawn to the vast territory of the East, founded principally by an officer whom it was now attempted to dishonor. "What do his accusers wish?" said they; "will they pretend to restore to the dispossessed princes their rank and empire? give back to the inhabitants their riches and lands? No, the state wants to keep the conquered countries, and punish the conqueror; to profit by the riches acquired, and to dishonor the man who obtained them. If Lord Clive is guilty, the government is his principal accomplice."

These remarks were true, but they did not justify Lord Clive; they only implicated the government in his villainy.

However, they made an impression, and an amendment to the resolution was offered, viz., that Lord Clive had rendered signal services to his country. This amendment was carried by a large majority, and the accusation was quashed. Lord Clive, however, felt vividly this attack upon his reputation; his haughty spirit was indignant at this

public humiliation, and, either from remorse or resentment, the proud viceroy committed suicide.

V.—GOVERNMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS.

Notwithstanding the scandalous acquittal of Lord Clive, the robberies by the agents of the company had been so severely attacked by the opposition in parliament, that the government was obliged to seek a remedy. It would have been very easy to introduce good laws into this important colony, and the time for doing so was favorable; for the financial embarrassments of the company obliged them to call upon parliament for relief; the evils they had perpetrated had recoiled upon their own heads; they had introduced ruin and famine into Bengal, and had impoverished themselves by their oppressions. The directors of the company at London had accepted the treaties made in Bengal, which required a great deal of money, and they found it impossible to meet their engagements. They were in debt to the Bank of England for money advanced to the Custom House, on account of duties; to the exchequer for arrears on their annual contribution of four hundred thousand pounds sterling. Bankruptcy was staring them in the face, when they applied to the government for a loan of one million five hundred thousand pounds. Parliament was then discussing this proposition.

Lord North, the prime minister, thought the occasion a favorable one for increasing his own power. Hitherto the company had been independent in the Indies. The civil and military officers were chosen by it; it disposed of the sovereignty of its territorial conquests, and excepting the annual tax of four hundred thousand pounds, which was paid very irregularly, the government derived nothing from the revenue of its numerous provinces. Immense private fortunes had been realized amid all these troubles, but nothing had been done for the government. England had gain-

ed nothing from her Indian possessions, except the reproaches of new crimes and shameful robberies.

Hence it was natural for the minister to wish to subject this colony to government, give unity to his administration, and impose on its agents a strict responsibility, and it would have been in conformity with the principles of every good government. But Lord North had other views. He had to contend against a formidable opposition ; he had exhausted every means of corruption to preserve his majority in Parliament. But he could not respond to the avidity of his interested defenders ; venality was pressing and demanded mere plunder. The rich offices of the Indies would supply him with new resources, and the servants of the crown could be provided for liberally, if advantage could be taken of the embarrassments of the company. The conduct of the minister was very skilful on this occasion, as he seemed to be guided by maxims of sound policy, and attempted to gain his ends only by laws of general utility. When the demand for the loan was presented to the house, Lord North rose and stated, that he thought it politic to assist the company, but not just ; that its numerous errors did not entitle it to favor, unless the interests of England required the colony to be protected against the mismanagement of its directors ; it had always been admitted in politics that the territory acquired by the subjects of a state became the property of the state, and should be governed by its laws. He concluded by stating the positive right of government to interfere in all the company's affairs, and particularly in its political administration.

The resolution of the minister was supported by those who had so long opposed the tyranny of the sovereign merchants of India ; it was then decided that most of the public officers and also the important one of governor-general should be nominated by the crown. He was to be assisted by a council of five members, over whom he was to preside, and have a casting vote. At this period the Governor of

Bengal was intrusted with the command of the governors of all the other stations.

As soon as this increase of authority was granted to the governor-general, the famous Warren Hastings was appointed in 1772, and the opposition was convinced, that the reforms introduced by the minister were very unprofitable to the Hindoos, and strengthened tyranny by concentrating it.

One of the first acts of Hastings was to arrest Reza Khan, the same who at the death of Jaffier had been installed as minister by the English to Najim-ul-Doulah. Shortly afterwards, he imprisoned Shitab-Roy, who performed the same duties at Patna that Reza Khan did at Moorschedabad. The pretence was the abuses of these ministers, but the true reason was, to compel them to purchase their liberty. Six months after their imprisonment, Hastings, who had attempted in vain to extort large sums of money from them, wrote to the court of directors : "It may seem surprising that Reza Khan and Shitab-Roy are detained so long in prison without trial ; but their actions have excited many enemies against the British government, and I did not wish to bring them to trial, because no one would testify against them." It would doubtless be difficult to say more in their justification, and yet these unfortunates remained two years in close confinement, when the governor-general himself declared them innocent. We shall see hereafter the cause of his change of opinion.

In the mean time, the Mahrattas, who were always roving and plundering, had invaded the province of Oude. The nabob, Sujah-ul-Doulah, a tributary of the English, invoked their protection, and the Mahrattas were driven to the territory of the Rohillas, situated to the north of Oude, and east of the Ganges.

The Rohillas were among the most warlike tribes of India, but being too few to resist the Mahrattas, they invoked the assistance of the nabob and his English auxiliaries. Forty lacs of rupees were promised as the price of this

alliance. Sujah-ul-Doulah, who had long been the enemy of the Rohillas, was at first inclined to reject their demand. But Hastings was tempted by the money, and ordered him to march against the Mahrattas, who were forced to leave the invaded territory.

After their deliverance, however, the Rohillas were in no hurry to keep their engagements. The nabob expressed his impatience, as did the governor-general, who, equally avaricious, but more cunning, induced him to declare war against his ungrateful allies. Finally, in an interview at Benares, it was agreed to exterminate the Rohillas.

Sujah-ul-Doulah was influenced by his hatred for his old neighbors, Hastings by his insatiable cupidity; for it had been agreed that the forty lacks of rupees should be paid to the English; the nabob had reserved for himself only the right of exterminating his enemies. Never was blood bargained for more freely; the lives of an entire population were sold, like an article of merchandise, and not only sold but delivered.

The war, as Sujah-ul-Doulah had stipulated it should be, was one of extermination. We cannot detail the cruel massacres that were perpetrated. All the refinements of oriental vengeance were exhausted upon the unhappy Rohillas; women, children, and old men were tortured, animals were mutilated, and houses were burned. Some English officers, who were forced to assist in these barbarities, objected to them very strongly, and complained to the governor-general of the service in which they were employed. One of them, Colonel Champion, wrote several letters to Hastings, detailing his indignation, and saying that the authority exercised by the nabob over the English army, gave the war a character of atrocity for which he could not be responsible. He complained that he could not assist those unfortunate Rohillas, who were cruelly massacred before his face, and that he was obliged to close his ears against the piteous cries of widows and orphans. He

painted a frightful picture of all the cruelties he had witnessed, and did not disguise from the governor his horror of such conduct. But all his complaints were vain ; Hastings admitted that if he opposed the measures of the Sujah, this prince might refuse to pay him the sum he had promised. And, in fact, the nabob wrote to him about the same time : "Do not forget that my resolution is fixed ; the Rohillas must be exterminated, and it was with that view that I claimed the assistance of the English."

In vain did the directors of the company complain of this bad policy, which gave so much power to Sujah-ul-Doula ; in vain did they represent to Hastings, that the Rohillas formed a useful barrier against the invasions of the Mahrattas, and that it was better to spare them than to extend the power of the nabob of Oude. Hastings' reply revealed his policy. "It is not," said he to the directors, "because I wish to serve Sujah-ul-Doula, but you. I wish to bring large sums of money into the treasury, and to carry this prince nearer the frontier of the Mahrattas, in order that their fears may render them still more dependant on you." "The principles which have guided the Marquis of Hastings," said Fox in parliament, "are horrible ; they are those of small mercenary states. But it is disgraceful for a powerful nation like Great Britain to say, 'Pay me, or I will exterminate you.' Yet this is the language of him who has been intrusted with the government of one of the largest possessions of the British empire. 'Pay the forty lacks of rupees I demand, and then I will disobey my orders ; I will unite my forces with yours, we will exterminate the Rohillas, and divide their territory.' For the language of Hastings is positive. 'If you do not pay the sum promised, you shall be exterminated.' This simple and positive language is more powerful than any eloquence."

Some of Hastings' friends tried to excuse him by saying that he had made a treaty with Sujah-ul-Doula, had entered into a guarantee, and was obliged to assist him. Fox

opposed this logic vehemently : "Never," said he, "have I heard a doctrine similar to that now uttered on this floor. Instead of being mediators, then, must we co-operate with the most barbarous vengeance, the most atrocious rapine."

"I find, first, that it is necessary to examine if a grant is a guarantee, and I will say, if there be no guarantee, Hastings is guilty ; if the guarantee was given, it is unpardonable ; a guarantee aggravates all faults. In fact, why take up arms if the dispute is for money ? Forty lacks of rupees were the only thing in dispute ; no requisition has been made for it ; the country was invaded. Compare this with the course which Hastings ought to have pursued, as mediator. On the contrary, what has been his course ? He has received a recompense, to require a sum of money of those whom he had engaged by a treaty to defend. Thus to the character of a cruel invader, he adds that of a corrupt and perjured judge.

"And can such a man find apologists in the House of Commons ? a noble Lord (Mulgrave) has said, with astonishing sagacity and wonderful irony, 'Must a governor in India consult Puffendorf and Grotius ?' certainly not ; but he ought to consult the laws of nature ; his conduct is not to be guided by any book ; but by a general law of a knowledge of all countries, those laws which govern the human race, those laws which rest upon humanity, and on which humanity reposes."

Hastings, however, soon became liable to serious accusations. When the great Mogul, Shah Allum, was attacked by the Mahrattas, he had placed the provinces of Corah and Alla-Habad under the protection of the English. Hastings sold these provinces to Sujah-ul-Doulah for fifty lacks of rupees, and shortly after this perfidy, he suppressed the tribute of twenty-six lacks paid by the company to Shah Allum, because this prince, betrayed by the English, had formed an alliance with the Mahrattas.

Thus, this unfortunate emperor was plundered when he

trusted to a British alliance, and robbed when he rejected this alliance.

In 1775, Sujah-ul-Doulah died. The first act of the supreme council of Calcutta was to demand of his successor, yet a minor, Asoff-ul-Doulah, the entire payment of the amount due by the rajah. The money being paid, the English then signified that all the engagements made with the old nabob were nullified by his death, and that his successor must pay new subsidies for their protection. They had demanded the arrears on the faith of certain treaties which were forgotten when there was nothing more to receive.

In accordance with this principle, they again took possession of the provinces of Corah and Alla-Habad, which they had sold to the rajah, and to regain their possession, the new nabob was obliged to cede his rights to the territory of the Rajah Cheit-Sing, Zemindar of Benares.

The rajah received notice of this cession, but the governor-general added, that he could not despoil this prince of his territory, but that the British government would be content with the payment of an annual tribute.

Cheit-Sing, unable to resist, agreed to the propositions, and a treaty was concluded between him and the governor in 1775. By this treaty it was stipulated, that so long as the rajah paid this debt punctually, and obeyed the authorities of the British government, no more should be demanded of him; and that no one should have the right to interfere with his authority, or to disturb in any manner the peace of his territory.

This language was very precise, and left no pretext for new extortion. The rajah, however, soon ascertained the value of a treaty with British agents. Hastings, on his own authority, and even without consulting the supreme council at Calcutta, ordered the rajah to make an extraordinary payment of five lacks of rupees.

Cheit-Sing complained loudly of a demand so different

from the stipulation of 1775, but foreseeing that he would be compelled to yield, requested at least that he might make the payment at different periods, as quarterly additions to his tribute.

Hastings replied, that the whole sum must be paid on a certain day. The rajah, forced to obey, paid the sum demanded, but declared that he regarded this extortion as a violation of the treaty, and that it must not serve as a rule for the future.

The same demand, however, was made the next year, which was paid by the unfortunate rajah, after again protesting against the violation of the treaty. A third payment was also levied, but this time the indignant rajah did not yield until Benares was beset by the British troops.

Shortly afterwards, Hastings made a requisition for a thousand cavalry soldiers. Cheit-Sing answered that he did not possess but thirteen hundred horses in all; that he could not spare more than five hundred, but would furnish a body of five hundred infantry.

"My patience," says Hastings, "is now exhausted. I find that my demands are never fully complied with."

"This language," says Fox, "is certainly very remarkable, and unequalled in impudence. When we consider the facts, the violation of treaties by the same man who made them, and find the rajah year after year granting what was so unjustly demanded, and when we hear Hastings say that his patience was exhausted because the rajah refused to send a thousand cavalry when he owned only thirteen hundred horses, what shall we say to his remarks: 'I then resolved to turn these frequent refusals to the advantage of the company?'"

Never was there a more horrid idea than that of punishing a man, not to serve as an example, but for the advantages of a company. Hastings then resolved to demand fifty lacks of rupees of Cheit-Sing on account of his frequent refusals, and in order that nothing might be wanting

to the odious character of this tyranny, he went himself to Benares with all the pomp of a conqueror, and obliged Cheit-Sing to pay the expenses of the journey.

Having taken possession of Benares, he levied enormous contributions on the country, which was already impoverished by English rapacity. Finally, Cheit-Sing, finding that his former concessions had only excited the rapacity of the governor-general, attempted to resist. But it was too late ; his palace was attacked by the English troops, was pillaged, and he was arrested and dethroned.

Derbege-Sing, who took the place of the dethroned rajah, soon found that he had accepted a place which was ruinous, and that the wealth of the throne was not sufficient to meet the constant demands upon him. But with Hastings it was necessary to pay or be deposed. Derbege-Sing was displaced and imprisoned, and the administration of affairs was intrusted to Jagher-Deo-Seo. The latter, warned by the example of his two predecessors, tried in every mode to fill the British treasury. The country was loaded with taxes in every form, or rather it was subjected to robberies which ruined most of the people. The tax-gatherer was accompanied by the executioner, and inhuman cruelties were perpetrated upon those inhabitants who refused to give up the last remnant of their fortune.

Jagher executed all the wishes of Hastings, when the latter returned to Calcutta, persuaded that he had found a tributary who understood him.

Some, however, of the council of Calcutta, began to find the tyranny of Warren Hastings intolerable. This council, as we have already seen, was composed of five members, including their president, the governor-general. Three of its members, Clavering, Monson, and Francis, remonstrated to Hastings, and resolved to oppose the oppression of the Hindoos as far as possible. They soon had occasion to attack him.

After the death of the Nabob of Oude, the regency and

the tutelage of young Azoff-ul-Doula was disputed by several of his relatives. This regency had the right of superintendence over all the property of the nabob, under the express condition that a faithful account of it should be given to the supreme council at Calcutta. The regency was given, by the influence of Hastings, to the begum or widow. But the council soon discovered, that in the accounts of the regent there was a sum of 970,000 rupees unaccounted for. On being questioned on this point her replies were evasive, but she finally admitted that she had paid the governor 150,000 rupees, and the same sum to his secretary.

About this time another accusation was made. The collector of the district of Hoagly had paid 72,000 rupees. Of this sum he gave 36,000 to Hastings, and 4,000 to his secretary. The council of Calcutta resolved to follow up this affair, and ordered a complaint to be laid against Hastings; but the governor-general opposed it, and declared that he would permit no inquiry in regard to it. A majority of the council were opposed to him; but he would not abide by its decisions, and a scandalous collision thus occurred between the agents of the government, added to the disorders of the country. A new accuser, however, now appeared, whose rank and importance rendered the position of Hastings more difficult, and the opposition of the council more powerful. It will be remembered that Jaffier-Ali-Khan, on his death-bed, had recommended his son to take the rajah Nundcomar for his prime minister. The latter had been discarded by the English, and since that time he constantly opposed foreign oppression, and was quietly exciting the Hindoos to throw off the British yoke. Understanding, however, that his efforts were useless, he undertook to attack the English through the channel of the law, and to profit by their rapacity and jealousies. He was aware that he should be supported by members of the council, and the bold rapacity of the governor-general sup-

plied testimony for accusation. He accused Hastings of having received large sums of money from Reza Khan and Shitab Roy, to admit their innocence, after having kept them imprisoned for a long time, and under false pretences. He offered also to prove that Hastings had received 354,000 rupees for nominating the begum of Oude to the regency.

Such formal accusations, on the part of a man occupying so high a station as Nundcomar, produced a great sensation, and he was called upon to testify before the council. Hastings was extremely indignant, and protested that he would not suffer his accuser to be examined before a council of which he was president. The majority persisted. The governor exclaimed against the audacity of his colleagues, and dissolved the session; but they paid no attention to his threats. He then withdrew, protested against all that should be done in his absence, and he was followed by Barwell, who was the fifth member, and was always devoted to the governor.

The examination, however, continued. Nundcomar sustained his assertions, brought forward his proofs, and likewise stated the sums which he himself had paid Hastings, in his capacity of receiver of the province of Hougley. It appeared from his deposition that the begum had paid Hastings two lacs of rupees.

The council now ordered Hastings to return the sums he had unjustly received. The accused refused to answer.

Instead of entering into explanations in regard to the charges against him, he adopted a different course, and became himself an accuser. A criminal prosecution was commenced by him against Nundcomar, for forcing a man named Commaul-ad-Dien to write an injurious petition against several high English functionaries. In spite of the efforts of Hastings, Nundcomar was honorably acquitted.

But he had to deal with an adversary who did not easily abandon his prey; and things had come to a point where Hastings must lose his government, or Nundcomar must be

put down. A few days after his acquittal, Nundeomar was arrested on the complaint of a native, and thrown into prison on a false accusation. It was remarkable that the pretended crime had been committed five years before, and nothing was heard of a prosecution until Nundeomar pointed out the defalcations of the governor-general. To crown the iniquity, an English jury was summoned for the first time to decide upon a transaction which occurred between two Hindoos. The judge of the court, Sir Elijah Impey, was as infamous as the governor-general. There was but one witness, the accuser, whose testimony was extremely suspicious. President Impey attempted to prove that his testimony was worthy of belief; made himself the officious advocate of a man generally despised, and partly by persuasion, partly by threats, obtained a verdict of guilty from the jury. The rajah was condemned to be hung. This decision terrified the Hindoos. They found that no one of them could accuse their powerful oppressors with impunity; that even a rajah did not escape. But Nundeomar supported his fate with admirable firmness. He walked to the place of execution with a calm and resigned air, while his countrymen uttered cries of rage and despair.

When this judgment and condemnation were known in London, there was a general cry of indignation from the ranks of the opposition in parliament. A formal accusation against Sir Elijah Impey was introduced by Sir Gilbert Elliott, and was zealously supported by Fox. "I cannot read the details of this affair," says this celebrated orator, "without feeling that Sir Elijah Impey is guilty of wilful murder. He is not only guilty of murder, but, by aiding in the vengeance of Hastings, he becomes the accomplice of his peculations. In fact, it seems to me that there was a perfect understanding between the judge and the governor; and in this case I think that the individual must have been murdered from corrupt motives."

It should be remembered that the quarrel between Hastings and Nundcomar occurred but a few days before the trial took place ; that the division was established, and that other intrigues had occurred between the people and the governor-general ; that Sir Elijah Impey was openly the friend of Hastings, and was therefore a prejudiced man. Ought he, then, to have been a judge in this cause ? Notwithstanding the efforts of Fox, however, the crime of the prevaricating judge was sanctioned by the House.

At the time when the unjust sentence of Sir Elijah Impey relieved Hastings from his powerful accuser, the almost simultaneous death of two members of the council, Clavering and Monson,* left the governor-general absolute master of all deliberations. As the members of the council were named by the court of directors at London, Hastings was sure of a majority until their successors arrived. He resolved to avail himself of the opportunity.

First, he restored the regency of Oude to the widow, who had been deprived of it by order of the council, in consequence of peculations, in which Nundcomar accused Hastings of participating. The young nabob Asoff-ul-Doulah was only the vassal of the English governor, the instrument of his exactions, the apologist of his tyrannies. Enormous contributions were imposed on the province, and taxgatherers overran the country, accompanied by soldiers, who plundered the inhabitants of the little which was left by the former.

The misfortunes of the inhabitants were nearly at their height, when, to add to his riches, Hastings farmed out the revenues to sub-agents. The latter wished to profit by the position which they had paid for, and protected, encouraged, and countenanced by the British forces, committed unheard-of cruelties. Their imaginations were racked to invent new tortures, to extort money from those who had already been despoiled to the utmost ; and, in the express-

* Could they have been taken off by poison ?

sive language of Burke, they "coined money with human flesh."

Among the agents of Hastings, the most infamous was Devi-Sing. His excesses were so outrageous, that in order not to be taxed with exaggeration, we will quote the language used by Burke in the House of Lords when he accused Hastings.

"First, Devi-Sing used a kind of pillory, which, among the Hindoos, is more cruel than death, because they lose their caste. Those who have been disgraced by this pillory, justly or unjustly, are excommunicated, and disowned by their tribe, cast off by their relatives, and are obliged to take refuge among the excommunicated. Contagion, leprosy, and plague are not so much shunned. This pillory is a bullock with drums beating before him, and the Hindoo who has once been on his back is dishonored and degraded for ever. Devi-Sing marched this animal through the villages; when he approached all the inhabitants fled, and the terror was so general, that an Englishman once travelled fifteen miles and saw no fire, nor light in any house. The poor ryots or laborers were treated with an atrocity absolutely incredible, were it not supported by authentic documents. When all their resources were exhausted, they were imprisoned, and purchased their liberty by signing notes. These notes, which were far beyond their resources, were mercilessly exacted; their goods were sold at a low price, and purchased by Devi-Sing himself. Instances there are, when all other things failing, the farmers were dragged from the court to their houses, in order to see them first plundered, and then burnt down before their faces. The peasants were left little else than their families and their bodies. The most tender of parents sold their children, the most fondly jealous of husbands sold their wives.

"I come now," said Mr. Burke, "to the last stage of their miseries. Everything visible and vendible was seized and sold. Debe-Sing suspected that the country people

had purloined from their own estates some small reserve of their own grain to maintain themselves for the unproductive months of the year, and to leave some hope for a future season. These hoards, real or supposed, not being discovered by menaces and imprisonment, they fell on the naked bodies of the people. They began by winding cords round the fingers of the unhappy freeholders of these provinces, until they clung to, and were almost incorporated with one another ; and then they hammered wedges of iron between them, until, regardless of the cries of the sufferers, they had bruised to pieces and for ever crippled their poor innocent and laborious hands. The most substantial and leading yeomen, then responsible farmers, were tied two and two by the legs together ; and their tormentors throwing them with their heads downward over a bar, beat them on the soles of the feet with the ratans, until the nails fell from the toes ; and then attacking them at their heads as they hung downward, they beat them with sticks and other instruments of blind fury, until the blood gushed out at their eyes, noses, and mouths. Sometimes they used whips made of the branches of the bale-tree, a tree full of sharp and strong thorns, which tear the skin and lacerate the flesh far worse than ordinary scourges. For others, they made use of a plant highly caustic and poisonous, called becchetten, every wound of which festers and gangrenes, adds double and treble to the present torture, and often ends in the destruction of life itself. At night these poor innocent sufferers were brought into dungeons, and in the season when nature takes refuge in insensibility from all the miseries and cares which wait on life, they were three times scourged and made to reckon the watches of the night by periods and intervals of torment. They were then led out before the break of day, and plunged into water, and whilst their jaws clung together with cold, and their bodies were rendered infinitely more sensible, the blows and stripes were renewed upon their backs ; and then delivering them

over to soldiers, they were sent into their farms and villages to discover where a few handfuls of grain might be concealed. After this circuit of the day through their plundered and ruined villages, they were remanded at night to the same prison; whipped as before at their return to the dungeon, and at morning whipped at leaving it.

" But there are persons whose fortitude could bear their own suffering; these were assaulted on the side of their sympathy. Children were scourged almost to death in the presence of their parents. The son and father were bound close together face to face, and body to body, and in that situation cruelly lashed together, so that the blow which escaped the father fell on the son, wounding him over the back of the parent. The circumstances were combined by so subtle a cruelty, that every stroke which did not excruciate the sense, should wound and lacerate the sentiments and affections of nature.

" On the same principle, and for the same ends, virgins who had never seen the sun were dragged from the inmost sanctuaries of their houses; and in the open court of justice, in the very place where security was to be sought against all wrong and all violence, those virgins, vainly invoking Heaven and earth, in the presence of their parents, and whilst their shrieks were mingled with the indignant cries and groans of all the people, were publicly violated by the lowest and wretchedest of the human race. Wives were torn from the arms of their husbands and suffered the same flagitious wrongs, which indeed were hid in the bottoms of the dungeons, in which their honor and their liberty were buried together. Often they were taken out of the refuge of this consoling gloom, stripped naked, and thus exposed to the world, and then cruelly scourged, and in order that cruelty might riot in all the circumstances that melt into tenderness the fiercest natures, the nipples of their breasts were put between the sharp and elastic sides of sharp bamboos. Here, in my hand, is my authority, for otherwise

one would think it incredible. . But it did not end there. Growing from crime to crime, ripened by cruelty for cruelty, these fiends at length, outraging sex, decency, and nature, applied lighted torches and slow fire ; those infernal furies planted death in the source of life, and where that modesty which, more than reason, distinguishes men from beasts, retires from the view, and even shrinks from the expression, there they exercised and glutted their unnatural, monstrous, and nefarious cruelty—there, where the reverence of nature and the sanctity of justice dares not to pursue, nor venture to describe their practices."

These acts which were accomplished under the patronage of the British government, were attended with the expected results. The principal parts of the province of Oude rebelled, and the enraged Hindoos swore to expel the foreigners. All the country near the mountains was in arms ; but the centre of the insurrection was the city of Fyzabad, which was under the immediate authority of the begum, the mother and grand-mother of the nabob. These princesses possessed immense treasures, and extensive domains left to them by Sujah-ul-Doulah. Hastings saw the advantage to be derived from the rebellion which he had excited. Profiting by the weakness of Asoff-ul-Doula, who was devoted to the English, while his subjects were contending against their tyranny, he made him an accomplice of his projects against the begums, armed the son against the mother, and concealed his own crime, while the nabob bore most of the infamy.

A vast conspiracy was then hatched up by order of the governor-general. The two begums were accused of wishing to depose their son, and to exterminate the whole British nation. There was an abundance of proof, and an English magistrate pursued this unjust process, by exciting the accusation, and encouraging the informers.

From persuasion or terror, the nabob showed himself as unworthy as the masters under whose direction he acted.

A treaty was secretly concluded, by which Hastings authorized him to confiscate to his profit, all the country left by his father to the widows. The English knew that these domains would soon pass into their own hands.

For a moment, however, he seemed to repent of his guilty connivance, and, as if to excuse himself in his own eyes, he proposed to leave his mother this property, offering to pay the English from his own treasures. This singular transaction was joyfully accepted by Hastings, who promised himself to take, at a later period, what he had lost by the tardy remorse of Asoff-ul-Doulah. The nabob had also stipulated that the widows should receive a pension equal to the amount of their revenues. Like all weak minds, he concealed the evil which he was perpetrating under the hypocritical veil of compensations.

The scruples of the nabob, however, were of slight importance to the governor-general; he only wished the acquiescence of this prince in order to hasten the insurrection.

It was difficult for the begums to resist the English power, aided by the authority of the nabob. Protesting their innocence, and disavowing the imaginary conspiracy of which they were accused, they opened the gates of Fyzabad, and delivered themselves into the hands of Hastings. He was unmoved by this appeal to his generosity; their riches condemned them.

While confined in their palace under a guard of Sepoys, they were insulted in order to compel them to open rebellion. The pension fixed for their support was soon reduced, and finally they were deprived of the necessities of life. Pressed by famine and despair, they deceived the vigilance of their guards, left their apartments, and in a state the most abject and humiliating, for females of their rank, they ran into the public square. The Hindoos, surprised and indignant, wept in silence to see these unfortunate princesses, when the English soldiers seized them brutally,

carried them to the harem, and there chastised them like slaves. The widow and mother of Sujah-ul-Doulah, the faithful ally of the English, were beaten with a club. Hastings had already taken possession of their treasures. Soon after, notwithstanding the promises made to the nabob, he took possession of their territory.

He, however, took care to give his robberies a semblance of law. The magistrate who had condemned Nundcomar, Sir Elijah Impey, was ordered to Fyzabad, to try the begums; and although it was proved that they knew nothing of the insurrection, the accommodating judge ordered all their property to be confiscated. This had already been done, but it became still more odious from its judicial sanction. "Thus," said Sheridan, "it was not sufficient to convert the sword of power into the poignard of a murderer, but even the ermine of justice must be sullied by corruption." The recital, however, of so many crimes had excited public attention in England. The complaints of the Hindoos were re-echoed in the debates of parliament; the restless minds of men were uneasy, and the leaders of the opposition resolved to put an end to these scandalous iniquities, and to punish with the severity of the law the cruel pro-consul. Burke, Fox, and Sheridan were the principal accusers. Commissions were instituted, inquests ordered; but the government, reluctant to expose the tyranny of its agents, interposed many impediments, and opposed the accusers, sometimes by a proud silence, and sometimes by denying the truth of the accusations. Two years passed in vain attacks and barren recriminations. Finally, on the 30th of July, 1784, Burke proposed that the house should form a committee to examine the facts relative to the government of India. Pitt, who was then prime minister, had begun imperceptibly to swerve from those political principles, which he had ardently defended at the commencement of his parliamentary career. This fanatical leader of reform had found the Whigs too exalted, and without daring

to become the official defender of Hastings, he proposed to proceed to the order of the day.

Burke's reply was brilliant and spirited. "Which one of us is not indignant," said he, "at the cold indifference of the government? Does it not sanction guilt, and does it not avow itself the accomplice of all the crimes committed by guilty functionaries? For my part, I deplore the fatal day when so many horrors have been unveiled, and justice is sought for in vain. I am constantly thinking of desolate cities, depopulated provinces, and nations extinguished by the monstrous abuse of a power which we have countenanced. The cries of the unhappy Hindoos resound in my ears, and my nights are disturbed by their bloody images.

"The reality of the accusation is denied. Why not then discuss it? Oh, how thankful should I be to find that these scenes of horror are fictitious. For me, this discovery would be more precious than that of a new world, and I would bless those who could efface from my country that spot of infamy. I conjure the government, then, to institute this inquiry; when the blood of the Hindoos cries out and demands justice, I am astonished to find our prime minister so coldly indifferent, and at an age, too, when all the generous feelings of our nature usually predominate."

At these words, the orator was interrupted by the murmurs of the ministerial party; his indignation increased, and his accusations against Pitt became so vehement that he was called to order, and was obliged to take his seat in the midst of a violent tumult.

Although parliament showed little disposition to do justice, public opinion had been so strongly excited by accusations, that the governor-general was recalled, and the office was filled by Lord Cornwallis.

The day that Hastings landed on the coast of England, June 20, 1785, Burke renewed his accusation; but as the session of parliament was far advanced, he announced to

the house that at the beginning of the next session he should move for an investigation into the conduct of the ex-governor-general.

In fact, on the 4th of April following, (1786,) the indefatigable accuser rose and made a long harangue, wherein all the crimes of Hastings were included in twenty-two charges.

At this time Pitt thought himself too weak to be silent with regard to the truth, and was obliged to accept a debate which he had so long avoided, but resolved to avail himself of this discussion to distract the attention of the public from other questions of public policy. Ever since the American war the parliament had resounded with the cry of reform, and the press had vigorously attacked the system of elections. Pitt flattered himself that this question would be forgotten, so long as the trial of Hastings continued, and reforms of law and the influences of his position would enable him to continue it a long time.

In fact, as every charge of the accusation was to be presented by different orators, it would become the subject of special deliberation and vote, which would prolong the preliminary proceedings for a whole year. The debates were very brilliant ; the most eloquent orators in the opposition took part in them ; Burke stated the facts, in regard to the war of the Rohillas and the rajah of Benares ; Sheridan mentioned the cruelties perpetrated on the nabob and the widow of Oude ; Sir James Erskine stated the peculations of Hastings generally, and Sir Francis, one of Hastings' colleagues in the supreme councils of Calcutta, gave the weight of his testimony in regard to the spoliation of the Zemindars. Finally, on the 10th of May, 1787, the House decided that Warren Hastings, Ex-Governor-General of Bengal, should be impeached ; the next day Burke appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and there, in the name of the House of Commons and all the commons of Great

Britain, he accused Hastings of misconduct and of crimes in the discharge of his duties.

The 21st of May, Hastings was brought to the bar of the House of Lords by the sergeant-at-arms, but on motion of the lord-chancellor he was liberated, and was ordered to answer in writing to the accusation in a month, or two days after the opening of the next session of parliament.

Although the ministry had defended Hastings in a weak manner, it was seen that they were more interested in the accused than they wished to admit. All the facts of which they accused the governor-general, were so much in accordance with the habitual policy of the cabinet, that the men who resembled them had little to fear from their hostility. But these men were too much occupied in defending their own crimes, and therefore presented secret obstacles to the accusers ; they were thus guilty of double hypocrisy ; they censured the governor openly, but winked at his villainy in secret.

Their influence, however, was seen in the constant delays to which the accusers were subjected, and the ends of justice defeated.

Finally, the debates commenced on the 13th of February, 1788. Burke gave a general exposition of all the charges, and his magnificent address, which continued for four days, caused vivid emotions in the public mind.

On the 22d February, the robbery of Benares was stated by Fox, and an abstract of this odious affair was presented by Lord Grey, who then commenced his political career.

On the 15th April, the charges in relation to the begums of Oude were detailed by Sheridan, who spoke for five successive days, and in terms of the most impassioned eloquence.

The impression produced by these able orators upon the judges and people was so powerful, that Pitt was alarmed ; he wished to use Hastings to divert the attention of restless spirits from other things, but he was not disposed to sacri-

fice a man whose principles accorded so well with his own. The lords were privately requested to meet less frequently as a court of justice, and the session closed, after a few trivial debates.

In 1789 the trial did not advance one step. In 1790, the House of Lords had only thirteen sittings as a court of justice. The public, who were first indignant and impatient, now became indifferent; the accused was at liberty; his crimes seemed forgotten, and punishment, so long deferred, became impossible. At the end of two years, the proofs and depositions of the first three charges only had been taken, and at this rate it was easily seen that the trial would occupy a whole lifetime. Farther, by one of those reactions common on such occasions, sympathy was excited for the accused, who was kept so long in a state of cruel suspense. Justice seemed like persecution; the ministry carefully extended these rumors, and the accusers were blamed for the delays caused by ministers.

The ministry soon had an opportunity of defending their protégé openly, on a question which might arrest the progress of the trial.

Parliament had been dissolved in June, 1790. On the opening of the new House, Burke introduced a motion to resume the accusation of Hastings, but the ministerial speakers, supported by all the lawyers in the House of Commons, maintained that, by the dissolution of the houses of parliament, the accusation was annulled. Erskine sustained this opinion with all his talent, and his opinion in the case would seem to be decisive.

The debates were animated, for the question was a serious one, and implicated one of the most important prerogatives of the House. The speaker rose to express his opinion, which was seldom given, except upon most solemn occasions. "If the opinions of the lawyers should be adopted," said he, "it would be easy to point out all the dangers of them. The accusation of a guilty minister could always

be defeated by the insidious interposition of the royal prerogative. According to the spirit of the constitution, and to the forms adopted by parliament, the accusation is presented not only by the House of Commons, but by all the commons of England ; and in an accusation, the members of parliament should be considered only as the agents and advocates of the whole people. Thus, then, when parliament is dissolved, the new parliament, although it has discretionary power to suspend the action if it is not founded on justice, has nevertheless the right to continue it, if it thinks proper. Considering the accusation which had been made, no one would imagine that twenty-two articles, each including various and complex facts, could be discussed and proved in a single session. Now if, in accordance with the spirit of the old constitution, the parliaments were annual, it is evident that no trial of any importance could be legally brought to a close."

After these preliminary remarks, the speaker cited all the precedents in favor of his opinion, and the house decided in his favor.

The same subject was discussed in the House of Lords, and the Lord Chancellor endeavored by every subterfuge to quash the accusation. On taking the vote, the result was the same as in the house, and the Lords notified the Commons officially that they were ready to proceed with the trial. Much time had been lost, however, in these debates, and the session closed without making any progress in the cause.

A new and unexpected occurrence now gave the accused another chance of escape, and excited indignation against his principal accuser. Burke, so long one of the most eloquent leaders of the opposition, the friend of Fox, and the protector of the Irish, had betrayed his party, his friends, and his country. Purchased by the ministry, and devoted to Pitt, whom he had formerly opposed so violently, he forgot all that had passed, and exhibited neither the same

honesty or zeal in the trial of Hastings. This celebrated cause, which had so long occupied the attention of all Europe, progressed slowly and uninterestingly ; the great offender enjoyed quietly the fruits of his exactions, and the voice of a cruelly persecuted people was raised in vain.

Five years passed in this state of uncertainty. The judges were assembled irregularly, forgot their former decisions, and conducted their deliberations with neither order nor unity ; the members of the House of Commons, who acted as accusers, were discouraged by these methodical delays ; they were weakened by internal divisions, and were full of resentment toward that talented but corrupt leader, whose eloquence had guided, but whose venality had betrayed them.

Hastings played his part skilfully. Connected with most of the judges by his rank, his wealth, and his habits, he was constantly on the alert to defeat the ends of justice. In order to secure his acquittal, he made splendid presents to the Queen, extending his corruption even to the steps of the throne, and thus procured from the court a powerful protection equivalent to a scandalous impunity. Finally, on the 17th of April, 1795, seven years after the commencement of the trial, the House of Lords pronounced judgment. Of four hundred Peers, there were but twenty-nine present, and the accused was solemnly acquitted.

There was nothing wanting to the iniquity of this trial, neither the treachery of the principal accuser, the corruption of the judges, nor the impunity of the accused. It was a tedious mockery, and an insult to justice. To add to the bitterness of the affront, the East India Company loaded with riches and honor, him who had just escaped the vengeance of the laws. They gave him an annual pension of four thousand pounds sterling, paying up the arrearages for twenty-eight years, and handed him immediately one hundred and fourteen thousand pounds. By rewarding the acts which led to his accusation, they became partakers in his

crimes. Morality might justly be indignant at this impudent ovation, but the servants of the company were duly notified that their path to honor was through immense crimes.

VI.—HYDER ALI AND TIPPOO SULTAN.

So long as the French colony at Pondicherry was powerful and flourishing, the English at Madras remained without influence in the inland countries of that vast peninsula, included between the coast of Coromandel, and the borders of Malabar. But when the mistakes of Lally had opened to them the gates of Pondicherry, they concluded to extend their power over the adjacent fertile countries, and to take advantage of the weakness of the native chiefs whom their disinterested rivals had respected. The prodigious success of their countrymen in Bengal had excited their ardor, and the Governor of Madras wished to attain the same riches and power as the Governors of Calcutta. But a vast empire was founded near them, whose enterprising leader presented serious obstacles to their ambition, and gave new opportunities for the development of their perfidious instincts.

Hyder Ali had, by his talents, formed in the peninsula a vast kingdom, the capital of which was the ancient province of Mysore. We have already alluded to the rivalries in birth and religion which separated the Mussulmen from the Hindoos.

After the battle of the 20th of May, 1740, the power of the former had decreased, and the kingdoms of Mysore, Canara, Tanjaeur, and Calicut, of Villapour, and many others, had returned under the government of the rajah. Hyder Ali, as fanatical as he was ambitious, summoned around him all the Mohammedans, and availed himself of the interests of Islamism to increase his power.

Having first conquered Mysore, he left the rajah his title,

and disdaining useless cruelty, he confined him in a fortress. He then attacked the kingdoms of Canary, Calicut, Tanjaour, and Villapour, and placed under Mussulman rule all those countries which, after the Persian invasion, had fallen into the power of the Hindoo rajahs. The powerful confederation of the Mahrattas alone preserved its independence and ancient faith. But from the frontiers of this war-like people to Cape Comorin, there was space enough to satisfy the desires of a vast ambition, and Hyder Ali, elated by his triumphs, attempted to bring together the scattered ruins of the empire of Aurengzeb.

