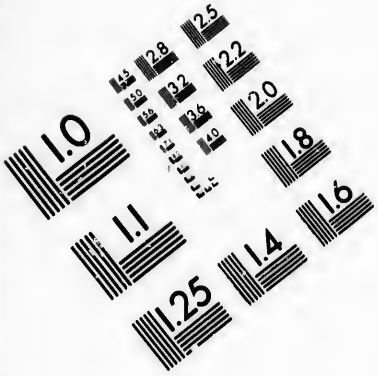


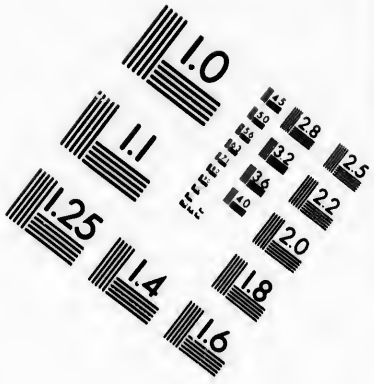


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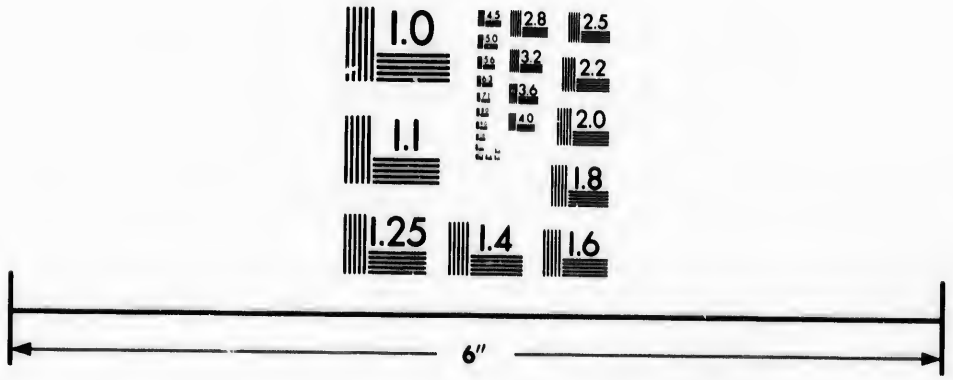



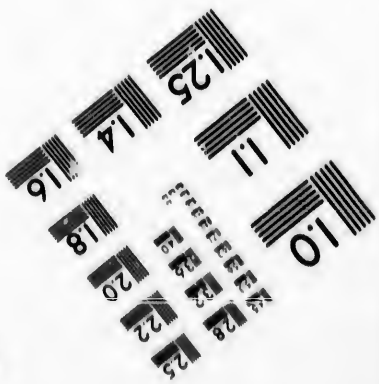


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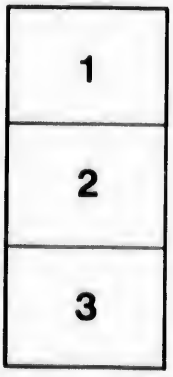


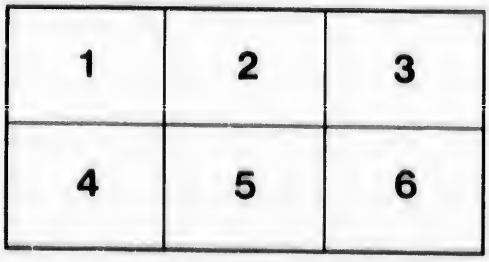

# EPOCHS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

EDITED BY THE

REV. M. CREIGHTON, M.A.

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*ENGLAND DURING THE AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN WARS*

ENG

A

Miller & Co's Educational Series.