But the coast of Ceromandel was occupied by foreigners more formidable than the feeble rajahs. The English government at Madras sought on their part to found a European empire of the same territory, which Hyder Ali wished to concentrate under the rule of the Mussulmen. The chief of Mysore had become acquainted with his neighbors, and had often had occasion to know their policy. A companion in arms of Bussy, he had shared in the successes and reverses of the French, and his hatred to the British, which had commenced in his battles with them, had increased in proportion as his conquests approximated the English establishments.

The Governor of Madras, on his part, was aware of the danger arising from his powerful neighbors, and following their usual policy, the English attempted to corrupt the officers of Hyder Ali, with a view to betray him. But the latter, knowing their skill in intrigue, resolved to prevent them by open war; he therefore proposed to the seahah of Deccan, and all the nabobs on the coast of Ceromandel, to join in a general confederacy against the foreigners. "Let us lay aside," said he, "all our rivalries, and unite our forces against the common enemy. These English, who merely come to trade, have robbed our country of its riches, its inhabitants, its fertility, and glory. They pretend to be merchants; they act like pirates. In exchange for our

wealth, they have brought to Hindostan their vices, their diseases, and their wretchedness. The princes whom credulity or misfortune has placed in their power, have been treated as objects of trade, which are offered in the markets. These avaricious strangers have speculated upon the blood of our countrymen. The number of their treasons and perjuries is equal to that of their treaties and agreements."

There was much truth in these remarks, and they made an impression. The soubah of Deccan and the small nabobs joined Hyder Ali, with an army of one hundred thousand men. The other chiefs also joined him, and he soon found himself at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men. The English were forced to abandon all dissimulation, and to collect their troops from their different possessions. They amounted to ninety thousand men, most of whom were European soldiers and Sepoys. The troops of the allies of the English company numbered twenty thousand men.

The English, notwithstanding all the advantage of European discipline, were obliged to evacuate the city of Cavariapatham, to retreat before the forces of Hyder Ali, and to entrench themselves in the mountains, where his cavalry could not penetrate. Encouraged by his success, the Musselman chiefs attempted to dislodge them, and a general engagement took place near Trincomaly. But the English had a double advantage of position and tactics. The numerous Indian cavalry were obliged to remain motionless before the English artillery, and notwithstanding his unparalleled efforts, Hyder Ali was obliged to retreat, leaving his enemies a part of his artillery, and a great number of prisoners.

However, he was not discouraged, but, instructed by misfortune, he took every care to avoid a general action, by attacking detached portions, and intercepting convoys. He soon reobtained his advantage by his prudence ; he carried the war into the enemies' country ; he invaded the Carnatic,

and the English were obliged to leave the possessions of Hyder Ali, and attend to their own.

The chief of Mysore had already advanced till within seven leagues of Madras; the English were preparing to dispute with him the passage of the river St. Thomas, when he suddenly disappeared, and before his line of march could be discovered, he appeared at the gates of the city, and dictated terms of peace to the British councils, April 3d, 1769.

It was the first time that an Indian chief had triumphed over the British forces, and the government was obliged to regain by intrigue the advantages they had lost in war. Compelled to lay aside their arms, they used the arms of others for their plans, and whilst signing a peace, without risk to themselves, they excited new enemies against Hyder Ali.

The Mahrattas, who alone of all the Hindoos had resisted the Mussulmen, formed a vast confederacy of fierce and warlike people on the frontiers of the empire of Mysore. The agents of the British went among them, and excited the chiefs by presents, and the people by persuasion, to take up arms against the enemy of their religion. The territory of Mysore was suddenly invaded; Hyder Ali was surprised and beaten some distance from Bednore, its capital, into which he was compelled to retire. But the Mahrattas were ignorant of the art of sieges: and accustomed to live by pillage, they were deficient in the provisions necessary for a long campaign. They were soon obliged to leave a country which had been entirely desolated, and the famine which they had caused became the auxiliary of Hyder Ali.

Having returned to their mountains, they thought no more of war until again excited by the agents of the English. But the chief of Mysore was on his guard, and the campaign passed off in irregular attacks, with no decisive advantage for either of the rivals.

Hyder Ali, however, knew the source of hostilities, and resolved to strike directly at those perfidious enemies who attacked him in secret. He held conference with the chiefs of the Mahrattas, and persuaded them that the true interest of the natives was to expel the foreigners, and offered them his gold and his forces to attack the common enemy. The soubah of Deccan and the rajah of Berar joined the confederates. Never had the English power been so seriously threatened. It was agreed that the soubah and Hyder Ali should attack the Carnatic, that the forces of the Mahrattas should attack Surat and Guzarat, and that the rajah of Berar should invade the provinces of Bengal.

The war of American Independence commenced at this time, and Pondicherry being suddenly attacked by the English, was captured and dismantled. The misfortunes of the French deprived Hyder Ali of his most powerful aid, for he could not depend upon his Indian allies.

In fact, the councils of Madras and Calcutta despaired of conquering the confederation, and attempted to weaken it by intrigue. The Mahrattas, who were always avaricious, could not resist the power of corruption; the soubah of Deccan, jealous of Hyder Ali, and fearing his aggrandizement, was easily seduced; the rajahs were distrustful of the chief of the Mussulmen. Hyder Ali was soon abandoned by his allies, and was obliged to contend single handed against the united forces of the governments of Madras and Bengal.

The English company, however, depended so much upon the efficacy of their intrigues, that they neglected an enemy whom they supposed to be conquered, and the army of Mysore suddenly appeared in the Carnatic, marking its course by fire and desolation. The English were twice beaten before Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and the city, after a siege of a few days, fell into the hands of Hyder Ali. This skilful warrior profited by his successes, excited in every part the hatred of the population against

the English, and proclaimed himself, in his march, the saviour and avenger of Hindostan.

The English were alarmed at his progress, and collected their troops from Bengal, and by their discipline soon arrested the progress of their formidable enemy. Hyder Ali, however, although beaten in several engagements, still had immense resources, and always rallied from victories which seemed decisive. His son Tippoo had routed General Matthews on the coast of Malabar, and Madras was again threatened. But the Mahrattas, excited by the English, armed themselves openly against the chief of Mysore; the rajahs also joined them; Hyder Ali suddenly found himself surrounded with enemies, and the British troops, making a diversion into Malabar, invaded the rich provinces of Cannara.

This sudden treason of his ancient allies caused Hyder Ali to retrace his steps, when he was about to give his enemies their death blow, and forced him to despair. A cruel disease, symptoms of which had appeared long before, advanced rapidly, and his death, on the 9th of December, 1782, deprived Hindostan of the only man who could oppose British intrigue successfully.

Tippoo was at that time away from his father, fighting the English in the province of Tanjaour. Hyder Ali, unable to express to his son in his dying accents his hatred against the English, left written instructions, which expressed his political views, and his implacable resentment.

"India," said he, "since the reign of Aurengzeyb, has lost its rank among the kingdoms of Asia; this beautiful country is divided into provinces, which make war on each other, and the people are divided into many sects. The Hindoos, enfeebled by their pacific actions, cannot defend their territory, which daily becomes the spoil of the stranger; the Mussulmen are more numerous and warlike than the feeble Hindoos, and to them will belong the glory of saving Hindostan. My son, use all your efforts for the tri-

triumph of the Koran ; and if Heaven aids in this noble enterprise, the day is not far distant, when the sword of Mohammed will place you on the throne of Temourlenk.

"The greatest obstacle to be conquered, is the jealousy of the Europeans ; the English are now all powerful in India ; they must be weakened by war. Hindostan cannot expel them from the territory they have invaded. Excite dissensions between the European nations, and by the aid of the French you can conquer the British."

Tippoo swore to adopt the instructions of his father as his rule of policy. In fact, he had always been an ardent defender of the Mohammedan faith, and was devoted in his hatred against the English, which was soon increased by the odious attacks of his enemies.

The English, on hearing of the death of Hyder Ali, and taking advantage of the absence of Tippoo, attempted to corrupt the leaders of the Indian army. But the prime minister of Hyder Ali, who had assumed the command, arrested two officers, who had communicated with the enemy, and their chastisement soon arrested the further progress of treason. General Matthews vainly attempted, by pompous proclamation, to excite the inhabitants of Mysore to revolt, but they all remained faithful to the son of Hyder Ali, who placed himself readily at the head of the empire, and assumed the title of Sultan, the better to confirm his power.

The English, however, avenged themselves for the fidelity of the Indians, by a cruel war. Several cities of Malabar were pillaged and burned. Passing over the mountains which separate the province of Canara from the coast of Bombay, they laid waste this beautiful country, and cruelly massacred its timid population.

General Matthews, while besieging Onor, learned that a part of the royal family were at Aumapore, a city built at the source of the river Tongebadra, whose waters washed the walls of Haider-Nagur ; a detachment was sent to sur-

prise this place, the capture of which promised a rich booty. The city was taken by assault, and the English committed acts of brutality and violence which even an obstinate resistance would not justify. The children of Tippoo, who were then at Aumapore, escaped the carnage, and crossed the river in a small boat; they passed the whole day on the opposite bank, concealed amid the aloe-trees, and saw the conflagration, and the smoking ruins of the city they had left. Finally, under the escort of two boatmen, these young princes, and some females who accompanied them, took refuge in the fortress of Bengalore.

After this exploit, General Matthews besieged Haider-Nagur, which contained all the treasures of Tippoo. The commander of the place was obliged to capitulate, offered to give up to the English the fortress and the public property and treasures; but he demanded a safe-guard for himself and his family, and obtained a solemn promise that the inhabitants should be respected. The capitulation was signed, but immediately violated. The commander of the place was imprisoned, and the inhabitants were cut off by military executions. In every quarter the course of the English was marked by perjury. Burke says distinctly, "The company has never made a treaty which they have not broken." But this avarice, which rendered them so cruel, caused their destruction. Surrounded with riches, the English could not agree in regard to the division of the spoils; the streets became the scenes of furious contests. Many officers and soldiers abandoned the army, and those who remained were enfeebled by excesses. They encamped amid the ruins of the city, and were more occupied in watching each other, than in guarding against the enemy. Tippoo advanced by forced marches. He collected in his course the dispersed inhabitants, and excited their hatred against the English; he recounted their new outrages, and invited the Indians to revenge. Soon after his arrival in Canara, he surprised the British troops, while quar-

relling in regard to their booty, attacked and routed them. The English lost fifteen hundred men at the first attack ; they were routed in every part ; and embarrassed by their rich spoils, they left their artillery, and took refuge with their treasures in Haider-Nagur. All the other cities which were occupied by their troops opened their gates to Tippoo Sultan. Their only place of refuge was the city which they had devastated, and here they were suddenly besieged by the people whom they had robbed. Tippoo had command of several French detachments, pressed the siege with activity, and in seventeen days the English, reduced to the most cruel extremities, and starving amid their ill-gotten wealth, demanded to capitulate. It was agreed that the garrison should lay down their arms, should restore the diamonds, jewellery, and silver which had been seized by General Matthews, and also the money which the English had extorted from the inhabitants. On these conditions Tippoo Sultan engaged to furnish provisions and vehicles necessary to carry the prisoners to Bombay.

In signing this convention, however, the English knew they could not execute it. The treasures were dispersed, and the diamonds and jewellery had been intrusted to the brother of General Matthews, to be carried to Madras. The garrison found itself at the discretion of the conqueror, who exhibited the same degree of moderation as was shown by the English.

The officers and soldiers were loaded with irons, and General Matthews, who had set an example of perjury and cruelty, was poisoned by an Indian drink which was poured down his throat.

His brother, loaded with the spoils of Haider-Nagur, was surprised in the adjacent mountains, brought before Tippoo Sultan, and put to death.

The armies of Mysore were everywhere successful. Tippoo, passing rapidly into Malabar, besieged the English in Mangalore, and although the peace of Versailles deprived

him of the useful support of the French, he pursued with activity the war against the company.

But the English always knew when to be humble, and he had no time to finish his successes. The councils of Calcutta and Madras offered peace on such advantageous terms, that Tippoo imagined himself revenged ; the treaty was signed at Seringapatnam, at the close of 1784, and the belligerent powers reciprocally restored their conquests.

Thus terminated this war, which had been commenced by the famine at Bengal, reduced the Carnatic to a frightful desert, and covered the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar with ruins. The influence of the French was extinct in Hindostan ; and although the English had yielded for a time to the power of Tippoo Sultan, they regarded the future without uneasiness, being freed from their powerful European rival.

Tippoo Sultan profited by the leisure of peace to restore to his empire the splendor and riches it possessed prior to these terrible contests against British ambition. He re-established the beautiful manufactures of Canara ; he encouraged agriculture in their fertile plains, which reward the labor of man so bountifully, and aided all new discoveries in the arts. Faithful to the instructions of his father, he had remained the friend of the French, and sent a solemn embassy to the court of Versailles, as a proof of his political sympathies.

He had established his residence at Seringapatnam. This city is situated on an island formed by the river Cauvery, which defends the approach to it, and which washes the different provinces of Mysore. This happy position presents all the advantages of a fortified place, and admitted of all the developments of a rich and populous capital.

During the eight years of peace, the wise administration of Tippoo Sultan had restored power and harmony to this part of Hindostan. It was the only country which was free from English influence, and therefore enjoyed a degree

of tranquillity which the adjacent provinces in vain demanded from their British rulers.

The councils of Madras and, Calcutta, however, had also increased their power considerably. The cruel administration of Hastings had been profitable to the government, and his successor, Lord Cornwallis, had preserved his conquests without the odium of his mistakes. The English were now able to re-commence the war against this formidable neighbor, who presented to the Indians the example of being independent.

An opportunity soon offered, or rather was made. The Dutch had two forts, situated between their establishment of Cochin, and the kingdom of Mysore. Granganore was captured in 1779 by Hyder Ali. When the war again broke out between Hyder Ali and the English, this prince was obliged to withdraw his garrison from the coast of Malabar, and the Dutch again took possession of the fort. Hyder Ali complained bitterly of this, but as the Dutch were then aiding him in his war against the English, he did not wish to compromise a useful alliance, but intended to claim it at a future day. Tippoo had not forgotten the rights of his father, and profiting by his strength, advanced in June, 1789, against Granganore. The Dutch were unable to oppose any resistance, and sold their rights to the rajah of Travancour. Tippoo Sultan opposed this transfer, but the English, who were the allies of the rajahs, declared themselves his defenders, and war was commenced between the two powers, who only wanted a pretext to show their hatred for each other.

The British councils had long been preparing for it, and the forces of Bengal and Madras, under the command of Lord Cornwallis and Sir Ralph Abercrombie, invaded Mysore. Tippoo attempted to oppose the progress of these two armies, but in vain. They advanced to the walls of Seringapatnam, to which they laid siege. They had just encamped, when the river Cauvery was swollen by the

rains, and overflowed all the adjacent plains. The materials for the siege were destroyed by the torrents; the besiegers were enfeebled by disease and famine, and most of their beasts of burden were killed by an epidemic. Finally, the British were obliged to raise the siege, leaving their artillery, and again renouncing their promised triumphs.

Faithful to their accustomed policy, the English had purchased the alliance of the Mahrattas, and the soubah of Deccan; the support of these auxiliaries prevented their destruction.

Two years elapsed in irregular contests, in which the sultan gained some advantages over his enemies, but in January, 1792, the troops of the Deccan and the Mahrattas having joined the British army, all the allied forces invaded Mysore. The army of Tippoo was attacked in formidable intrenchments, was beaten, and driven to the gates of Seringapatnam. All the external redoubts were captured, and the British army took up an excellent position on the island. The army of Bombay, under the command of Abercrombie, joined Cornwallis, and the English prepared for the assault with every prospect of success. Tippoo made a vigorous sortie on the night of the 21st of February, but in vain. Surrounded by numerous and treacherous enemies, he saw that all his efforts to save his capital were useless. He determined, then, to accept peace, and on the 24th of February, trembling with passion, he signed a most humiliating treaty. It was agreed that the sultan should cede to the allies half of his dominions, that he should pay a considerable sum for the expenses of the war, that all the prisoners should be surrendered up, and that two of his children should be given as hostages for the faithful execution of the treaty.*

This last condition was the subject of an animated discussion with Tippoo. He was so accustomed to the perfidy

* This treaty is very similar to that recently made by the English with the Chinese.

of his adversaries, that he hesitated to confide to them such precious hostages ; and when the young princes left the fort to go to the English camp, the sultan ascended the rampart to follow them with his eyes as far as possible. The conditions of the treaty were promptly complied with.

The cession of a part of the sultan's territory established the English in the Carnatic, and on the coast of Malabar. His eternal adversaries were now in the bosom of his territory, and could intrigue and plot until strong enough to dispossess him entirely.

A formidable auxiliary, however, advanced to avenge Tippoo. General Bonaparte encamped on the borders of the Red Sea, and the chief of Mysore, full of hope in the French power, which his father had mentioned as his only support, finally thought that the day of vengeance had arrived. His confidence was also increased by receiving the following letter from the leader of the French expedition.

" FRENCH REPUBLIC.

" LIBERTY.

EQUALITY.

" Bonaparte, member of the National Institute, general-in-chief, to the very magnificent Sultan, our highly esteemed friend, Tippoo Saib.

" Head Quarters, Cairo, 7th pluviose, VII. th year of the Republic, one and indivisible. §

" You have already learned that I arrived on the borders of the Red Sea, at the head of a numberless and invincible army, filled with the desire to rescue you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly seize the occasion to make known to you my desire, to know from yourself, by way of Muscat and Mocha, your political position.

" I wish you would send to Suez or Cairo, an intelligent and confidential person to converse with me.

" May the Almighty increase your power, and destroy your enemies. Signed,

" BONAPARTE."

It was doubtless a brilliant conception to connect the

war of Mysore with the expedition to Egypt; and if the Directory had seconded the views of the conqueror of Italy, the British power in India would have been extinct. Long before this, Tippoo had sent ambassadors to the Isle of France to solicit the aid of some French troops; a small detachment of a hundred men only was sent. Probably, however, if Napoleon had not lost his fleet by the unfortunate battle at Aboukir, he would have attacked the English in their Indian possessions. This could have been accomplished by placing a body of four or five thousand men under the command of Tippoo Sultan. The passage from Suez to the coast of Malabar could be made in twenty or thirty days, and the season was favorable at the time that the French army arrived in Egypt. No English frigate had yet appeared in the gulf of Arabia, and the Straits of Bab-el-mandel were entirely free from hostile vessels.

The moment of action was favored by the fact, that internal troubles in Hindostan had deprived the English of the support of their allies, the Mahrattas and the soubah of Deccan. The former were divided between two chiefs, who were at war with each other. The second had been obliged to defend himself against a son who had revolted with a large army.

In order to attach the soubah to his interests, Tippoo sent him some Frenchmen who had come from the Isle of France. They were bold adventurers, full of enthusiasm and courage, happy to exercise their restless activity, and still more happy to contend with the deadliest adversaries of the republic. The influence of this handful of Frenchmen drove the English from the court of the soubah, and also a detachment of British troops, who had ruled this prince since the treaty of 1790, while pretending to protect him. A Frenchman named Raymond, hired and disciplined a body of fourteen thousand Indians, for the support of whom he received possession of a territory, the revenue of which amounted to eighteen lacs of rupees. This chief

had planted the tree of liberty in front of the palace of the soubah, and the French republic had thus an active and intelligent power on the coast of Coromandel. Raymond concerted all his measures with Tippoo, and was preparing to attack the English possessions, when death released them from a powerful adversary.

The power of Raymond passed to another Frenchman; but he could not sustain himself in the good graces of the soubah, who secretly solicited the English to deliver him from his unwelcome guests. The Marquis of Wellesley was then governor-general of British India. The hostile designs of Tippoo Sultan were known to him; his solicitations to the French government, his immense preparations, his intimacy with Raymond and his successor, left no doubt as to his intentions. But it was necessary to begin by displacing the French who governed the Deccan. Numerous troops were sent to Haiderabad, the residence of the soubah. The latter was seduced by the English, and conspired against those whom he called his protectors, and the French officers were sold by those Indian soldiers whom they had taken so much pains to instruct.

Scarcely were the British troops in presence of the French camp before Haiderabad, than a general revolt broke out; the officers were seized and ironed, and the English commander, Colonel Roberts, who had excited the insurrection, had the easy glory of delivering the French from the hands of the insurgents.

While the English resumed their ascendancy at the coast of Haiderabad, the governor-general protected the seas around the peninsula, where he feared the arrival of the French squadrons. The English admiral, Raynier, having reinforced his fleet with all the vessels of the company, proceeded toward the straits of Babelmandel, and took possession of the island of Zocotara, so well situated at the entrance of the straits, on the side of the Indian seas, and so

important on account of the ports and moorings found in the northern part of it.

During this time, Tippoo Sultan was extremely urgent with the French Directory. General Dubui, one of the officers sent to the Isle of France, embarked at Trinquebar in February, 1799, as ambassador of the Sultan of Mysore, near the French republic. This general, who was attended by two envoys of the country, demanded of the Directory a body of ten or fifteen thousand French, whom Tippoo engaged to pay, and a naval force sufficient to balance the English power in the Indian seas.

If the French government at that time had understood the importance of this diversion, the proposition would have been accepted. But time was lost in useless discussions, during which the English were active.

The army of Bombay, reinforced by four thousand Bengal soldiers, six thousand British troops, paid by the soubah, and twelve thousand picked Indians, advanced towards Mysore, under the command of General Harris. Tippoo, aware that a war of extermination had been commenced against him, left Seringapatnam at the head of sixty thousand men, and encamped at Periapatnam, whence he observed the movements of the English army, which approached from Sedesear.

At this point hostilities commenced. The first attack was favorable to Tippoo. By skilful manœuvres, he separated the English army, but unfortunately his troops were unable to follow up this skilful movement, and the warlike Europeans soon regained the advantage.

A new battle occurred near Malaveli, eight leagues from Seringapatnam, and there also, notwithstanding the skill and valor of the sultan, his troops were entirely defeated, and he was obliged to retire on the capital.

The English immediately invested the place, and were soon masters of all the external fortifications. Tippoo, terrified by their progress, entered into negotiations. General

Harris demanded, first, that the half of the kingdom of Mysore should be surrendered to the company and its allies ; and also that the sultan should pay the expenses of the war, that he should give up two of his children as hostages, and that he should deliver up to the English army the fort of Seringapatnam until the conclusion of a definite peace. He was allowed but twenty-four hours to think of these propositions. The sultan understood from these rigorous propositions, that his enemies wished to deprive him entirely of his power ; and certain that he had nothing to expect from their generosity, he resolved to conquer or perish under the rains of his capital.

The inhabitants were filled with the same ardor. But the English batteries had caused irreparable ravages ; the ramparts were dismantled, and every day resistance became more difficult.

Finally, on the 4th of May, the breach was practicable ; the English marched out of their trenches, and passed over the Cauvery under the fire of the Indians. When they were on the inner bank, they advanced slowly ; and then every defile and every turn in the fortifications became the scene of a new conflict ; every step was contested ; the small troop of French in the service of the sultan kept the assailants at bay for a long time, and the inhabitants rallied many times around this handful of brave men. Tippoo himself took part in the action. He was posted two hundred paces from the breach behind an eminence of the fortification, whence he fired on the assailants. His servant, Rajhah-Kawn, who did not leave him, stated afterwards, that the sultan killed three or four Europeans.

But when he saw that all those who defended the rampart were killed, or had fled, and that the assailants advanced in considerable numbers, he mounted his horse and proceeded towards the inner rampart. The gate of the fortress, however, was so much crowded, that he was unable to enter the city.

The English, who had pursued the fugitives, now advanced to the bridge thrown over the ditch of the inner rampart. At the first fire of the Europeans, the sultan felt himself wounded, and advanced three or four steps through the crowd. The besiegers having crossed the bridge, the fire redoubled. Tippoo received a ball in the chest, and his horse was wounded in the leg. Surrounded by the dead and dying, he was unable to advance or retreat.

At this moment, Rajhah-Kawn, perceiving that his master was wounded, attempted to remove him from the saddle; but at that moment both fell with the horse amid the dead and dying. At the same time, Rajhah-Kawn was wounded in the leg by a ball.

The fire ceasing under the arch of the gate, a grenadier advanced toward Tippoo, whom he did not recognise, and seized the sabre of this prince, intending to take the gold clasp attached to it. The sultan, who was surrounded by dead bodies, disengaged his right hand, and grasping a sabre, felled the grenadier to the earth. Another soldier shared the same fate. Soon after, Tippoo rose up, and was killed by a ball in the temple. Some witnesses assert that he approached the English to surrender himself, and that he was recognised by them, and shot down designedly.

The death of Tippoo, and the capture of Seringapatnam, extinguished for ever the Mohammedan power in Hindostan; the only surviving sons of an ancient race of conquerors, Hyder Ali and Tippoo, had hoped in vain to overturn the foreign power which had come to take their place. The inflexible and patient policy of the English had slowly circumvented the kingdom of Mysore, rendering all the adjacent tribes hostile, and all the Hindoo chiefs his rivals.

The British government possessed in a particular degree the art of yielding to circumstances, and awaiting or creating opportunities to resume their advantages. Beaten by Hyder, they were humbled; conquerors of Tippoo, they took from him the half of his possessions. But as the pow-

er of this prince was formidable, even after this spoliation, his cunning enemies took their precautions in silence, studied all his movements, noticed all his mistakes, and when time had permitted them to prepare their resources, they crushed him with their united forces, and destroyed in one campaign the only empire which could disturb their power in Hindostan.

The English invited the Mahrattas to the division of the conquered territory, although they had taken no part in the war. This appearance of generosity gave the company the double advantage of satisfying the jealousy of the Mahrattas, and preventing the too great development of the estates of the soubah. But as, on the other hand, it was important not to leave the empire of the soubah and the Mahrattas to extend to the neighborhoed of the English possession, it was agreed to leave the empire of Mysore within its ancient limits.

But it would have been dangerous to have placed the children of Tippeo on the throne: the English then thought of the family of the ancient rajah.

Hyder Ali, who had never assumed any other title but that of regent, had left his predecessors the external marks of sovereignty. They had retired to the ancient palace of the rajahs of Mysore, and there received the honors due to their rank. But Tippoo disdained to continue to them this hypocritical homage, and confined them in a small house near the ramparts. It was there that the English sought for the sovereign who was to be the tool of their ambition. This was extremely easy, as, by the laws of succession, the rajah was found to be a child five years old. The guardianship belonged of right to the English, and it is unnecessary to add that they knew how to profit by it. At the ceremony of the coronation, the family of the rajah signed the treaties which were required to confirm their influence or increase their wealth; and they

readily obtained what they required from a family who had been rescued from misery and placed on a throne.

The capture of Seringapatnam offered to the government of Madras, the same important results which that of Plassey presented to the governors of Calcutta. The assassination of the nabob of Sourjah Doniah, had given the English the vast territories of Bengal: the death of Tippoo connected their possessions of Malabar with those of Coromandel. The feeble establishments of France and Holland on the two coasts of the peninsula, and also in Bengal, had successively fallen into their hands. Hyder Ali had attempted to restore the empire of Aurungzeyb, but he had brought about the union of its different parts only for the advantage of its implacable enemies, and to facilitate their contemplated usurpations.*

* The space devoted to the subject of the criminal history of the British in India will prevent our enlarging upon the campaign recently terminated in Afghanistan, except to say, that the British reputation for deeds of atrocity and cruelty in India seems to have been revived. The late campaign has been attended by the same cruelties and the same thirst for plunder which characterized their career in the campaigns already described. *Even the sanctuaries of the dead have been violated.* The latest accounts state that Ghuznee is now a desolate heap of ruins. Its splendid citadel and other formidable works and defences have been razed to the ground, and the sandal-wood gates of Mohammed's mausoleum have been carried off by General Nott, at the express desire of Lord Ellenborough !

CHAPTER IV.

MALTA.

AMONG the glorious episodes of the campaign of Egypt, the capture of Malta seems to be the introduction of that magnificent epoch, when the genius of the French reawakened the country of the Pharaohs, and perhaps prepared for the bold reign of Mehemet Ali.

Two days only were required by Napoleon to capture this island, which was considered to be impregnable, and which the French defended for two years against the whole of Europe, sustained by a rebellious population.

Bonaparte appeared before the island on the 16th June, and on the 18th he resumed his march, having dictated the treaty of capitulation, provided for the execution of its different clauses, and reformed the entire civil and military organization of the country. What he regarded simply as an incident, another would have considered a magnificent campaign.

The fall of the Order, however, furnished a pretext for different powers to contest the possession of the island. The King of Naples, whose predecessors had ceded Malta to the order of the Knights of Malta, reserving to himself the rights of sovereignty, considered this cession as annulled by the expulsion of the order, and secretly employed his emissaries to gain possession of it. This sovereign, however, had been notified that his old titles must yield to the rights of conquest; for his envoy, Frisari, who assisted in discussing the treaty of capitulation, having wished to reserve by a note the right of sovereignty belonging to the

King of Naples, Bonaparte remarked, " You may make all the reserves you please, but as to the pretensions of your king to Malta, the republic will soon dispel them by sound of cannon."

On the other hand, each of those powers which had possessed influence over this order thought that the period for action had come. From time immemorial, Austria, Spain, or Russia had attempted to rule this order by means of those of their subjects who were found among the knights. England had used its gold in these petty intrigues. The possession of a port which seemed to govern the Mediterranean, had awakened all their ambition ; and when the French republic there unfolded the tri-colored flag, it caused more resentment than all its other victories. Inasmuch, however, as neither England, nor Austria, nor Russia avowed their secret designs, each of them proclaimed loudly the legitimacy of the King of Naples, and offered to serve his interests. The prize would be gained by that one of the pretenders who could deceive most skilfully the ally he seemed to protect. In this contest of hypocrisy, England was sure of the victory.

We shall not give the history of the insurrection of Malta, and of the glorious defence of General Vanbois. The plan of this work obliges us to state the fraudulent manœuvres which gave the English possession of the island.

The first revolt occurred in September, 1798, at Rabat, in consequence of a measure of the administration in regard to the location of the Church of the Carmel. The exhortations of the priests inflamed the fanaticism of the inhabitants of the country, and foreign gold had purchased their chiefs. The news of the disasters at Aboukir encouraged the revolt, and the inhabitants soon took up arms, and the French were besieged in the enclosures of the four cities.

Three chiefs were chosen to head the insurrection : they were the priest Caruana, the notary Emmanuel Vitalo, and Vincent Borg, a freeholder.

This organization being accomplished, a deliberation was held as to what direction to give the insurrection. The Maltese did not think of contending for their own independence : they required a protection. To recall the knights of the Order seemed to be the purpose of the insurrection ; but this was not the idea of those who secretly directed all the hostilities. They preferred to wait for a favorable opportunity, and to select for an avowed chief a king who was easily deposed.

The old act of cession stated that the island should return to the Sicilian crown if the Order ceased to retain possession of Malta ; it was then stated that by leaving they had renounced all their rights ; that the Maltese had acquired the right of returning under the dominion of their sovereign ; and to recall the Order, would be an act of felony towards his Sicilian Majesty.

The insurgents, therefore, displayed the Sicilian flag, and sent deputies to the King of Naples, to tell him of what had occurred.

Soon after obtaining aid from Ferdinand, a fleet of fourteen vessels appeared before Malta. Although they displayed no colors, yet they were soon recognised. It was the English squadron, returning from the battle of Aboukir. Each of the vessels was marked by the balls of the French. Nelson, who commanded this fleet, put himself into communication with the three leaders of the insurgents, and soon saw that the time for action had come. But it was necessary to deceive the Maltese, and the King of Naples, and the allied powers, each of whom wished to obtain possession of the island.

The first point to be attained was to influence the sovereign monarch to declare war against France. Nelson took charge of this, and sailed for Naples to conduct the negotiations and to refit his fleets. Ferdinand flattered himself that he would be able to regain possession of Malta, and readily yielded to the influence of the English

admiral : the latter soon reappeared before the island, with the consent of the prince whose nominal sovereignty it readily admitted, and silenced all ambitious rivals.

It was now necessary to cause the insurgents to play a secondary part ; and this was accomplished by bribing the leaders. The priest, Caruana, was the most ambitious ; a bishop's mitre was the price stipulated for his devotion to Great Britain. Emmanuel Vitale and Vincent Borg were gained by appeals to their vanity, and the promise of prospective honors.

Nelson, however, was forced to leave, and would have failed in his purpose, if he had not found a man with talents sufficient to execute a plan which must always be concealed, but must always progress. This honorable agent was Commodore Ball, to whom the command of the blockade was intrusted, and who showed himself, in every point of view, worthy of this mission of perfidy. From the time that he took charge of the blockade, Ball exercised so powerful an influence over the insurgents, that they acted in accordance with his directions. In order to exercise this supreme power, however, by which alone his ends could be attained, it was necessary for him to land, and to display the British flag side by side with that of Naples.

The king of Naples was now receiving the punishment of his kindness for England. He had been driven from his territory by the French troops, and had retired to Palermo, expecting that Malta would be offered to him as a compensation for his troubles. Commodore Ball designedly selected this time of trouble to send and ask for more aid. The Maltese deputies had received their instructions, and requested of his majesty, that if he could not assist his faithful subjects of Malta efficiently, in consequence of the war in which he was engaged, that they might be permitted to avail themselves of the generous protection of England, and to take shelter under the flag of that power, as they had armed themselves only for the defence of their rights.

The trap was too evident not to be perceived, and, weak as Ferdinand was, he first endeavoured to avoid this high protection. On his part, the Russian minister at the court of Sicily represented that this arrangement would be a double offence against the rights of his sovereign, an ally of the powers who had combined against France, and grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem:

But Nelson and Hamilton governed at Palermo; it is well known by what means. In accordance with their counsels, the Maltese received a reply which did not directly offend Russia, but permitted Ball to attain his object. In fact, this answer contained, among other clauses, the following passage: "The king, knowing the loyalty of his ally, permits the Maltese to unite their wishes with his, that his Britannic majesty will continue to protect their island efficiently, and to take for its defence, under whatever form or external demonstration it pleases, all the measures which Lord Nelson may choose to adopt in the name of his Britannic Majesty."

The terms of this declaration were extremely vague, and the powers which it granted seemed unlimited. By virtue of these powers, the English flag was soon displayed side by side with that of Naples, and the direction of the affairs of Malta was intrusted to Ball, with authority to land.

The wily commodore knew that while the knights had possession of Malta, the Maltese always regretted the loss of their ancient privileges, and their popular council. He therefore instituted a deliberative assembly, under the name of the National Congress, and had himself elected president. By this he flattered the national vanity, and created a dictatorial power, which was more efficacious, as it imposed upon a popular assembly all the odium of its measures.

Russia, however, openly testified her displeasure, and the court of Palermo, unwilling to displease this powerful ally

who had united its forces with those of Austria, demanded explanations at London.

- The cabinet formally replied that it had no other intentions than to replace the Island of Malta under the dominion of his Sicilian Majesty.

To add to the mysteries of this diplomacy, Ball, as he said, to confirm the declaration of the cabinet at London, announced that he was authorized to assume the supreme command with the title of governor, in the name of the king of the two Sicilies, and the Maltese had the happiness of seeing in this new title, the official recognition of the rights of their sovereign.

Russia, however, was less credulous, and saw in the establishment of the English flag on the ancient capital of the island, the league of usurpation which it feared ; it then declared its intention of sending to Malta a body of troops to act in union with the English and Neapolitan forces.

On hearing this declaration, Nelson saw that his projects, which were so skilfully conceived, were unveiled. He immediately informed the insurgents of the coming of these formidable allies ; his information terrified the Maltese, for the Russians were still regarded at Malta as barbarians who were extremely formidable.

These prejudices were fomented by Ball, and the national congress, acting under his direction, sent an address to the Emperor of Russia, thanking him for his good wishes and kind offers, which were rendered unnecessary by the zeal and disinterestedness of the English commodore. The congress also demanded, that in case the troops should be sent, they should be placed under the command of Ball.

Whether this last clause frustrated the views of Russia, or whether she was occupied with more important projects, the orders at St. Petersburg remained unexecuted, and Ball continued to be the supreme chief.

The blockade was pushed vigorously ; the French garrison defended itself with spirit, but their provisions began

to fail. This famine was caused by the chivalric generosity of General Vaubois, who was not willing to drive the population from their enclosure. At the commencement of the blockade, the French garrison had provisions for four years, but for eighteen months it had furnished the means of living to twelve thousand of the inhabitants, who took no part in defending the place. Vaubois saw that his generosity was ruinous to him, and, forced by circumstances, he ordered two thousand seven hundred Maltese to evacuate the four cities. General Graham, however, stopped these unhappy emigrants, who were advancing in security towards the English camp; by his orders, they were forced to return under the ramparts, and were there exposed for thirty-six hours, without food or shelter, to the constant fire of the English batteries on the city. Vaubois, seeing that he had nothing to expect from British humanity, preferred to surrender, rather than to be an accomplice of this cruelty; he opened the gates, and the French garrison divided its last morsel with those unfortunate people who ruined it.

This honorable disinterestedness unfortunately secured victory to the insurgents. For two years the French had been blockaded by land and sea, and had received aid but rarely, when some small vessels were able to run the English blockade; the bravery of the garrison had defeated every effort of the besiegers, but this garrison was starved by nourishing the countrymen of those who besieged them. Vaubois thought he had done enough for honor, and on September the 4th, 1800, two years after the commencement of the siege, he capitulated to the English generals.

The treaty was very advantageous; the English were in haste to take possession of the place. The garrison received all the honors of war, and was permitted to go to Marseilles. Those of the Maltese who were friendly to France, and wished to quit the country, were considered as a part of the garrison. General Vaubois offered also to stipulate for the reimbursement of the sums taken by the

French from the public treasury, churches, and private individuals, under the term of a fine, but, to his great astonishment, this clause was rejected. This would have made the Maltese a party to the treaty, which was not desired by the English negotiators.

Twenty-four hours afterwards, without consulting the Maltese, whose independence they had come to protect, or the Neapolitans, whose rights they had asserted, the English troops took possession of all the forts. This caused some murmuring and some threats; but Ball, who took possession of the four cities in the name of the king of the two Sicilies, demanded, with a view to prevent disorders, that the Maltese troops should lay down their arms upon the glacis of the place. This demand was very unsatisfactory, but Ball made an address, in which he spoke of the good faith of Britain, and his love for the Maltese. On the other hand, the chiefs who had been bribed by him interceded with the multitude, and partly by threats, and partly by caresses, Ball obtained his wishes; he then went to the palace, and received with compliments the good Maltese, who withdrew in silence, already mortified by his duplicity, and finding, when it was too late, that he was their master.

A man as politic as Ball, deserved to keep the command of his conquest, but the English cabinet saw in it a serious inconvenience. The commodore was necessarily installed in the name of the King of Naples; he was governor for his Sicilian Majesty. To change his title suddenly, would have openly violated all the promises that had been made. He was therefore recalled, and he was succeeded by Mr. Cameron, with a more significant title of commissioner of his Britannic Majesty.

Soon afterwards, the victories of France having obliged the King of Naples to demand peace, Cameron availed himself of this opportunity to send to Messina the Neapoli-

tan troops, who, since the surrender of the island, had always remained there.

To these measures the cabinet at London added another, no less significant. The island of Malta, which had hitherto been regarded as belonging to Africa, was, by act of Parliament, embraced in the chart of Europe.

The treaty of Amiens now supervened ; the article in regard to Malta was debated for a long time ; England was unwilling to give up her prey. As the cabinet of St. James, however, did not regard the peace as permanent, it resolved to sign concessions which it did not intend to execute.

The treaty restored Malta to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, but it mutilated the existence of this order ; it recognised the sovereignty of the King of Naples, but rendered it illusory. Finally, the English reserved three months in which to evacuate the island ; and during three months, the genius of Britain often accomplishes a great deal.

France, on the contrary, was obliged to evacuate the kingdom of Naples in a month after the treaty. France executed in good faith the conditions to which she had assented. We shall see that this was not the case with England.

From the first, the resolution of England was taken ; she did not wish for peace, and was not willing to surrender up Malta. But time was necessary to organize, by its intrigues and its gold, a new coalition against victorious France, and during this time all its skill was necessary to elude its promises, and to deceive, at the same time, Naples and the Knights of Malta, Russia and France.

Everything depended, then, on the negotiator who should be sent to Malta to treat with the commissioners of the Order and France, or rather to mystify them. Ball was then thought of : the duplicity which he had already exhibited was a merit which the English government took care not to neglect. He, then, was named president to

treat with the representatives of France and of the Order ; and to this title was added that of royal commissioner to succeed Cameron in the civil administration.

As soon as he arrived, Ball showed himself worthy of his mission. In fact, General Vial, minister plenipotentiary of France, had disembarked at Malta with the Neapolitan troops destined, according to the terms of the treaty, to form the garrison. Ball refused to surrender the fortresses to the Neapolitan troops, because no commissioner of the Order had appeared to take possession of the island.

The commissioner of the Order arrived, and demanded the surrender of the fortresses. Ball replied that he had no orders on this subject.

The Grand Master of the Order, who was then at Messina, wrote to him, announcing his proximate arrival. Ball told him that the official affairs of his department would prevent him from giving up the place, and advised his Highness to remain some time longer in Sicily. The minister plenipotentiary then interfered, and at the same time several citizens supported the demands of the Order. By way of answer, Ball ordered the arrest of those who endeavored to form parties in the republic, and to disturb the public tranquillity. While these things occurred at Malta, the cabinet of London intrigued with all the diplomatic circles of Europe : a third coalition was formed, but the preparations were slow and indecisive ; if these uncertainties continued, Malta might escape England. An opposition was formed in the island, favored by the French plenipotentiary and the commissioner of the Order ; the Grand Master and his Knights might present themselves at any time, and it would be impossible to refuse them possession. It was necessary to hurry the matter.

Without previous explanation or discussion, without any notification to the French government, the King of England sent to the House of Commons a message, stating that in consequence of numerous preparations which were,

making in the ports of France and Holland, new measures should be taken to secure their possessions. At the same time, the ministry stated clearly, by the journals, that the difficulties related to Malta. The French government responded to this brutal attack by diplomatic negotiations. But notwithstanding all its desire to preserve peace, it did not wish to cede Malta to the English. Finally, after a vain interchange of notes, in which the English showed themselves to be more and more requiring, their ambassador, Lord Whitworth, demanded and obtained his passports. The cabinet of St. James had ascertained that Britain would be sustained by Europe ; and, without any previous declaration of war, it laid an embargo on those French and Bavarian vessels then in the ports of Great Britain, and at the same time all the persons and merchandise found on board of those vessels.

This flagrant violation of the rights of nations was vainly censured by the opposition in Parliament. Lord Melville, in the House of Lords, displayed all his duplicity, and insolently admitted the chicanery of his management.

"I wish," said he, "to allude to the other points of the negotiation, and to confine myself to this single argument, that we are going to war entirely for Malta ; and I consider it my duty to speak openly and exactly on this important question. I say that Malta ought not to be retained by the Knights of St. John, but by ourselves. Let us hold it, then, not for the present only, but for ever ; let us talk no more of the Knights of St. John ; let the British government and the inhabitants of Malta establish a form of government for the island, and let them be protected by a British garrison. Let us be prompt in our decision ; let us put ourselves in a position to proclaim that, for its happiness, and our interest, our protection is promised to the people of Malta.

"Our object at this time is Malta ; the object of the war

'is to keep Malta garrisoned by British troops, not for a few years, but for ever."

We know what were the consequences of this odious usurpation. Torrents of blood flowed for twelve years ; the horrors of war extended from the borders of the Tagus to those of the Neva. Every country furnished its contingent of victims ; and all this was done by England, and for England.

We shall not narrate the vexations to which the Maltese were subjected under the dominion of the English governors. They were cruelly punished for their insurrection against France, and by the masters whom they had selected. In vain they sent protests to Parliament ; they were unheeded.

We will insert here, however, a letter addressed to the British Parliament by Vincent Borg, the active chief of the insurrection, who had encouraged the intervention of the British :—

"As commander of the insurgents," said he, "I have exposed my life and lost my fortune. It was I who invited the English to land, and who persuaded my fellow-citizens to place themselves under the protection of Great Britain. After the peace of Amiens, I sent deputies to London to request the king to keep Malta. Finally, I exhorted the commanders of the English troops not to evacuate the place. These were my services, my devotions ; and how have I been paid for them ? I have been discharged from my employment without previous notice ; I was arrested and kept for two months at La Valette, and finally pursued as a suspicious person ; and have been obliged for two years to have a special permit to go to the country, whenever my interests called me there."

But England had no further occasion for the natives ; France, borne down by the European coalition, could not offer them her protection, and the cabinet of London oppressed the Maltese with impunity. According to the report of

commission of inquiry, they were a restless and turbulent people, whom it was necessary to rule with a rod of iron.

The tremendous disasters of France followed ; its rivals, always ready to profit by the chances of fortune, did not forget Malta when making the treaty of peace. The seventh article of the treaty of Paris was couched in the following language : "The property and sovereignty of the island of Malta and its appendages belong to his Britannic Majesty."

It was well to devote a few words to legitimatize the possession of the island of Malta, which has been the cause of this cruel war.

Finally, the congress of Vienna consecrated this usurpation ; and it is one more reproach to the treaty of 1815, and another source of accusation against England.

CHAPTER V.

NAPLES.

THE spirit of political reform which produced the French Revolution, had extended throughout the whole of Europe, and particularly among the nobility and peasantry in the kingdom of Naples. Ferdinand IV. himself had felt its influence to a certain extent, and had already established, near his palace of Caserta, on the hill of San Leucio, an industrial colony, whose constitution and laws were extremely democratic ; thus seemingly preparing for more general modifications in the state institutions. But this was only a caprice of the king, who wished to appear as philosophical as Leopold in Germany, and Ferdinand in Tuscany. The important events which occurred in France in 1789 soon changed his views. Persuaded also by the queen and her favorite, Acton, who were themselves governed by Lady Hamilton, he prepared to make war upon the French, who had dared to limit the wishes and power of their king.

With this view, he combined the other princes of Italy in a coalition against France, but all were terrified with what had occurred in this country, and were incapable of taking any vigorous resolutions ; hence his attempts were then of no avail.

The king, however, commenced his military preparations, and charged the regular clergy and the monastic orders to excite by their preaching religious fanaticism among the people. Ferdinand's projects, however, were destined to meet with obstacles of more than one kind.

The army were deficient in discipline ; a long and quiet peace had destroyed their courage, and it was necessary to seek for foreign leaders. On the other hand, the new doctrines had made numerous partisans of the most honorable and enlightened of the upper classes, all of whom desired in their hearts the success of France. The king was aware of the latter circumstance, and took measures to avoid the danger.

This prince had ascended the throne when a child. The Marquis of Tanucci, formerly professor of law at Pisa, had been named president of the council of the regency, and had attempted to turn the attention of the young monarch from public affairs, thus hoping to usurp the authority. With this view, he had intrusted his education to the Prince of San Nicandro, one of the most imbecile men at court : the character of Ferdinand was thus rendered feeble, irresolute, and timid. In April, 1768, Ferdinand married the princess Mary Caroline Louisa of Austria, daughter of Maria Theresa. A clause in his marriage contract stipulated that after the birth of the first son, Queen Caroline should have a deliberative voice in the council. She did not wait till that time to exhibit that imperious character which was to exercise so fatal an influence on the affairs of state. Some months after his marriage, she succeeded in removing the Marquis of Tanucci, and then assumed absolute power over her husband. The Marquis of Sambuca, who succeeded Tanucci, did not retain his place long. He could not agree with the queen, and was not sufficiently guarded in his remarks ; exile was the price of his indiscretion, and Acton succeeded him in 1784.

Acton was born at Besançon. His father was a physician, attached to the military hospital of that city, and Acton entered the royal marine when very young. Possessed of some talent, but blinded by pride and ambition, he blushed for his father's profession, and was vexed when reminded of it. He left his country, where he thought

his birth was an obstacle to his advancement, and from that time it became hateful to him. He went to Tuscany, and obtained from the grand duke the command of a frigate. A fortunate opportunity occurring, in which he displayed courage and skill, he attracted the attention of Ferdinand IV., who invited him to his court, appointed him minister of marine, and afterwards minister of war. From this time, Acton attempted to keep himself in favor. With this view, he flattered the passions of the queen, became her favorite, and united this princess and the English ambassador in common hostility against France.

In 1791, the British government had in the councils of Ferdinand another active and devoted agent, Lady Hamilton. This woman, whose real name was unknown, but who assumed that of Emma Haste, was one of the most beautiful females of England. She first prostituted her charms at London, and then, by a concurrence of circumstances which it is unnecessary to mention, married the English ambassador at Naples, Sir William Hamilton. Emma Haste was presented at court by her husband. The queen received her very favorably, invited her to all her fêtes, and even admitted her to her private suppers, at which the favorite minister assisted. The queen's affection for Lady Hamilton became extremely vivid, and was rather a passion than friendship. She often remained in the palace, and slept with her.

A female like Lady Hamilton, who was always ready to use her charms, offered too useful an auxiliary to England to be neglected. Nelson, who was then commander of the ship-of-the-line Agamemnon, in the port of Naples, became her public lover; and the intrigues of diplomacy were planned in the closet of the courtesan.

Lady Hamilton soon became the avowed agent of the cabinet of St. James, and exercised an unbounded influence over the Neapolitan government, in connexion with Acton and the queen, who could refuse her nothing. Under her

direction, Ferdinand adopted the measures he thought proper to paralyze the effect of the new doctrines which existed in the upper classes of Neapolitan society. He established a secret police, having for its object to watch the steps and note the conversations of the citizens in public places, and even at their firesides. The queen took the direction of this espionage, and the agents of it assembled in her palace every evening.

When the Legislative Assembly defied the coalition of kings, after the declaration of Pilnitz, the Neapolitan police redoubled their vigilance. They respected nothing, and all the citizens were subjected to its odious despotism. The most honorable men were infamously punished on the slightest suspicion. This was certainly not the way to propitiate the partisans of the doctrines of liberty, equality, and justice, to support the existing order of things ; but England, who counselled these acts of violence, determined to alienate, at any price, these auxiliaries from the cause of France, totally regardless of the dissensions thus sown between the monarch and his subjects. Lord Hamilton advised Ferdinand to punish the partisans of French anarchy severely, as Lord Hervey afterwards requested of the Grand Duke of Tuscany ; and he found the Neapolitan councils extremely docile, because his advice agreed perfectly with their tyrannical propensities.

After the death of Louis XVI., however, Ferdinand having refused to recognise the French republic in the person of Makau, its representative, the Convention sent a squadron to Naples under the command of La Touche Tréville. The presence alone of the French vessels changed the king's resolution. The ambassador was accredited, and the Neapolitan government promised to be neutral in the war between France and the European powers.

Having obtained these results, La Touche Tréville sailed with his squadron, when a violent tempest obliged him to

return to Naples to refit his vessels. During the stay in the city of the French marines, a great many young men, admirers of the revolution, formed their acquaintance, and feasted them ; and at one of their repasts, decorated their button-holes with small red caps. The court was apprized of this circumstance, and extremely vexed. Its vengeance was hushed until the squadron had sailed, and then, obeying its own feelings of resentment and the suggestions of England, as represented by Lady Hamilton, most of those who had sympathized with France were arrested for high treason. They were taken from their homes in the middle of the night, and cast into the dungeons of the Chateau of St. Elmo, where they were fed on the coarse bread of the prison, and slept on the bare earth ; they were placed in separate dungeons, and were not allowed to communicate with their families, who were entirely ignorant of their fate. Some of the prisoners were scientific men and nobles, whose sufferings were much greater, because accustomed to the sweets of luxury and the quiet of study.

At the same time, Ferdinand was making active preparations for war, and concluded with Great Britain a secret treaty, stipulating to send into the Mediterranean a certain number of vessels and troops, to join those sent by the cabinet of St. James, so as to form a force superior to that of the French, and one capable of protecting the commerce and independence of the Two Sicilies.

The terrible eruption of Vesuvius which occurred at this time, spreading desolation through the whole kingdom, did not arrest the labors of the state junto, a special committee appointed to try the prisoners detained at the castle of St. Elmo. England, wherever she had influence, forced the governments to strike down the advocates of the new doctrines suddenly and by police persecutions. The revolutionary risings which broke out at this time in different parts of Italy contributed to increase her fury. In Piedmont, a conspiracy was discovered against the king,

seconded by popular movements ; a dangerous spirit of liberty was seen at Bologna ; and at Naples conspiracies were formed daily, rendered still more formidable by a bad harvest, the misery of the people, and general discontent. By this serious state of things, England saw that it was necessary to strike a severe blow, and the court seconded its views readily. The junto proceeded by inquest, and upon secret accusations, supported by the testimony of salaried spies, and likewise by the depositions of the domestics and children, members of the family. The investigation commenced in secret, was intrusted to defenders appointed by the king, and the accused was not permitted to be heard in his defence. The punishment inflicted on those who were found guilty, was death, imprisonment, hard labor, and banishment. From the sentence there was no appeal, and punishment was immediate.

Amid these iniquities, Bonaparte invaded Italy with a small army, and drove before him the numerous troops of the coalition. Ferdinand sent regiments to the Austrians in Lombardy, and declared war, in terms extremely insulting to France.

Bonaparte's rapid successes terrified Ferdinand, and he readily accepted an armistice offered by the republican general, which was signed shortly afterwards at Brescia. Agreeably to this convention, Ferdinand recalled the remnants of the Neapolitan regiments from Lombardy, and the vessels sent to reinforce the British fleet, from the Mediterranean. When, however, it was known at Naples that a new Austrian army, commanded by Wurmser, had entered Italy, Ferdinand's hopes revived, and he immediately resumed his menacing attitude—which did not long continue, for he soon received the news of Wurmser's defeat. Ferdinand was then terrified, and humbly solicited that the armistice of Brescia might be changed to a permanent peace. This request was granted by a treaty signed at Paris in October, 1796, on condition of quitting his allies,

observing neutrality, and liberating the French who were imprisoned for treason, and to grant his subjects the commercial advantages enjoyed by the most favored nations. England, however, preserved all her influence in the councils of Ferdinand ; and, thanks to her intrigues, the peace of Paris, like the armistice of Brescia, was only a device to gain time. An opportunity of resuming hostilities soon presented itself. The French had captured Rome, and many distinguished personages from the pontifical state had retired to Naples, exaggerating, in their reports, the rigor of the conquerors, and thus exciting the people against them.

Berthier, who commanded the French troops at Rome, intimated to the court of Naples that the Roman emigrants must be expelled from the Neapolitan territory, that passports must be given to the English ambassador and wife ; General Acton dismissed from the ministry, whom England had made her accomplice, and that the French troops must pass through the Neapolitan territory, to take possession of Benevento and Pontecorvo in the Roman states. But Ferdinand was ruled by his advisers, refused the requests, garrisoned the two Roman cities, and took measures to defend the line of the frontiers.

Things were in this state, when the French expedition for the invasion of Egypt left the port of Toulon and sailed for its place of destination, which was then known only to a few individuals. Caroline was advised of it by a letter from the Queen of Spain, and communicated this secret to England, who took measures in consequence.

The capture of Malta by the French added to these persecutions ; but the indignation of the people finally became so general, that it was necessary to make some sacrifices to public opinion. The judge, Vanni, who presided over the council of state, was removed from his office and banished from Naples, and even Acton pretended to absent himself. The irritated populace was no sooner soothed, however, than the same acts were re-enacted : the prisons

were again crowded with victims ; the infamous Casteleica, member of the junto, was appointed minister of justice ; and Vanni received, in his exile, consolation, encouragement, and gold.

About this time, Nelson appeared in the bay of Naples with the vessels captured by him at Aboukir. The court indulged in the most extravagant joy. Ferdinand, the queen, Lady Hamilton, and a great number of courtesans, embarked and went to meet Nelson. Ferdinand presented him with a costly sword, and carried him in triumph to his palace. Public rejoicings were ordered, and the people were commanded to illuminate the fronts of their houses. Garat, the French ambassador, assisted in these honors rendered to the admiral, but was treated with disdainful insult by the queen, for which he vainly demanded reparation.

England, however, fearing that the result of the congress convoked at Rastadt, to negotiate peace, would be favorable, took every means to sow dissension between the powers. She sent the Baron of Awerbeck to Naples to excite Ferdinand to make war on France. This diplomatist exerted himself to second the efforts of Lady Hamilton and Lord Nelson. The queen was easily gained over, Ferdinand's opinions were also influenced, and war was resolved upon. From this time extraordinary levies of soldiers were made, and General Mack came from Germany to take command of the Neapolitan population.

While the English government were thus successful at Naples, the same result was obtained at Florence by threats. Lord Hervey notified the Grand Duke that the English fleet would burn Leghorn unless he declared war against the republic ; that an army would march upon Florence, to compel him to dismiss Lafiotte, the French ambassador, immediately. The insolence of Lord Hervey did not stop here : he demanded that the emblems of French democracy should be effaced from the palace of the ambas-

sador ; that all the partisans of French anarchy should be severely punished ; that all communication between France and Tuscany should be interrupted, &c. The Grand Duke, too feeble to enforce his neutrality, was obliged to submit.

Finally, on the 22d of November, Ferdinand published a manifesto, in which he explained the motives which induced him to make war on France. At the same time, his ministers addressed secret letters to the other cabinets of Italy, to engage them to make common cause with Naples and England. One of these letters, written to the minister of the King of Piedmont, was intercepted and published by the French ; it contained these atrocious remarks : "The French battalions are scattered throughout Piedmont, secure and confident of peace. Excite the patriotism of the people to enthusiasm and even fury, so that every Piedmontese shall aspire to the honor of trampling on the enemies of his country. These partial murders will be more advantageous to Piedmont than victories gained in the field of battle ; and the just verdict of posterity will never brand with the term treason those energetic acts of an entire people, which passes over the dead bodies of its oppressors to regain its liberty. Our brave Neapolitans, under the command of our illustrious General Mack, will be the first to give the signal of death to the enemy of thrones and peoples ; perhaps they will be on their march when this letter reaches you."

In fact, the Neapolitan army immediately marched on the pontifical states, and invaded them at different points. Six thousand men, under the orders of Naselli, embarked for Leghorn in English and Portuguese vessels. Mack, at the head of twenty-two thousand soldiers, marched directly on Rome. He wrote to General Championnet, commanding the French army, saying, "I intend to take possession of Rome ; I wish you to evacuate it and all its territory. I forbid your sending any troops into the territory of Tuscany ; and if you fire a single gun against the Neapolitan

troops, I will kill every Frenchman who falls into my power!" This threat was enforced: at Arcoli, three French soldiers who were captured were tied to a tree and shot; at the hospital of Otricoli, which was occupied by Mack, thirty French soldiers, who had suffered amputation on the preceding day, were also shot, and their bodies buried.

The neutrality of Tuscany, which Mack took under his protection, was subjected to many outrages. Nelson appeared before Leghorn with the vessels having on board six thousand Neapolitans, under the orders of Naselli. They were to be disembarked and to attack the rear guard of the French. On seeing the fleet, the commandant of the place made representations as to its neutrality, but in vain, and finally the soldiers landed. He justified his course in the following proclamation:—

“LEGHORN, Nov. 30, 1798.

“Jacob Lavaillette, major general of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, commander at Leghorn, has learned that a squadron of English and Portuguese vessels of war have appeared before Leghorn, and have declared their intention to land, even by force, in case of resistance. The commander of Leghorn, unable to resist, permits them to disembark, under the express condition of respecting the neutrality of Tuscany.”

When the squadron was entering the roads, *Nelson seized, as a lawful prize, a Genoese fleet of merchant vessels richly laden.* Thus was the neutrality of Tuscany respected.

On the approach of Mack, who was attended by King Ferdinand, the French troops evacuated Rome. Some partisans of the republic, some Neapolitans who had fled from persecution, either could not or would not follow: they were arrested on the same day, and executed by order of the king. The populace was subjected to the ravages of miserable beings who, under the pretext of religion, pil-

laged houses, robbed the citizens, drowned in the Tiber a great number of Jews, and committed the most revolting atrocities in the presence of the soldiery, who offered no opposition. But the French soon resumed the offensive, routed the Neapolitan army, and Ferdinand succeeded in escaping to his capital only by means of a disgraceful disguise. Terror seized the court; it tried to arrest the progress of the enemy, but gently, for it could not calculate on success. On the night of the 21st of December, the king, and all those who had excited against themselves public animadversion, embarked and fled into Sicily. The king carried away the jewels and treasure of the crown, the most precious antiquities, the chefs d'œuvres of the arts which adorned the museums, and about eighty millions of francs found in the public treasury. He was advised to these thefts by Lady Hamilton and Admiral Nelson.

Shortly after, the French, under the orders of Championnet, aided by a part of the population, took possession of the city of Naples, and formed the Parthenopœan republic, amid the acclamations of the whole people.

All, however, was not finished. The royalists excited the inhabitants of the provinces to insurrection, and Cardinal Ruffo placed himself at their head. The insurrection gradually extended, and the French army, unable to defend themselves against an enemy whose power increased daily, evacuated the city, leaving the new republic to provide for its defence.

The republicans of Naples were extremely brave, but they were too few to ensure their triumph. The French had just evacuated the city, when a large number of English and Sicilian vessels made a descent on the islands of Ischia and Procida, took possession of them, massacred the republicans, re-established the royal government, and appointed magistrates to detect and punish the rebels.

Admiral Caracciolo, who had left Sicily to enlist in the service of the Parthenopœan republic, was ordered to re-

take these two islands. With this view, he assembled some vessels, but failed from the contrary winds and the inferiority of his forces. He re-entered the harbor of Naples, without having sustained much injury himself, although he had inflicted much on the enemy.

The royalists, however, under the command of Ruffo, advanced rapidly. All the provinces had yielded to them ; the republican government retained command only of the capital and the environs of the city. The defection of the Duke of Roccaromana, who deserted to the enemy with a division of cavalry, increased the dangerous position of the patriots. The secret agents of Ruffo fomented treason in the ranks of the people : the men employed in the arsenal at Castellamare were bought over, and attempted, but unsuccessfully, to set it on fire. Cries of sedition disturbed the repose of the citizens at night, and reports of the bloody reactions meditated by the royalists were current in every part.

In 1799, on the 13th of June, the royal army had advanced to the walls of the city. It was composed of fanatical peasants, principally Calabrians, who were distinguished for their ferocity ; bands commanded by former leaders of banditti, as Fra-Diavolo and Mammone ; and, finally, Sicilian, Turkish, Russian, and English auxiliaries. This army invested Naples, and attacked it simultaneously at several points. The Russians assailed the fort of Vigliena, the walls of which were battered by cannon. A furious battle ensued, and the republicans were about to yield to numbers, when the commander of the fort, the priest Toscani, covered with wounds, crawled to the magazine and fired it. The fort blew up with a terrible explosion, and buried Russians and Neapolitans under its ruins. The battle was carried on in every part with the same degree of ferocity. Success was doubtful during the day, and night alone put an end to the contest.

The next day the city was in the hands of the royalists,

and the republicans were shut up in the castles, but determined to sell their lives dearly. But Ruffo, astonished at so vigorous a resistance, was still doubtful of his victory. Notwithstanding the advantages he had gained, he was fearful of driving to despair such determined men, who might at any time be assisted by the French and Spanish, whose combined fleets were still in the Mediterranean. Ruffo then proposed an armistice to the republicans. As, however, the Directory had declared that they had no confidence in King Ferdinand and his lieutenant Ruffo, the patriots required that the articles of the treaty should be sanctioned and their execution guarantied by the commanders of the Russian and Turkish army, by the admiral of the English fleet, and by the French general Mégean, who, since the departure of the French army, had retained possession of the castle of St. Elmo. After conferring in a low tone with his allies, Ruffo assented to the demands of the republicans, and peace was concluded in the following terms :—

“ 1. The Castel Novo, and the Castel del Ovo, with their armaments and munitions of war, shall be delivered to the commissioners of the King of the Two Sicilies, of his allies, England, Russia, and the Ottoman Porte.

“ 2. The republican garrisons of the two forts shall march out with the honors of war, and their persons and goods, both moveable and immoveable, shall be respected.

“ 3. They may, at their option, embark either on board of the vessels of parliament, to be transported to Toulon, or may remain in the kingdom, and themselves and families shall be respected. The vessels shall be supplied by the king’s ministers.

“ 4. These conditions and clauses shall be applicable to both sexes in the castles, and to the republicans captured during the war by the royal troops and their allies.

“ 5. The republican garrisons shall not leave the castles

until the vessels destined for those who wish to leave the kingdom are ready to sail.

" 6. The archbishop of Salerno, the count of Chiceroux, the count of Dillon, and the bishop of Aveilleiro, shall remain as hostages in the castle of St. Elmo until news is received at Naples of the safe arrival at Toulon of the vessels with the republican garrisons. The prisoners of the royal party, and the hostages kept in the forts, shall be liberated on the ratification of the present capitulation."

This convention was signed by Cardinal Ruffo and the count of Chiceroux in the name of the King of Naples, Captain Foot on the part of England, Ballie of Russia, Bonieu for Turkey, and Generals Massa and Mégean for the republic.

Several days were spent in preparing the vessels. An edict, signed by Cardinal Ruffo as lieutenant of the king, declared that "the war was ended ; that neither parties nor factions existed any longer in the kingdom, but only citizens and brothers, equally subject to the prince ; that the king was disposed to pardon the errors of the rebellion, and accord even to his enemies his paternal goodness ; and consequently that there would be no persecution, nor pillage, nor contests, nor disasters, nor armaments." Some of the republicans determined to remain at Naples ; but most of them, having less confidence in the assurances of royalty, embarked on board of the vessels, and made up their minds to leave their country. The garrisons of the forts marched out with the honors of war, and most of the patriots who composed them also embarked. The vessels waited only for a favorable wind.

A numerous fleet was now seen in the horizon. At first it was supposed to be the French and Spaniards, who had come to assist the republicans, who now regretted their surrender. But they were soon undeceived ; the vessels were those of Admiral Nelson.

The wind was now fair, and yet the vessels having on

board the patriots did not depart. They left their moorings, but were placed under the cannon of the Castel del Ovo. The republicans demanded explanations of the English admiral, who, in reply, published an edict of Ferdinand, annulling the capitulation, under the pretence that a king could not treat with his subjects, nor deprive himself of the right to punish rebels. In a short time, the commissioners of Ferdinand arrested about a hundred patriots from the vessels; they were chained in couples, and marched through the indignant, but silent populace, into the dungeons of the castle they had quitted under the faith of treaties, and which had passed from their hands into those of the English.

Thus, under the eyes of the representatives of the allies, who made no opposition, a most sacred engagement was odiously violated; an act of treason unexampled in the annals of civilized people, and the base infamy of which was assumed by Great Britain alone. An act so dishonorable, however, produced the most energetic protestations on the part of some officers of the British marine, and Captain Trowbridge resigned his commission, and returned to England, so as not to serve under the orders of Nelson. But the cabinet of St. James, as if to brave the general indignation which existed in Europe against the conduct of the admiral, rewarded him, on his return to England, with the rank of *Vice-Admiral of the blue*, and sent him to Copenhagen to consummate another deed of villainy.

Reactions soon commenced. All those not among the conquerors were exposed to be massacred. Bloody bodies were seen in the streets and squares. The executioners, when tired of asking admission, broke into the houses of the citizens, and under pretence of seizing the proscribed, stole the gold and precious things on which they could lay their hands. Those unfortunate beings who escaped death at the moment of their arrest, were loaded with chains, or beaten and led to prison, subjected in their course through the streets to injury and outrage.

A tribunal was instituted for the trial of the patriots, over which the infamous Speciale presided. We will not mention all the crimes committed ; the history of them would be too long, and would occupy several volumes ; two cases will show the mode in which it proceeded, and made such an atrocious mockery of the sacred forms of justice.

A noble Neapolitan, named Pasquale Battistessa, was brought before the judges, for being a moderate partisan of the liberals, and was condemned to be hung. He was executed, and thought to be dead. But when about to be buried, traces of life were observed. By the orders of Speciale, his throat was cut by the executioner, in the church.

"Admiral Caracciolo," says Coletta, in his History of Naples, to which we are indebted for most of the materials of this chapter, "Admiral Caracciolo was betrayed by a domestic, and was arrested in an obscure retreat. Nelson demanded of Cardinal Ruffo, that the admiral should be given up to him. It was thought that this was done to save a brave man, who had shared with him the dangers of the sea and the strife of battles. The same day a court-martial of Neapolitan officers was convened on board of his vessel, and Count Thurn, the highest in rank, presided over it. This court heard the accusations, and also the accused, who was ignorant of the charges against him ; it however admitted the justice of the admiral's demand, that the proofs and evidences in his favor should be heard. Nelson, when informed of this resolution, said that delays were useless ; and then this slavish assembly condemned the unfortunate Caracciolo to perpetual imprisonment. But Nelson, being told of this sentence by Count Thurn, the president, responded, 'Death ;' and the word *imprisonment* was erased, and that of *death* substituted. This infamous court-martial separated at two o'clock, and at the same moment, Francesco Caracciolo, a gray-headed Neapolitan prince, an admiral celebrated for his talent and bravery, illustrious for the glory

he had acquired by thirty-five years of services rendered to his country and his king, a distinguished and modest citizen, betrayed by one of his own domestics, betrayed by his brother in arms, Lord Nelson, betrayed by the officers, his judges, who had been so much honored by his triumphs, was loaded with chains, was taken on board a Neapolitan frigate, the Minerva, more celebrated than any other vessel for the victories of the admiral, and was hung up at the yard-arm, where he remained exposed all night, a sad monument of Nelson's infamy."

Another historian relates, that on learning his condemnation, Caracciolo wrote to Nelson, asking not his life, but that he might die like a soldier, and be shot; and that Nelson refused his request, assisted at the execution, and took pleasure in the horrid sight. Lady Hamilton was at his side!

Three days after, and when Ferdinand, who had wished to remain on the sea, had issued a great many tyrannical and sanguinary edicts, under the direction of his English advisers, the prince, in company with Nelson, perceived an object floating on the surface of the sea, and propelled by the waves towards his vessel. "On observing it," says Coletta, "he discovered a dead body immersed in water to its middle, while the head was elevated, seemingly coming towards him in a threatening manner. Looking at it attentively, he recognised the livid face of his victim, and exclaimed, 'Caracciolo!' Turning round, and shuddering with horror, he inquired, 'What does this corpse wish?' While his assistants were silent and stupefied, the chaplain answered, in a solemn manner, 'A Christian burial.'—'Let it be given,' said the king, and retired alone and thoughtful into the cabin."

Shortly after, the English government perceived the necessity of modifying its policy in regard to France and the kingdom of the two Sicilies, recalled its ambassador, and Nelson, unable to be separated from Lady Hamilton, left

his command, and returned to England. He was afterwards killed, as is well known, at the battle of Trafalgar. Fearing that the English government would overlook the services rendered at Naples by Lady Hamilton, they were mentioned in his will, and this woman was recommended in the highest terms. But England disdained the prostitute who was no longer useful. Lady Hamilton was forgotten by her country, and afterward died in France, in a state of extreme wretchedness.

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CHAPTER VI.

FRANCE.

I.—REVOLUTION.

WE have thus far studied the policy of the cabinet of St. James only in its action on foreign countries. Except the transactions in Malta and Naples, we have not found it in direct opposition to France. We shall now allude to that long and bloody contest which began in 1793, and ended in 1814.

We shall require all our impartial feelings in order that we may not seem actuated by hatred, and that justice may not resemble vengeance ; and shall produce proofs which cannot be denied, even by the accused. We shall speak with the *Moniteur* in hand ; we shall refer to men who have seen and understood, who have taken part in the great events of the imperial and revolutionary era ; and, finally, shall often depend on the English themselves, to corroborate, by their own statements, our strongest accusations. We have often seen that on such a point, the proof must be decisive, the demonstration unanswerable.

I.—THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT CALUMNIATES THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—IT ATTACKS THE ALLIES OF FRANCE—IT ORGANIZES THE COALITION—TREATIES OF PILNITZ AND PAVIA.

When the Americans captured the army of Lord Cornwallis, Lord North exclaimed : “ France has given us a

terrible blow ; America is lost. She is now preparing to capture India. We must make peace, and employ all the means in our power to disturb France, both in her foreign and domestic relations."

These words were remembered by Pitt ; they were the lesson of his life ; on his death-bed he transmitted them to his worthy pupil, Castlereagh.

To neutralize the sympathies which the French had early found in England, it was necessary to render odious the men and the deeds of the revolution. Calumny was the most convenient and surest mode of doing this, and Pitt was accustomed to the use of this weapon.

Many writers of merit were pensioned by the government, to devote their talent and political influence in opposition to the principles of the French revolution. This direct action of the cabinet on the opinion of the English nation was exercised only in secret. In fact, the ministry was obliged to conceal its real intentions, even in England. As to France, it reiterated the assurances of the desire to preserve peace between the two countries. Not being then in a condition to enter into a contest with France, it attacked her indirectly, by threatening the only ally faithful to her—Spain.

At the close of 1789, two Spanish vessels entered the bay of Nootka Sound, on the northwest coast of North America, and conducted with some irregularity towards two British vessels. The King of Spain, when informed of it, made every apology, and tendered every satisfaction to the cabinet of St. James ; but an amicable arrangement would not suit the English, who ordered a fleet to be armed for the Mediterranean. The attitude of the constitutional assembly, which, notwithstanding the uncertain position of France, resolved to respond loyally to the appeal of Spain, disconcerted Pitt's projects. War was postponed, and the force which this result gave to the British ministry, permitted them to combine at their leisure against the French.

revolution. With this view Pitt availed himself of all his disposable means, and thus prepared for the last scene of the great catastrophe. Cornwallis was ordered to terminate the war in India; next an attempt was made to alarm the court of Madrid on the subject of a revolution. Austria was reconciled to Turkey, with which she had become embroiled in 1787, notwithstanding all the efforts of French diplomacy; finally, the peace of Warsaw, concluded the 14th of August, 1790, by the mediation of Spain, but under the influence of the British cabinet, terminated the war between Sweden and Russia. Thus, every effort of English diplomacy terminated fortunately.

While the anti-revolutionary propaganda made rapid progress in Great Britain, and while the blacks in the French colonies were excited to rebellion by secret agents, a crusade was organized on the continent against France. Lord Elgin, the English ambassador at Naples, visited the European courts, to excite the kings against the revolution. This diplomatist brought about a conference between the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, a conference which led to the treaty of Mantua, signed on the 20th of May, 1791, and the convention of Pilnitz, concluded August 27th of the same year. This last is known by all those who have read even an abridged history of the French revolution. The treaty of Mantua is less known, although infinitely more important. The principal arrangements in it were as follows: The sovereigns who signed it divided France. The Emperor of Austria took Lorraine, Alsace, and la Franche-Comté, destined afterwards for Switzerland; the King of Sardinia, Bresse, Bugey, Gex, and Dauphiny; the King of Spain, Roussillon, Bearn, the Island of Corsica, and the French part of St. Domingo. Russia reserved for herself the right to invade Poland, a part of Podolia, and the small ports of Servia; Prussia was to take possession of Dantzig, Thorn, the high palatinate, and Lusatia.

England did not sign this declaration. She could not

yet permit herself to indulge in so open an act of hostility against France, to whom she was constantly making protestations of friendship ; it would endanger the success of her plans. But England had from the first, as we have already seen, brought about the conference which led to the treaty ; and she had afterwards, although quietly, participated in the arrangements which were signed by the four contracting sovereigns. The motives of pure policy are easily understood : "Internal dissensions and foreign wars will exhaust the resources of France, and thus fulfil the wishes of the British ministry. If, as is believed will be the case, France shall be crushed, the cabinet of St. James will profit by its fall, and would then receive, without any trouble, from the French colonies, an equivalent to what the other powers desired to keep on the continent. If by any unforeseen chance France should be victorious, England could arrest her progress, and form a rallying point for her enemies. At all events, by fanning the kindling flame, the weakening of the French, and the loss of her marine, would compensate the English for the revolution in America."* Farther, England soon assented to this plan of devastation and robbery, a strange conspiracy of those loyal sovereigns, who declared that they made war on the revolution only to destroy Jacobinism. In March, 1792, the British cabinet acceded to the treaty of Mantua ; the consent of Holland, advised by the agents of Pitt, occurred about the same time.

Immediately after the signature of this convention, Coblenz became the rendezvous of the emigrants and principal agents of the coalition. Some were publicly supported by England ; among others were Burke's son, and the ex-minister Calonne, who were intriguing in behalf of the cabinet of St. James. It was understood, also, that a manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick had been forged at the foreign office, and that the English emissaries on the conti-

* Ryan.

nent had distributed an immense number of copies of them, translated into different languages, even before it was published officially.* The French Government demanded of the British cabinet explanations on all these points; Pitt and his colleagues merely denied the statement, again protesting their sincere desire to see peace maintained between the two countries.

II.—ACTS—HOSTILITY OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AGAINST FRANCE, BEFORE ANY DECLARATION OF WAR—PITT CONTINUES HIS SYSTEM OF CALUMNY IN REGARD TO THE REVOLUTION.

The policy of Pitt now began to be more bold. A liberal society of London had subscribed 10,000 pairs of shoes for the French soldiers. The cargo was detained in the Thames by order of council. About the same time, several vessels loaded with grain for France were also stopped by a similar order. This grain, however, had been paid for in advance, and there existed between the two powers a treaty of commerce, which protected all commercial transactions between the two countries, until war was declared.

Soon after, the tocsin of the 10th of August announced to monarchical Europe the fall of the throne of Louis XVI.; the English ministry recalled Lord Gower, its ambassador at Paris. This diplomatist addressed a circular to all the English residing in France, inviting them to quit the territory, declaring that he would not be responsible for any damage which might ensue from their continued residence. Goldsmith remarks, and correctly, in his work cited above, that this was meddling with the internal affairs of France, contrary to a formal promise made by England, never to interfere in them.

Immediately after the recall of its ambassador, the cabi-

* *Crimes des Cabinets, ou Tableau des Plans, et des actes d'Hostilité, formés par les divers puissances de l'Europe, &c.,* by Goldsmith.

net at London suspended all intercourse with Chauvelin, the minister plenipotentiary of France, in England. He attempted to communicate with Lord Granville, the minister of foreign affairs, but whenever a diplomatic note was sent, or an interview was demanded, he was insolently told that he was no longer regarded as an official character. Marot, who, like himself, was instructed to make the most pacific overtures to the English minister, and to give him the most satisfactory assurances in regard to the views of the republican government, could not effect any negotiation. The most gross refusals and most flimsy pretexts were constantly received by the representatives of France. They were well treated in private, but the British government could not compromise itself by an understanding with the republic, through the agency of those whose official titles they did not wish to recognise. It had resolved to reject the generous advances of the government established in place of the authority of Louis XVI. But it wished at any rate for a rupture without any declaration of war, and without appearing to desire it.

In the mean time, a measure entirely new in England, decreed by the British government, excited the indignation of all the friends of liberty. The ministry proposed and caused to be adopted by both Houses of parliament, a bill which imposed the most arbitrary and severe regulations on all strangers resident in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; this law gave the English authorities the right to imprison and expel from the British territory, any stranger who, after a definite period, should not voluntarily obey the injunction to quit England. Another bill proscribed the circulation of assignats throughout the United Kingdom, and completed the demonstrations of hostility which the cabinet of St. James made openly. It was war, without any declaration of it.

The French minister, Chauvelin, demanded of Lord Granville if he was included among the strangers subject

to this last law. He was told that he was not considered an exception to the rule, because, in the eyes of the cabinet, he was neither more nor less than a private individual. Notwithstanding this refusal of protection, Chauvelin determined to remain at London, and still attempted to negotiate, but without success.