EPOCHS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

# ENGLAND DURING THE AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN WARS

1765—1820

BY

O. W. TANCOCK, M.A.

ASSISTANT-MASTER OF SHERBORNE SCHOOL

WITH FIVE MAPS

ADAM MILLER AND COMPANY
11 WELLINGTON STREET WEST
TORONTO
1878

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## *THE FIRST MINISTERS, OR HEADS OF THE MINISTRIES WHICH HELD OFFICE UNDER KING GEORGE III.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. William Pitt [afterwards Lord Chatham] | from | [June 1757] | to Oct. 1761 |
| Earl of Bute | ,, | Oct. 1761 | ,, April 1763 |
| Mr. George Grenville | ,, | April 1763 | ,, June 1765 |
| Marquess of Rockingham | ,, | July 1765 | ,, July 1766 |
| Pitt, Earl of Chatham | ,, | July 1766 | ,, Oct. 1768 |
| Duke of Grafton | ,, | Oct. 1768 | ,, Jan. 1770 |
| Lord North | ,, | Jan. 1770 | ,, Mar. 1782 |
| Marquess of Rockingham | ,, | Mar. 1782 | ,, July 1782 |
| Earl of Shelburne | ,, | July 1782 | ,, Feb. 1783 |
| Duke of Portland (Coalition Ministry) | ,, | April 1783 | ,, Dec. 1783 |
| Mr. William Pitt (the younger) | ,, | Dec. 1783 | ,, Feb. 1801 |
| Mr. Addington | ,, | Feb. 1801 | ,, April 1804 |
| Mr. William Pitt | ,, | May 1804 | Jan. 1806 |
| Lord Grenville (Ministry of All the Talents) | ,, | Feb. 1806 | ,, Mar. 1807 |
| Duke of Portland | ,, | Mar. 1807 | ,, Oct. 1810 |
| Mr. Spencer Perceval | ,, | Oct. 1810 | ,, May 1812 |
| Lord Liverpool | ,, | May 1812 | [April 1827] |

# ENGLAND DURING THE AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN WARS.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE period of rather more than half a century of which we are going to speak, is full of great wars.

(1) England had much fighting to do in America, where she was beaten. She was fighting for a bad cause, and freedom and good government came from her defeat. While America gained very much, England lost little more than the lives and the money spent in the war.

(2) In India she was successful. There her cause was the cause of peace and good government. For she began to understand the duty of governing honestly, justly, and carefully, and so there English power has thriven.

(3) The greatest war was against France. All Europe was thrown into confusion by the French Revolution, and England could not remain at peace, as she wished. Englishmen had to do all they could to save their independence, and they saved it.

(4) This French war was bad for England in several ways. She had just begun to find out that she had many needful reforms and changes to make at home. These

had to do especially with the management of Ireland, the choice of representatives to the House of Commons, the regulation of trade and manufactures, the raising of taxes, and the criminal laws. She had a great minister, Pitt the younger, who understood the work, and would have done it, but the war put off the thought of these things and they could not be attended to till it was over. Moreover, the waste of money and the destruction of trade made England poor and discontented for a long time.

# BOOK I.

## *THE WAR WITH THE COLONIES IN AMERICA.*

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE CAUSES OF THE QUARREL.—1765-1775.

1. THE English Colonies in North America had joined with spirit in the war against France (1756-1763), and the interests of the mother country and the colonies had been alike while France threatened. The peace of Paris, Feb. 1763, left the colonists without fear of future disturbance. The thirteen colonies then reached from the sea to the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, to the Ohio and the Mississippi, though the settlers were mostly near the seaboard. Of these thirteen, a northern group of four consisted of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; then came a middle group of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania; and a southern group of five, Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas North and South, and Georgia. The lands in all were somewhat thinly inhabited, the people were hardy and independent, not wealthy, yet having few, if any, very poor amongst them.

The thirteen colonies.

2. The relations between the mother-country and the

colonies had never been fixed very accurately, and dis-

Old disagreements.

agreements had arisen from time to time. The colonists complained of neglect, of bad governors, of unfair laws and rules. Many points had never been settled; such as the rights of the colonists to take possession of the lands lying further west, their rights of trading, and the right of Parliament to levy taxes on them. The home government claimed rights about these things which the colonists did not admit.

3. It was out of a question as to the right of taxation that the great quarrel at last arose. Questions about trade might have righted themselves in time. Although there was some feeling of the hardship of the Navigation laws, which did not allow the colonies to trade with any country except Great Britain, yet this policy of commercial monopoly was usual, and it had grown with the growth of the colonies. The wealth which flowed to some persons from it was seen, the injury to the whole community was less plain, and a widespread system of smuggling, by which foreign produce was brought in without payment of the lawful import duties, toned down much of the evil of such laws.

4. The case soon became quite changed when King George III. and his government set on foot a plan for

Taxation

taxing the American colonies. Whether England could lawfully tax the colonies was uncertain, it was certain that she had not heretofore taxed them, and that they had never acknowledged that she had any such right of taxation; the Assembly of Massachusetts had once plainly said that she had no such right.