To complete the feeling among the English against the French Revolution, Pitt had recourse to those vulgar methods which governments employ so often to act on the imagination of the masses. On a fine day, the king, by two proclamations of Dec. 1st, 1792, ordered the military to be called out, convened Parliament for the 14th of the same month, although its regular time to assemble was in January, marched troops towards London, fortified the tower, mounted guns upon it, and displayed all the armaments of war. Why were all these preparations? What enemy was expected? Was England threatened with any sudden invasion? No. This great expedition had been called out by Thomas Paine's treatise on the "Rights of Man." It was pretended that the government was afraid of this publication; and on account of this octavo volume, a few copies of which were circulated in the political circles of London, the country was declared to be in danger. This humbug was powerfully aided by the propaganda organized by order of the minister. The most absurd and atrocious calumnies against France were circulated: the English aristocracy and tradesmen were persuaded that the French wished to overturn the British constitution, destroy all titles to property, and introduce anarchy into the United Kingdom. The press, the Parliament, and the monarchical clubs founded under the inspiration of Pitt, assisted the minister in accomplishing this work. His success exceeded his expectations. In a short time, preparations for war against France became popular. "There was a sudden and active coalition of all the dependants of the court, men in place, nobles, priests, rich landholders, and capitalists who 'lived on'

abuses. They filled the newspapers with their protestations of devotion to the English constitution, horror for the French Revolution, and hatred for anarchists ; and the effect thus produced on public opinion was such, that in a few days nearly all England was prostrate before the ministry, and veneration for the French Revolution was followed in the hearts of the English by the most violent hatred."

In the midst of this general movement against France, a few generous voices were raised in behalf of the truth, and with a view to inspire the English with more equitable, if not more sympathetic sentiments, and Fox advocated the sending of an ambassador to Paris ; Sheridan justified the bloody measures which circumstances had compelled the republicans to adopt ; Erskine bravely defended Thomas Paine, who was burned in effigy ; Lord Stanhope bitterly reproached the counsellors of the crown with their duplicity and infamous acts ; but these noble efforts were of no avail. The influence of Pitt was predominant, and had extinguished in the hearts of the English the last spark of reason and sympathy for republican France.

III.—RECALL OF THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR FROM PARIS— SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH DUMOURIEZ—PITT PRO- VOKES A DECLARATION OF WAR.

January 21st, 1793, Louis XVI. died on the scaffold. On learning this, Lord Grenville ordered Chauvelin to leave London in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom in eight days. Thirty-six hours after sending the note which contained the order, a courier arrived from France with despatches for the French minister. This courier was arrested at Dover, thrown into prison, and then released, after being brutally plundered of his despatches. On learning these new outrages, what was done by the republic ? It complained, but in a moderate tone, and sent to London new representatives, who were instructed to urge peace

upon the cabinet of St. James. Certainly it would be difficult to exhibit greater magnanimity and more forgetfulness of injuries. The new envoys succeeded no better than Chauvelin; nevertheless, the French government, still hoping to overcome an obstinacy which they regarded as blindness, postponed the subject till February.

In this interval, Lord Auckland, English ambassador in Holland, announced to the French government, through M. de Maulde, French minister at the Hague, that there was still a hope of preserving peace: it was to leave General Dumouriez to negotiate secretly with England. Dumouriez, who, with his treacherous instinct, soon saw what was expected of him, endeavored to have himself appointed ambassador to London; but Pache, Clavière, and Monge, his colleagues in the ministry, refused to authorize this negotiation, and the royalist general had no other resource to please the enemies of France except to abandon the national banner on the field of battle.

Thus, while the cabinet of St. James refused to treat honorably with the French ambassadors, it sought to negotiate through obscure and disgraceful channels; it used corruption, which it was thought would be more profitable than open and regular discussion; and attempted to steal, by the aid of its friends in France, what it had rejected when offered amicably.

Pitt's attempt failed. It was then understood in England that the time for open rupture had come; but it was not desirable to England to commence officially. In order to secure the support of the English nation, whose views were still doubtful, it was necessary to appear to be pushed into the struggle by their adversaries. Nothing was neglected to attain this. The government pretended to be very uneasy at London as to the state of the public mind, and they continued to insult the French government in a thousand different ways. At the very time when France was distracted by the intrigues of Pitt, letters were written, almost

under his dictation, to influential members of the French Convention, and especially to Brissot, that "the declaration of war would be the signal for a revolution in England; that all was ready for this." The republican government fell into the snare which it could no longer avoid, and war was declared by the Convention in the session of February 2d, 1793.

It is proved that the English ministers in their hearts desired war, by the fact that when Louis XVI. was brought to the bar of the National Convention, all his defenders on the other side of the channel were found in the ranks of the opposition in Parliament. While Fox, Sheridan, Grey, and the other leaders of the whig party were publicly interested in the fate of the fallen monarch, and requested the cabinet to interfere in his favor, Pitt and his colleagues obstinately refused to make the slightest effort to save the life of the royal prisoner. The rupture of the peace was highly satisfactory to the British.

Robespierre afterwards accused Brissot and his friends of having been in this last case the agents of England, and founded his assertion on the fact that France was at that moment without a fleet, and nowise prepared for a contest with Great Britain. The truth is, that Brissot was deceived, and expected to have surprised the English, while he was the dupe of Pitt's hypocrisy, who wished the word *war* to be pronounced first by France.

When the British ministry announced the declaration of war to the House of Commons, severe reproaches and energetic protests were heard from several of the benches. Lord Stanhope said: "This country has never been in such imminent danger, and never has a more important question been presented. In fact, we are to consider if this house will sustain a war prepared by our ministry, and in which we are the aggressors, yes, the aggressors. You know that the second article of the treaty of 1786 states expressly, that, in case of a misunderstanding between the

two nations, ‘the dismissal of an ambassador should be regarded as a rupture.’ Now we have dismissed M. Chauvelin in the most disgraceful manner. Here, then, is the rupture on our side. I cannot see an aggression without a motive, on the part of France. It has, on the contrary, been caused by our ministers. They wished for war; they have commenced it, because they have done precisely what was necessary to be done—precisely what the treaty had provided for.”

Lord Lauderdale reproached the ministers with their unworthy exertions to make the war popular. “One of the most powerful means,” said he, “are these atrocious libels against the French, in which absurdity is attended with perfidy. Have you not accused them of poisoning the springs, and many other horrid crimes? Is it not an impudent lie to tell the people that several Frenchmen have been arrested for a base conspiracy which was on the point of breaking out? Who are the aggressors—those who entertain a chargé, or those who drive him away ignominiously? those who force him to explain, or those who refuse to understand? those who ask to continue a peaceable and amicable commerce, or those who forbid the exportation of grain to that nation, while it is left free for the whole world?”

Pitt mendaciously affirmed that he had exhausted all possible modes of accommodation. He added: “It has been said that we are to undertake a war of extermination, a war to the death. Yes, this is the war which is about to commence. It is said also that it depended on us to live in peace with the French. Prudence commands us to live with them as enemies.”

Burke was still more violent. His answer to Fox was a paraphrase of a letter which Fox addressed to a member of the National Assembly, which states: “If ever a power sets foot on the soil of France, they must enter it as they would a country of assassins: no regard should be paid to

the laws which regulate war between civilized nations ; France has no right to expect it ; war there will simply be a military execution. You will be obliged to act similarly ; on all sides the furies of hell will be unchained, and will riot in blood and carnage."

The address to the king was adopted. It was a bill of indemnity given to the odious conduct of the ministry, and a solemn engagement to second actively the royal authority in its enterprises against France.

IV.—EFFORTS OF ENGLAND TO FORM A COALITION AGAINST FRANCE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES—PITT WISHES TO DEFAME THE FRENCH—PLAN OF BURNING AND ASSASSINATION IN THE REPUBLIC.

The admiralty prepared for the maritime war by sending orders to every commander to burn, sink, and destroy every French vessel which was captured. It was worthy of those people who, in 1791, had repelled the generous proposition made to England by the Constitutional Assembly to abolish the right of search.

The political propaganda on the continent became still more active. Remonstrances, threats, pressing exhortations, promises of subsidies, and the corruption of subaltern agents,—everything was put into operation to combine the European states, both large and small, in a coalition against the republic.

Obeying the threats of England, Spain, Naples, and Portugal declared war against the republic.

March 25th, 1793, Russia concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Great Britain. It was a great victory for the English ministry, who depended very much on the concurrence of the cabinet of St. Petersburg.

Holland had separated from France only in consequence of the solicitations of the British cabinet, and of certain presents which came very timely to conquer the passive

resistance of the Stadholder. A bill on England for £500,000 converted this prince, whom Pitt afterwards counted among his allies, until an opportunity was offered to rob him of his colonies.

All the powers of a lower class, who had not yet joined the coalition, were summoned by the British agents to become parties to it, under pain of losing their rank in Europe. Denmark resisted with a noble perseverance, saying that she had no cause of animosity against the French. Switzerland also opposed the persecutions of Lord Fitzgerald, who could obtain nothing from her, notwithstanding his menaces and insults. Genoa likewise was reluctant to enter into hostilities against France : the English minister threatened to destroy the city, and the principal port of this republic became the theatre of the most shameful violations of the rights of neutrality. Tuscany was animated by the same sentiments ; was twenty times attacked by the thunders of Britain, and twenty times humiliated by the insolent envoy of Pitt. Finally, fatigued by his incessant requests, she decided to join her protector, the Emperor of Austria.

It was a part of the general plan of England, in the system of blockade applied to France, to proscribe every official representative of the republican government in foreign countries, and to organize a European band of assassins against French citizens generally, and particularly against conventions. The diplomatic agents of France were pursued and persecuted, even in those countries which observed a strict neutrality. The citizen Bourgoing, minister of the republic at Madrid, sent to Portugal to bear a message of peace, was assailed by the people of Lisbon ; and having learned that, in accordance with the demand of Lord Walpole, the British minister, orders had been given to arrest him, he was obliged to depart immediately on foot and in a disguise, to which he owed his liberty and perhaps his life. Citizen Lehoc, the representative of France in the free city of Hamburg, was exposed to the same insults and

was obliged to quit his residence upon the demand of the English agent. The arrest of Beurnonville and the four deputies delivered up by Dumouriez, occurred at the same time with these persecutions, and was extremely agreeable to the partisans of Pitt's policy. These representatives passed three months in the dungeons of Maestricht, and fifteen in the horrid prison of Spielberg in Moravia. Finally, about the same time, Austria, who had singularly profited by the lessons of England, dared to commit an act hitherto unheard of among civilized nations : she caused to be attacked and robbed two French ministers, citizens Lemonville and Maret, who were proceeding as ambassadors, one to Constantinople, the other to Naples. Both were imprisoned for twenty months. In the contest which occurred between their escort and the Austrian hussars, the son of Lemonville, the wife of Maret, and several domestics, were assassinated. The number of precious objects stolen from them was immense—at any rate, so says the *correspondant de Hambourg*. England applauded this infamous act.

This was not enough : the ministers of George III. tried to cause a famine. On the 8th of June, 1793, the council of his Britannic Majesty decreed that it was lawful to stop and confiscate all vessels loaded with grain or flour, and which were bound to France. The Swedish and Danish vessels were exempt from this to a certain extent ; that is, the first time they were overhauled, they were simply to be turned from their course towards France, but the second time, they were confiscated. Thus England undertook to suspend the trade between France and neutral nations.*

* Pitt ordered the British marine to capture and bring into England all neutral vessels, whatever their freight might be. In consequence of this system, the allies of Great Britain were exposed to starvation. In the early months of 1793, many vessels loaded with grain were sent by a house in Lubec to some merchants in Lisbon ; they were stopped in the Downs by English cruisers, and carried to the Thames. After two years' trial, the British government were compelled to pay for the cargoes and other expenses. In 1793-4, the seizures of this nation cost the government more than £400,000. The government expended immense sums to force the French to seek their supplies of grain in the United States.

In the interior of France, the intrigues of the cabinet of St. James were equally active. We do not wish to exaggerate the reports ascribed at this time to the agents of Pitt. But the constant accusations of the people did not rest on fictions. The proof of a vast conspiracy against an entiré nation is found in a letter which Barrère read to the Convention, July 31, 1793.* This letter was found in the portfolio of an Englishman arrested at Lille. The following are extracts from it :—

"The plans of Cobourg are certain, if the success of war is not *with the dogs*. Should it be so, *the forage must be burnt*, but not till the last moment, and the fire *must occur in all the cities on the same day*. At any rate, be ready with your party from the 16th to the 18th of August. *The phosphoric matches are sufficient*; a hundred of them may be given to each friend without danger, as they only occupy a space four inches long and three quarters of an inch round. *We shall take care to provide each committee with a supply of these matches before the time mentioned*. Raise exchange to two hundred per cent. See that Hunter is well paid, and assure him, on the part of Milord, that all his losses shall be reimbursed to more than double his commission. Let Greg—y do the same. Do something occasionally for S—p—rs. *Discredit the assignats as much as possible, and refuse all those not stamped with the name of the king*. Raise the price of these last. Order your merchants to buy up all objects of primary necessity.

"If you can persuade Cott to buy up tallow and candles at any price, make the public pay five francs a pound for them. Milord is well satisfied with the course of B. L—z. Say to him that his Royal Highness, the Duke,† has registered your son and his own for a cornetcy; their pay has already commenced. Let Ch—F—T—r, go occasionally to

* See "Les Anglais au XIX.^e Siècle," attributed to Barrère.

† Doubtless the Duke of York, one of the generals of the coalition, to whom the throne of France was promised.

Ardes and Dunkirk. *I beg you not to spare money. We hope the assassinations will be done prudently; priests in disguise, and females, are the best persons for this business.* Send fifty thousand francs to Rouen, and fifty thousand francs to Caen. We have received no news since the 17th. What is the matter? Send A—, &c.

"P. S. Send one hundred and fifty thousand livres to Lyons and Grenoble. We regret sincerely the death of L—. The pension of his widow, six hundred pounds per annum, will be paid punctually to her, and to her son after her death; send them two hundred pounds by the first opportunity to Bordeaux. Tell the wife of Cobbs, at Bourbour, that her husband was promoted on the 1st of May, by Admiral McBride. Morell will receive one hundred pounds sterling monthly."

"We have forty thousand guineas ready for the committees under your charge.

"Let Chest—r and S— always have plenty of money. The vaults of the college are well adapted for the plan of F—g."

This was addressed "To the President of the committee of St. Omer, or at Dunkirk." In the same portfolio were found memoranda of different sums received and distributed to different subordinate agents, marked by initials. Among other things was noticed this, under date of May 2. "*Received some letters from Dumouriez.**

The plans of incendiarism disclosed in this letter were soon realized. On the 7th of August, news came that the arsenal of Huningen had been burned; in the course of a month there were fires at Donai, Bayonne, and Lorient. During the siege of Valencianes, the arsenal took fire and exploded; treason was suspected, and, as if to prove it, the sub-director, Monestier, committed suicide. Severe accidents happened also in the parks of artillery at Saumur and

* See the Moniteur of August 3. This letter was translated and filed with the committee on public safety.

Chemillé, in consequence of explosions, the cause of which was unknown.

V.—TOULON.

Then occurred a solemn act of treason, the development of which had a powerful influence on the destinies of France.

The city of Toulon had long been the scene of intrigues of the agents of Pitt, and the royalists of Marseilles, and opened its gates to the English, August 27, 1793.

The first act of the English, after taking possession, was to proclaim Louis XVII. king of France, and to hoist the white flag. But the inhabitants, who imprudently confided in their perfidious protectors, soon perceived that the serious re-establishment of monarchy, and the defence of the place against the republican troops, were not thought of by the English. "As soon as the English cabinet were apprized of the fortunate event which placed the French marine in their power, they appointed a commission composed of Admiral Hood, Lord Elliot, and General O'Hara ; the former was equally capable of conducting an intrigue, or commanding a squadron, and sowed dissensions among the inhabitants, flattering sometimes the one party, and sometimes the other."

Farther, the English commission, for two months, had permitted the two feeble detachments of General Cartaux and Lapoype to be quietly encamped, one day's march from the city, and did not seem at all uneasy at the approach of the army sent by the Convention against the rebel city. The motive for this apathy was evident ; the English thought less of defending the city than of retreating with the rich booty which had attracted them there. We will add, that Admiral Hood had not neglected the means of terror ; he had established a military tribunal to judge the patriots, and already more than eight hundred republicans had been em-

barked, ignorant of the fate to which they were destined. The two representatives of the people, Pierre Bayle and Beauvais, remained in the power of the English ; after witnessing the most bloody outrages, they were shut up in the fort of La Malgue, where were the English commissioners who were their judges. These wretched beings deliberated for a long time on the kind of punishment for the two prisoners. During this discussion, Bayle, who understood everything, stabbed himself to escape the horrible death to which he was devoted. Beauvais died shortly after his delivery from Toulon, in consequence of the bad treatment he experienced while in prison.

On the 19th of December, 1793, that is, one hundred and fourteen days after the treason of Trogoff, the city was recaptured by the republicans. Then was consummated that execrable act which the English had so long meditated. During the night, Sir Sidney Smith, by order of Admiral Hood, set on fire the arsenal, magazines of naval stores, and a great number of vessels. The victorious army saw this from the surrounding heights ; trembling with rage, but unable to reach the culpable, they witnessed this conflagration ordered by the counsellors of George III. As if in contrast with the English, the galley slaves broke their chains, and instead of making their escape, aided in checking the progress of the flames, which threatened the city. Of thirty-one vessels of the line, and twenty-five frigates which were at Toulon, when the English took possession of the city, sixteen ships and five frigates were entirely burned, or very much damaged ; three ships and six frigates were taken by the English, three frigates by the Sardinians, Spaniards, and Neapolitans.

The following are a few fragments of the report, addressed by Captain Sidney Smith to his superior officer, Admiral Hood, as to the manner in which the work intrusted to him had been performed.

“ My Lord—In accordance with your orders, I repaired

to the arsenal of Toulon, and made all the preparations necessary to fire the vessels and magazines. The galley-slaves, six hundred in number, regarded us with an air evidently indicating opposition ; they were partly unchained, which was unusual ; we were therefore obliged to observe great vigilance, and to point the cannon on them, their prison, and on all our assailable points.

" In this position, we awaited with great anxiety the moment agreed on by the government to set fire to our matches. To Lieutenant Tupper was intrusted the firing of the large store-house, and the store-house of pitch, tar, tallow, and oil ; this was perfectly successful. The store-house of hemp was also enveloped in flames. The calmness of the night unfortunately arrested the progress of the flames, but two hundred and fifty barrels of tar, well spread upon pine wood, soon extended the conflagration with great activity in the quarter intrusted to Lieutenant Tupper.

" The spar-house was also set on fire by Lieutenant Middleton. Lieutenant Peters braved the flames with surprising intrepidity, to complete the work in those places where the fire seemed not to be well kindled. The fire of our transports was principally directed to those places where we had reason to fear the approach of an enemy. The shouts of joy and the songs of the republicans, which we could hear distinctly, continued until both were drowned by the explosion of several thousand kegs of powder on board the frigate Iris, which lay in the inner roads, and which was imprudently fired by the Spaniards, instead of sinking it as they had been ordered to do. The shock communicated to the air, and the quantity of burning wood which fell around us nearly caused our destruction.

" I had recommended to the Spanish officers to burn the vessels in the basin in front of the city, but they returned and acquainted us with the obstacles which prevented them. We, however, renewed the attempt together.

" The explosion of a second vessel of powder, which

was also unexpected, and the concussion of which was more violent than the first, exposed us to very great danger; and when you think of the immense quantity of wood falling around us, it is almost miraculous that no one was injured. Having fired everything within our reach, and exhausted our stock of combustibles and our strength to such an extent that our men fell down from fatigue, we directed our course to the fleet.

"I should do injustice to the officers did I not acknowledge how much I am indebted to all of them for the manner in which they executed an affair so important to the nation. The precision with which the fire was kindled at my first signal, its progress and duration, are the best proofs that every officer and soldier was at his post, and did his duty. I therefore add a list of those who were employed in this duty.

"We can assure you that at least ten ships of the line were burnt. The loss of a large store-house, of a great quantity of pitch, tar, rosin, hemp, wood, cordage, and gunpowder, will render it very difficult to fit out the rest of the vessels. I regret that we were obliged to leave any of them; but hope that your lordship will be satisfied with what we accomplished with our limited means, in a brief period, and in the face of a superior force."

Twelve thousand Toulonese, fearing the just vengeance of the conquering patriots, abandoned the city, and went to demand an asylum of the combined squadrons who had promised to protect them. They were repulsed without pity, and the blood of these unfortunates flowed in torrents by the hands of their allies. This was the last act of this horrible drama; a letter in the Morning Chronicle, inserted in the Moniteur of June 26, 1794, recounts this lamentable episode in the following terms:—

"The citizens ran to the river in crowds; they demanded, in the name of honor, the protection promised them by the crown of England. Disorders, excesses, and robberies

were committed, and after every effort was made to carry thousands of them on board of the vessels, still thousands were abandoned to the vengeance of their countrymen. Many of them threw themselves into the sea, and vainly attempted to reach the vessels by swimming ; some killed themselves on the bank to avoid falling into the hands of the republican army.

"The flames of the burning vessels, however, extended in every direction ; every moment an explosion was threatened, and finally their remains were blown up. This is only a slight sketch of the scene on the bank. That which occurred on board of the fleet was still more terrible. It was crowded with men of all nations, a heterogeneous mixture of old men, children, women, patients from the hospitals, soldiers mutilated at the different posts which had been attacked, and whose wounds were yet bleeding ; nothing could equal the horrors of the scene, except the cries of despair from husbands, fathers, and children, who were left on the bank, and whose tones became more and more mournful as our vessels departed.

"To add to the misfortune, this multitude of human creatures, who were stowed pell-mell on board the vessels, and part of whom were mutilated, were almost destitute of provisions, and had at least very little which they could use.

"Many of the inhabitants perished ; others fell into the power of the French, after being abandoned by the English fleet."*

The English vessels weighed anchor, carrying away some hundred fugitives who obtained permission to enter the army or navy of Great Britain ; but some months afterwards, Pitt signed an order to dismiss all the French who had entered the army or navy. In vain did the French protest that they had no means of subsistence, that they could not return to France, having excited against them the

* The memoirs of Fonvielle and Imbert, the principal negotiators in the treason, contain also curious details in regard to this act of barbarity.

indignation of their fellow-citizens, being led away by the promises and solemn assurances of Admiral Hood ; in vain did they supplicate and present certificates of good behavior from the English officers ; the minister was inexorable. The victims of this cowardly treachery then determined to invoke assistance from those to whose resentment they were legitimately entitled ; they addressed the French commissary residing in England, requesting to be recognised as prisoners, and thus threw themselves on the clemency of the republican government.* It was a bloody lesson given to the ministers of King George, but it was not understood. England had expended one million four hundred thousand pounds, or thirty-five millions of francs for this glorious expedition, which began with treason, and ended in massacre. The treasures which this power has poured forth to annihilate France and the French are almost incalculable.

VI.—MEANS OF CORRUPTION USED BY PITT'S AGENTS.

At this period, whenever the English thought there was a serious obstacle to be overcome, they used corruption to a marvellous extent. Their attempts, however, sometimes failed. We will cite an instance of this. Colonel Withlock was besieging Port au Prince, in the isle of St. Domingo, which was defended by General Lavaux. On the 9th of February, 1794, the French commander received a letter from Colonel Withlock, promising him high rank under the new administration, and a present of five thousand crowns, if he would surrender the place to the British troops. Shocked at so much ignominy and insolence, the republican general replied—

“ SIR : Permit me to complain of your gross insult, by supposing me so vile and base as not to be offended at your offer. In this you are mistaken : I have been thought hith-

* Les Anglais au XIX.^e Siècle—Crimes des Cabinets, par Goldsmith.

erto worthy to command my troops ; you have wished to dishonor me in the eyes of my comrades ; this is a personal offence, for which I demand satisfaction of you. I demand it in the name of that honor which ought to exist among all nations. With this view, therefore, before a general action takes place, I challenge you to single combat, leaving you the choice of weapons, and to fight either on foot or on horseback. Your position as an enemy does not give you the right of inflicting on me, in the name of your nation, a personal injury. I demand satisfaction for your private insult."

We need hardly add that the brave colonel refused the general's cartel, who, however, foiled all the efforts made by the British troops to take the place which he commanded.

VII.—SUBSIDIES GRANTED TO PRUSSIA TO MAINTAIN THE COALITION.

In the beginning of 1794, the English were fearful of being deserted by the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin. The Germanic powers, dissatisfied with the parsimony of the British government in granting the premised subsidies, were inclined to leave Great Britain to herself. "No silver, no Prussia," nobly exclaimed King William ; and on the 13th of March he issued a manifesto, in which he stated that he had done all in his power against a bold enemy, but that, having been badly supported, he should withdraw from the coalition. The Austrians uttered the same threats. The English cabinet became alarmed. But a mode was soon found to check this desertion. Negotiations were conducted with so much diligence, that on the 16th of April a treaty was signed at the Hague, by which England and Holland engaged to pay a corps of sixty-two thousand four hundred Prussians. For this object England paid £1,200,000 annually, and Holland £400,000. The

King of Prussia was also assured that he would be at liberty to pursue his usurpations in Poland.

VIII.—ASSASSINATION OF THE BARON OF GOETZ—AUSTRIA AGAIN JOINS THE COALITION.

The campaign of 1795 opened in a most disastrous manner for the coalition. The Austro-Prussian armies were annihilated or dispersed; the Anglo-Hanoverians were defeated by the victorious troops of the republicans; Holland was conquered; Madrid was threatened by the French; and most of the German states on the Rhine had submitted to the republic. It would have been easy for the triumphal armies of France to take Hanover, the duchy of Brunswick, Saxony, and to march on Berlin. Notwithstanding, however, all the advantages of position, France made peace with Spain and Prussia, who begged for it. She showed herself particularly generous and disinterested towards the former power, and only demanded, for the expenses of a war caused by the court of Madrid, that part of St. Domingo possessed by the Spaniards.

During the negotiations with Prussia, a tragical event excited the attention of the diplomatic world. Baron Goetz, the official negotiator, died suddenly at Basle; and the physicians, having made an autopsy, declared that he was poisoned. It was ascertained also that the portfolio containing his papers was stolen. Now these papers revealed to the cabinet of St. James the intention of Austria to leave the coalition. £4,500,000, which was sent to Vienna by the British ministry, changed the determination of the emperor, and England turned the crime to good account.

Peace was also granted to Sardinia, which Bonaparte could have crushed.

In the mean time, Spain declared war against Great Britain. We only mention this fact, to state the reasons

for this determination on the part of the court of Madrid. We read, in the declaration, that England manifested bad faith during the whole of the preceding war, and that, at Toulon, Admiral Hood had destroyed all the vessels which he could not carry away with him. Hence the character of English policy was understood in other places besides Paris.

IX.—LA VENDEE—QUIBERON.

La Vendée was the principal theatre for the operations of England against the new government. Pitt knew that the deepest injury to inflict on France was to foment a civil war in the heart of the empire.

The war of Vendée commenced with the treason of Dumouriez in March, 1793, at the time when Galbaud, an officer in the army, left for St. Domingo, where he went as a British agent. As soon as the English cabinet knew that the royalists of France had taken up arms, it gave a new energy to the propaganda in the departments of the West. Lord Fitzgerald, English minister to Switzerland, kept up an active correspondence with his numerous emissaries at Paris and in the western cities. In June, 1793, a spy in his employ went to Châtillon, assembled the superior council of the chiefs of Vendée, and solemnly promised them men and money. Shortly afterwards, at the time of the expedition to Toulon, Mr. Elliot published in this port, which had become a British city, a proclamation, dictated by the cabinet of St. James, and destined to be circulated extensively in all the insurgent departments. Every day revealed new proofs of the relations between the rebels and the British.* But the most immoral act of this war was the

* Boursault, a representative near the armies of Brest and Cherbourg, wrote to the National Convention: "I would inform the Convention that the character of an ambassador has been violated in the persons of some galley-slaves escaped from Brest, and some refractory priests who went to England some eight months since, and fifteen days ago were thrown on

manufacture of counterfeit assignats, with which the English deluged every country afflicted with civil war. The proof of this fact is found in the public debates of the House of Commons, and in the annals of the courts of justice. In the parliamentary session of March 11th, 1794, Sheridan spoke in these terms : "There is in England a mill employed in *making paper for the manufacture of forged French assignats.*" Mr. Ruyler confirmed Sheridan's assertion. On the 18th of November, 1795, a person named Lukin accused before the English tribunals an engraver who had endorsed a note for him. It was proved that this Lukin applied to the engraver to make a plate of false French assignats ; that at first the artist had refused to do an act so contrary to the rights of man and public morals, but that Lukin having stated that these assignats were intended for the army of the Duke of York, *by express order of the ministry*, he had engraved the plate. Lord Kenyon, president of the royal court, stated, in his charge, that doubtless there were laws to be observed by nations, even during war, such as not to use poisoned weapons ; but that the counterfeiting of assignats was not contrary to these laws. (Moniteur, May 12, 1795.) Finally, after the 9th Thermidor, when La Vendée submitted voluntarily, the leaders of the Chouans forwarded to the Convention a package containing a million of forged assignats, which had been sent to them by the English cabinet.

The republic revenged itself in the following manner : An English refugee in France proposed to the government to counterfeit the notes of the bank of England. The committee of public safety arrested him and put him in prison, where he remained nearly two years.

our shores. They came from the court of London, to arrange certain assassinations, by which the diplomacy of Pitt hoped to counterbalance our victories in the north and centre. Some of these men, and especially the priest Maignan, have been three days in my power. They were examined by the committee, and their funds consist of 6,259 francs in money, 25,497 francs in royal assignats, and 106 marks 3 gros from the vessel of the brigand Puisaye."

The amnesty, however, signed at La Sannaie on the 17th of February, 1795, had been violated by the Chouans. The English cabinet, encouraged by the divisions of the republic, then resolved to make a decisive effort to ruin the new order of things. April 1st, 1794, Pitt declared in Parliament that the government proposed to subsidize a body of French emigrants. The House of Commons passed the bill, although it was fiercely opposed. The minister soon ordered four regiments of emigrants to be formed, embracing about seven thousand men. These troops were sent to the Isle of Jersey, near the coast of France.

An immense expedition was now fitted out in Britain, and at an enormous cost. Besides the body of emigrants to whom we have alluded, the agents of Pitt employed every means of seduction and intimidation to induce the French prisoners to enlist under the royal banner. Emigrant priests went to the hulks at Portsmouth and Plymouth, to gain over the French soldiers and marines, who were enfeebled by a long and cruel captivity. These missionaries of treason were unheeded ; the rations of the prisoners were then diminished : a little bread and brackish water was the only nourishment of these unfortunates ; and then the royalist officers told them that if they persisted in their refusal, they should be carried into the colonies and condemned to slavery.* This succeeded ; the prisoners, conquered by hunger and torture—having before them the certainty of a frightful death on one side, and on the other the chance of escaping their persecutors as soon as they touched the soil of France—consented to enlist in the expedition. By means of these extraordinary recruits, ten regiments were formed, constituting an effective force of ten thousand men.

* See "Crimes des Cabinets," p. 123 ; "Les Anglais au XIX^e Siècle," p. 340 ; "Les Victoires et Conquêtes," vol. iv. But the best authority on this point is the narrative of the prisoners who left the ranks of the emigrants as soon as they landed, and told the chiefs of the republican armies the violence to which they were exposed before joining the English.

A second division, of three or four thousand, was to be composed of regiments levied in Germany, in 1794, *on account of England*. The cabinet of St. James promised the leaders of the expedition, that, on reaching the shores of France, they should be reinforced with ten thousand English.

It is known that the disembarkation took place on the peninsula of Quiberon. The emigrants established themselves at the extremity of the peninsula, and in Fort Penthièvre, situated at the point where the strip of land joins the continent by a narrow neck. They counted vainly on the ten thousand English auxiliaries whom Pitt had said would join them. Dependant on their own forces, they awaited with firmness the republican army, who had time, in consequence of the useless delay for the English, to rally opposite the peninsula. On the 20th of July, the patriots, commanded in chief by Hoche and by Humbert, Ménage, Botta, and Valletaux, attacked the fort. The rout of the royalists now became general. Driven to the end of the peninsula, the unhappy individuals were fired on by the cannons of the English vessels, and both the refugees and the republicans were slaughtered indiscriminately. The worthy executors of Pitt's wishes were animated by a ferocious joy at the sight of this bloody mêlée, in which the French contended furiously with each other, and fired without distinction upon their friends and enemies. It was a sight more horrid, perhaps, than that of the evacuation of Toulon. A dense crowd, covered with dirt and blood, stood upon the brink of the sea, extending their suppliant hands to the English, who answered them with cannon; women and children, and feeble old men, who had come into the camp of the royalists, uttered the most piercing lamentations, and cursed with all the energy of despair the allies who had betrayed them; some of the strongest men attempted to swim to the English vessels, but when they came alongside of the transports and attempted to get on

board of them, their hands were chopped off by the sabres of their pretended allies ; others retreated into the water, to escape the bayonets of the patriots, but soon disappeared, struck down by the bullets of their loyal protectors. This piteous scene continued for more than an hour. The republicans were more humane than the English ; when the latter retired, the royalists received quarter and were protected from insult.

It is said that the object of this massacre was to destroy the remnant of the French marine, the best officers of which were in the expedition.* It is more natural to believe that the royalists were slaughtered by their perfidious allies simply because they were Frenchmen. Be this as it may, the fact is indisputable, and has been admitted by all historians.

Among the objects captured in the camp of the emigrants was an enormous *bundle of forged assignats*.

A few noble souls in Parliament censured the conduct of Pitt and his ministers for the expedition of Quiberon. The infamous premier dared to defend himself, saying, "At any rate, the blood of England was not shed."—"No," answered Sheridan, extremely indignant, "certainly not ; but the honor of England flowed from every pore!" Pitt, however, was not discouraged. He organized another expedition, similar to that which had terminated so disgracefully. On the 29th of September, 1795, a British fleet, having on board English and emigrants, anchored before Ile Dieu ; but this second attempt was a ridiculous failure, from the cowardice of the Count d'Artois, who did not dare to land on the continent to join Charrette, who had waited for him a long time.

From this time, the cabinet of St. James renounced great expeditions to the coast of France. It contented itself with sending occasionally to Brittany arms and ammu-

* In fact, Tallien says in his report, that more than six hundred swords, having on their guards an anchor, map, and three fleurs-de-lis, were found on the field of battle. (Moniteur. August 2, 1795.)

nition, some lost children of emigrants, and *counterfeit money*.*

X.—THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO DEFAME FRANCE—IT ORGANIZES CONSPIRACIES AMONG THE ROYALISTS—AFFAIRS OF BROTIER AND 18^e FRUCTIDOR.

Prussia and some other German states were at peace with France, who, by her victories, had frustrated all the attempts of England to annihilate the republic by the sword. But Pitt knew a surer mode of weakening an enemy so difficult to defeat in the battle-field : this was, to starve the French. The plan had been formed at the beginning of the war ; it was again brought forward with extraordinary activity and ardor ; so much so, that while France was everywhere triumphant, she was struggling with the misery of famine. To add to her distress, the harvest failed, and the little which had been produced was consumed by the armies. Alarm and suffering then became general, and caused much rejoicing at London.†

* Moniteur of March 13, 1796 : letter from the commander of the armies on the Loire and Indre, announcing that Stoflet had received a large sum in counterfeit louis from England.

This taste for counterfeit money existed in England throughout the whole revolution. Thus the Moniteur of the 28th Pluviose, an 7, informs us that the British government caused counterfeit money of Hamburg and Holstein to be struck at Birmingham. Three of its agents, who were sent on the continent to distribute it, were arrested at Hamburg. In the Moniteur of the 17th Thermidor of the same year, we read, under the head of Berlin : " Not only have there been made in England counterfeit Prussian groschen, whole cases of which have been imported at Hamburg and Leipsic as buttons, but commerce has lately introduced counterfeits of gold Fredericks ; the counterfeit is, however, lighter than the true coin, and instead of *Preussen*, we find *Prussen* in the legend."

Query : Did not England also introduce into the United States, and during the war of the American Revolution, a large amount of counterfeit continental money ?

† Among the auxiliaries, famine was not the most odious employed by the British at this period. In Jamaica, they let loose their dogs upon the revolted negroes ; and yet at this time they advocated emancipation of the slaves.

In the session of Parliament in March, 1796, Sheridan, speaking about

The new intrigues of England were favored by the weakness of the Directory, and the anarchy which desolated the republic since the 9th Thermidor. They organized a conspiracy, tending to restore the Bourbons; but the plot was discovered on the 13th of January, 1797. The Abbé Brotier, Duverne-Dupresle, La Villeheurnois, and Poly, worthy instruments of the royalist faction, were secretly aided by the cabinet of St. James. Among other documents which prove that this cabinet was the soul of the conspiracy, the two declarations of the accused Duverne-Dupresle are sufficiently explicit.

In the first, Duverne says, that the plan of the conspiracy was approved of by the French princes, and by the English minister. The following was the plan; France was to be divided into two agencies, both of which were to keep up an active correspondence with the king and the agents of the British government. It was agreed between the royalists, that no regard should be paid to instructions from London, which would tend to facilitate the capture of any of their maritime ports by the English troops, and generally to none that would be of utility to them, the king and his council having always thought that the services of the English were perfidious services, which tended to the entire ruin of France.

"To prepare and develop our plan," adds Duverne-Dupresle, "funds are necessary, and *England alone can supply them.*" Wickham, the English agent in Switzerland, was the banker of the conspiracy. The money which he gave to his friends in Paris served not only to pay necessary travelling expenses, military equipments, and other unavoidable expenses, but also to organize a band of corrupt agents and to prepare for the elections of the year.

Duverne also declared that the English had such a good understanding in the public offices that they had procured imposing a tax on dogs, said: "At least, you ought to exempt the dogs of Jamaica from taxation; it would be ungrateful to tax allies who have fought for the English in America."

the French plan for the invasion of Ireland. Finally, all the details of the plot, and even the names of Pitt's agents in this odious affair, were revealed by the accused, and published in the Moniteur. Farther, the cabinet at London did not deny the fact.

The 4th of September, 1797, proved, some months afterwards, that the English ministry paid by the hand of the same Wickham for the desertion of Pichegru. The latter was condemned, as it is known, to transportation, but escaped from Guiana, and took refuge in England, where the British government allowed him a pension.

XI.—ASSASSINATION OF THE FRENCH PLENIPOTENTIARIES AT RASTADT—VIOLATION OF THE CONVENTION OF D'EL- ARICH—ASSASSINATION OF KLEBER—SECOND COALITION FORMED BY ENGLAND.

The treaty of Campo-Formio had re-established peace between France and Austria, but the unsatisfactory result of the Congress of Rastadt indicated another rupture. The Directory unexpectedly received intelligence that the French Plenipotentiaries, Debry, Bonnier, and Robergeot, were assassinated on leaving Rastadt, the 28th and 29th of April, 1799. This bloody violation of the rights of nations, this crime unparalleled in the history of modern civilization, ought to be, and was in fact, imputed to the cabinet at Vienna. But was not English policy more or less indirectly interested in it? It was remarked that Burckard, commander of the Austrian huzzars, who assassinated the French minister, was a creature of the minister Thugut, who was entirely devoted to the cabinet of St. James. That was only one reason for suspecting that the English were privy to this murder; but the joy of Pitt's partisans on the news of this catastrophe proves, that if the English minister did not direct the arm of the murderers, the desire and the thought of the crime certainly existed. Every

newspaper in the pay of the government attempted to justify the treachery at Rastadt. One of them declared that a republican was an execrable animal whom it was no crime to kill. Another paper, in speaking of this massacre, remarked, "The French have lost two men who are less to be regretted than if two soldiers had died." A third mentions this tragic event in the following words : "The plenipotentiaries were met by a patrol, who demanded their passports ; the travellers insolently refused to show them, and excited the military to such a degree, that they were obliged to strike them. Two were killed, but the greatest villain escaped." Did not this public approbation of so odious a circumstance imply a moral if not an active agency in the affair ?