5. The colonies were becoming more important, richer, and better known since the late war. The king, on the other hand, wished to have more control over them, and to keep down the independent spirit shown by some


CANADA
Lake Superior
L. Huron
L. Michigan
L. Erie
St. Lawrence
Quebec
Montreal
New York
Albany
Boston
Pennsylvania
Philadelphia
Delaware
Baltimore
Virginia
R. Ohio
Yorktown
Chesapeake B.
Alleghany Mts.
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Charlestown
Port Royal
Savannah
Florida
R. Mississippi
Mouth of the Mississippi
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Bahama Isls.
NORTH AMERICA
1760-1783

of the Assemblies. In England heavy taxes were levied to pay for the late war, and to keep up a larger army.

Townshend's plan of raising revenue.

One of the ministers, Charles Townshend, a brilliant speaker but a headstrong statesman, led Parliament to think that the taxes in England might be lessened by raising a revenue in America; Mr. Grenville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, wished to stop the American smuggling and to enforce the Navigation laws.

6. The plan of the ministry proposed to 'grant duties in the Colonies and Plantations of America,' stating,

The Stamp Act, 1765.

'that it was just and necessary that a revenue should be raised there.' In 1765 the Stamp Act was passed, requiring law papers in America to bear stamps much as they do now in this country. This put forward the claim of Parliament to tax a country which sent no representatives to Parliament. Little attention was paid to the remonstrances of the colonies, and few thought that they would resist.

7. The colonies were probably not well able to pay taxes to England at that time, for they were in debt for

Resistance of the colonies.

their own share of the war. Perhaps the Assemblies might have voted sums of money; but the colonists did not so much think of the difficulty of raising money, they were angry at the way in which the ministers were trying to get it out of them. In North and South alike men made up their minds to resist; the Virginian Assembly in May 1765 declared that taxation without their consent was illegal, and almost at the same time a meeting at New York of delegates from nine colonies used the same words. Moreover the people would not use the stamps, and documents were everywhere accepted as legal without them.

8. In July 1765 a Whig ministry under Lord Rocking-

ham succeeded to power. Among its members was General Conway, and among its supporters Edmund Burke, who became a most strong defender of the colonists. After some inquiry, during which Benjamin Franklin, the agent of Pennsylvania, was examined before a committee of the House of Commons, the Stamp Act was done away with (July 1766).

Repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766.

9. There was a change of ministry again in the same summer, and a new Government was formed by Pitt, as has been told before.[1] Pitt soon retired from any active share in public business, and Townshend again guided the ministers in dealing with America. A new Revenue Act (1767) imposed duties in America on tea and five other articles, to raise money 'for the administration of justice' and 'the support of the civil government there.' The colonists were firm in resisting all such taxation, great or small, laid upon them by England Seeing this, the new ministry of Lord North in 1770 did away with all duties save that on tea, 'upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce.' It was useless to give up some of the duties, for the Americans said there was no right to lay on them any at all; whether the tax was on one article or on six, whether the duty was great or small, made no real matter.

Townshend's Revenue Act, 1767.

10. Other difficulties also arose about this time. At Boston citizens aided in rescuing from the police the crew of a sloop who were charged with smuggling. Ill-feeling grew between the citizens and the soldiers, who were now used to keep the people quiet. A quarrel took place at Boston between citizens and soldiers in March 1770: it ended in the death of some citizens, the removal of the troops, and the conviction of two soldiers for manslaughter; all this

Ill-feeling in Massachusetts.

[1] See Epoch VI., Bk. V., Chap. I. Sec. 9.

made the feelings of the people of Massachusetts more bitter than before.

The Boston tea-ships.

11. The colonists left off using tea, and when the government would not withdraw the duty, some tea-ships in Boston harbour were boarded, and their cargoes were thrown into the sea; on this the ministry tried to punish the whole colony (Dec. 1773). The port of Boston was to be closed, and the charter of the colony taken away; the Assembly was dissolved. But the spirit of the people could not be so put down; to the last the Assembly protested against such doings as illegal, and encouraged the people to hold to their rights. As other colonies felt with them they got ready to resist, and a *Convention* or meeting of representatives, chosen without the consent of the Governor, sat and managed the affairs of the colony.

War at hand.

12. Towards the end of 1774 it was plain that war was at hand. In England the king and his minister Lord North,[1] who did whatever the king wished, and had a large majority in the House of Commons, were set on harsh measures. A small body of the men who thought for themselves, and thought wisely, such as Chatham and Burke, were in favour of giving way to the colonists. The great trading towns were on the same side. But the Whigs, as these men were called, were not popular; Englishmen in general neither knew nor cared much about the feelings of the colonists. Public opinion on the whole was on the side of the king and the government.