While Europe was occupied by the agitation caused by the crime of the 28th of April, and the proposal made by the Directory to the council of five hundred, to declare war against Austria, the renown of the army in Egypt under Bonaparte, and its victories, spread throughout the East. The conqueror of the pyramids learned the reverses of the republican armies in Europe, left Egypt, and returned to France. Kleber, who had become general-in-chief of the expedition, concluded a convention at El-arich with Sir Sidney Smith, stipulating that Egypt should be evacuated by the French troops, and should be allowed to return freely to their own country.*

The French executed faithfully the article of capitulation relative to their retreat ; they had delivered up the forts and

* After signing the treaty, General Desaix sailed for France, with his regular passports, signed by the agents of the powers who had taken part in the convention. At some distance from Alexandria, he was overhauled by an English cruiser, and sent by Admiral Keith prisoner to Leghorn, where he was confined in the common lazaretto. He protested against this, and demanded explanations, but with no effect. He wrote to the English admiral, demanding pens, ink, and paper, and that he should be treated in a manner suitable to his rank. Lord Keith replied : "Sir, I am surprised that you should ask to be treated better than your countrymen, for in France you are under the reign of equality. In your situation, you can appreciate practically the advantages of that equality which you have hitherto known only in theory."

principal armed positions, when Kleber received from Admiral Keith the following letter, dated on board the Queen Charlotte :—

"January 18th, 1800.

"Sir,—I inform you that I have received positive orders not to consent to any capitulation with the French army under your command in Egypt and Syria, unless they lay down their arms, surrender as prisoners of war, and give up all the vessels and munitions of war, and the port and city of Alexandria to the allied powers; that in case of capitulation, I shall permit no soldiers to return to France until regularly exchanged. I also think it necessary to inform you that all vessels having French troops on board, and sailing from this country with passports signed by any person except those who have the right to grant them, will be forced, by the officers of the vessels under my command, to return to Alexandria; finally, that the vessels which shall be met returning to Europe with passports granted in consequence of a special capitulation with one of the allied powers, will be considered as prizes, and all the individuals on board of them as prisoners of war."

The memorable battle of Heliopolis was the answer of Kleber to the provoking insolence of the English.

The ministers of Great Britain pretended in parliament that Sir Sidney Smith had no power to form a treaty. This, however, was a flagrant falsehood. But it was necessary to find a pretext, and the British ministers found it extremely convenient to deny the character of their official agent. They wished to crush the French army, which had neither forts nor military positions, which had surrendered to the Turks the wells of the desert, and had dismantled the citadel of Cairo. They wished also to have an excuse for disembarking and taking possession of the country, which they might keep as long as they chose; this was accomplished, and the ministers of London, having attained their end, were but little disturbed by the reproaches of France, and

the opposition in parliament, in regard to this outrageous contempt of the faith of nations.

The assassination of Kleber was a consequence of this act of perfidious policy. The English had roused the fanaticism of the Mussulmen, and had excited them to assassination. They were listened to, and the blood of the hero of Heliopolis was shed by the knife of a Seid, who had perhaps found other sources of excitement than the sentences of a Koran.

After the death of Kleber, Egypt was surrendered to the English army. By the capitulation of Alexandria, concluded September 27th, 1801, France renounced her claims to the land of the Pharaohs. We have now to mention a new act of infamy; the capitulation stipulated that the French army should be transported to France with its arms and scientific treasures. The English observed the first claim, but violated the second, and seized the scientific collections which the institute had formed in Egypt at so much risk, labor, and danger.

The enemies of France did not wait for the result of the affair in Egypt to organize a new crusade in Europe against her. Since her defeat at Aboukir, Russia and the Ottoman Porte had yielded to the solicitations of the cabinet at St. James, and had united with the coalition formed in Italy and Germany. It is useless to add that Great Britain paid the expense of the second conspiracy of crowned heads against the republic. This time, however, the English minister made Russia wait; the latter had presented an account for two millions sterling; the English cabinet declared that they would pay the money when the merchandise was forwarded. The emperor saw that he was doubted; he hastened to march an army upon Italy, and parliament voted him a subsidy of one million one hundred thousand pounds.

XII.—CONSULATE—ENGLAND REFUSES PEACE—ENGLISH CONSPIRACY—INFERNAL MACHINE—PEACE OF AMIENS—VIOLATION OF THE TREATY BY ENGLAND.

When Bonaparte was appointed first consul of the republic, he sent a message to the King of England, to terminate the war, which, for eight years, had desolated the civilized world. What was the answer of the British cabinet? War! The victory of Marengo was the chastisement inflicted by Napoleon upon its pride and effrontery. Negotiations were then commenced between the republic and Austria; but England would not consent to a partial peace, and interfered to prevent its conclusion. In the mean time an event occurred, which showed why the English cabinet had refused peace, and why they continued to urge the restoration of the Bourbons. A royalist conspiracy, organized and subsidized by it, was discovered at Paris, in the year IX. The conspirators obtained information in the offices of Fouché, and that of the treasury, as to the best mode of stealing the public money upon the highway. Brest was to have been delivered to the English by means of an attack of Chouans, combined with a disembarkation from a hostile fleet. The principal aim of the royalists was the assassination of the first consul. Numerous papers found on Duperron, who was arrested on his arrival from London, exposed all these operations.

December 24, 1800, the explosion of the infernal machine taught the French government that the conspirators were not discouraged. The plot had been formed in England; George Cadoudal and his attendants had departed from London; it was at London that George took refuge to receive the red riband, and the compliments of the ministers of his Britannic Majesty.* Beaten out of France, England

* The attempt of the Rue St. Nicaise was publicly approved of by the English; the *Porcupine* remarked, "There is pardon in heaven for those who rid the world of a monster."

could not give up the idea of triumphing in the republic by civil war and assassination.

The conferences of Luneville, however, were interrupted, and, thanks to the intrigues of English diplomacy, war was re-commenced in Germany and Italy. The victory of Hohenlinden, gained by Moreau, ended the evil intentions of the powers of the coalition, and humiliated them. Pitt had enough to do ; Austria, Spain, Naples, Bavaria, Portugal, Russia, and the Ottoman Porte, demanded peace, and signed the treaty. During the negotiations for the treaties concluded with all these powers, England had violated the convention of El-Arich, as we have already stated in the preceding chapter, attacked Copenhagen, and attempted twice, but vainly, to burn the French flotilla at Boulogne. The cabinet of St. James constantly excited the British to the most revolting excesses. As much was said in the British journals about the French invasion, the Times declared that M. Otto, the French plenipotentiary, had better leave England, because, in case of an invasion, he might become the victim of popular vengeance ; this indirect hint at the assassination of the French representative, was followed by other advice no less atrocious ; the ministerial paper stated, that as the great number of French prisoners might annoy the government, it would be better to get rid of them.

Finally, the British government, pushed to the utmost, and abandoned by its allies, was obliged to make peace ; but it was the last to sign the treaty.

The treaty of Amiens was the signal of the fall of that minister, who had lived only by war, and had inscribed the annihilation of France at the head of his political programme. In fact, the Pitt cabinet fell, but its doctrines were piously followed by its successors.

No sooner was the peace re-established, than England did all she could to break it again. Disgusting pamphlets

and calumnious articles were constantly published in the journals against the French nation.

The English ministry granted its protection to dangerous men, who were pointed out by the French government; some of these individuals assembled at Jersey, and the cabinet of St. James did not attempt to disperse them, although it was informed that their seditious writings, their infernal machines, and plans of conspiracy were continually passing from this island into France.

Finally, England, as we have already seen, kept possession of Malta, in contempt of the formal stipulations of the treaty of the 25th March. It also detained the French vessels in peace, and considered their citizens as prisoners.

Preparations for the invasion of England, made at Boulogne and along the line of coast, were the answer of the French government to the aggressions of the British cabinet. Pitt then regained his power: England being now about to commence a new career of crime, this statesman was necessary to carry out the plans formed.

The conspiracy of Georges, Pichegrus, and Moreau, was a new proof of the incessant machinations of the British government against the first consul and French institutions. For some time, the English talked freely about the speedy death of Bonaparte. The London Courier, a journal published in French, inserted in its columns the translation of a pamphlet composed at the end of the protectorate, and having for its title—"To kill is not to assassinate." On the 30th of January, a bill was posted up in the streets of London, beginning with these words: "As the assassination of Bonaparte and the restoration of Louis XVIII. will soon occur, most of the French will return to their country." Some time after, Georges and his companions were carried to France by an English vessel, to attempt to accomplish these villainous designs. At the same time, battalions of emigrants went from England to the right bank of the

Rhine, with a mission to second the movements of the royalists in the west of France.*

British diplomacy combined its efforts with those of the conspirators. Drake, the English minister to the court of Bavaria, paid and directed its agents in the interior of France to organize there revolution, assassination, a war of brigands, the murder of the first consul, and the overturn of the government. In the ten original letters of this diplomatist which were seized by the French police, this phrase among others was remarked in regard to the assassination of Bonaparte : " *It is of little importance by whom the animal is earthed ; it is sufficient that you will be ready to join in the chase.*" Spencer Smith, another English minister at the court of Wirtemberg, rendered powerful aid to the infamous Drake in his criminal designs. This prostitution of the sacred character of ambassador appeared so monstrous, that all the governments of Europe, without exception, protested with energy against such acts. The cabinet of London, after denying the facts in Parliament, had the impudence to approve the conduct of Drake and Smith, in a communication addressed officially to the first consul.

XIII.—FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE EMPIRE TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

We shall devote but a few lines to the villainy of England in the period between 1804 and the present; not because there is a want of materials, but because we wish to avoid tedious repetitions. First, we would call attention to the pacific propositions made by Napoleon to the King of England after he was declared Emperor, and the brutal refusal of the British government to enter into negotiations with him. Even the letter of the emperor remained unanswered.

* See Mem. of Thibaudéan. Walter Scott, in his Life of Napoleon, admits all these facts. This authority is not suspected.

In 1805, a new coalition was formed and concluded by the cabinet of St. James, which Napoleon called the *paymaster general of the enemies of France*. In 1806, the emperor proclaimed the continental blockade. These just reprisals of France for the injuries she had sustained from England from the commencement of the revolution, was the surest mode of intimidating the culpable policy of her neighbors. William Pitt died the same year. Fox, who now came into power, seemed disposed to continue his policy. The former leader of the liberal opposition, and the zealous friend of the French Revolution, now excited the powers of Europe to new aggressions against France. His designs, however, were not yet marked with sufficient clearness for the northern cabinets to trust to his promises ; but he died, and the succession of a tory ministry completely restored all the hopes of the enemies of France. The flames of war were again rekindled ; and the British treasury, which seemed inexhaustible, furnished funds for the armies, and the devotion of the sovereigns of the coalition.

The bombardment of Copenhagen, in 1807, excited in Europe an indignation which affected even the allies of Great Britain.

Two facts, which were extremely discreditable to the English government, ought to be mentioned here : they occurred in 1810. Napoleon had proposed to exchange the English and Spanish prisoners, who were detained in France, for the French prisoners and subjects of the allied powers, who were in England. The cabinet of London refused, saying that they could not accept Spaniards in exchange for French ; and yet Spain was at that time the ally of England ! Some time afterwards, the English disembarked on the coast of France three thousand invalid soldiers, Hanoverians, Westphalians, Prussians, Swiss, and Poles, who were worn out in their service. Expecting to derive no more benefit from this remnant of the royal

armies, the British government did not hesitate to land them at hap-hazard on the continent, giving each of them, to meet the expenses of their journey, only the sum of thirty-six francs. The emperor, however, supplied them with the means of living, and passports to regain their families.

In 1812, we find the politicians of England using their means of corruption to cement an alliance between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. It is well known how injurious this influence became to France.

Finally, in order to crown in a proper manner the long series of its crimes during the period of the revolution and the empire, England in 1815 sent the vanquished hero of Waterloo, who had confided his destiny to the hands of his enemies, to die under the homicidal sun of St. Helena! From that time, Castlereagh had no cause to envy the son of Chatham.

Great Britain had expended more than twenty hundreds of millions of pounds to excite an unjust and bloody war against France. But she had attained her end. France was humbled, exhausted, and oppressed by shameful treaties ; her natural energy was trodden under the feet of the Bourbons ; her richest colonies were annexed to the British crown ; her frontier towns were dismantled or razed ; her fleets and her commerce destroyed ; her armies annihilated ; her resources exhausted for a long time : such were the fruits of her efforts for twenty-five years. From that time, France was permitted to rest.

Since 1830, the whig party of England have attempted to prove that they had the same political belief as the tories, and that they had forgotten nothing of the policy of Burke and William Pitt. The affairs of the East, and the continual supplies of arms and ammunition to the enemies of France at Algiers, in the face of the treaty of July 15, 1840, have given the captionists of the "*juste milieu*" a proof of what the English policy can be guilty, when moved by sordid interest or implacable jealousy.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHINESE WAR.

THE war upon the banks of the river of Canton, between the English and Chinese, assumes all the characters and phases of British policy.

In order to understand correctly the facts which have brought about the conflict between Great Britain and China, we shall state a few details which are essentially connected with this subject.

I.—HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE OF OPIUM—EFFECT OF OPIUM ON THE HUMAN SYSTEM—DOUBLE PURPOSE OF ENGLAND IN EXTENDING THE TASTE FOR THIS DRUG AMONG THE CHINESE.

For a long time, the Europeans have imported opium into China. The English, observing that this trade would give them great advantages, on account of the love of the Chinese for this drug, took measures early to monopolize the trade. The culture of the poppy extended rapidly in British India, and in a few years Bengal and the adjacent provinces were able to supply all the opium required by the Chinese.

The sale of this article was tolerated by the government of Pekin for a long time; but when the emperor perceived the fatal effects produced by its use, he prohibited its introduction and sale, under the severest penalties. This first prohibition occurred in 1796. In fact, the emperor himself

was once addicted to this habit for many years, but by great moral courage he weaned himself from the vice.

Were the Chinese government wrong in prohibiting a drug hitherto considered as a simple medicine? No one who knows the effects of opium will hesitate to answer.

Opium destroys the physical as well as the moral man. All physiologists admit that the use of this drug, either by smoking or chewing, exercises a terrible influence on the nervous system: it does not produce sleep, but a general excitement, which extends even to delirium. The effect caused on the brain is extremely dangerous. The opium-smoker soon loses his memory and his intelligence. His moral capacities suffer as rapidly as his physical organization. While the legs totter, and the hands tremble like those of an old man,—while the body wastes, the face becomes wrinkled, and assumes the paleness of death; the faculties of the mind and the qualities of the heart are gradually destroyed; the degradation is complete; and long before the act of suicide terminates, the unhappy smoker may be considered as no longer belonging to the human family.

The following details in regard to the manner of smoking opium are from the pen of an Englishman, G. H. Smith, Esq., and are consequently authentic. He remarks:—

"The great extent to which this destructive vice is carried on in this island, and in the straits and islands adjacent, together with the almost utter impossibility of relinquishing the dreadful habit, when once acquired, opens an immense source of revenue to the East India Company, who monopolize the sale of all quantities of opium under a chest, as well as that of arrack, seree, toddy, bang, &c. Benares opium is that chiefly used by the farmer for the preparation of 'chandoo' (the composition smoked), on account of its weight and cheapness; but the consumers prefer the Patna opium, because it has a finer flavor, is stronger, and its effects are more lasting.

"The following is part of the mode of preparing the chandoo. Two balls are as much as one man can properly prepare at once. The soft inside part of the opium-ball is scooped out, and the rind is boiled in soft water, and strained through a piece of calico. The liquor is evaporated in a wide vessel, and all impurities carefully skimmed off, as they rise to the surface. The same process is gone through with the soft opium extracted from the ball ; and all being mixed and evaporated to the consistence of dough, it is spread out into thin plates, and, when cold, it is cut into a number of long narrow slips. These are again reduced to powder, redissolved, again evaporated, and ultimately rolled up into balls, and a good deal resemble shoe-makers' wax. In this state it is fit for smoking, and is at least twice the strength of crude opium. The chandoo, when once smoked, does not entirely lose its powers, but is collected from the head of the pipe, and is then called 'tye-chandoo,' or faecal opium, which is made into pills, and swallowed by those whose poverty prevents them from smoking the chandoo itself.

"In Penang, the opium-smokers are the Chinese, the Malays, and a very few of other nations, chiefly the native Portuguese. It is calculated that 10 per cent. of the Chinese, $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the Malays, and about 1 per cent. of other natives, are addicted to the vice of opium-smoking. The poorer classes smoke in the shops erected for that purpose, but the wealthier orders smoke privately in their own houses. The practice is almost entirely confined to the male sex, a few abandoned prostitutes of the other sex partaking of the vice. A young beginner will not be able to smoke more than five or six grains of chandoo, while the old practitioners will consume two hundred grains daily!!

"The causes which lead to this dreadful habit among the Chinese are—First, their remarkably social and luxurious disposition. In China, every person in easy circumstances has a saloon in his house, elegantly fitted up, to

receive his friends, with pipes, chandoo, &c. All are invited to smoke, and many are thus induced to commence the practice from curiosity or politeness, though few of them are ever able to discontinue the vice afterwards.

" Parents are in the habit of granting this indulgence to their children, apparently to prevent them from running into other vices still more detestable, and to which the Chinese are more prone, perhaps, than any people on earth. There is another cause which leads great numbers of young men into the practice of opium-smoking—a belief, founded, it is said, on experience, that the said practice heightens and prolongs carnal pleasures. It is, however, admitted by all, that opium-smokers become impotent at a much earlier period of life than others. In painful or incurable diseases, in all kinds of mental or corporeal sufferings, in mercantile misfortunes, and in other reverses of fortune, the opium-shop is resorted to as an asylum, where, for a time at least, the unfortunate may drown the recollection of his cares and troubles in an indescribably pleasurable feeling of indifference to all around. The Malays are confident that opium-smoking inspires them with preternatural courage and bodily strength; it is therefore resorted to whenever any desperate act is in contemplation.

" The smoking-shops are the most miserable and wretched places imaginable: they are kept open from six in the morning till ten o'clock at night, each being furnished with from four to eight bedsteads, constructed of bamboo-spars, and covered with dirty mats and rattans. At the head of each there is placed a narrow wooden stool, which serves as a pillow or bolster; and in the centre of each shop there is a small lamp, which, while serving to light the pipes, diffuses a cheerless light through the gloomy abode of vice and misery. On an old table are placed a few cups and a tea-kettle, together with a jug of water, for the use of the smokers. At one side of the door the sub-farmer, or cabaret-keeper, sits, with chandoo, pipes, &c., for the accom-

modation of his customers. The place is filled with the smoke of the chandoo, and with a variety of other vapors, most intolerable to the olfactories of a European. The pipe, as may be seen, is composed of a shank and a head-piece, the former made of hard and heavy wood, fourteen inches long by three inches and a half in circumference. It is bored through the centre, from the mouth-piece to the head, where there is a kind of cup to collect the 'tye-chandoo.'

"The smokers generally go in pairs, and recline on the bedstead, with head resting on the wooden stool. The mode of proceeding is as follows: First, one of the pair takes up a piece of chandoo on the point of a short iron needle, and lighting it at the lamp, applies it to the small aperture (resembling the touchhole of a gun), in the head of the pipe. After a few whiffs, he hands the pipe to his friend, who lights another piece of chandoo at the lamp; and thus they go on alternately smoking till they have had sufficient, or until they are unable to purchase any more of the intoxicating drug. The fume is always expelled through the nose, and old staggers even draw it into their lungs before it is expired.

"During this time, they are at first loquacious, and the conversation is highly animated; but, as the opium takes effect, the conversation droops, and they frequently burst out into loud laughter from the most trifling causes, or without any apparent cause at all, unless it be from the train of thoughts passing through their excited imaginations. The next phase presents a vacancy of countenance, with pallor, and shrinking of the features, so that they resemble people convalescing from a fever. A dead silence precedes a deep sleep, which continues from half an hour to three or four hours. In this state the pulse becomes much slower, softer, and smaller than before the debauch. Such is the general process almost invariably observed among the Chinese; but with the Malays it is often very different. Instead of the

placidity that ushers in the profound sleep, the Malays frequently become outrageously violent and quarrelsome, and lives are occasionally lost in these frightful orgies !

" The chandoo is sometimes employed for the purpose of self-destruction ; but, from its strong smell and taste, it is never used as poison for others. It does not appear that sudden death is ever produced by an overdose of chandoo when used in smoking. When an inordinate quantity has been expended in this way, headache, vertigo, and nausea are the effects, and are only relieved by vomiting.

" When a person has once contracted the habit of opium-smoking, he finds it extremely difficult to discontinue the vice ; yet there are many instances of its being conquered by resolution of mind. In such attempts it is most dangerous to approach the opium-shops, as the smell of the chandoo produces an irresistible desire to indulge once more in the pernicious habit : neither can opium-smoking be suddenly abandoned without some substitute, as the most serious or even fatal consequences would ensue. The best substitute is tincture of the tye-chandoo (which is about one fourth of the strength of the chandoo itself), made with ' lamsoo,' a spirit made from rice, and taken in gradually-diminished doses, till the habit is broken.

" By a continuance in this destructive practice, the physical constitution and the moral character of the individual are deteriorated or destroyed, especially among the lower classes, who are impelled to the commission of crimes, in order to obtain the means of indulging in their dominant vice.

" The hospitals and poor-houses are chiefly filled with opium-smokers. In one that I had charge of, the inmates averaged sixty daily, five sixths of whom were smokers of chandoo. The baneful effects of this habit on the human constitution are conspicuously displayed by stupor, forgetfulness, general deterioration of all the mental faculties, emaciation, debility, sallow complexion, lividity of lips and eye-

lids, languor and lack-lustre of eye, appetite either destroyed or depraved, sweetmeats or sugar-cane being the articles that are most relished. In the morning these creatures have a most wretched appearance, evincing no symptoms of being refreshed or invigorated by sleep, however profound. There is a remarkable dryness or burning in the throat, which urges them to repeat the opium-smoking. If the dose be not taken at the usual time, there is great prostration, vertigo, and torpor, discharge of water from the eyes, and in some an involuntary discharge of semen, even when wide awake. If the privation be complete, a still more formidable train of phenomena takes place. Coldness is felt over the whole body, with aching pains in all parts. Diarrhoea occurs ; the most horrid feelings of wretchedness come on ; and if the poison be withheld, death terminates the victim's existence.

"It is generally remarked, as might, *a priori*, be expected, that the offspring of opium-smokers are weak, stunted, and decrepit."

Another powerful authority on this subject will prove what we have advanced. Some years since, a Chinese artist painted a series of pictures, representing the phases in the life of an opium-smoker. The following is a description of these pictures, taken from the Chinese Repository for 1837, a journal published at Canton :—

"In the first picture, we see a young man, who, from his dress, appears to be rich, and whose countenance indicates that he is in good health. Near him is a coffer filled with gold and silver. A domestic in one corner of the apartment is preparing the opium for the pipe of this young voluptuary.

"Number two shows our future hero smoking on a rich divan, surrounded by courtesans and musicians, to whom he distributes pieces of gold.

"In number three, this imprudent young man is completely a slave to this fatal habit ; his eyes are sunken and

haggard, his skin is pale, his features wasted ; while his decayed teeth and crooked back indicate already the ravages produced in his system by opium. He is seated upon a meaner sofa ; his coffer is empty. He is still preparing to smoke, and his wife and slave seem terrified by their prospective ruin.

" In the fourth picture, he appears to be entirely destitute. Everything around him indicates the extreme of misery. He lies upon a few planks ; he is bent up like an old man of eighty ; the muscles of his face and hands are contracted ; he seems to breathe from the very bottom of his chest. His wife appears insensible to their despair.

" In the fifth picture, the young old man, still fond of that poison so pernicious to him, is reduced to the most deplorable situation. Perhaps he finds a few pieces of copper, which he has possibly stolen from a neighbor, and he drags himself along, like a dying man, towards an opium-shop, where a few cinders, fallen from the pipe of another smoker, kindle up the dying spark of existence.

" Finally, the last picture represents him in the lowest degree of idiocy. He is sitting on a miserable bamboo-chair, and is eating the residuum of opium, so thick that he cannot swallow it except by drinking with it a little tea. His wife and son are taking care of silk-worms, to obtain the means of procuring a painful existence. One would think his last hour had come."

This is the fate of the unhappy man who is addicted to this terrible propensity ; and unfortunately the attraction of this poison is irresistible. The prostration which follows intoxication does not terrify the smoker. Before feeling wretched, he tastes in imagination all the pleasures of the oriental paradise ; he prefers death rather than renounce that intellectual mirror which presents to all the senses the most delicate enjoyments.

And farther, this vice exercises its despotic influence over the physical man as well as upon the will ; if they at-

tempt to renounce it, the want of nervous excitement deranges the vital forces to an intolerable extent, which may even become fatal.

"I have learned," says an Imperial censor in the memorial to the Chinese government, "that the opium smokers have a periodical desire for the drug, and this desire cannot be appeased except by a new dose taken at regular intervals. If they cannot smoke when the necessity of the moment comes, their limbs tremble, there is a free discharge from their noses and eyes, and they become unable to do any work. A few whiffs, however, are sufficient to revive their spirits and strength." Thus the smokers can only live by the aid of opium, and when they are arrested and brought before the magistrates, they prefer to undergo severe chastisement rather than to inform against those who had sold them the poison.

The Chinese government only stated a deplorable fact when it declared that opium was a deadly drug, and gave proof of foresight in prohibiting its sale.

The English paid no attention to this prohibition. The open traffic was suspended, but it was still carried on secretly, with results that equalled and even surpassed their expectations. The East India Company, seeing that this source of revenue would become more and more profitable, undertook to monopolize for their possessions the culture of the poppy.* It did more; it protected itself against

* On the subject of this monopoly, we read the following curious details in the National of June 22, 1841.

"The culture of the poppy, although general in all the English East Indian possessions, yet occupies principally the territory of Benares and Patnah. Half of it, however, is raised in Malwa alone. Although this last province does not belong to the company, it was formerly subject to the opium monopoly. The princes of the province were obliged to tell how much was raised, and to sell the whole of it to the English alone. The price allowed by the British agents was about half that which could be obtained elsewhere. This odious monopoly having impoverished the inhabitants of Malwa, the people were much exasperated. In 1829, however, the company determined to throw open the culture of the poppy in that province; but as there was no market for the drug except in Bombay,

French commerce, by paying an annual indemnity of a million pounds, on condition that the French should formally renounce the cultivation of the poppy in that strip of land which remained to them of their former Asiatic kingdom.

While the company regulated by these means this fraudulent commerce, it attempted to extend the desire for opium into the most remote provinces of the Chinese empire. Its agents formed connexions with the highest functionaries of the empire, caused them to contract this fatal habit, and thus rendered them their accomplices. At the same time, they organized a system of smuggling with the population of the seacoast. They established a depot of opium in the Isle of Lintin, at the mouth of the river of Canton ; here the buyers were supplied by numerous stationary vessels called receiving vessels. In a short time they braved the wrath of the emperor openly ; the vessels destined to carry this fraudulent merchandise were armed with guns, and when the smugglers met a war junk, designed to prevent the opium trade, they fired upon it, and saved themselves by rapid flight. The East India Company had now succeeded to the utmost of its wishes. From this time the Chinese could not dispense with opium. They were the tributaries and victims of the English. They had become, in the hands of the government at Calcutta, a worthy rival of that of London, a material essentially saleable.

It is difficult to understand why a nation should poison itself voluntarily. The article from the National which we have already cited, gives a very plausible explanation of this fact.

and as the inhabitants of this province were obliged to pass through the British possessions to get to the capital, it cannot be shipped to China until it has paid enormous duties. In all the districts belonging to the English, there is an exorbitant monopoly of it.

Wherever the soil has been found to be proper for the cultivation of the poppy, this culture is obligatory. The government makes advances to the ryott or peasant, and if these advances are refused, the money is thrown into his cabin, and then he is obliged to sow poppies ; and woe be to him if he attempts to deceive in regard to this point.

"The Chinese," says this journal, "are the most voluptuous people in the world; they have always been extremely fond of stimulants of all kinds; they constantly use birds-nests, sharks' fins, and biche de mer, of which seven thousand piculs are annually imported, together with other stimulating drugs. It is not surprising, then, that the Chinese should become extremely addicted to the use of opium, inasmuch as, when taken in moderate doses, it causes a transient feeling of happiness and delightful visions, which only renew the desire of using it again. As we have already said, the desire of taking increases with the quantity taken; the smoker cannot resist this strong propensity, although knowing very well that he is committing suicide by inches. It is the same thing with those who become addicted to the use of ardent spirits, although they are perfectly satisfied that the indulgence of this habit leads to the tomb.

"In Syria, Persia, and Turkey, opium does not generally produce such disastrous effects, because the inhabitants of these countries are not so passionate as the Chinese, and use the poisonous drug with some degree of moderation. But in China this cannot be, on account of the propensities of this sensual people. The English are fully aware of this fact, and do not carry the opium elsewhere.

"It is in this manner that a people poisons itself voluntarily."

In all this the wishes of England are easily seen; to say nothing of the political influence which it acquires in the empire by weakening its power.

In a financial point of view, it has been of immense advantage. In fact, as opium is paid for on the spot, on account of the prohibition, it follows that twenty millions of dollars are drawn from the kingdom annually without any equivalent. "Formerly," said Heu-Naetzé, vice-president of the court of Pekin, in a very remarkable memoir on this subject, "formerly, the commerce of the barbarians brought

money to China, and this money, given in exchange for merchandise, was a source of benefit to the maritime population. But since the barbarians only sell opium clandestinely and for cash, the specie leaves the empire, and does not return to it in any manner." China then loses an immense quantity of specie from which the East India Company profits exclusively. This state of things will inevitably ruin the population and government of the celestial empire.

In a political point of view, the calculations of England were well founded ; in fact, it was evident that the use of opium, extending farther and farther, would demoralize the whole empire, and would finally enervate the population to such a degree that they could not resist a powerful enemy. It is remarkable that the greatest number of opium-smokers are found in the higher classes.* The troops also are infected with this vice, so that the Chinese empire is affected in its real strength, viz., in its rich population and in its army.

But demoralization is not the only auxiliary on which English policy counts. It was easy to foresee a still more positive result which had been anticipated by the governments of London and Calcutta. The mean existence of the opium-smokers scarcely exceeds four years, and hence the general mortality must increase sensibly in consequence of the use of this poisonous drug. Now it has been calculated that thirty-four thousand chests of opium, the amount imported in 1837,† is sufficient for the consumption of a million of individuals. Hence, after the year 1837, China

* We read in a memoir of the Mandarin, Choo Hum : "Most of the opium-smokers are parents, or under the authority of those employed by the government : by them, this fatal custom has extended to the commercial classes, and even among the soldiers, the students, and laborers. Those who do not smoke, are the lower people of the villages and hamlets.

† The importation of opium into China has progressed astonishingly. In 1816, it was 3210 chests ; 1825, 9601 ; 1832, 23,670 ; 1837, 34,000. Thus in twenty years the amount has been decupled.

will lose a million of inhabitants annually, in addition to its common mortality, and we have every reason to think that the use of opium will be still more extensive in subsequent years. Hence the double motive which England has pursued, since the time when the prohibition of opium has given a new impulse to this odious traffic, has been the ruin of private individuals and of the state for the advantage of the East India Company, and demoralization and assassination of the Chinese population as a new means of conquest.*

II.—PROHIBITION OF THE OPIUM TRADE—REAL MOTIVE OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

The government of Pekin opened its eyes to the dangers of the increased trade in opium. It passed new laws, more explicit and severe than the first, and ordered the mandarins to be still more vigilant in regard to smuggling.

The English, and some French writers who were interested in this subject, have pretended that the financial question was the motive of the emperor, and that the object of the laws against the merchants and smokers of opium

* The English appear to have practised a similar system of extermination in New Holland, except that a degree of refinement is added, which marks their progress in civilization. A writer in the Westminster Review for January, 1841, remarks ; "Very recently in Van Diemen's Land, a small body of aborigines were hemmed in and shot down in cold blood by a few Europeans, and when the government took some steps to bring the monsters who perpetrated it to justice, the press raised an outcry against punishing men for shooting '*monkeys*,' and an intimation was held out that if this course were persevered in, it would be necessary to find some more secure mode of getting rid of the '*vermin*.' The mode recommended was to dose wheaten bread or cakes, of which the natives are very fond, with arsenic, and we learn from a letter from a private friend, that the method in question is actually adopted around Port Philip. He says, 'Some of the white people here treat them (the natives) most shamefully; for the slightest offence they kill them, and drop their bodies into some creek, and some have been known to leave about *dampers*, a species of bread baked in the bush, in which arsenic has been previously put, for the very purpose of destroying the blacks.' Shame on such outrageous conduct from a nation which professes to be the zealous friend of the colored race!"

was only to prevent the loss of money and the ruin of the Chinese empire.

It is easy to demonstrate the falsehood of this assertion, and to prove that the Chinese have more regard to the demoralization of their nation, and the dangers which would result from it, than to the loss of money. The mandarin Choo Hum, whom we have already mentioned, says, in his official report to the emperor :—

“ I have always admired the care taken by my sovereign in strengthening the military and civil education, to consolidate the foundations of the empire, and to exclude the barbarians from every point ; but unless the importation of opium can be arrested, it is impossible to know certainly the extent of the mortality which the use of this drug will cause in the army : and if the camp is once infected, the fatal influence of opium will extend its ravages. *Then how can the victims of this scourge, with tottering legs, trembling hands, and tearful eyes, fulfil their military duties ? How can such men form strong and formidable legions ? Under such influences, the soldiers will become incapable of advancing in combat, and, in a retreat, of defending their posts.*”

Further on, the author of the report remarks : “ At first, the opium was cultivated at Kaoutsinne, or Kallapa (Batavia) ; the inhabitants of this country were quick and active, good soldiers, and generally victorious in their contests ; but the people called Hung-Maou, or *red-haired men*, came there, and having taught the natives to smoke opium, this frightful habit soon extended through the whole nation. The men became weak and cowardly ; they submitted to the yoke of the foreigner, and were thus completely subjugated after a short time. Now the English belong to the same race termed Hung-Maou. Their object in introducing opium into this country, is only to weaken and enervate the celestial empire. If we are not upon our guard by a feel-

ing of danger, we shall find ourselves on the edge of a precipice, and on the brink of ruin."

Finally, we find in another memorial addressed to the emperor by the sub-censor Hen Keer, the following passage, which is equally explicit: "For a long time, the vessels of the barbarians have appeared upon our coast; they penetrate into our inner seas: have they any evil designs upon us? Do they wish to ascertain our force or our weakness? If we allow them to advance step by step, if no restrictions are placed upon them, the force of the country will be daily undermined and weakened. When our population shall be weakened, even if any trivial difficulty should arise, would it be possible to suppress it?"

Hence the war was not produced by a question of money. This question was only secondary in the view of the Chinese; but they regarded it in a moral and political point of view, for they very well understood the infamous object of the cabinets of London and Calcutta.

III.—HISTORY OF THE RUPTURE—THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT DECLARES WAR AGAINST CHINA—ITS BAD FAITH.

The English took no notice of the laws and threats of the Chinese government. They continued their horrid commerce. Although warned and requested to obey the prohibitory edicts of government, they continued to sell their poison under the eyes of the authorities.

Nevertheless, the government was still indulgent, and addressed new remonstrances to the English resident, Captain Elliott. He was constantly making hypocritical protestations of obedience to the mandarins. He admitted that the Chinese government had the right to make whatever laws they thought proper, and said that he would not oppose the punishment of the offenders; but while he thus pretended to submit to the wishes of the emperor, he took no steps to remove from the Canton river vessels loaded

with opium : and while he admitted, in his official despatch to Lord Palmerston, that the opium trade was infamous and criminal, he adopted no measures to check the smuggling. Still less did he attempt to abolish from Bengal the monopoly of the cultivation of the poppy, which monopoly is the only source of this odious traffic.

This double game provoked the indignation of the Chinese authorities. They adopted means to interrupt the commerce of the English. As a preliminary measure, Commissioner Lin, the delegate of the emperor, ordered, on the 18th of March, 1839, that all of the opium contained in the receiving vessels should be delivered up to him. The British minister continued secretly to protect the smugglers. The commissioner, to compel him to sign the order for the delivery of the opium, was obliged to imprison Captain Elliott, and employ other extreme modes to intimidate him. Captain Elliott was forced to obey, and decided to surrender to the imperial commissioner, not the entire quantity of opium, but only twenty thousand two hundred and ninety-one chests.

The English complained bitterly that the Chinese government had no right to confiscate contraband goods ; their attitude became more insolent and more provoking than ever. July 7th, 1839, some sailors went to Hong Kong, committed gross outrages there, and assassinated an inoffensive inhabitant. Commissioner Lin demanded the murderer. Captain Elliott replied that he could not discover the offender ; he even insinuated that the crime might have been committed by some American sailors. A correspondence occurred in regard to this matter, which shows the perfidy of the English in every line.

On the 4th of September, the British superintendent, without any previous declaration of war, blockaded the entrance of the river, and attacked three Chinese junks. On the 3d of November, Captain Smith and the superintendent gave battle to a Chinese flotilla. Several vessels were sunk,

and the English, overjoyed at the success of this effort, prepared for new hostilities.

The British government then decided to declare war against China. In the order of council of April, 1840, are found several passages too singular and significant to be passed over in silence.

“ Her Majesty, considering the recent offences of several Chinese authorities against her functionaries, has ordered that satisfaction and reparation should be demanded. To obtain this satisfaction and reparation, the vessels and cargoes belonging to the Emperor of China or his subjects shall be kept and guarded, in order that if this satisfaction is refused, the vessels and cargoes thus retained, and others which may afterwards be captured, may be confiscated and sold ; the proceeds of this sale shall be applied as her Majesty shall think proper ; by and with the advice of the privy council, therefore, these presents do ordain, that the commanders of her Royal Majesty’s vessels shall detain and carry into port all vessels and merchandise belonging to the Emperor of China or to his subjects, or to any other inhabitants of the country, territory, or dominions of China, &c.”

Thus it was the Chinese government which was the aggressor ;—she whose laws have been scandalously violated by the subjects of her Britannic Majesty ;—she who is obliged to caution her people against the poison brought by the English. The English cabinet declares itself offended, and seeks a pretext to make war upon China. First, she seizes and confiscates the cargoes of Chinese vessels. Then she must have reparation, consisting of a sum of money ; an indemnity for the seizing of contraband goods.

The British government knew that the Chinese nation could not resist a European army, fortified by all the means of destruction invented by modern science ; it was aware, too, that most of the rich population, and of the Imperial army, were already sufficiently demoralized by the use of

opium, to be more embarrassing than useful to the government of Pekin in a serious contest. It knew that all the opium-smokers were favorable to England, and also the population of the seashore, which lived in a great degree on the contraband trade of opium. After attempting, by every means, to bring on this odious war, it took up arms with the certainty of crushing an almost defenceless enemy.

The indemnity claimed by Great Britain for the confiscated opium was five million pounds sterling. For this indemnity the East India Company was alone responsible, and, on the failure of the company, the government. The merchants who had suffered by the confiscation had purchased the twenty thousand chests of the company; hence they ought, in good faith, to indemnify them for the loss sustained. In fact, the merchants claimed it, saying that the company could not expect to profit from the bargain from which the merchant received nothing, since the merchandise which was purchased by them at Calcutta, had been confiscated at Canton. The answer of the governor of the East India Company, and of the home government, was worthy of both; they both said that they did not encourage the opium trade, that they were even ignorant of it, and consequently could not be held responsible for the damage sustained by the smugglers. This excuse was very singular, considering the care devoted by the company to the cultivation of the poppy, and the sale of its opium in the market of India, and still more so, considering the declarations of several members of parliament, and particularly by one of the former ministers. In fact, the Duke of Wellington remarked, in the session of the 12th of May, 1840: "I was one of a committee to make an inquiry in regard to the different branches of English commerce, and particularly that of opium; one of the principal objects considered by the government was the continuation of this trade. Witnesses were asked if it were not possible to extend commerce generally, and particularly that of opium. In the report

made by the committee to the House of Commons, it was expressly stated that it was desirable to continue the opium trade. The bad faith of the two governments was then apparent. It was easy for the merchants to prove this. Hence the company and home government decided to oblige the Chinese government to pay the indemnity."

And now what should be said of the British merchants, the East India Company, and the government, if the demand for indemnity was entirely unfounded, if the seizure of the opium had occasioned no loss to the smugglers? We shall now proceed to prove this in such a manner as to remove every doubt and every objection. The following is an extract from a despatch from Captain Elliott to Lord Palmerston, dated at Tongkou, and published among the official documents to which we have already alluded.

"The commissioner Lin found the opium trade in a state of extreme stagnation. For four months before his arrival, there had been but few sales; the stock of the last year had accumulated, and the harvest of the current year had begun to arrive. In Chipa the price had fallen two or three per cent. below the cost of its production and duties; when the opium was sent to Canton, the sales of the drug at Calcutta and Bombay were ruinous.

"But, my Lord, when the high commissioner had abandoned reasonable measures to solve the problem confided to him, when he had obliged me to take from my fellow-countrymen the opium which was theirs, I foresaw for him only difficulties and disappointment.

"To seize twenty thousand chests of opium, which were almost without value on account of the large stock on hand, was not the mode to extinguish this trade, and, on the contrary, we must regard this measure as having saved the opium trade. In fact, the price had fallen so much, that if the commissioner Lin had restored the chests the day after seizing them, it is difficult to say whether the proprietors would have been the gainers. We may say that the market

required to be quickened by the persecutions of the commissioner, in order that the price of opium should be equal to the price of its production, considering that the trade has been very active and very profitable since the 24th of March, we must admit that those persons who gave up the opium ought to be extremely grateful to his excellency the commissioner, and perfectly willing to sacrifice the price of the confiscated opium for the profits of the opium which could not have been sold under other circumstances, except at a ruinous sacrifice ; I estimate that this would be a moderate tax on the actual future sales. The commissioner has taken the only course to encourage the sales of the next year. If he had left the twenty thousand chests in the hands of their owners, the company would have been obliged to sacrifice the crop of the next year. Under these circumstances, I think that this trade will be extremely profitable. In conclusion, I would state to your excellency that my resolutions have not caused the merchants any loss, but the contrary."

Here the English superintendent at Canton declares officially, that the merchants lost nothing by the confiscation of the opium, but, on the contrary, that it was a source of profit. And yet the merchants claim damages, and the English government supports their pretensions by an army. Any remarks would weaken the impression which this statement ought to make on every impartial mind. We shall say no more on the subject, but shall leave our readers to draw their own conclusions.

IV.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHINA— CAPTURE OF CHUSAN—BARBARIETY OF THE ENGLISH—BOMBARDMENT OF AMOR.

An English fleet of more than thirty sail, of all sizes, were moored in the roads of Macao, June 20th, 1840. It came to oblige the Emperor of China to permit the poison-

ing of his subjects, to pay to the English a large indemnity for imaginary losses, and to make to the British government such concessions as the latter should judge favorable to its views and its passion for conquest. On the 2d of July, their naval forces appeared before the Island of Chusan, situated at the entrance of the Yellow Sea. On the 5th, a general attack was made on the capital of the island. The unhappy Chinese fired a few balls against the vessels of the enemy, which passed between the masts of the vessels ; in their simplicity, they imagined that the English sailors would be terrified at the sight of some hideous monsters, whose images they had placed on the banks of the river. The leaders of the expedition were not deceived ; they made war upon a defenceless people.

After a murderous fire of nine minutes only, against an inoffensive city, the red-coats entered Ting-hæ, and the inhabitants fled in disorder. A scene of pillage then occurred, which continued until the cupidity of the English soldiers was entirely satisfied. The English generals attempted to produce the impression that the Chinese pillaged their own city before leaving it ; but the truth is contained in a letter from an officer in the army, from which we shall make an extract ; it is dated the 18th of July, at Chusan.

"The troops were disembarked, the English flag was hoisted, and then commenced the most thorough pillage imaginable ; every house was broken open indiscriminately ; every box and chest was emptied. The streets were filled with fragments of furniture, tables and chairs, and the whole was finally collected together, except the dead or living bodies of the inhabitants, who could not quit the city on account of the wounds received from our merciless guns. Some had lost a leg, others both legs, and there were a great number with horrid wounds, made by thirty-two pound shot, which had passed through their bodies. For two days the bodies were left where they had fallen. At the end of that time, they were buried in consequence of the

smell, and the number of flies upon them. During this time, the pillage was carried to the utmost extreme, and ceased only when there was nothing more to take. The plunderers, on their return to Calcutta, made presents to their friends, and ornamented their houses with trophies taken, not from the soldiers, not from the field of battle, but from the peaceful and inoffensive inhabitants. The inhabitants of the city were devoted to destruction by our vessels of war, which a few days previous had given positive orders to all our transports to use indulgence towards the inhabitants, because we did not make war upon the people, but only demanded reparation of the Chinese government.

"The day after the capture of Chusan, the soldiers, either from intoxication, or influenced by the demon of destruction, set fire to a part of the city. The conflagration was extended by the spirits contained in the warehouses at Ting-hæ, and spread with frightful rapidity, and would have swept off the whole city, had it not been extinguished by the unparalleled efforts of the seamen."

For the edification of our readers, we would state, that according to the officer who wrote the above letter, vessels loaded with opium followed the squadron, doubtless to poison those unfortunate natives who had escaped the balls of the English.

While Ting-hæ was captured and sacked by the English, a small part of the squadron was sent to destroy the city of Amor. The frigate Blonde conducted this savage expedition with a zeal worthy of a better purpose, and the commander pointed out the ruins of the city to his cannoniers as the glorious certificate by which the commander of the vessel claimed the favor of his chief.

In this affair there was nothing wanting, and English policy, in its struggles with the Chinese, appeared in its most hideous forms. It has shrunk from nothing either hateful or barbarous; it has shown itself in all its naked-

ness ; it called to its aid perfidy, deception, theft, poison, and the sword.

V.—SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES—ENGLAND AGAIN BREAKS THE PEACE.

Hostilities were suspended temporarily by an arrangement made between the government of Pekin and the representative of the English cabinet. One would think that the concessions made by the Emperor ought to satisfy his enemies. He granted to the English six millions of dollars as an indemnity, and yet, as we have already stated, this indemnity was not legitimately due. In the second place, he granted them the island of Hong Kong, situated at the entrance of the river of Canton, and this stipulation, which gave them a foothold in the Chinese empire, might at a later period serve as a starting point for their projects of conquest. Finally, one clause of the convention permitted the English in future to treat directly with the court of Pekin. This privilege has long been desired by the British ministers. They had always thought, that when they could have a minister at the court of the Emperor, intrigue and corruption would do more for the success of their designs, than threats and violence.

The wishes of England seemed then fulfilled by this treaty. But British cupidity cherished hopes much more brilliant, particularly since they had ascertained the fighting qualities of the Chinese. The cabinet of St. James and the East India Company therefore found that the arrangement signed by Captain Elliott was not sufficiently favorable to the interests of the commerce and policy of Great Britain. Some time afterward, news was received in Europe that hostilities had re-commenced, that the Boyne forts had been destroyed by the British artillery, and that the fleet had anchored before Canton, intending to burn the city if the Emperor was not more generous.

The English papers affirm that the armistice was broken by the Chinese ; but the remarks of these journals prove that the English were interested in re-commencing this war to obtain the object of their demands, and no one would believe that the Chinese would renew a contest which would be fatal to them. And farther, private despatches received in Europe state that the English were the aggressors.

As yet, the war is not terminated ; a new squadron has sailed from the ports at Bengal, for the capital of the Chinese Empire. The English will now make a demonstration against Pekin, and it will probably be successful.

Until this power decides to throw off the mask, and to undertake seriously the conquest of China, she will continue, probably, to demoralize the people by opium. This is confirmed by the solemn declaration of the ministers of Queen Victoria, and that of several influential members of parliament.

The statesmen of Great Britain have said, that the opium trade must be maintained ; that is, until the crime shall be thoroughly accomplished, in spite of those hypocrites who, in England and India, lament the fate of the unfortunate Chinese.

All remarks are superfluous, for they occur naturally from the simple statement of the facts.

In conclusion, England has presented to the world the unparalleled sight of a government warring upon a defenceless people, to compel them to take poison.*

* Since the above remarks were written, the Chinese war has been continued with the same degree of savage cruelty and ferocity which characterizes the other contests of England, and with a bloody recklessness of human life, disreputable and disgraceful to any nation claiming to be civilized, and worthy only of barbarians and savages. A narrative of the Chinese war has recently been issued by Captain Bingham, who has served with the expedition throughout : we shall make a few extracts from it, to show the manner in which England has sullied her national honor. Take, for instance, his account of the slaughter at Ningpoo :—

About twelve thousand (Chinese) advanced upon the southern and

western gates, the guards retiring before them. On the Chinese penetrating to the market-place in the centre of the city, they were received by a heavy fire from our troops drawn up. This sudden check so damped their ardor, that their *only object appeared to be to get out of the city as fast as they could*, in doing which they were *crowded in dense masses* in the narrow streets. The artillery now came up, unlimbered *within one hundred yards of the crowded fugitives*, and poured in a destructive fire of grape and canister. So awful was the destruction of human life, that *the bodies were obliged to be removed to the sides of the streets to allow the guns to advance*, and were pursued by them (the artillery) and the 49th regiment for several miles."

Captain Bingham thus describes the scene at Amoy:—"The general had this day a good opportunity of displaying his skill in military tactics. Perceiving that the enemy had five thousand men in an extensive encampment on the southern bank of the river, while the city was on the northern, he determined to attack the former first (the troops had been landed under cover of the fire of the Cruiser, the Columbine, and the Bentinck). Having divided his small army into three columns, the right and left were despatched towards the flanks of the enemy, which movement they were enabled to execute without being perceived by their opponents, under cover of a rising ground. The centre column advancing at the same time, the Chinese came boldly out to meet them. The British troops advanced steadily until within good range, though the Chinese had for some time opened a fire of gingals and matchlocks, directed solely against this column. The order was given to fire, when, at the same moment, the flank companies debouched, pouring in their volleys on the now bewildered Chinese. Being utterly confounded at this (to them) most wonderful increase of force, they gazed in stupid and motionless amazement. A few of them only returned a feeble fire to the incessant peals which came from every quarter, and then, as it were in a sudden panic, moved, broke up, and fled in every direction, leaving the field thickly strewn with their dead and dying. Our men followed in close pursuit, and many hand-to-hand encounters took place; but the long Chinese spear could make but little resistance against the British bayonet. Many of these men fought with desperation, apparently resolved to conquer or die. The residue fled by hundreds to the water, hoping by that means to hide themselves from the vengeance of the 'red-haired race.' The fire of the rifles was most deadly: the stream shortly became tinged with their blood, when the general, accompanied by Mr. Thom, coming up, the latter bearing a flag, with the following words in the Chinese language upon it—'Yield and be saved, resist and perish'—many of them took quarter, and *the carnage ceased*. On this day, so unhappy for the black-haired race, *fifteen hundred of whom must have perished*, our loss amounted to *sixteen killed* and a few wounded. With such a tremendous bombardment as had been going on for two hours in this densely-populated neighborhood, it must be expected that pitiable sights were to be witnessed. *At one spot were four children struck down*, while the frantic father was occasionally embracing their bodies, or making

attempts to drown himself in a neighboring tank. Numerous similar scenes were witnessed!"

At Anninghoy, the bombardment appears to have been of the most terrific description, and soon drove the Chinese from their guns. Captain Bingham thus describes the execution done upon the wretched fugitives in their fruitless endeavor to escape :—

" The run becoming general, many tried to escape round the base of the hill, in doing which numbers of them became exposed to the Blenheim's broadside, when a great many fell. Finding the fire too hot to allow them to escape along the beach, they took to the water, crawling along on all fours, and bobbing their heads as they saw the flash of the guns; but escaping Scylla, they fell into Charybdis: for they had no sooner got clear of the ships, than they became exposed to the rocket-boats. The discharge followed the poor wretches into the village. Truly it was an awful day for the black-haired race of Ham!"

In another part of the book we have an account of a skilful manœuvre, which placed a large body of the Chinese between two fires, by which six hundred were slain, with a loss to the British force of only one killed. The Chinese (says Captain Bingham) could do nothing against the terrific broadsides of the ships, the shells, and the rockets. In numerous instances, the Chinese, having no notion that quarter would be extended to them, rushed upon the bayonets of their invaders, and destroyed themselves before their eyes.

Captain Bingham estimates the losses of the Chinese as very large :—" Their losses, since the commencement of our hostile operations against them, may be estimated in round numbers at from fifteen to twenty thousand men, and about eighteen hundred pieces of cannon of different calibre, with an immense quantity of the other materials of war."

The war is now ended for the present. A treaty has been concluded between China and Great Britain, of which the following are the most important provisions :—

" 1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.

" 2. China to pay \$21,000,000 in the course of the present and three succeeding years.

" 3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpoo, and Shanghai to be thrown open to British merchants; consular officers to be appointed to reside at them; and regular and just tariffs of import and export (as well as inland transit) duties to be established and published.

" 4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors.

" The Chinese ports thrown open by this treaty, in addition to Canton, are—1. Amoy, about 24 degrees 27 minutes north latitude; an excellent harbor, with a numerous and wealthy trading population. 2. Foo-choo-foo, the capital of the province of Foo-kien, is about thirty miles above Hoo-kiang, the anchoring place at the mouth of the Min; the Lord Amherst sailed up the river to the city in 1832. The population can scarcely be under 400,000. The best tea-plantations are in the interior of Foo-kien;

and Foo-choo-foo is the emporium of the black tea trade. The principal articles of export are tea, timber for building, tobacco, and cotton. 3. Ningpoo, where the British had a factory till 1759. Lindsay assigns to it between 300,000 and 400,000 inhabitants. 4. Shanghai, a place of great trade and importance. The climate at Shanghai and Ningpoo, the most northerly of these ports, is oppressively hot in summer, but the winters are very severe, and woollen cloths in great demand. The currents in the estuary of the Yang-tse-kiang, among the small islands of the Chusan group, and along the intervening shores, are strong, complicated, and as yet but imperfectly known."

The Chinese were extremely desirous to come to an understanding in regard to the opium trade; but this was declined by the British negotiator. A writer in the London Times remarks on this point:—

"It ought to receive the immediate and grave attention of ministers, and much of the benefit of our new commercial relations with China may be contingent, both as to duration and as to extent, upon the course which may be pursued with reference to the opium trade. We think it of the highest moment that the government of Great Britain should wash its hands, once for all, not only of all diplomatic, but of all moral and practical responsibility for this traffic; that we should cease to be mixed up with it, to foster it, or to make it a source of Indian revenue, as we did in the days of Sir John Hobhouse and Lord Auckland; that we should not only disavow, but distinctly discourage and set our faces against it, in all the ports of China, instead of countenancing and protecting it, as in the days of Sir G. Robinson and Captain Elliott; in short, that it should be *put down*, as far as policy on the part of our government can put it down, without infringement of the principle that we are not to guaranty the revenue laws of other nations.

"In the eyes of all Europe, British character would stand higher for such a vindication, which (to speak honestly) is, under the circumstances, very much needed: much more in China, where it is inevitable that the worst possible impressions should prevail as to our motives for engaging in this war. If we take such measures, we shall be supported by the respect of the Chinese government and people in a position which otherwise we could maintain only through their fears. Nor ought it to be forgotten that, in this case, religion, justice, and humanity, point in the same direction with policy. The responsibility of counteracting just and paternal laws, however imperfectly administered, and of pushing, in the face of such laws, a traffic in demoralization and vice, is heavy; and we owe some moral compensation to China for pillaging her towns and slaughtering her citizens in a quarrel which never could have arisen if we had not been guilty of this national crime."

Sir Henry Pottinger now proposes to proceed to JAPAN, to claim satisfaction for received insults, and to demand admission for British ships to those islands on terms of mutual mercantile advantage!

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLAND.

I.—INTERNAL POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT—OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE BY THE ARISTOCRACY—PAUPERISM.

THE misdeeds of the British government are not fortuitous accidents, referable to the extreme perversity of some minister. Notwithstanding the numerous changes which have occurred during the last two centuries in the administration of the government; notwithstanding the changes which have brought sometimes the Whigs, and sometimes the Tories into power, English policy has always remained the same; it has been constantly inspired by the same thought, ruled by the same necessities, and served by the same means.

England is that country of all others, where the oppression of the masses for the benefit of a few has been conducted in the most scientific and thorough manner. The crimes of the English aristocracy against the people over whom it tyrannizes, are equally as horrid as those it has committed in the name of the nation, in every part of the globe.

The soil of England, as is well known, belongs almost entirely to this aristocracy; it composes the House of Lords, and rules in the House of Commons. The Reform bill, which gave some power to the middling interests, did not take away the direction of affairs from the House of Lords. The English aristocracy is still mistress of the soil, and of the political power of England.

Although haughty and insolent, it has never been exclusive, like the French nobility. It receives as recruits all those men of the middling interests who obtain political power, thus taking away from the lower classes their natural chiefs, and attaching the middle class to its interests.

The power of the English aristocracy is defended by the subsidies enjoyed by the nobler families. All the superior grades in the army and navy, all the rich endowments of the church, the wealthiest in the world, are considered as the patrimony of these old families.

By the exercise of these privileges, the nobility absorb a great part of the public revenues, and hold in their hands the wealth of the state. This would be a great deal in other countries, but the advantages of the English aristocracy do not stop here.

The raising of taxes brings nearly all the expenses of the government upon the poorer classes. The nobility talk about the taxes upon dogs, horses, carriages, servants, and plate; but these taxes are very light, and the revenue derived from them is extremely small. Most of the revenues of the British empire arise from Custom House duties, and from taxes on articles of daily and constant consumption, which are paid by the people. The administration of justice gives the English aristocracy another instrument of power. The people cannot appear in a higher court, where the expenses are enormous. We see there only justices of the peace, who are extensive landholders, either nobles or susceptible of becoming so, or curates, who in all cases are named by the nobility.

The powers of a justice of the peace are immense. He grants licenses to those who wish to keep a porter-house or tavern, and these licenses, according to Lord Brougham, represent a value of two millions of pounds sterling. The justice of the peace takes cognizance of all civil and minor offences, and at the same time performs the duties of an officer of the judiciary police. He issues warrants

of arrest for those accused of crimes. The courts composed of several justices of the peace, or the Quarter Sessions, pronounce judgment of imprisonment or fine, and even of transportation for from seven to fourteen years. The justice of the peace likewise, assisted by a colleague whom he has invited to dinner, may shut up a road which passes over his property, or that of his neighbor and friend, and may thus deprive the people of the use of it.

What man in the country can resist such a power? he who exercises it is absolutely master of the liberty and fortune of the small proprietor, the poor farmer, and particularly of the laborer.

The justice and priest, therefore, are the most terrible instruments of oppression possessed by the English aristocracy. Their warrants of arrest have been traded off in a tavern, and multiplied unnecessarily, in order to summon their poor dependants or neighbors as witnesses, and extort from them small fees.

The justice of the peace is particularly severe in regard to all infractions of the game laws. Not satisfied with punishing the poacher with dogs and guns, and assailing him with game-keepers and mantraps, as justices of the peace they enforce rigorously those laws, which they passed while in parliament. Offences against the game-laws give rise to a large proportion of the convictions which occur in England. In the eyes of a justice of the peace, the poacher is a wild beast, a wolf, an enemy of mankind. We do not exaggerate; we merely quote the expressions heard by lord Brougham, who prefers the jurisdiction of the Turkish cadi to that of an English justice of the peace.

The severity of the English aristocracy against poachers brings to mind the early histories of the conquest, when an enormous extent of country was depopulated to establish parks, and procure for the king and Norman lords the pleasures of the chase. It is not surprising that the ballads which record the adventures of Robin Hood and his merry

men are yet popular. Poaching and poachers are the subjects of many modern songs, and the justice of the peace is treated in them with no more respect than in the satire of Shakspeare, who was himself a poacher.

The oppression of the country people, and the ascendancy of the large proprietors, have nearly driven the small farmer from the soil of England ; and to prevent his reappearance, the commons have been divided between the proprietors only. The poor man who formerly enjoyed them, who danced on them at every holyday, and whose pig and cow were permitted to feed upon the public pasture, is now deprived of this privilege, without any compensation ; the agrarian law has been brought to bear upon him by the extensive landholders. This robbery has been cloaked by remarks upon the interests of agriculture, the increase of the nett profit to result from it, and these arguments were irresistible.

The state of the country in England now resembles, in many respects, the state of Italy under the Roman empire. There is, however, this difference, that the Roman noble left his ground uncultivated, because his herds produced more profits than the cultivation of the soil, and because he had a taste for parks, while the extensive English proprietor cultivates the ground and obtains fine farms. This difference, however, proves little in favor of the English aristocrats ; it is the result of the progress of agriculture, and of the existence of a class of capitalists who invest their money in the soil, as they would in any manufacture.

Farther, what profit does the poor man derive from the perfection of English agriculture ? None at all. The salary which the farmer pays him, during a few months of the year, is not enough for his support, and he has not a spot of earth where he can lay his head ; such was the condition of the agricultural laborer in the Roman empire ; such is his condition now in England. Thirty-one heads of families in the parish of Bledlow were reduced to most

frightful poverty, and wrote to demand assistance ; " All that we ask," said they, " is to hire a spot of ground where we can plant some potatoes, but no one will let it to us." These heads of families make from sixty to seventy-five shillings per year.

The English aristocracy are not content with monopolizing the soil, with having reduced a large portion of the population to a condition worse by several degrees than slavery, but have found a mode of making cities pay especial duties in their favor. We allude here to the corn-laws, which now attract so much attention.

It is known that England, even when the harvest is most abundant, does not raise enough of bread-stuffs for her own consumption. In order to enhance the price of her farms, the large landholders, who rule the kingdom, prohibit the importation of grain by means of a high duty, until wheat is seventy-five shillings the quarter, and other bread-stuffs at a similar price. Thus the aristocracy assumes a kind of monopoly of the food of the English ; in the energetic language of the Westminster Review, the aristocracy puts its hand on the table of every Englishman, and refuses him bread until he pays tribute. The amount of this tribute is estimated at eighteen millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling. This estimate is probably exaggerated, but the sum derived from the monopoly of bread-stuffs is certainly very great.

The corn-laws have also another result more prejudicial to the people than the permanent high price of provisions ; they prevent an extensive trade in bread-stuffs, and thereby give rise to frequent and great gradations in the price of corn, and hence the Whigs have proposed a fixed duty on corn introduced into England.

We have mentioned some of the means of oppression of the English aristocracy. Let us now glance at the nature and results of its government.

The object of the English policy for the last two centu-

ries seems to have been to procure, by any and every means, consumers for the products of her manufactures ; to increase the legitimate and illegitimate profits of the British merchants and operatives, by destroying all competition. The English aristocracy understand perfectly that the internal policy pursued with the people would soon exhaust their wealth, if it were not incessantly renewed by the continued progress of commerce and industry.

The external policy of the British government has then for its ostensible object the interest of the merchants, manufacturers, and capitalists. Hence this class, or those who rule it, are attached to the cause of aristocracy, which favors their business, forms immense monopolies for their advantage, and, finally, often admits them among their number.

This middle class of respectable men serves as the medium between the aristocracy and the lower classes of the people, with which it treats directly, and whom it oppresses.

It is the lower classes of the English people which support the weight of civilization, which furnish the wealth of the aristocracy, and the riches of the middle class, by unparalleled efforts and sufferings.* It is in the history of

* Take for instance the collieries, and think for a moment of the cruelty and suffering imposed on the girls and boys who work in the coal-mines, "and which," says the Dublin Freeman's Journal, "slavery in its most hideous form never equalled, while the condition, physical as well as moral, of the most degraded bondsman, may be esteemed exalted, if compared with that of the free collier of England." Another journal remarks : "The infernal cruelties practised on boys and girls in the coal-mines, have never in any age been outdone. Young creatures, both male and female, 6, 7, 8, and 9 years old, stark naked in some cases, chained like brutes to coal-carriages, and dragging them on all-fours through sludge six or seven inches deep, in total darkness, for 10, occasionally 20, in special instances 30 hours successively, without any other cessation, even to get their meals, than is casually afforded by the miners ; here is a pretty picture of British civilization. One cannot read through the evidence taken by the commissioner, without being strongly tempted to abjure the name of Englishman."

If we look into the parliamentary reports on this subject, we find it stated by Mr. Fletcher, "that in the smaller collieries of the Oldham district, children are employed as early as 6, 5, and even 4 years of age. Some are so young that they go even in their bed-gowns. One little fellow could not even articulate." Mr. Servier says that girls from 5 to 16 perform

pauperism that we must study English society, to understand the culpability of the system which governs it.

Until the Reformation, indigence and poverty presented the same character in England as in the rest of Europe.

the work of boys ; a broad belt is buckled round their waist, to the front of which a chain is fastened, which, when they go down on all fours, is passed between their legs, and attached to the canoe which they drag after them, thus harnessed to it like animals. Another commissioner states : " Girls perform all the offices of trapping, hurrying, &c., just as they are performed by boys. On descending Messrs. Hopwoods' pit at Barnsly, I found assembled round the fire a group of men, boys, and girls, the girls as well as the boys stark naked down to their waist, the hair bound up with tight caps, and trousers supported by their hips."

In the southern part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, in great numbers of the coal-pits, the men work in a state of perfect nakedness, and are in this state assisted by females of all ages, from girls of six years old to women of twenty-one ; these females themselves being quite naked to the waist.

Says a female : " I wear a belt and chain at the workings to get the canoes out. The getters are naked except their caps ; they sometimes beat me if I am not quick enough. There are twenty boys and fifteen men ; all are naked."

Nor are these awful scenes witnessed in the collieries only. Public opinion forced parliament to look into the subject of the *Chimney-sweep children*. One parliamentary report says, " These children are sometimes stolen for this purpose. They are very subject to burns, from their being forced up chimneys while on fire, and while overheated ; and however they may cry out, their inhuman masters pay not the least attention, but compel them too often with horrid imprecations to proceed. They are sometimes sent up chimneys on fire ! It is in evidence before your committee that female children have been employed, and also that they are stolen from their parents and inveigled out of workhouses ; that in order to conquer the natural repugnance of these infants to ascend the narrow, dangerous chimneys, blows are used ; that pins are forced into their feet by the boy that follows them up the chimney, in order to compel them to ascend it, and that lighted straw has been applied for that purpose." The above are all facts taken from authentic documents to be found in the reports to the British parliament. Many more examples of a similar character may be seen in Lester's "*Condition and Fate of England*."

These facts indicate the actual state of things in *moral, intellectual, and humanized England* ! England, which robs her people of bread to sustain a vast naval power for the suppression of the African slave-trade, while within her own territory is carried on an abandoned traffic in the flesh and blood of little children ! England, who raises millions annually from her benevolent philanthropists, for the benefit of foreign heathens, when nearly one fifth of her own population grow up in the grossest ignorance, and

Henry VIII. having confiscated or distributed to the nobility the church property, beggars flocked to the kingdom from all parts. They were pursued without mercy ; seventy-two thousand thieves, vagabonds, or beggars, were hung under the reign of this prince. Atrocious laws were soon passed ; according to a statute of Edward VI., " every man or woman who lives three days without work shall have the letter V burned on the breast with a hot iron, and shall be condemned to serve the person by whom they are arrested. This person shall find them with bread and water, and shall oblige them to work." The atrocity of this law rendered its application impossible ; it was necessary, also, to make a law in regard to poor householders and laborers out of employ ; they were provided for by a statute of Edward VI., and finally by a statute of Elisabeth. The proprietors or farmers of each parish were compelled to provide for their own poor ; the law declared that the poor man had a right to live, and that the parish was bound to supply the means.

This law continued in force up to 1834, but produced many abuses. An open warfare occurred between the land-holders or capitalists and the poor people. Parishes were known to be at law for years, in order to avoid giving alms to some poor people, to expel in a single day by virtue of law thirty or forty families from their territory, and to demolish their cabins in order not to be imposed upon. The poor-rate varied in different localities ; it was eight shillings a head and a year in some counties, and forty in others ; the appointment of overseers of the poor in many places was sought after, and every employer attempted to regain his poor rates by reducing the salary of his workmen.

The burden of the poor-rates fell upon persons who were without any useful impressions of religion or morality. England, which has gained a foothold in India, by the grossest tyranny ever exercised by any nation in any country, has planted her authority in New Holland by poisoning the natives with arsenic, and in China by smuggling into the country a poison no less deadly.

very poor themselves. In 1830, in London, fifty families who were assessed for the payment of the tax were obliged to sell their furniture, and even their beds.

It has been said that the law of Elisabeth increased the number of poor people in England. But whatever were its defects, we think it rather shared the progress of pauperism, than caused it.

The principal result of this law was to permit English manufacturers and farmers to reduce the salaries of their workmen, and to make them pay a large part of them to the parish. Hence, to a certain extent, this law offered a premium for its production by large factories, by large farms.

The degradation of the poor who asked aid from the parish was the inevitable consequence of this law ; it is impossible to imagine a state nearer slavery than this.

The advance of industry, and the introduction of machinery, increased the power of the capitalists, and rendered the condition of the workmen more precarious and wretched. Several times have they revolted and broken the machines, but they have always been put down by atrocious executions and by savage laws. During the discussion of one of these laws in 1812, Lord Byron remarked in parliament : "I have passed through Spain, desolated by a war, I have lived in some of the most oppressed provinces of Turkey, and have nowhere witnessed so much misery as in England." But of what importance was it to the noble legislators ? they certainly placed but little value upon the life of an operative.

The poor rates have increased rapidly since the commencement of this century. In 1801, England devoted to this purpose four millions seventy-eight thousand eight hundred and ninety-one pounds, and in 1812, eight millions six hundred and forty thousand eight hundred and forty-two pounds. From that time until 1834, the poor-rates were about the same.

Finally, it was found that the poor people coat too much,

and the legislation in regard to indigent people was changed. While the law of Elisabeth was in force, many parishes had erected work-houses, infamous places where the sick and the vagrants were crowded in pell-mell ; where children slept in the same bed with paralytic people, phthisical people, and prostitutes ; it was resolved to place the work-house system on a new plan. The parishes were requested to associate to build edifices of this kind, and to shut up in them those poor people who wanted assistance. According to the system established in 1834, the poor people were no longer to receive assistance at home ; they were obliged to die of hunger or go to the work-house. If they accepted any asylum which was offered them by the pretended charity of the government, they must be separated from their families, for in the work-house those of different ages and sexes are separated. As a compensation, they were offered soup, greens, water, and pork twice a week. To obtain this nourishment, they must submit to hard and useless labor, the mill. The advocates of the law of 1834 have re-established against the poor people the usual punishments of Roman slaves, by making them to turn a mill. Do not think, however, that they have any remorse. " We cannot admit," say they in their first report, " that the severity of the regimen in the work-house is excessive, since, after all, we place the poor man beyond the risk of starving to death."

The expected effect is produced in every part ; the poor man strains every nerve to keep out of the work-house ; during a rigorous winter, one hundred and forty-nine paupers came to the office at Cuckfield in a single session, to demand charity. The overseers offered meal to some, and the work-house to a hundred and eighteen ; six only accepted, and went away the second day rather than submit to the punishment of the hand-mill.

What became of those unhappy, unfortunate people, who could not endure the horrible regimen imposed by British

charity? They died of famine, or they sought a less difficult labor; they dug ditches during the frosts of winter, and broke up stones for McAdamizing the roads. There were some who, although affected by fever, and hunger, and famine, refused to enter the work-house, and whom the overseers of the poor were obliged to assist at their houses, notwithstanding the recommendation of the government officers. Sometimes also money was granted, through fear lest the poor should become desperate, as was the case at Nottingham in 1836.

The object of the law of 1834 was to reduce the poor-rates. In 1837, the poor cost only four millions forty-four thousand seven hundred and forty-one pounds, a good result. But how much of suffering did this economy bring? How many poor people of the one million three hundred thousand died of hunger or were subjected to horrid privations? Who can measure the consequences of this law of 1834, consequences before which the imagination shrinks?

It is true that the British legislator has nothing to do with this side of the question. He attempted to economize in this manner, and to crowd the indigent population upon the employer, farmer, or manufacturer, to bring the salaries of the laborer to his primitive wants, although, in the view of Malthus, this should cost the lives of thousands of men. Hence each official report contains a pompous eulogy on this law. The employers, farmers, and manufacturers, however, resisted, being injured by this economy; they not only refused to advance the wages, but excited revolts which were put down by dragoons, the usual mode of establishing order. This new law was not introduced into the manufacturing counties of the north of England till after six years. When it was in full vigor, an attempt was made to divide the laborers between them, to drive away the Irish and Scotch, by refusing to them all kinds of succor, or rather to kill them, pretending that it would cost too much to send them home.

In fact, out of the British kingdom, there is no instance of wretchedness similar to that existing among the laboring classes over the whole of England. It is hidden in the cities, in the rear of the palaces, and the large hotels ; in the country, behind the parks and the brick houses of the aristocracy. Interrogate those who have visited the houses of the poor, those wretched spots compared with which the Hell of Dante seems an abode of pleasure.

London is the metropolis of Great Britain ; the pride of the wealthiest people that ever existed. Pass through that splendid city, and enter the parishes of Bethnal Green and Shoreditch, which have a population of nearly seventy thousand. "A great portion of this district," says an author worthy of every confidence,* "is occupied by spots called gardens, where the proprietors and speculators have erected a great many hovels one story high, for lodgings for poor families. These cabins are surrounded by a fence of rotten boards, and there are no streets nor gutters. The ground is not even levelled, but here are banks of earth and filth, there pools filled with water which taint the atmosphere around it. These abominable places are left unprotected, unsurveyed. The hovels are half rotten ; there are no drains, nor lights, nothing, in fact, to indicate the police of a city."

To this general description we will add a few remarks from the official reports of a committee of physicians. "Lamb's Fields presents a surface seven hundred feet long, and three hundred feet broad. Of this space three hundred feet are constantly covered with stagnant water, both summer and winter. In the part thus submerged is a large mass of putrefying animal and vegetable matter. This place is surrounded by an open trench, into which all the privies of North Street empty themselves. Lamb's Fields

* Eugene Buret, in his work entitled "*De la Misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France.*" A capital book, from which we take many facts.

is a fruitful source of fever for the houses around. We saw houses where entire families were swept off by fever, and there are some streets where it always exists. Typhus fever is endemic in those parts of London inhabited by poor people. The physicians there have seen with horror six persons laboring under fever in one room, and four in a single bed." Eugene Buret states that these habitations are inferior in cleanliness and appearance to the dirtiest stables, and that he has visited many families without a single article of furniture, and even destitute of boards to spread their straw beds on, and with but a few rags to cover their nakedness.

And the misery of the laborers in London is not an exception to what is generally seen: the quarters inhabited by the poor at Bristol, Leeds, Nottingham, and Manchester present the same appearance; in every part yards filled with clothes hung up to dry; no pavements, stagnant water, in which their naked and dirty children are puddling; lodgings frightful and indescribable, beds sometimes occupied by as many as eight persons of different ages and sexes. In every part epidemic typhus and contagious fevers, which constantly decimate the poor population, and carry the plague into the rich neighborhoods. This last circumstance gave rise to those medical inquiries, which no one would have suggested if the lives of respectable gentlemen had not been endangered.

The description of the habitations of the poor in England is not sufficient to give an idea of their misery. One must enter their lodgings, see the poor man starving with his family, to understand how much of suffering the economical régime to which England is subjected imposes on man. We will make a few more extracts from M. Buret. "This family is composed of eight persons, all present at the time of our visit. The head of the family was a silk-velvet weaver, English by birth, and yet young. He earned seven shillings and a half weekly, but was not employed con-

stantly. In his room was neither chair, table, nor bed. In one corner was a heap of straw, and in this straw were three naked children crouched like animals, and half covered by a strip of cloth. The wife turned her back to us, attempting in vain to hold together the remnants of her gown. The man had on a blue coat, on which there were yet a few buttons ; but had no shirt. He received us politely, and made known in sadness, but calmly, the horror of his situation. He had a Bible in his hand when we entered, and as the almoner asked him why he did not go to church, he showed us his naked chest, his wife standing abashed in a corner, and his children hiding from us one behind the other, and answered that he should soon be unable even to go and look for work. This family was considered honest.

"Have you children ?" asked one of the commissioners of a weaver. "No, I had two, but, thank God, they are dead."—"And are you glad that your children are dead?" "Yes, I am freed from the care of providing them with food, and they, poor dear creatures, are rid of their worldly troubles."

Who could wonder at despair, on reading, in a report of the visiter of the poor at Manchester, the following ? "On the 3d of February, 1838, I entered a cellar, inhabited by a weaver. On a miserable bed was his wife, who had been confined, so sick that she could scarcely speak ; in another corner of that dark and damp cellar, I perceived a dead child. I asked the husband why it was not buried. He answered that he could not pay for the interment. The poor man, who made at the most but seven or eight shillings per week, was himself sick, and had earned nothing for the week before his wife was confined, and therefore was unable to prepare for that event."

Such facts are not rare. There are thousands of men in England in this situation. But they cannot all preserve their energy, morality, and virtue : many of them become

addicted to drunkenness and theft ; they become completely brutal, and are affected with all the vices of slavery. Their loose morals often serve as a theme of discourse to the orators and writers of the aristocracy which oppresses them, as if misery was not the most powerful cause of corruption —as if the manners of the aristocracy were purer than those of these wretched beings.

We must add, that the English church and Tory nobility, to their eternal shame, oppose all plans for giving the people a moral and intellectual education. Finally, when they cannot prevent any amelioration, they demand that the education of the people shall be intrusted to the Established Church, doubtless to prevent the results of the intellectual development of the lower classes of society.

We see that the English government is no less criminal in regard to its subjects than to foreign nations. Cruel and aspiring, the government has for its end to satisfy the appetites of the most greedy aristocracy that has ever been seen on the earth. In her view, men are only the instruments of production : war, peace, treaties, alliances, and laws, are the results of speculations, with a view to nett profits. It is thus that England has planted her foot upon the soil of nearly every country ; has appropriated large sums destined for the use of the public ; and has even raised a large revenue from the corn-laws. At this time, its politics have been so successful, that it consumes all the wealth which the English can acquire ; and in a country where machinery does the work of eighty-four millions of laborers, more than a million of men are suffering in extreme misery, and more than one hundred thousand are perishing with hunger. The poor man, the operative, has no interest in English society. An inquiry was recently made as to the state of the hand-loom weavers. It was admitted that the introduction of steam machinery for this purpose would throw out of employ a large and industrious class of laborers ; that more than one hundred thousand men would thus be left without

bread. It was said that agriculture, and no other branch of industry, required them. It is in the face of facts of this kind that hymns are sung in Parliament in honor of the poor-law.

This law, the most recent and outrageous crime that the British government has committed against the people, has caused a great sensation. It has given to the Chartists an energy and vigor hitherto unseen in the uprisings of the English people. The rigors of the new poor-law have given rise to many popular songs, several of which are remarkable for their wild energy. The proud inspector of this law, the king of beggars, the king of the parish, figures with all his epithets by the side of Bill Fast-a-month and Betsey Skin-and-bone, and other similar personages. The causes of the wretchedness of the English people are well understood; and probably, unless England can get up some new war, her citizens will testify their resentment in some other mode than by caricatures and epigrams.

CHAPTER IX.

TORTURES OF PRISONERS OF WAR.

I.—HULKS OF CHATHAM.

We have already recounted deeds of infamous treason ; we have seen in England, to use a celebrated expression, *the bloody hand, the hand of crime*, ordering with the coolness of a mercantile transaction the most cruel executions, when it was thought that any profit would result from them. We have now to record facts of an order still more horrible. It seems that the country of Hobbes and Malthus was destined to bring to light all the doctrines which are offensive to human morals, and at the same time to practise all the crimes which might, logically speaking, be considered the living formula of these odious creeds.

To deceive their allies, however, to massacre the vanquished, to burn entire cities, to destroy by the sword or by poison a dangerous friend—these are acts of which we find instances in the annals of a people whose manners were not civilized by the Christian religion ; and it was reserved for England to exceed every example of villainy known.