First meeting of Congress.

13. In America a Congress of fifty-five delegates, from all the thirteen colonies except Georgia, met at Philadelphia in September 1774. They drew up a Declaration of Rights, claiming for themselves all the liberties of Englishmen. Full of

[1] See Epoch VI., Bk. V. Chap. II. Sec. 9.

sympathy for Massachusetts, they passed resolutions pointing to a stoppage of all trade with Great Britain. They issued addresses to the people of Great Britain, and to the people of Canada, and a petition to the king. They behaved wisely and moderately, and separated after calling another Congress for May 1775.

14. Lord North was willing in 1775 that the colonists should no longer be taxed, but the king was still determined to punish them for their rebellious spirit. The Houses of Parliament also felt as he did, and would not listen to the wise advice of Chatham and Burke, so the last chance of peace was lost. Meanwhile, in Massachusetts and in Virginia men were arming. Although the power, resources, and population of England would seem to give her the advantage, the colonies were strong in the hardy habits and stubborn spirit of their people, in the great size of the country, and in the distance over sea from England. If they had not trained soldiers or generals, still almost every settler was used to carry arms, and they knew the country; it might be hard to get money and other things wanted for a war, but their own needs were few, and they were ready to bear much in defence of their homes.

Last hopes of peace.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE FIGHTING IN AMERICA.—1775–1782.

1. THE first fighting was in Massachusetts, in which colony Parliament had in February 1775 declared that 'a rebellion existed.' The colonists had a store of arms at Concord, a town about eighteen miles north-west of Boston. General Gage, who was governor of the colony and commander of the forces at Boston, secretly sent a force in April to take or destroy these

Fighting at Lexington.

stores. Men got to know of this, and gathered to resist. At Lexington, ten miles from Boston, fighting began, and seven men were killed. The arms still in store at Concord were destroyed, and after a smart skirmish the troops began their homeward march. They were harassed all the way by the colonists, who fired at them from behind the hedges, but fresh troops came out from Boston to help them, and they got back to barracks having lost about 270 men, while less than 100 was the loss of the other side.

2. From this time there was war between England and her American colonies. Ill-feeling and even hatred soon grew up between the two peoples. The king was firm in the resolve to reduce 'the rebels,' and the mass of the English people agreed with him, though they did not care much. In America, while many colonists remained 'loyal,' the help they gave was not great compared with the fierce resistance of the majority in almost every part. At first the war went on chiefly in the four Northern or New England colonies. Massachusetts led the way, quickly followed by Connecticut. The legislature of Connecticut sent a force which surprised the little garrisons of Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain; these successes, though small, were cheering, and brought the colonists stores and guns and powder, which they greatly needed.

Con- ne ut.

3. Congress met for its second session at Philadelphia in May 1775, and the moderate party in it was weaker than before. Measures were taken for raising money, and a commander-in-chief was elected, George Washington, of Virginia. He had earned some reputation [illegible] the former war,[1] and had a well-deserved character for [illegible]ration, public spirit, and honour. It was very needful [illegible] the command in war

Washington made commander-in-chief.

[1] See Epoch VI., Bk. IV. Chap. I. Sec. 4.

should be given to one great soldier. For a danger which threatened the colonies was that local interests and jealousies should prevent them from holding together as one country; since each colony had been used to manage itself, and had been quite independent of the rest. Congress as yet had no real power, and could not do much more than advise what was best.

4. The English Governors retired from the Southern colonies, and Virginia, under Patrick Henry, began to make open resistance; Massachusetts acted for herself without waiting for Congress. Round Boston men fought with such generals as they could find. General Gage was joined by a large body of fresh troops in May, and then made up his mind to fortify Bunker's Hill, a height on the peninsula which commands Boston. On the other side a strong body of Americans was sent to occupy the hill during the night. Next afternoon, in the sight of all Boston, the English stormed the hill. The ground was difficult, and they were twice beaten back, but in a third attack the hill was taken with great loss. The victory was with the English, but on the Americans, who fought most stubbornly, the effect was not that of a defeat, and the day has always been counted among their national successes.

Battle of Bunker's Hill, May 1775.

5. In Congress the minority of able men, who aimed at independence of England and union among themselves, gained ground and began to lead the country. Late in the autumn Congress agreed to attempt a great thing, and invaded Canada. Montgomery, a soldier who had become a settler in New York, with a force of 3,000 men took St. Johns and Montreal, intending to pass down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, but his army dwindled away, as his men only served for short periods. Another force of 1,000 men, under Benedict Arnold, had been sent from Massachusetts up the Kennebec river to

Invasion of Canada.

join Montgomery. They had to find their way through the rough unsettled country that now is the State of Maine, and round the north of the Green Mountains. This band was almost starved and lost, but somewhat more than half reached Quebec early in December. The united forces then numbered scarcely a thousand; it was hopeless to take the city with so few men, but an assault was made, Montgomery was killed, and his division was driven back. Arnold, his second in command, was wounded while attacking the lower city, and his division was overpowered. The Americans lost 160 killed and 426 were made prisoners, while 20 was the loss of the garrison. Even after this failure Arnold stayed till May, attempting a blockade; then he retreated before General Carleton, and all Canada was regained by the English.

6. Early in March 1776 Washington, who had hitherto been drilling and training his army while keeping watch over Boston, was ready to fight. He sent General Thomas to occupy Dorchester Heights, which from the south commanded Boston city and harbour and the British lines on Boston neck. General Howe, who had succeeded Gage, was unable to drive them from their position. He had long thought that Boston was a bad place for his head-quarters, so he now took his troops away and retired to Halifax; the English never again had any real hold on the Northern or New England States.

English troops leave Boston, 1776.

7. The colonies now began to listen more and more to the counsels of the extreme men; this was natural when war had once begun. So long as it was only talked about, however bitter the talk might be, there was hope that things might be quietly settled. But when once war had broken out, and Americans were glorying in feats of arms done

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

against the English, the desire of settling matters grew faint and died away. The need of some form of independent government became pressing, and in June 1776, on the motion of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, Congress agreed that these united colonies are and ought to be free and independent States.' A committee of five delegates from five states, Adams of Massachusetts, Franklin of Pennsylvania, Jefferson of Virginia, Livingston of New York, Sherman of Connecticut, drew up a draft of the Declaration of Independence. With some changes it was passed by Congress, and published, as the Declaration of Independence, on July 4, 1776. It was signed on that day, or soon after, by delegates from all the thirteen States. The Declaration was a bond of union; but it did nothing, and nothing could be done at the time, to join the separate States under one government so as to make what is called a Confederation. Congress also sent Franklin and two others to try to get help from the French Government in their struggle for freedom.

8. During this summer many more soldiers were on their way from England, and Admiral Lord Howe was sent out with powers to treat for peace, but no peace could be made. New York, one of the Middle States, now became the chief seat of war. This State had not been very eager to resist England; the loyalists were many, and the English authorities thought that in this and the other Middle States much help would be got. The city of New York was held by Washington, who had an army of 10,000 men, which was increased early in August to 27,000 by new levies of militia, who were not however very good soldiers. General Howe, with the troops which had left Boston, sailed from Halifax and reached Sandy Hook at the end of June. He landed 9,000 men on Staten Island

General Howe attacks New York, 1776.

and was well received. In August the main body of the new troops from England reached the general, who was thus in command of about 25,000 men. He then sent a division to the south-west point of Long Island, who soon faced the American position near Brooklyn. After three days of skirmishing, the English forces routed the Americans, and made them withdraw from Long Island; soon the English crossed the East River and entered the city of New York. The Americans, unable to hold the neighbouring country, crossed the river Hudson, and when Lord Cornwallis followed closely, Washington retreated with all speed through New Jersey into Pennsylvania.

9. Thus the States of New York and New Jersey were won back, and the English held the country as far as the river Delaware. So threatening did things look, that the Congress left Philadelphia for a safer meeting-place at Baltimore. Howe ought to have pressed on across the Delaware, and to have forced the remains of the American army to fight while it was out of heart. Instead of doing this, he dispersed his troops in quarters in New Jersey, where they became unpopular, and then he waited for the ice on the river. Thus Washington found time to get new soldiers together, Congress and the country had time to recover from the shock of defeat and misfortune. At the very end of the year, Washington surprised Trenton, an English post, and a few days later, again crossing the river Delaware, passed to the rear of Lord Cornwallis' army. He then gradually recovered almost all New Jersey. The whole fighting of this year was thus made a success for the Americans, for the English generals, with far better soldiers, had had to give way to Washington.

New Jersey, 1776.