Let us glance at the history of Sparta, Rome, and Carthage, inquire in what manner their prisoners were treated, and compare this treatment with that which the British cabinet invented for the French soldiers during the last war.

Christians have protested against the slavery of the ancients ; and the language of the apostle is beautiful : “ Masters, be just and faithful unto your servants, knowing that you too have a Master in heaven.” Among the ancients,

the prisoner of war was a slave; the conquered was servant to the conqueror; he was his goods, his property, his patrimony. There is certainly brutality in this custom; this appropriation of man to the service of another man cannot be justified, except by a usage of barbarism. But if we compare this barbarism with the base cruelties exercised by England upon her captives, it is clemency. To the slave, *servus*, belonged at least the benefit of life: he was considered as an enemy saved, *servatus*; his master had absolute rights over him, but the severity of the law was tempered by humanity; and Plutarch blames Cato the elder, because he sold his slaves when they were too old to labor. The Roman slave remained most frequently on his native soil; and even when the caprice of his master carried him to a foreign soil, he lived in the sunlight, and he enjoyed the air which his health required. Was he injured by the avarice or cruelty of his master, he could take refuge in the temple, and then, after invoking the protection of the gods, no one dared to touch him with a sacrilegious hand. Such was this régime, against which the kind feelings of the apostle were indignant. Let us see how this has been modified by England, eighteen centuries after the mission of St. Paul.

The narrative of the tortures inflicted on the French soldiers in the floating prisons of England, has been faithfully pictured by a man who experienced all their rigors—General Pillet. We shall extract a few pages from a work which he published in 1815, entitled “England, as seen at London and in the Provinces;” a work which has become extremely rare, having been bought up and destroyed by the British government. General Pillet states the following:—

“The hulks or old vessels which serve for prisoners of war, are generally seventy-fours. The prisoners occupy the hold and the between-decks, from each end of which a quarter part has been partitioned off. That portion of the

garrison which is not on service, always sleeps there with loaded arms, and the partition which separates them is strengthened by large beams. At intervals are port-holes, through which cannon may be pointed and fired upon the prisoners.

"The rest of the vessel is occupied by the English officers and sailors, excepting a small space under the fore-castle, where the galley of the prisoners is situated.

"The whole of this space presents a surface of four feet long by thirty-six feet wide ; it serves both for a promenade and a ventilator for nine hundred men. All around the vessel, a foot and a half above the surface of the water, is a gallery, where are situated officers at the extremities of the gangways, and at every place designed for the prisoners. This mixture of sentinels, whose watchwords are changed according to the caprice or the brutality of the commander of the hulk, gives rise to many assassinations ; they have been much more frequent, because the marines who were destined for the service and the armament of vessels are generally composed in England of the offscourings of society—men who have been guilty of some great crimes, and to whom the magistrate presents no alternative except to enter the marine service or to be hung.

"In 1813, there were nine of these prison-hulks in Chatham Roads. They were placed at such distances as to prevent any communication between the prisoners, either orally or by signs. But they were so near as to be under surveillance, one from the other. These hulks were moored by chains at each end, in fetid and stagnant water, and left aground by every tide. The putrid, moist, and saline air which is breathed there is often sufficient, even without bad treatment or bad nourishment, to destroy, in a very short time, the most robust state of health. The prisoners of war were also exposed to many other causes equally fatal by their directors. The object of this regimen was, to destroy the prisoners. This treatment was as follows :

" The dimensions or height of the between-decks of the Brunswick, the hulk on board of which I was a prisoner, was exactly four feet ten inches, so that the shortest man could hardly stand erect. It was a kind of perpetual punishment, which none of those tyrants who have hitherto disgraced the human species had imagined for the greatest criminals. Most of those men who were confined there lost the use of their limbs, and could never stand again. The openings for ventilation consisted of fourteen small windows on each side, seventeen square inches each, unglazed ; the prisons on the land and water where the French are placed in England never have glass windows, although the temperature there is generally moist and cold, and the winters are extremely long. In fact, the heat produced by the stowage of the prisoners is so great, that the ventilators can only be closed on one side at a time, viz., that exposed to the wind ; and this is done with old clothes. These openings are crossed by iron gratings, which are cast in one mass ; the bars are from two to three inches thick, and the ventilators are closed every evening by a wooden port. The same precautions are employed to close the narrow ports of the lower battery.

" It follows, from this and similar precautions, that men who were shut up by hundreds in the batteries and the between-decks, hermetically closed in winter for at least sixteen hours per day, generally became weak and suffocated, absolutely from the want of pure air. If an attempt was made to open one of the ventilators—a favor which was not obtained without much trouble, and without knocking for a long time at the port-hole, when the dying man was carried to breathe a moment—those near the openings who were completely naked in consequence of the extreme heat, became chilled by the cold air thus admitted ; perspiration became checked, and they were soon infected with an inflammatory disease. These diseases soon extended to the lungs, and became extremely dangerous, particularly

to the young men. This disease also endangered all, sooner or later. A prisoner who has been confined in a close English prison for more than three years, could not escape it, notwithstanding every precaution ; for the same arrangement exists in every part, in the prisons on shore as well as in the floating prisons : and this arrangement results from a premeditated and atrocious design. It has resulted in the death of sixty thousand Frenchmen, prisoners of war, who have fallen victims to it.

" The space granted to a prisoner for his hammock is six English feet long by fourteen inches broad ; but these six feet are reduced to four and a half, because the arrangements are such as to attach these hammocks one within the other : the head of each man consequently lies between the legs of two men who are in the first range of the battery ; if he comes in the second, his feet are placed between the heads of two men in the third range, in the same order of numbers, and so successively from one end of the battery to the other. The breadth of an ordinary man, from one elbow to the other, is about eighteen inches. Hence it is seen that in these hulks a man is placed in less space than his body requires.

" But as it is physically impossible for men to occupy less space than their natural size, they are piled one over the other. In order to do this, an even or odd number is attached about eighteen inches lower than the two numbers which precede and follow it ; and in this manner a little more breadth is obtained—without, however, diminishing the danger of sickness. The situation of the prisoners in this state is doubtless frightful when under such restraints, but the evil does not stop here. The hulks are always more than filled. If new prisoners arrive, they are placed in these batteries, without any anxiety as to their fate, although the arrangements for placing them are determined and fixed below the standard of physical necessity. The new comers are thus exposed to an indescribable punish-

ment: they find no place to hang up their hammocks, and are obliged to lie upon damp and naked plank. Thus a prisoner, whatever may be his rank, is obliged to remain in this state, when he comes into a hulk already full. The agent who takes charge of officers, always places them in full hulls, and he selects likewise those which are most inconvenient, in order that the prisoner may be obliged to use his pecuniary resources to purchase a place. It is a wretched speculation for a poor starved prisoner: he consents to sell his place, in order to procure for himself the means of living for a few days; and finally, in order not to die with hunger, he accelerates the destruction of his health, and is obliged in this horrible situation to lie upon a plank dripping with water from the perspiration of those who are confined in this place of death and torture.

"In this charnel-house of eternal pains, the air is so loaded with moist and deleterious vapors, that the candles burn with difficulty. These vapors, which are inspired and exhaled by so many lungs in a state of suppuration, soon carry the germ of death to individuals not yet affected with it; they were so fetid, so thick, so warm, that sometimes the keepers have been known to cry for help, and fire, when the opening of one of the ventilators, as mentioned above, enabled them to perceive the burning exhalations which escaped from these infected dungeons. These fears of the keepers, whether real or imaginary, were sometimes carried so far, that they prepared the engines to play into the batteries, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the prisoners, who saw themselves exposed to a new affliction—that of inundation.

"The government which assassinated prisoners by depriving them of air, did not scruple to refuse them the food necessary for life. Every man received a pound and a half of coarse bread, a half a pound of meat of very poor quality, with two ounces of oat-meal and an onion. Twice each week a pound of salt fish was substituted for the

meat : it was alternately codfish and herring. The prisoners sold the herring to the contractor for one sou.

"This was the legal or the pretended ration. In fact, the contractors and subordinates knew very well how to make illicit profits, either in the quantity or the quality of the food. The system of the government created famine, but in such a manner as to disguise the assassination ; yet, with the subalterns, assassination was practised openly. The unhappy prisoners who were starved, vainly complained to the authorities ; they were accomplices in the villainy, and insulted the victims."

These principles of cruelty were followed up with a method and a logic which left the English government no excuse. In the two wars which England made upon the republic and the empire, the same course was pursued with horrid constancy. The prisons were much more murderous than the fields of battle. In the first war, thirty thousand prisoners died of famine in five months. At Norman Cross, a prison which contained seven thousand men, General Pillet saw one corner of ground which contained four thousand dead bodies. Provisions were then extremely dear in England, and it was said that the French government refused to pay the account which it was pretended was due for its prisoners.

In order to discharge this debt, all the prisoners were placed upon half rations ; and, to be more certain of their death, the introduction and sale of provisions within the prison, which had been hitherto permitted, were severely prohibited. The change in the quantity was also attended with a change in the quality. Four times a week, the prisoners received worm-eaten biscuit, fish, and salt meat ; three times a week, a brown loaf, badly cooked, made of sour meal : the prisoners, soon after eating this, were affected with a kind of drunkenness, followed by a severe headache, fevers, diarrhoea, and many died, being attacked with a kind of vertigo. For vegetables, the prisoners re-

ceived raw beans. Finally, hundreds of men died daily of hunger, or were poisoned by the quality of the provisions. Those who survived gradually became so weak, that the powers of digestion were destroyed ; and, horrible to state, but what is nevertheless true, the unfortunate prisoners who were of a more robust temperament, selected from the contents of the stomach rejected by their suffering companions, the undigested beans, and devoured them after they had been subjected to a slight washing. The pangs of hunger knew no bounds ; the dead bodies were kept five or six days, to obtain their rations.

One day, Lord Cordower, colonel of the regiment at Carmarthen, on guard at the prison at Port Chester, entered with his horse, which he tied to one of the barriers. In ten minutes, his horse was slaughtered and eaten. When the colonel returned for him, he was informed of the fact, but he refused to believe it, and said that he would be satisfied only on seeing the remains of his horse. It was easy to do this : he was carried to the place where were the skin and entrails of the animal, and a wretched prisoner devoured in his presence the last piece of raw meat. All the butchers' dogs which entered the prison shared the same fate.

But it was still more scandalous, that those unfortunate people, who were reduced to such cruel necessities, should also be robbed by their executioners. When the family of a poor sailor, or of an unfortunate soldier, made painful sacrifices to send him a moderate sum of money, this sacred offering was taken, either wholly or partially, by the agents who were requested to distribute it. If the prisoners received letters announcing aid, most frequently they were intercepted ; and if they demanded these letters, they were told that nothing had been received for them. They esteemed themselves very happy, if, after a year of inquiry, they finally received a part of the sum mentioned. If the prisoner died, if he was exchanged, or transferred to

another prison, the money remained in the hands of the agent, who thus accumulated enormous sums from the oboli of the imprisoned soldier.

In regard to those officers who received, by means of bankers, larger sums, as the receipts were addressed to the bankers themselves, the theft was more difficult, but it was sometimes committed.

"The administration, which pretended to regulate the expenses of the prisoners, had stipulated that they could not receive more than two pounds sterling a week. If, then, an officer was informed that one hundred pounds had been sent to him, the agent presented him a receipt for the whole sum; two or three months then elapsed before the payment of the two pounds sterling commenced. During this time the agent employed the capital received in speculations for his own profit, and if they were unsuccessful, the prisoners were obliged to bear the losses. These cases were not very rare; General Pillet cites instances of this kind which happened in the hulks of Chatham.

"Thus, the spoils of the unhappy persons who were assassinated, served to encourage crime, and to recompense infamy. The English were bound to nourish them, but they were starved, and not only refused the aid which they ought to have received, but also were robbed of the assistance sent by their families. Never was there a more shameful robbery, not even in the annals of prisons."

II.—HULKS OF CADIZ.

On board the hulks at Cadiz the treatment was equally odious, and existence was equally cruel. But as the Spanish government was there an accomplice, and the British government did not entirely monopolize the infamy, it would be foreign to our subject to present any new details on this topic. We will, however, state one instance to show

the distress of those unfortunate individuals who were captured by the English, and carried to the hulks of Cadiz.

"On the approach of the French army to Cadiz, all the prisoners were taken from the jails in the city, and sent to the hulks. But in the terror occasioned by the arrival of the French, the authorities forgot to provide for the men on board the vessels. Thus a great many died of hunger. On board of some hulks, the prisoners took a little provision to protect them against this horrid death; but on board of *la Horea*, where there were only poor sailors, there was barely provision for one day. There was even no water aboard. These brave sailors were a prey to hunger and thirst. In vain did they utter the shouts of despair; in vain did they make signals of distress, to remind the barbarians who provided for their subsistence of their situation.

"Many of these sailors escaped by swimming; they were captured and shot in a boat, in the presence of their fellow-prisoners. The torments of hunger daily became more horrible; first, these unfortunate people devoured all the dogs; this was a slight resource. Boots, shoes, and haversacks were then eaten. Finally, those who died served to prolong the existence of the others. All these resources, however, were insufficient; cruel and relentless hunger drove these prisoners to the last extremity. Those who could sustain this pressure, whose health was not too feeble, assembled in council. One of them rose to speak; after presenting the frightful picture of their position, he proposed to kill immediately those persons who were at the point of death. This proposition shocked all those who heard it. But it was necessary to live or to be starved! Many voted for the project; but the majority preferred to die sooner than to add a few hours to a miserable existence by assassination. For six days, however, had they been abandoned to all the horrors of this cruel situation. Suddenly one of them, with the expression of a hungry tiger,

perceived some negroes on board. A ray of light broke in upon him ; the gesture of a cannibal pointed out these victims ; the knife was ready for them. The orator then took a new text, and proved to his hearers that this murder was permitted, that circumstances demanded it, and that the crime, if it was one, would be less than if committed on individuals of their own race. The advice was adopted, impotent desires were seen upon their face ; at the moment when the negroes were seized, and the knife raised, a boat was seen coming off to the hulk loaded with biscuit and salt meat for the prisoners, and the blacks were saved from this terrible sacrifice."

Such is a feeble picture of the tortures to which those brave fellows were subjected, who were thrown by the fortune of war into the hands of the English. By every other nation, it has been granted that a prisoner is no longer an enemy ; the English government has not admitted that most sacred of all claims, the claim of misfortune. It has contended against disarmed men, and has shown itself more cruel in the prison than on the field of battle ; it has tortured without necessity, and murdered without excuse.

III.—ST. HELENA.

It would seem that shame had not been outraged sufficiently, that revenge had not received its share of odium, and that the English government had reserved as the crown for its crimes the entire power of its cruelty, and wished to graduate its infamy by the grandeur of its last victim.

When Napoleon yielded to the efforts of the coalition in Europe, he made an appeal to British generosity, and offered England the noblest part of the victory ; proscribed in an empire which he had rendered so powerful, a fugitive upon those shores over which he lately reigned, he expected to find something noble in those whom he had conquered, and measured the magnanimity of their sentiments by

the energy of their resistance. Never was hospitality demanded by one more noble, and never was a greater opportunity offered for glory to a nation so solemnly invited to protect the sanctity of misfortune. But the English government could not understand the magnanimous homage of its formidable adversary. Still influenced by its terrors and hatred, which responded to this noble confidence by the most odious treason, its hospitality was false, its protection a homicide.

Not content with making a prisoner of a hostage, they deprived him even of the rights of a prisoner, and the great captain was condemned to transportation ; and his treatment differed from that of common criminals, only in the sad privilege of a special prison, and a forced society of his jailors in the uniform of officers.

Thus every day became a punishment, every hour a torture ; the English government had given its lessons to its murderous agents, or rather the English government was transported with all its traditions to the inhospitable rock ; turnkeys had not one moment of pity for the illustrious warrior, but preyed upon his flesh, and like vultures devoured his entrails ; day by day they caused him to feel the cold blade of the poniard, and they pressed out drop by drop the blood from that generous heart, until finally the modern Prometheus yielded to their tortures, and sealed by his death the most shameful page of British history.*

* The conduct of the British towards the American prisoners captured in the war for independence partook of the same sanguinary and cruel character, and the same acts of starvation. Thus Captain Cunningham, who was executed for forgery at London in 1791, stated in his dying confession : "I was appointed provost-marshall to the royal army, which placed me in a situation to wreak my vengeance on the Americans. I shudder to think of the murders I have been accessory to, both with and without orders from government, especially while in New York, during which time there were more than two thousand prisoners starved in the different churches by stopping their rations, which I sold. There were also two hundred and seventy-five American prisoners and obnoxious persons executed, which were thus conducted : a guard was despatched from the provost about half past twelve at night, to the Barrack street, and the neighborhood of the upper

barracks, to order the people to shut their window-shutters and put out their lights, forbidding them at the same time to look out of their windows and doors, on pain of death ; after which the unfortunate prisoners were conducted, gagged, just behind the upper barracks, and hung without ceremony, and there buried by the black pioneer of the provost."

Nor were the hulks, those *poisoned dungeons of refined barbarity*, confined to the other side of the Atlantic, but in the waters of New York, the Jersey prison ship could tell of many a deed of blood and violence, and at the Wallabout in Brooklyn lie the remains of no less than eleven thousand five hundred patriot prisoners, who died in dungeons and prison-ships in and about the city of New York, during the war of the revolution.

CHAPTER X.

WAR IN TIME OF PEACE—VIOLATION OF THE RIGHTS OF NEUTRAL NATIONS.

THE idea of order and right exercises so much influence upon all the acts of man, that it has given laws to war, and has even regulated destruction. Man, constrained by social necessities to contend with his fellow-man, has laid down certain limits, beyond which war becomes an act of assassination, and every deed of violence illegal. Even in taking life, man has wished to do right, and has imposed certain rules, so that the weak shall never be entirely at the discretion of the strong. It is a mutual concession, made by people even when they will make no other ; it is the sanction of human morals, which always bows to these laws, even when the bloody horrors of carnage would seem to countenance forgetfulness of them. Only one people, or rather one government, has been found depraved enough to despise the common laws of nations, and has openly violated their rights ; has transformed war into piracy and murder, and has impressed upon every act the seal of highway robbery.

Among these laws of nations which impose limits upon war, there is no one that should be more respected than that which requires a public and formal declaration to be made before the commencement of any hostilities. As men are liable to be taken at disadvantage, it is a solemn warning to avoid all surprise ; it is the point of honor among nations, who do not wish to strike a defenceless enemy. Among the ancients, the heralds who were commissioned

to declare war were chosen from among the priests, as if Divine intervention alone could authorize the destruction of a fellow-creature. In our times, the ambassadors, to whom the same mission is intrusted, are clothed with a character of inviolability in the eye of the law of nations, and are considered as defenders of the rights of man.

Notwithstanding, however, all precautions against perfidious exceptions, the English government has never respected that which is held sacred by all, and it has been their policy, before giving the signal for contest, to surprise their rivals with unexpected hostilities. As soon as war was determined upon in the secret councils of the cabinet of St. James, it was considered as actually existing. We have already mentioned acts of this nature, when the French colonies in India were attacked at the commencement of the war in America, and when the peace of Amiens was so outrageously violated. We now propose to complete the picture, by stating several facts which belong to different periods, but which exhibit the same perfidy and bad faith.

In 1777, a vessel from Nantes, the Roziere d'Artois, while returning from Port au Prince, received a great deal of damage. Falling in with an English vessel, the captain was persuaded to go into St. Augustine, in Florida, as their two nations were still at peace. On their arrival, the Englishman moored the French vessel under his guns. Three days afterwards, the crew were removed, and the vessel was declared a prize. But, as if to cover this manifest violation of the rights of nations, the French received permission to go wherever they chose ; while at the same time the Indians were promised one hundred and twenty francs for the scalp of every Frenchman taken out of the city.

For two months and a half, the French were exposed to constant assassinations. At the end of that term, they were sent to Port au Prince in a miserable vessel, with bad provisions, barely sufficient for half the voyage.

About the same time, another vessel, having on board

some French noblemen who were on their way to enter the American service, was also captured before war was declared, and likewise carried into St. Augustine. Sixty French sailors were placed on a desolate island, shut up in a fort, and designedly forgotten for four days without any provisions.

They were told that if they did not enlist on board of the English frigate, they would be starved to death. At first they refused, but the threat was carried into execution so soon, that these unhappy people, to avoid a frightful death, enlisted under the English flag. "I saw them," writes an eye-witness, "sign their engagement, with tears in their eyes, calling me to witness the violence with which they had been treated, and conjuring me to accept their protestations; but I was a prisoner, and, like them, unfortunate: I could only sympathize with them."

We cannot believe that these isolated facts are to be ascribed to the caprice of some individuals, who abuse their command to do wrong without the knowledge of the government. On the contrary, they acted in accordance with a settled system, and according to principles which were taught them by the cabinet of St. James. We might cite a number of other acts where the British authority itself has interfered and presented most scandalous examples of perjury. We shall only mention one case where the lords of the admiralty violated a pledge given to a scientific Frenchman, who did them the honor to confide in their word and signature.

During the American war, France ordered all her vessels to respect and even to protect Captain Cook. The cabinet at Versailles regarded this illustrious navigator as a representative of science. By his laborious researches and glorious efforts, Cook had become a citizen of the world. But the English government could not reciprocate an act of generosity.

About the same period, Kerguelen, a distinguished officer

of the French navy, projected an expedition at his own expense and that of his friends, which should add to discoveries already made, and extend the knowledge of geography and navigation, for the benefit of the whole world. Not wishing, however, to compromise the results of an expedition purely scientific, he took the precaution of submitting his plan to the English ministry, and demanded from them a passport. The secretary of the lords of the admiralty sent him passports to protect him against any act of hostility.

Fortified with this formal power, Kerguelen equipped at his own expense a vessel which he called the *Libre Navigateur*, and it was thus designated in the passport, which was for four years.

Full of the noble hopes which animate men of science, Kerguelen left Nantes July 22d, 1780, having an armament of six three-pounders, and a crew of thirty-one men.

The day after his departure, he was overhauled by an English cruiser, called the *Prince Alfred*, who had doubtless been sent for that purpose, and had received instructions even from those who had given the passports. The cruiser having fired a gun, Kerguelen hove to, and showed the English and French flags.

The captain of the *Prince Alfred* commanded the French officer to lower away his boat ; and when this was done, the cruiser boarded the vessel with fifty men, who, with sword in hand, cut the flags and the rigging. Kerguelen vainly appealed for protection to his passports ; the Englishman answered that they were forged ; and, without even examining them, declared the *Libre Navigateur* a lawful prize, and carried the whole crew prisoners to Kinsale.

On arriving at this port, Kerguelen immediately wrote to the lords of the admiralty, protesting against this violation of their promises. His letters remained unanswered ; he was arrested in the name of the king, and imprisoned.

" From that day," writes he, " I have always had in my

room three sentinels, and I have been waked every two hours in the night to know if I was abed. The officers and volunteers of my vessel were also imprisoned, after being marched four miles in irons like so many criminals. Among them, however, were some young men of great distinction. There were seventeen persons in the same room, which had neither door nor windows, and into which the rain and wind penetrated from every part, and we were forty-eight hours without water. We were given hammocks and straw beds which had served for all the prisoners since the commencement of the war. The hammocks were rotten, and stained with the blood of the wounded, and the mattrasses were extremely offensive. The room was full of vermin. At the bottom of the stairs was the privy for three hundred prisoners, which sent forth poisonous miasmata, a fruitful source of disease and death."

In this manner did the British government treat a man whom they had promised to protect. The passport he had received at London was only a snare to entrap him. After six months, he was released from his captivity, and landed on the shores of France. He retired to Saumur, where he tried in vain to obtain explanations from England. The lords of the admiralty were the avowed accomplices of the cruiser. Kerguelen, for the loss of his liberty, his fortune, and the glory to which he aspired, obtained no recompense from the official pirates who had thus robbed him.

These perfidious acts of the English government are too numerous to be ascribed to mistakes or misunderstandings. "Who forgets," say the merchants of the province of Frise, in their petition presented to the states of the United Provinces in February, 1799, "with what audacity the English vessels have detained vessels belonging to the inhabitants of the republic?—have carried them into British ports, where they have been declared good prizes, and where at least their restoration cost their owners long and expensive trials? Who but knows that on the broad ocean the Eng-

lish men-of-war claim the right of overhauling our merchant vessels, of taking from them whatever they think proper, and of pressing our seamen, to oblige them to serve on board their vessels?"

These complaints were general, and did not come from a single nation. These facts are so well remembered by the cabinet of St. James, that all of its wars partake of the same character; but never, perhaps, did it commit so many abuses as in the bloody wars waged against the French republic and empire. It was the threats of England which formed the coalition of the kings of Spain, Portugal, and Naples; and we have seen that Denmark, Switzerland, and Tuscany were summoned to join the league. Switzerland resisted; Tuscany was compelled to submit; but Denmark, by her courageous neutrality, excited against her all the anger of the British cabinet, who on this occasion violated the rights of nations with unparalleled audacity, and exhibited a cruelty which aroused the indignation of all Europe.

Twice has Denmark resisted the threats of England, and twice has she paid dearly for her noble resistance. The first bombardment of Copenhagen occurred in 1801. It took place at the time when Paul I., then Czar, the ally of France, wished to form a coalition of all the northern powers against England. The British cabinet reserved assassination for the chief of the league, but pillage and burning for the inferior powers. At first, it demanded explanations of Denmark, and then supported its demand by sending into the Baltic a large flotilla, under the orders of Admiral Parker, seconded by Admiral Nelson, already known by his cruelties at Naples. Before arriving at Copenhagen, it was necessary to force the entrance to the sound. On the Swedish side was the fort of Helsimborg, on the Danish side the castle of Chronenborg, and many powerful and well-armed batteries, that would destroy any fleet which should attempt to pass through the strait; it was necessary

to brave the fire of all these forts before arriving at Copenhagen. The English fleet would infallibly have been destroyed, had not the Swedes, by negligence which resembled treason, permitted them to pass without firing a gun. The English consequently kept on the side of Sweden, and out of the reach of the Danish cannon.

In a few hours, the whole fleet, aided by a favorable wind, had passed through the sound, with the loss of only six or seven men. The admirals then attempted to find a passage to the ramparts of the place. The entrance of the fort presented a threatening appearance. On one side, the walls were flanked with bastions, and armed with a formidable park of artillery, which commanded and raked the roads. At the entrance of the gulf, on the Isle of Crowns, were several batteries bristling with cannon ; but the principal defence consisted of six ships of the line, well armed, eleven floating batteries of twenty-six twenty-four-pounders, and eighteen eighteens, moored in a line. The Danish vessels were ranged along the canal which follows the coast. The whole population of Copenhagen had taken up arms, determined to perish rather than to submit to English tyranny.

Nelson, however, boldly crossed the bar with nine ships of the line, and placed himself opposite to the Danish line of vessels. A terrible contest now ensued. The Danes defended themselves with all the enthusiasm of patriotism ; the places of the sailors who fell were quickly supplied by fresh recruits ; the forts and batteries kept up a constant and well-directed fire. But they were obliged to yield to a superior force ; and, after four hours of carnage, the fire of the Danes slackened. Nelson then proposed an armistice, and threatened, in case of a refusal, to sink the Danish vessels and to massacre their crews. The inhabitants were exhausted by this unequal contest, and were obliged to submit to the conqueror. The remainder of the Danish fleet

was carried away by the English, whose policy always has been to destroy every maritime power.

After some years of peace, the Danes repaired their losses, and a new fleet, more numerous than the first, excited the dark jealousy of the British government.

After the peace of Tilsit, England sent into the sound in 1807 a large fleet commanded by Admiral Gambier. The English envoy, Jackson, represented to the prince royal, who was then at Kiel, that if Denmark did not decide to conclude an intimate alliance with England, and give up its fleet as a pledge of this alliance, the British cabinet would declare war. The prince repelled this demand with energy.

The English then disembarked about three leagues from Copenhagen, and prepared to attack the capital by land. Success was the more easy, since, in consequence of the peace, the army intrusted with the defence of the capital had suffered much for want of military discipline.

The city was summoned to open its gates, but paid no attention to the threats of the enemy. On the 2d of September, the English commenced a bombardment, which continued uninterruptedly for three days, and caused so many ravages in the city, that the commander of the place, on the 5th of September, demanded an armistice, which was concluded two days afterwards, on the following terms :—

The citadel and port should be delivered up to the English, as should also the Danish fleet, with all its armament ; the English troops should be re-embarked in six weeks, at the latest ; public and private property was to be respected ; and the Danes should not be disturbed in the exercise of their duties.

A mutual exchange of prisoners was likewise agreed upon, as also the restoration of all the English property confiscated by the Danes.

The English left Seland on the 20th October, carrying with them the Danish fleet, composed of eighteen ships of

the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and thirty-five gun-boats.

Thus terminated this odious crusade against a neutral power, whose only crime was its good wishes for France. Notwithstanding this great loss, however, Denmark repelled all attempts at reconciliation with England, and the penalty of death was pronounced against whoever should entertain relations with her.

CHAPTER XI.

CANADA.

I.—PERSECUTIONS OF THE CANADIANS BY THE ENGLISH.

ENGLISH policy showed itself first in New France by the proscription of twenty thousand Acadians, whose rights and safety were not sufficiently guarantied by the shameful treaty of Paris in 1763. Since that time, England has kept a yoke of iron upon the Canadian population, out of hatred for their French origin.

We shall not mention here all the acts of injustice and despotism which, from the early periods of British dominion, marked the antipathy of the rulers of Canada towards their new subjects ; but shall simply register the prominent facts which led to the bloody struggle of 1837.

The Canadian constitution was modelled after that of Great Britain, and had so much of the aristocratic element in it, at the expense of the popular element, that it soon became a formidable instrument in the hands of the British government.

The executive council, a kind of ministry named by the crown, and the legislative council, all the members of which were also chosen by the governor, were the two levers used by the English party to overturn and destroy the power of the French party, represented by the house of assembly. The Canadians were excluded from all participation in power ; every confidential office, every lucrative appointment, became the exclusive appendage of foreigners of British origin. Notwithstanding the prerogatives guarantied

to the representatives of the country, the government wished to take away its revenues, and to act with the fulness of absolute power. Many times the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, having attempted to resist the encroachments of executive power, was severely punished in the persons of some of its most influential members, who paid by the loss of liberty for the inspirations of patriotism.

The crown having reserved the privilege of disposing of seizures, fines, and confiscations, the agents of power abused this right enormously.

The taxes became more and more heavy, everything was subjected to duty, and the functionaries of government alone profited by this increase of public charges. The revenues of the two provinces were pillaged ; most of it was distributed by executive authority. The enormity of the taxes, and the increase of offices, excited the anger of the inhabitants ; but the remonstrances of the assembly were unheeded, and the government faction continued its exactions, with the assurances, impunity, and even with encouragement from the metropolis.

This is not all ; the efforts of England tended to destroy the nationality of the Canadians. We know that this population, French in its origin, manners, and language, is attached to national traditions. Not only have British laws imperceptibly taken the place of the old French legislation, but an effort has been made to impose on the inhabitants whatever would make them forget their old country. The French language gradually ceased to be the official language. Farther, the Catholic religion, which the Canadians profess, and for which the English at first showed some toleration, was persecuted by the Protestants, and the government aided in the iniquitous transaction.

Finally, the Canadians were despoiled of their territorial possessions by an arbitrary power. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1774, the immense domains of this congregation became vacant. The inhabitants of Lower Canada de-

manded that these lands should be declared to belong to the province, and that their revenues should be partly consecrated to the education of poor children ; but the government could not neglect so good an opportunity to enrich its creatures. The members of the executive council and their families were liberally endowed at the expense of the public. To give an idea of these scandalous spoliations, we will state, on the authority of Mr. Roebuck, a member of the House of Assembly, the grants made to one family, that of Mr. Fulton, a member of the legislative and executive council. To Mr. Fulton himself, eleven hundred acres, and to his seven daughters, twelve hundred acres each, making nine thousand five hundred acres in all.

The administration of Sir James Craig in Canada, marked the commencement of an era of sufferings and abuses, the memory of which will live eternally in the hearts of those unfortunate victims of English policy. This governor waged war upon the electoral chamber of Canada ; it was twice dissolved by him, because it wished to regulate the expenses of the province, and to have the judges elected by the people. The infamous dictator having been attacked by the journal called the Canadian, its press was broken by soldiers. At the same time, Messrs. Bedard and Blanchet, members of the opposition in the House of Assembly, were arrested and imprisoned some days before the elections. It would seem as if Craig attempted to irritate the Canadian population, and to excite them to a desperate resistance, and the Canadians termed the period of his administration the reign of terror.

The discontent of the inhabitants was at its height when Sir James was succeeded by the Duke of Richmond. The latter was succeeded by Dalhousie, who it would seem tried to shame the despotism of his predecessor of odious memory. The violence of the noble lord increased the irritation of the Canadians. A petition was sent to London, praying for his recall, and the charges were as follows :—

"Sir E. George, Lord Dalhousie, has committed many arbitrary acts. He has drawn large sums of money from the receiver-general, unauthorized by any law. He has wickedly suppressed and concealed from the knowledge of the provincial parliament, different public documents and papers. As commander-in-chief, he has used his authority to influence and intimidate the inhabitants in the exercise of their civil and political rights. He has permitted the official gazettes published under his control to make the most calumnious imputations daily against the House of Assembly; he has threatened to prorogue the representative body, until the freeholders and proprietors were obliged to name as deputies, men disposed to grant everything to executive authority, to sacrifice to him the right which belongs to the people, to determine by its representatives what sums of public money the administration shall be authorized to expend, and to ensure its faithful application, saying it would punish the province by rejecting the bills passed for the general welfare. He has gratified his vindictiveness by using his power on members of the legislative council, in order to have rejected in 1827, all bills in regard to objects of charity and public utility. So many acts of oppression have excited throughout the province an insurmountable expression of mistrust, suspicion, and disgust for his administration."*

The complaints of the Canadians were listened to for a time; but Lord Dalhousie soon reappeared triumphantly in Lower Canada, and was furious against the French party. It is to this worthy representative of British authority that we must attribute, in great part, the resolution taken by the Canadian patriots to engage in a decisive contest with England, and not to rest until justice should be rendered to them.

It is important to remark, that the malcontents always

* This article is quoted from the work of Isidore Lebrun, *Tab. Stat. and Pol. des deux Canadas*.

took legal measures to obtain satisfaction. Petitions to Parliament—envoys from the official representatives to the ministry—respectful remonstrances presented at the foot of the throne—opposition in the House of Assembly,—all the means authorized by the English constitution were tried by the Canadians, and were unsuccessful. The cabinet of St. James was deaf to the lamentations which came from the banks of the St. Lawrence. The demands of the petitioners were met by a constant denial of justice. England forgot that in 1812, in the war against the United States, the French Canadians had fought faithfully against their neighbors, who offered them liberty and free institutions. She forgot that the blood of the generous French flowed freely at Quebec and in many other battle-fields. Persecution, contempt of their rights, the robbing of their funds, and daily humiliation, were the recompense of these loyal subjects, to whom Great Britain owed the preservation of her North American colonies.*

We are not fearful of exaggerating the injuries received by the Canadians from England. We have rather fallen short of the truth, and if any one doubts it, let him read Lord Durham's report to the British cabinet, while he held the station of Governor of the Lower Province of Canada. All the critical part of this report is true, and it contains a table of the sufferings of the Canadians, much more startling than that we have presented. After 1830, the cruelty of the imperial Parliament continued. Most of the bills voted by the Houses of Assembly were returned with the royal veto. The patriots, vexed at not receiving their

* In the war of American Independence, the Canadians contributed powerfully to defeat the enterprises of Generals Arnold and Montgomery.

In 1812, Washington was burnt by the English: an act of savage barbarity, which roused the indignation of civilized Europe. The English army constantly invoked the alliance of the tribes of Indians; and these ferocious bands committed, in the name of Great Britain, atrocities, the recital of which alone would make one shudder. These were the useful auxiliaries employed by the royalist leaders to rid them of their republican prisoners, after the most solemn capitulations.

legitimate demands, decided to assume a more menacing attitude in the elections then to occur. In 1832, blood flowed at Montreal, and the commanders of the troop, who had fired on the electors without previous notice, were acquitted. Two years afterwards, the Whig ministry, terrified by the refusal of the House of Assembly in Lower Canada to vote the supplies, ordered an illusory inquiry, to stifle the resentments of the indignant colonists. Lord Gosford, Governor of the Lower Province, attempted to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors, and filled up the measure of his iniquities by levying taxes, notwithstanding the refusal of the budget by the House of Assembly.

II.—RESISTANCE IS ORGANIZED—THE ENGLISH AUTHORITIES EXCITE INSURRECTION—DESTRUCTION OF THE CAROLINE, AND MASSACRE OF THE CREW.

The Canadians had now come to that pass, when insurrection is the most sacred of duties. Nevertheless, in order to have right on their side, they again had recourse to legal resistance. At the instigation of Papineau, the energetic leader of the opposition, a commercial league was organized against the English. All the French Canadians engaged by oath to abstain from using English manufactures; the products of the soil, together with what they brought from the United States, were sufficient for the consumption of the country. The effects of this combination were soon seen; England was touched in her most sensitive part, her pocket. The authorities, perceiving that the receipts were extremely diminished, and fearing that the colony would become by this means excessively onerous to the mother country, decided to excite an insurrection, for which the patriots were entirely unprepared.

This is an important point to prove. Yes, the English excited the Canadian insurrection. It was not the policy of the French party to resist with arms. At a later period,

doubtless, they would have been reduced to this perilous extremity ; but in 1837, they wished to try a legal and passive contest. The best proof of this is the fact that when the first collision took place, the patriots were unarmed. On this point we have consulted several Canadian leaders who took refuge in France, and all have confirmed our opinion in regard to the Jesuitism with which the English government had urged the people to revolt.

"I challenge the English government to deny," says M. Papineau, in an historical work which we shall quote hereafter, "when I affirm that none of us were prepared for, expected, wished, or even anticipated an armed resistance. But the English government had resolved to rob the province of its revenue and its representative system ; it had resolved to devote some of us to death, and others to exile ; it was for this that martial law was proclaimed, and the citizens were tried by court-martial for acts which it was decided some weeks before formed no ground for accusation : founding the necessity of creating military tribunals on the impossibility of obtaining sentence of death from the civil tribunals. Yes, once more the executive power, having in view the interests of the metropolis, formed inhuman combinations against innocent men, which had been admitted to be illegal : the provocation came from it, but the insurrection was not lawful. We had resolved not yet to rebel. This has been proved to the government by our papers, which have been seized—a government which calumniates, in order to become persecutors."

Thus the blood shed in this colony must fall on the heads of the British ministers and their representatives.

The opposition in Parliament did not hope to obtain justice from the mother country, but it was not enfeebled. It even began to inspire power with serious fears, when, on a certain day in 1837, Papineau, O'Callaghan, and other persons of influence, were informed by a member of the council that on the next day they were to be accused and

arrested. This timely advice saved the lives of many eminent patriots. Papineau fled, and, after many dangers, arrived upon the frontier of the United States. A reward was offered for his head, but the indignation of the Canadians against power protected him in his flight, and every cottage opened to him its hospitable doors. On leaving his country with his colleagues, who were also proscribed, Papineau felt confident that an insurrection would occur ; he did not know that after the leaders of the French party had left, the government would excite an armed rebellion, in order to strike down the rest of the party.

About the same time, the authorities issued warrants against the patriots in the village near Montreal. The detachments of soldiers who were commissioned to make these arrests, instead of carrying their prisoners by a direct route to Montreal, made them take a long circuit, in order that the people of this district might witness the vengeance of Lord Gosford. The peasantry, seeing their brethren in irons, and surrounded by soldiers, attacked the troops, and, after an obstinate resistance, liberated the prisoners. This was the first blow struck. Power had succeeded in bringing about a bloody collision ; it was satisfied, for now its plans could be executed.

Combats, which were also provoked by the English, occurred at St. Charles, St. Denis, and other villages in the district of Montreal. The governor now proclaimed martial law. From this time, the populace was subjected to all the cruelties of a military régime—to all the violence of a siege. There was now no respect for laws, nor for the pledges inscribed in the constitution. The lives and property of the citizens were at the mercy of the despot at Quebec, who represented the royal authority. Terror reigned, and the soldiery sent against the unarmed peasantry used freely the impunity granted them by the proclamation of Lord Gosford.

At the firing of the first gun in the Lower Province,

Upper Canada revolted. Here were found not only Irish and foreign colonists, but also the English took up arms. The administration of Sir Francis Head, the governor of the province, had exasperated the inhabitants, no matter what nation they belonged to: thus the first spark of the flame was lighted by the criminal hand of Lord Gosford, and fired the train which incited the opposition in the two adjacent provinces.

Here we will record a base act, which of itself is sufficient to cover the English authorities in this unhappy country with eternal ignominy.

Two or three hundred of the insurgents of Upper Canada had taken possession of Navy Island, a short distance above the falls of Niagara. The English observed that a steam-boat passed frequently from the American shore to the island occupied by the patriots, and suspected that the vessel carried provisions and ammunition to the rebels; but of this there was no certainty. A detachment was ordered to destroy the suspicious vessel. In a dark night, some soldiers under the command of one M'Nab crossed the river and came suddenly upon the Caroline, which was moored to territory belonging to the United States. These wretches attacked the crew while asleep, slaughtered several men, threw others overboard, set fire to the vessel, cast off her fasts, abandoned her to the current of the river, which soon swept her over the falls. It was said that many of the crew found a grave in the foaming torrent of Niagara. The next morning, a dead body on the banks of Niagara apprized the citizens of the American republic that a frightful crime had been committed, under cover of the darkness of night, by the rulers of Canada.

It was a shameful violation of the rights of nations, for if the English were sure that the Caroline carried provisions to the Canadians, they knew this was done by private individuals, and not by the government of the United States, who had formally prohibited every act of hostility against

the possessors of Canada. This vessel then should have been captured in British waters, and the crew detained as prisoners of war. It was also an inexcusable crime, and as cowardly as it was base : for the attack was made at night, at a time when the sailors of the Caroline were asleep ; it was attended with horrid circumstances, such as the murder of unarmed men, and the destruction of the vessel in the foaming cataract.

This expedition was extremely well received by the English authorities. The barbarous executors of the orders of the government were publicly toasted at dinners, at which the annihilation of the French Canadians and the republicans of the United States was openly drank ; and further, M'Nab was knighted and presented with a sword, as a recompense for his noble valor.

Some months after, M'Leod, one of the heroes of this bloody adventure, had the impudence to go to a city of the United States, and boast of the nocturnal exploit in which he had taken part. He was arrested and imprisoned. This circumstance caused a sharp correspondence between the cabinet at Washington and the British government : it is known that the English minister assumed the responsibility of the massacre and destruction of the Caroline, urging that this outrage upon the laws of humanity and the rights of nations was all only an act of legitimate defence performed by subaltern agents, in accordance with the acknowledged interests of the home government.*

* This outrage inflicted by the cabinet of St. James upon the Americans is the consequence of a system obstinately pursued since the treaty of 1782. Since that time, even when at peace, England has constantly intrigued to cause a separation of the United States. It is this power which has encouraged the Indians in their warfare against the United States, and has distributed arms and ammunition to them. We would also state that the English have kept portions of territory, which, by existing treaties, ought long since to have been given up to the Americans.

III.—MISSION OF LORD DURHAM—DECEITFUL AMNESTY.

On learning these deplorable scenes in the two Canadas, the English government resolved to send to this colony a delegate with unlimited powers. The choice fell on Lord Durham, an old radical converted to ministerial doctrines.

On arriving at Quebec, in May, 1838, the new dictator distinguished himself by the most despotic acts. He gathered around him perverse counsellors, who were despised by honorable men for their public and private character. We will now quote from a remarkable article by M. Papineau, published in the "Revue des Progrès," which thus describes the *début* of the noble count :—

" Of all the men hateful to the Canadians, not one was more justly so than the editor of the Montreal Herald. This man was a proud tory, named Adam Thom, who for many years had abused all the whig ministers, and especially Lord Durham. But as the John Bull was unable to feed the malignity of Adam Thom by its malicious anecdotes, his private or counterfeit correspondence, published the real or imaginary offences of all the liberals.

" When it was known that Lord Durham was nominated, he complained bitterly. The bark of Cerberus was, however, so offensive to the ear of the dictator, that he was fain to throw him the soporific cake. And a few weeks after the pompous debarkation of the viceroy, and because that he had been abused, Adam Thom was his counsellor.

" This man, who was only a passionate partisan, of moderate talents, became extremely furious when speaking of the French Canadians. Excited by a thirst for blood, his hatred then knew no bounds. For many years, the pages of his paper had daily been sullied by outrages against the whole nation, and reiterated provocations to the assassination of the most popular representatives. He had figured also as a leader in several contests which four years before had occurred at Montreal—contests between the English

magistrates and the citizens who opposed the executive power, in the elections of the House of Assembly.

"Adam Thom had organized the Doric Club, a club armed to put down the French Canadians, if the government granted them the object of their demands, an elective legislative council. Five months before his accession to the counsels of Lord Durham, and while the prisons were filled with Canadians, he wrote : 'The punishment of the leaders, however agreeable it might be to the English inhabitants, would not produce so deep an impression, and one so useful to the spirit of the people, as the sight of strangers in the house of every agitator in each parish. The sight of the widow and children bewailing their wretchedness around the rich houses from which they have been dispossessed, would have a good effect. This measure should not be delayed. Special commissioners should be appointed immediately to despatch the trials of the traitors now in prison.'

The same Adam Thom, three months before the arrival of Lord Durham, proclaimed death to four hundred people who were confined in a place large enough to accommodate only half the number. He said that the government were culpable for deferring their trial ; that it was intended to deprive the Doric Club of its prey ; that the Club was strong enough to do itself justice, in spite of the walls, prisons, and bayonets of the soldiers ; that the Club could punish as well as protect ; that it would grant but a short delay, after which it would be seen that its advice was not an empty menace. In fact, the plot became so frightful, that the authorities were obliged to fortify the prisons by additional works, and to double the guards. This is the wretch who sat at the table of Lord Durham, and assisted at his councils.

This fact foreshadowed what the English proconsul proposed to do to pacify the two insurgent provinces. The measures of Lord Durham exceeded the expectations even,

of his flatterers. Adam Thom must have been satisfied with him.

From remarks in the British Parliament, an amnesty had been expected. It was decreed in June, 1838; but it contained a singular restriction, viz., that every one who had gone to another country to avoid arrest, was forbidden to return, under pain of death.

This strange amnesty excited general indignation. In the British House of Commons it was severely criticised. In the House of Lords, Lord Brougham, the personal enemy of Lord Durham, remarked, that the dictator of Canada had the right to except from the amnesty whoever he thought proper, but not to pronounce the penalty of death simply for returning to the country. That part of the amnesty which had been the subject of discussion was annulled in July, and Lord Durham was immediately notified of it officially.

The pride of the viceroy could not tolerate the insult offered by Parliament. Lord Durham left his post in anger, resigning the power to Sir John Colborne, whom he had succeeded.

Notwithstanding that the proscription of fugitives was annulled by Parliament, it was still exercised by the Canadian authorities. A humble fugitive having attempted to return, was brought before the military tribunals. He appealed to the decision of Parliament, but was told that, notwithstanding this decision, the tribunals were free to interpret the amnesty as they chose. The accused owed his life only to his political obscurity, and was ordered to leave the colony immediately.

IV.—SECOND INSURRECTION—EXECUTIONS—PILLAGE AND BURNINGS.

The short administration of Lord Durham had been so deplorable, that it had excited the wrath of the patriots of the two provinces. Shortly after the sudden departure of

the dictator, an insurrectionary movement occurred in Lower Canada. But those unfortunate people, to the number of fifteen or twenty thousand, who had rallied at the call of some imprudent men, soon perceived that there was no organization ; that arms were wanting ; in short, that there was no hope of success. They dispersed ; but the military authorities, who were prepared for it, made many captures, and the prisons of Montreal and Quebec were filled with victims.

About the same time, Upper Canada, which was also annoyed by the violence of the governor, again rose, and the insurgents experienced the same fate as those of the lower province.

Then a series of atrocities commenced, for which martial law served as a cloak. These two insurrections, which had been so easily and promptly suppressed, served the English as a pretext for outrages upon the conquered and disarmed patriots. Villages and farms belonging to the proscribed were devastated and burnt. Many of the unfortunates were sent to prison ; others were sentenced to be transported to Botany Bay, like so many brigands. The executions were witnessed in silence by a people who were struck with terror. From this time, *order reigned* in the Canadas.

The English government attempted to justify the judicial murders committed by its order in an American colony ; but their necessity was never proved. While the gibbets were erecting, the two provinces were subdued and pacified. Power had then nothing to fear from the patriots. Hence capital condemnations were inexcusable, and England cannot wipe off this reproach brought against her by civilized nations.

At the present moment, many Canadians, and even some Americans are doing penance at Sydney for their love of liberty.

V.—CONDUCT OF ENGLAND TOWARDS CANADA SINCE THE END OF THE INSURRECTION.

Martial law remained in full force in Canada, long after the bloody pacification of this country. Under this legal ægis the vengeance of the victors was shown by confiscations, executions, and deeds of violence. The ministry had given full powers to the colonial authorities ; they used them freely and without any conscientious scruples. Poulet Thompsom, the actual governor, followed the course of his predecessors.

One act of iniquity had been committed against this unhappy country, favored by the tranquillity which has existed there for two years. The two provinces have been united, and now form but one. This measure, a plan of Lord Durham, to swallow up the French population by the British, has not, however, had the desired effect.

To give an idea of the odious character of this decision, we will simply state the elements of which the only elective body in Canada will hereafter be composed. The lower province, which numbers eight hundred thousand inhabitants, nearly all of whom are French, had eighty-eight deputies ; she now will have but forty. Upper Canada, whose population (mostly of English or Irish) does not exceed four hundred thousand, will send to the legislature about the same number of representatives. Thus, the number of representatives will be the same, although the population of one province is twice as great as the other ; but the French must be balanced by the British.

The conduct of the British government towards the Canadas, may thus be summed up :—

“Oppression and denial of justice for a long period. Provocation to revolt. Atrocious and unnecessary severity after the re-establishment of order. The absorption of the most numerous class of the population by the conquerors.”

VI.—DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF ENGLISH POLICY IN THE PROVINCES ADJACENT TO CANADA.

Before concluding this chapter, we propose to glance rapidly at the situation of the other English colonies of North America. We can thus form an idea of the state to which the policy of Great Britain has reduced the kind of empire in the new world, belonging to this power.

We shall merely present the testimony of Lord Durham, who, in his report already mentioned, makes the following remarks in regard to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Isle :* "The resources of these provinces, although numerous and varied, are deplorably neglected. Their miserable population is extremely idle and squalid, and if some portions are better, it is because some cultivators or capitalists have come from the United States. In most of Nova Scotia you see houses abandoned, and farms going to waste. Lands purchased forty or fifty years since for five shillings the acre, can now be bought for three for the want of capital ; the inhabitants allow their fisheries to be carried away from their very doors by the Americans. These provinces, with thirty millions of acres in superficies, although they were colonized early, contain only two hundred and sixty-six thousand inhabitants. What a contrast is to be seen on the adjacent borders.

"On the side of the independent Americans there is every appearance of productive industry, increase in wealth and progress in civilization ; on the side of the English, all is solitude and desolation.

"This painful, but undeniable fact is apparent in every part of the frontier of more than four hundred leagues. The difference in the price of the land there is immense, often

* Nova Scotia and New Brunswick form the vast province formerly known as Acadia. We stated at the commencement of this chapter, that twenty thousand inhabitants were expelled from this province after the treaty of 1763. Prince Edward's Isle was called by the French Isle St. Jean.

a thousand per cent., sometimes even more. The emigration from England, instead of remaining in their colonies, proceeds to the United States, and in this manner, Upper Canada, which under other circumstances would have at least five hundred thousand inhabitants, now counts only four hundred thousand. So too with those emigrants who land at Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Finding no encouragement there, they continue their journey to the United States. Many of the old colonists have done the same.

These are some of the lamentable results of the political and social evils which for so long a time have afflicted the Canadas, and now we are obliged to take immediate measures against the alarming dangers of rebellion, and that depopulation which results from the desertion of people who are reduced to despair."

"These admissions come from a representative of the English government. The whole truth may be estimated by taking into account the moderation required of the author of the report, by his official title. Our limits oblige us to be concise, otherwise we should show that the English, from the first period of their rule, have attempted to root out and destroy by the use of ardent spirits, the natives who, when Wolfe captured Quebec, covered the soil of New France. Whole tribes of twenty thousand and thirty thousand individuals, have disappeared from Canada, thanks to the British government, who find by the extension of drunkenness among the savages the most convenient mode of ridding themselves of dangerous subjects and neighbors.

CONCLUSION.

If success can justify crime—if the results obtained can excuse the infamy of the means employed to accomplish them—England, to be excused, would only have to display her long list of spoliations, and to point proudly to what she has gained. Here would be found enough to tempt less easy consciences, to encourage ambition even of less bold character. The political traders of Great Britain, those skilful traffickers in human flesh, can cast up the balance sheet, and a formidable list of people and territory will be found on the credit side. When England once plants her foot on a territory, she never leaves it. She develops her resources, advances, and daily adds to her landed acquisitions : the population is destroyed, sometimes by arsenic, as in New Holland—sometimes by opium, as in China, or they are reduced to slavery. She makes her depredations a right, her piracies a title ; she identifies herself so thoroughly with the soil, that there is no longer a place for the natives ; and the cry of usurpation is heard when the disabused people claim the inheritance of their fathers.

At the beginning of this century, the English possessed only a small island in the Mediterranean. None of their fleets were to be found in those waters which they now pretend to govern. The first squadron sent there was to arrest the march of the French armies in the East towards the land of the Pharaohs, and afterwards to prevent the communication of France with its new colony. But the sight of a few vessels, bearing the tri-colored flag, in the two small ports of Suez and Cosseir, opened their eyes. The genius of Britain soon understood the importance of the

isthmus and Red Sea, as the political and commercial route from Gibraltar to the Indies. From this time, England has never quitted the Mediterranean.

These spoliations were facilitated by the complaisance of the European powers ; and the congress of Vienna recognised her sovereignty over Malta and the Ionian islands, without inquiring into her claims.

We must not forget that the first war commenced by England against France was to protect the interests of Holland. Under this pretext, the English introduced their troops into the opulent island of Ceylon, drove out from it the garrison of their allies, and have never left it since. The Cape of Good Hope was usurped in the same manner and by the same allies ; and the Cape and Ceylon were delivered up to England by the congress of Vienna, which was always ready to sanction violence and treachery.

But if England has profited by the troubles of war to introduce herself secretly to her allies and rob them, she avails herself also of the leisure of peace to found new establishments in remote lands. The possession of Arden gave her the control of the Red Sea ; mistress of Bushire, she commands the Persian Gulf, and the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. Aided by the possession of the Malonian islands, she commands the Straits of Magellan ; from the summit of the rock of Gibraltar, she surveys the Pillars of Hercules ; Heligoland gives her the mouth of the Elbe ; Jersey and Guernsey, access to France ; in the Antilles, she surrounds with her numerous positions the solitary islands of Martinique and Guadalupe ; the bombardment of Beyroot and St. Jean d'Acre threw her garrisons on the coast of Syria ; and the insurrection of Candia, fomented by her, will doubtless bring this island under the Ionian protectorate. The power of Britain is seen in every sea visited by a merchant-vessel ; and whatever shores it visits, it passes under the cannon of a British fortress. England has stationed herself on all the great maritime

routes, ready to dispute their passage ; she has fortified herself in every strait and pass, ready to close them by a chain of vessels.

An intrepid traveller, a greedy jackal, England explores every coast and rock, and turns to her advantage the discoveries of geography and the progress of science. Among the great rivers of the world, one only has escaped her researches and power. The Niger, whose abundant waters wash the unknown countries of central Africa, could neither be traced in its course, nor could its source be found by European explorers ; its inhospitable banks repelled the advances of science, and a murderous climate destroyed the hardy traveller who might escape the cruelty of the natives. The bold adventurers who dared to penetrate into it never returned, and the secret of their discoveries remains buried with them in those mysterious plains which have not yet given up their dead.

The traditions of antiquity, and the narratives of the Arabian merchants, who extended their caravans into the interior of Africa, stated that in the centre of Nigritia was a large river, the waters of which passed through numerous and populous countries. But how could one arrive at this river without passing through savage and hostile people ? What seas received the tributary waters and communicated with it, it was impossible to say. Accident, one of those simple inspirations which rise among the children of the people when all the calculations of science have failed, finally made this great discovery. Two English sailors, the brothers Lander, arrived on the banks of the Niger, embarked upon it, and then abandoned themselves to the current. They passed through countries which were unknown even by name, and finally came into the Atlantic ocean. From that time, the river was open. Central Africa belonged to that European people who could ascend the Niger. The British cabinet fully understood this, and took measures to pursue their new conquest. For this, it was

necessary to command the mouth of the river, and to close it against other Europeans. England lost no time. The Niger opens into the Bay of Biafra, at the bottom of the Gulf of Guinea. This bay contains several islands, situated at very unequal distances from the mouths of the great African river. The nearest and largest is the island of Fernando Po, which, by its extent and position, commands all the others. This island belongs to Spain. Now England had sent to the aid of constitutional Spain a British legion, composed of the refuse of her population, who were more distinguished for their excesses than their valor. According to the accounts of the chancellor, there were still sixty thousand pounds due to these valiant soldiers. The English government, therefore, proposed to the court at Madrid to release them from this payment, for the cession of the islands of Fernando Po and Annobon, situated in the Bay of Biafra. This latter island is much smaller, and further from the mouth of the Niger; but they enclose between them the two Portuguese islands Princes and St. Thomas, so that the possession of Fernando Po and Annobon commands this small archipelago. Although the Spanish cortes rejected the proposition of England, yet the English have commenced an establishment in the island of Fernando Po, and, in our opinion, will not be disposed to leave it. They will not be discouraged by the first refusal, but will remain there, either by force or stratagem. From this, it is easy to understand the importance of the arrangement thus proposed to Spain. England wished to become master of the mouth of the Niger, and consequently of central Africa. The islands of Fernando Po and Annobon were to be the centres of trade and fortresses. Africa, like the whole of Asiatic India, would be a tributary to Great Britain; and the Niger, the course of which was so fortunately discovered, and which should have been devoted to science, is opened only to the commercial speculations of England.

In order the better to cloak its ambitious designs, the

British government asserts that it makes these conquests only in the spirit of Christian philanthropy, and in order to break up the slave-trade, which it cannot do by its fleets.

In fact, whenever a generous idea rises up in the bosoms of its citizens, the government turns it to political account, and the charity of individuals becomes an instrument for the acquisition of new power. Its hypocritical combinations have even caused one to doubt the sincerity of those whose views it has advanced; and from the manner in which the moral ideas are carried out, a perfidious understanding has been suspected between its preachers and politicians.

Thus, when generous men raised their voices in parliament against the slave trade, the whole world was seduced by that noble disinterestedness, which advocated the liberation of so many who had so long been disinherited; but when the English government profited by this Christian manifestation to destroy the French colonies, to invite the blacks of St. Domingo to insurrection, to impose the tyranny of its visits upon the vessels of every nation, it was proper to mistrust this philanthropy, and while one would render justice to Wilberforce, he must sigh for the abuses with which his exhortations have been followed.

Even now, a new association is formed at London, with a view to the abolition of slavery, and the development of civilization in Africa. It looked to the region of the Niger. We certainly would not doubt the sincerity of its founders, but from the eclat attending this enterprise, we must look upon it with suspicion, particularly in consequence of the active part taken by the cabinet of St. James in this philanthropic work. In fact, on the first requisition of the association, the government consented to send three steamboats to ascend the Niger, and found upon its banks establishments who will enter into permanent relations with its African population. Now we know what are the relations of the English government with the populations among whom it plants its standard. And although the first attempts at

founding these establishments have been unsuccessful, yet England will never desist from her efforts, until the British flag waves over Africa, as it now does over India.*

One has only to connect the announcement of this expedition with the negotiation opened with the Spanish government in regard to the Island of Fernando Po and Annobon, and we have the secret of British generosity ; and one can thus explain why a nation who has millions dying of want within her borders, and subjected to privations and sufferings, cruelties, and indignities, which are never inflicted on any slave, should be actuated by such tender regard for the blacks of Central Africa.

These nations whom it is pretended to regenerate, will soon set a proper value upon the protection of England, and will soon find out the expense of her sympathy. While

* The following account of the termination of the Niger expedition, is from an English correspondent of the London Times at Cape Coast Castle :—

"The Wilberforce, you will recollect, was here in March last, at which time Captain W. Allen was preparing to re-ascend the Niger, to look after the 'Model Farm' people, and if possible, to do something to retrieve the fame of the expedition. He proceeded hence to Ferdinand Po, to fit out the Soudan, to accompany him. While he was still lying there, the Kite steamer arrived with orders from government that only one vessel was to go up the river, and that she was only to have on board four or five white men at most. Her only object in going up was to be the bringing back the people left at the farm. On receiving these orders Captain Allen and most of the officers and crew went on board the Kite for a passage to England. The other commissioner (Cook) went home by the Golden Spring. The Wilberforce, under charge of her present commander (Lieutenant Webb), proceeded up the river, and found the 'Model Farm' a very perfect model of disorganization.

"The blacks who had been left at it, having plenty of cowries (species of India shell used as money) and goods, voted themselves to be independent country gentlemen, and managed to get hold of a lot of natives whom they coolly made slaves of, and whom they compelled to work on the farm, each gentleman being provided with a cat, or slave-driver's whip, the better to enforce obedience. The model farmer himself (Carr, brother of the Chief Justice of Sierra Leone) has never been heard of, and had, as it afterwards appeared, been killed somewhere near the mouth of the river."

Here it is admitted by an English writer, that an expedition sent into Central Africa by a society for the abolition of slavery, and with the sanction and aid of the British government, *actually established a slave factory !!* Comment is unnecessary.

England is thus quietly laying the foundation of her African empire, her indefatigable ambition has endeavored to shorten the distance between the immense empires which it occupies from Delhi to Calcutta. England has even extended her hand to her old rival, Russia, and come with chivalric devotion to offer her men and vessels to chastise a rebel vassal on the coast of Syria, who compromised the safety of the Ottoman empire. For England to contend for a principle would certainly be something new. But those who look into the subject will see that Syria is the surest and most direct route to the Anglo-Indian possessions, and that Mehemet-Ali, the possessor of Syria, might be formidable. Aq Beyrout and St. Jean d'Acre would form excellent military positions in the Mediterranean, Beyrout and St. Jean d'Acre must be occupied by British troops. Thus the treaty of the 15th of July became an insult to France, and also a profitable speculation for England.

This fortunate expedition was also in accordance with views which had been entertained for a long time. England wished to proceed to India by the Red sea. For many years, it had explored and surveyed its coasts. The amount of money expended upon this work (four millions) proves the importance attached to it ; but it was soon ascertained that this route presented serious difficulties. For four months in the year, the monsoons rendered the navigation uncertain and dangerous, at all times the coasts were difficult of access, and inhospitable ; there was no trace of coal, and finally the navigation was always at the mercy of the pacha of Egypt. England then resolved to turn her attention to Syria, and the Euphrates.

The first documents in regard to this latter point were obtained by a base fraud. A Frenchman, M. de Laccaris, was sent by Napoleon to explore Mesopotamia and the Euphrates ; he had collected many documents showing that the passage might be made to India by the Orontes, Aleppo, and the Euphrates. The papers of M. de Laccaris were

stolen from him at Alexandria in 1814, and sent to the English consul. Fortified by these valuable instructions, the British cabinet verified the projects of Laccaris by its agents. In 1835, Captain Chesney descended the Euphrates and the Tigris to Bombay, and found them navigable in every part. It was then necessary only to connect the Euphrates with the Mediterranean. Now, the Orontes, which empties into this sea, is also navigable to Lattaquia (the ancient Antioch); from the borders of the Orontes, the route is very easy to Aleppo, as it is from Aleppo to the borders of the Euphrates. Hence, the route to India was opened without much effort. The old port of Seleucia, situated at the mouth of the Orontes, requires some labor, and the roads of Alexandria, at its mouth, can contain large fleets. Finally, at the foot of Mount Taurus, abundance of coal and iron is found, surrounded by forests of oak and other wood. Hence, it is easy to see the powerful interest of England, in establishing herself on the coast of Syria, under pretence of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman empire. Faithful to its old habits, it robbed the allies it came to defend, and the importunities of Lord Palmerston were so profitable, that even the Tories did not object. The humiliation of France, and aggrandizement of England, were the results of that solemn mystification, called the treaty of July 15 !

The consequences of this diplomacy were soon seen. Lieutenant Campbell was ordered at Bombay to ascend the river, which Captain Chesney had descended, and his success opened the route from India to Syria. It was then seen that in sixteen days one could go from Bombay to Beles, at the northern extremity of Mesopotamia, near Aleppo, forty-five leagues from the Mediterranean. From Beles to Alexandretta is a distance of only three days, and the voyage from Alexandretta to Liverpool can be made in fifteen days. Hence, one month of continual navigation connects the vast possessions of India with the metropolis.

The population on the borders of the Tigris and Euphrates will soon come under the British yoke. At Bagdad, which is already the centre of operations, is an English consul who is guarded by a company of Indian sepoys. His house is situated on the Tigris, and is surrounded by a fortified wall, at the foot of which the exploring vessels are moored.

In a few years, the English will be masters of the market of this city, and also those of Bassora and Aleppo, which are the depots of Diarbekir and Kourdiatan, of a part of Syria, the whole of Mesopotamia, and Persia. In this manner a new continent is usurped; and while the British government expels the French from a miserable island, which served them as an hospital, it prepares for its merchants a new commercial market which will consume fifteen millions worth of goods.

But it is not simply these immense commercial conquests which endanger Europe. Another result much more important, is that England is increasing to a great degree, her military power. Hitherto her forces have consisted in fleets and money. But her armies have been commercially inferior to those of the great European powers. But in her Indian possessions she possesses an army of one hundred and eighty thousand sepoys, excellent soldiers, and better disciplined than the British troops. From this time, by the new route she can bring these formidable auxiliaries into Europe, and appear in the field of battle with a power she has never before possessed. Let Europe, let France take warning. The Anglo-Indian empire will extend from the banks of the Mediterranean. The ancient kingdom is to become an appendage to the states taken from the Grand Mogul; the proud rivers of Babylon will surrender their tributaries to the flag which waves over the fertile waters of Bengal, and this primitive world of oriental civilization will be only one vast market opened to the speculations and avidity of British commerce.

If these audacious politicians would content themselves by distant expeditions which open new markets for industry and afford a new recompense for labor, one might view their combinations with some degree of favor. It must be admitted that this commerce brings men in contact, and is a step towards the realization of the unity of the human family. But the government of St. James is not influenced by any such considerations. It only desires a market for English manufactures, and while it establishes this market in Asia and Africa by the sword and by oppression, it acts in Europe by intrigue and corruption. Impatient of all competition, and jealous of success, it wages war upon rival industry, and paralyzes every effort but its own. Wo to those people who have accepted England's interested protection! Portugal allowed herself to be imposed upon by this ruinous patronage, and Portugal has witnessed the destruction of her manufactures, the ruin of her industry. Inactive, and condemned to live on external products, it is only a depot for British manufactures. Even the riches of its fine soil are under the tyranny of its rulers; for its most fertile fields belong to English companies, and it has become tributary to the stranger even for its natural productions.

Spain also has felt the sad benefits of this alliance, even when the British government sent its armies to free her from Imperial rule. One fact has escaped much notice, because the historians have dwelt upon the more important events of the war; it is this, that the ravages designedly committed by the English in the manufacturing towns of their allies, were much more fatal to Spain than all the conquests of the French invasion. How many goods were burned by the British? How many manufacturers were ruined on their march? The war of the peninsula was conducted in such a manner as to make the industry of England as necessary to Spain as her armies; it was a campaign waged by the British against the internal industry

of Spain, as well as against her foreign enemies. Hence, the ravages committed by her professed enemy, were repaired long since ; but the wounds inflicted by their ally are still bleeding, and will require many years to heal.

Since the peace, the British government has neglected no means to avail themselves of this market by this fraudulent alliance. It intrigues against those manufactures which had been established. Every one knows the machinations of its agents in the manufacturing cities of Catalonia. We all know, that the laborers of Barcelona excited by Colonel Mitchell, committed outrages which endangered all the manufacturers of this imperial city ; they organized clubs ; discussed openly the subjects of a tariff, pay, hours of labor, and threatened the manufacturer with death, if he did not comply with their demands. Many manufacturers were ruined by these demands, and the workmen did not discover the perfidy of these anarchical councils, until they found themselves to be the first victims of them.

The English, however, pursued their destructive projects with relentless constancy. Whenever Spain, exhausted by civil wars, attempted to negotiate a loan, England offered money ; but these offers were attended by a treaty of commerce,* which was a treaty of ruin. And the English gov-

* England has pursued the same course towards Mexico that she did towards Spain, and in due time will add California to her territory, in payment for loans made to Mexico. A late writer in the New York Courier and Enquirer remarks :—

"It is understood that the district of California was offered by the Mexican government to that of Great Britain, in payment of a debt, amounting to £12,000,000 ; but as *the British government has a mortgage upon the custom-house duties of Vera Cruz*, which is the principal port of entry for Mexico, it declined the cession. This information is believed to be correct, as it was rumored in the best-informed circles in the city of Mexico, and believed to be derived from a source entitled to the fullest credit. It is well known that Mexico possesses an extent of territory beyond her ability to control. The district of California is densely filled with savage and warlike Indians : and it should not be matter for surprise if Mexico, with an exhausted treasury, knowing her inability to protect and populate this district, should be disposed to cede it in liquidation of the heavy claims of citizens of other nations against her."

ernment did not attempt to disguise its views : for in the treaty made with Spain, to enable Mendizabal to obtain a loan from Great Britain, the extinction of Spanish industry had been foreseen so thoroughly, that he had stipulated for a portion of the loan to be paid to the operatives of Catalonia.

The course pursued by England was the same as that of the usurers, who prepare beforehand for the ruin of those whom they pretend to assist. In the eye of the British politician, a contract made is always the same as a battle-ground : a treaty of alliance always conceals some act of spoliation. Still more recently, Prussia has been victimized by one of those diplomatic transactions, under the appearance of friendship.

Notwithstanding the extent of territory gained by Prussia by the treaty of the congress of Vienna, she had not acquired the influence formerly possessed by Frederick the Great. Saxony, which was then under its rule, had become independent ; Poland, which had supplied her with men and money, was now a Russian province ; the Hanseatic cities, which commanded several ports of the Baltic and the North Sea, were under the influence of England and Austria. Driven from the markets in Asia by the prohibitory system adopted by Russia—arrested in her agricultural pursuits by the poor-laws of England—her farmers and manufacturers were threatened on all sides. Insulation was a serious danger to her.

She then saw that it was necessary to oppose to the influence of Russia and England an imposing mass of forces and interests : and therefore appealed to German nationality, and attempted to combine in one league all the small states around her. The internal custom-houses, and the numerous regulations of the intermediate states, checked the developments of industry, and the happiness of the population. Prussia succeeded in removing these barriers, and in 1833 she had established a uniform system of

custom-house regulations for most of the German states, with a view to their union in one body and under one flag—satisfied that commercial harmony would lead the way to political unity.

Until this time, England had not been uneasy at an association, the developments of which had been so slow and difficult. But it was soon proposed to establish a navy, which might enable the German Customs Union to provide itself for the wants of its own commerce. A common flag was to float over the vessels of all the states of this association. The English cabinet then became alarmed ; the common flag terrified them. The Union had already driven the English merchants from the markets of Germany. The creation of a new marine would close the ports of the Baltic against them. It was necessary to rebut these dangerous ideas of maritime independence, or to paralyze them by an union with them. The latter mode was the surest, and that most in accordance with the perfidious nature of the British cabinet.

It therefore hastened to conclude a treaty with the Hanseatic cities, and then offered to make a treaty with the German Union. This was a great triumph for the Union, to force into an alliance a nation which had hitherto dictated laws to all the markets ; and the Union accepted, perhaps too easily, a contract, all the advantages of which were on the side of England.

In fact, the first article stipulates that the duties of import and export shall be reciprocal on national vessels loaded with natural and manufactured articles, coming from the countries ruled by the contracting parties. This clause seems to confer equal rights, but this is extremely deceptive : for England exports to Germany all her native productions, her colonial products, and even the foreign products of all parts of the world ; she can carry merchandise to the value of two hundred and twenty millions of pounds. The German Union, on the contrary, can only export her

own products, amounting to fifty or sixty millions. It is seen that the balance is sufficiently favorable to the merchants of Great Britain.

The treaty, also, when it was published on the 5th of May, 1841, excited many complaints, especially in the centre and south of Germany. The eastern provinces, devoted entirely to agriculture, were not displeased with a treaty which ensured them a market for their products. But the central and southern provinces, where industry had taken so rapid a start, will have now to sustain a ruinous competition with England, which has provided new consumers for its formidable army of producers.

Besides the direct profits gained by Great Britain in this commercial treaty, not a small advantage is that of introducing discord and division among the German states, hitherto so closely united. In fact, the southern and central provinces, who live by manufactures, are indignant at the treaty, while the eastern provinces are well pleased with it. There is an open strife between the agricultural and manufacturing interests. The association, hitherto strong in its unity and harmony, is now severed by English intervention, and is injured not only in its material and temporary interests, but also in the moral power resulting from its harmony. Although but a short time has elapsed since this fatal alliance was formed, yet its existence is already compromised by the fatal breath of English policy.

It was the wish of England for the German Union not to create a marine, and she has succeeded: for England has become the great carrier of the Baltic. This, however, is certain: that if England could not have prevented the formation of a marine, she would soon have destroyed it by a war; for its first principle is to consider as an enemy every power that builds vessels. Its jealous eye is upon every dock-yard, and, in her view, every vessel which floats violates her territory—the ocean. This is the secret of its hatred and friendships. If the pacha of Egypt has mer-

ited its anger, it is because he has built a fleet ; if she attacked the sultan at Navarino, it was because he had added new forces to the Turkish marine ; if she exercises the right of search upon American vessels on the coast of Africa, and does all she can to break up American commerce in the African continent, it is because the navy of the young republic is rapidly gaining strength and importance.

The official piracy of the government of England is imitated in every part, and it is seen even in the fishing-vessels which trespass upon the territory of France. Smuggling, too, is boldly carried on by the English on the Spanish coast, where the authorities are braved, and the people are put down by brute force. While the Spanish factories are destroyed by the treaty of commerce, the cabinet of St. James throws its patriot soldiery on its banks ; and in order that no doubt may exist as to its complicity, they are permitted to retreat into the port of Gibraltar. Every day reveals some new fact of depredations and insolent tyranny ; every shore bears testimony to her commercial rapacity and constant usurpations. The changes in the British cabinet, however, have not changed its external policy : Whigs and Tories pursue the same course ; for Whigs and Tories are only the different shades of the same tyranny—the modifications of the same idea. Of these two rival parties, that which is the most popular is not that which is the most to be feared ; and whenever one party commences reform, it is because its power is perceived to be decreasing, and its influence to be on the wane. The Tories did not grant Catholic emancipation until all Ireland had conspired to separate from England ; and the Whigs would not assent to a reform of the corn-laws until they had lost their majority in Parliament. The existence of the ministry was measured before they ascertained that bread was too dear. It is not, then, to be regretted that this tardy expiation could not save them. They labored much less for the people than for themselves · and doubtless if the danger had passed,

they would soon deceive those who trusted too readily to them. But the last contests have demonstrated the complete similitude between their morality and that of their adversaries. Certainly, in view of what has occurred, neither party can reproach the other, and both parties have gained for themselves an unenviable notoriety by the scenes of corruption witnessed at the hustings. Tories and Whigs, obstinate Conservatives, and sudden Reformers, have invited the people to scandalous orgies. It is with the purse in hand that they demonstrate their right to seats in Parliament ; it is gold which decides the merit of legislators. The electoral market is open ; the candidates make secret inquiries concerning each other, to know the sums which they are respectively prepared to expend. Buyers and sellers are mutually engaged in this monstrous corruption, and the nation belongs to the highest bidder : the richest men are the most suitable for Parliament. It is in England particularly that money presents an irresistible argument ; the majority in Parliament is emphatically the balance of the pecuniary forces of the two parties.

Thus all is deceit in this government ; even the representative system, which it boasts of having first introduced, is reduced to be a scandalous comedy and a shameful business transaction. Melbourne and Peel, Palmerston and Aberdeen, all follow the same principle ; they traffic to govern. *Corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocant.*

The defeat of the Whigs, then, is regretted neither by morality nor humanity ; and if France has nothing to gain from those who have attained power, she had nothing to lose by those who have lost it. On every occasion, the Whig cabinet has exhibited a jealous malevolence and insolent hostility towards France, and has claimed the gratitude of the British nation for attacks upon her. When Belgium became an independent nation, in 1831, and demanded to be united with France, who prevented this union, which was ordained by the nature of things, and by the

wishes of the people? When, after ten years of suffering, during which Belgium saw her industry confined and wasting daily, she entreated France to aid her in the establishment of custom-house regulations on her commercial frontiers—when she solicited permission to live as a manufacturing country, if not as a commercial state—who opposed it? Who excited Europe against France for making a commercial treaty? Who excited the signers of the treaty of Vienna against an industrial treaty between Paris and Brussels? It was the Whigs, who, by their intrigues, threats, and secret instigations, consummated the ruin of Belgian industry; while at the same time they entered into numerous competition with French commerce.

In Spain, the Whigs have proclaimed the errors of the blind or perfidious French diplomats, making enemies of those who were formerly friends. France has now nearly lost her influence in the peninsula; the French name is despised, when it is not cursed, and this sad prerogative is owing to the plots of the Whigs as much as to the mistakes of French policy. They have organized hatred against France; they have hired detractors of her glory, and calumniators of her former loyalty; and the better to secure the success of their falsehoods, they have prevented all intercourse between the envoys of the French government and all those who exercise an influence in the affairs of the peninsula.

Need we recur to the treason of the 15th of July? Was it not a Whig who addressed to France those insolent provocations, the terms of which still grate upon our ears? Was it not a Whig who said that France was chained down by the treaties of 1815, and could not even complain against her jailors, lest England should send a fleet against her maritime cities?

No! France has no cause to feel grateful to a cabinet which yields to the efforts of a corruption deeper but not more inveterate than its own. On the other hand, it would

be rash to congratulate herself upon this change in the cabinet, for it is not a political modification ; it is only a family quarrel, where the domestic tyrant has been changed; although the tyranny remains the same. Our accusations have lost nothing of their force under the heirs of Canning and Grey, and they ought not to be hushed towards the inheritors of Pitt and Castlereagh.

Let it not be thought that we wish, in a vain spirit of military ambition, to invoke unnecessary wars, and to aspire to personal triumphs. We do not admit it ; the people now wish for order and peace ; they desire other glories than the glories of arms, and covet other conquests than those of territory. But we demand the extinction of that English oligarchy which causes misfortune and disorder in every part of the globe. England alone now sanctions violence and perpetuates spoliation ; she alone disturbs the security of nations, and brings the peace of the world into question. Let the world, then, gain peace by one more war. Seize in their stronghold those pirates, to whom is attributed a monopoly of crime. Assemble, under the flag of civilization and justice, every nation which has an account to settle with the arrogant aristocracy of Britain. Call together the formidable cohorts of victims, from North America to the East Indies—from the Gulf of Mexico to the Mediterranean—from the North Sea to the Cape of Good Hope ! Men of every race will come to assist in punishing the common enemy ; and every nation in the world will seem, in the eyes of the expiring oligarchy, to repeat in turn those fated words which rang in the ears of Richard the Third—“ DESPAIR AND DIE !”

THE END.

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