10. The summer of 1777 was marked by an attempt to cut off the Northern States from the rest. General

Burgoyne started from Canada to march down the great valley of the lakes and the valley of the Hudson, and meet a force under Clinton from New York. Leaving Crown Point at the end of June, he pushed on to Ticonderoga, which was left by its garrison; then, crossing a most difficult country, full of forest, streams, and swamps, made still more difficult by artificial obstacles, he found Fort Edward also empty. By this time the militia of the New England States had come together; they were mostly untrained men, but were well armed, brave, used to hardships, and very angry on account of the cruel doings of the Indian savages who had come with General Burgoyne. From Fort Edward to Albany was fifty miles, and Burgoyne dared not go on till he had got proper supplies; so a month was spent. Then the army crossed to Saratoga, and found the enemy under Generals Gates and Arnold, in front of Stillwater, lining a low range of hills called Behmus' Heights. After a hard fight, the English remained masters of the ground, but had gained no real advantage. For more than a fortnight Burgoyne waited for news of Clinton; then he tried, without success, to break through the enemy's lines. With great difficulty the army retreated to Saratoga, ten miles; there it was surrounded, and all supplies were cut off. A Convention was signed on October 17, allowing the English to lay down their arms and receive provisions; thence they marched as prisoners to Massachusetts. About 3,500 fighting men, 5,750 in all, were made prisoners. This Convention of Saratoga was the turning-point in the war; it was an enormous disaster for the English cause.

Burgoyne's march from Canada, 1777

11. Meanwhile, in the Middle States, Washington had been able to do little, because of the smallness of his army. Late in the spring (1777), General Howe decided on leaving New Jersey to reach Philadelphia by another

way. Embarking some 14,000 men at New York, he sailed southward, entered the Chesapeake, and reached the Head of Elk, seventy miles from Philadelphia. Washington, in September, met him half-way between Philadelphia and the Head of Elk, where flowed a stream, the Brandywine. The Americans were routed, and Washington could not prevent the advance of the English, who entered the city. But General Howe found that he could do little towards winning back Pennsylvania, and he failed to draw Washington to a battle. This success, therefore, did not at all make up for the great defeat at Saratoga.

Howe takes Philadelphia.

12. In England the news of the surrender at Saratoga made even the ministers wish for peace. Unfortunately, the same news made the French Government ready to enter into treaties of alliance and commerce with the United States (February 1778). Lord North then passed a bill giving up altogether the claim of Parliament to tax the colonies, and was ready to do anything short of granting them independence.

Ministers wish for peace, 1777-8.

13. This was a time when the war might have ceased without dishonour to England. England was ready to own that she had been in the wrong. She was willing to grant all that Americans had claimed; freedom, with some slight tie to the mother country, or even independence, as Lord Rockingham thought, might have been conceded. But when France began to interfere in the war, its meaning was changed. The honour of England seemed at stake; even those who had been against the war before, now thought that it must be carried on boldly. Thus Chatham, in the House of Lords, declared he would never consent to 'an ignominious surrender of the rights of the empire.' 'Shall we now,' he said, 'fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon?' And his death

in May 1778 put an end to the last hope of reconciliation with America.[1]

14. The certainty of war with France at once began to mar English plans. Orders were sent out to the new commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, to retire from Philadelphia to New York. The Americans instantly retook the city and almost all parts of the Middle States. New York was again the head-quarters of the English, but as troops were sent thence to Halifax, Bermuda, and the West Indies, to guard against the French fleet, the army did little. And want of union between the States, quarrels in Congress itself, difficulties of raising money, men, and supplies, and jealousies in the army, hindered Washington from doing any great thing.

English leave Philadelphia.

15. In 1780, men were made more bitter by a very unfortunate event. General Arnold, a man of mark, who had held important commands at Saratoga and at Philadelphia, was now at West Point, a fort dominating the upper part of the State of New York. This he treacherously offered to hand over to Sir Henry Clinton; the terms were to be arranged with Major André, aide-de-camp to the English general. He visited Arnold, and was taken prisoner on his way back in disguise, and with a pass given by Arnold. Arnold had time to escape to the English lines; André was treated as a spy. His plea of a safe-conduct from Arnold was not unfairly met by the reply that Arnold was a traitor and a safe-conduct granted for a treacherous purpose was not valid. Washington was unyielding, and André was hanged. It was natural enough that the Americans should insist on making an example of him; but when they hanged him on the charge that he was a spy, they were really revenging themselves on him for

Major André.

[1] See Epoch VI., Bk. V., Chap. II., Sec. 8.

the treachery of Arnold, whom they could not reach. By the English, André was honoured as a martyr to his zeal for king and country.

16. Sir Henry Clinton's new plan of operations carries us to the Southern colonies, where loyal feeling was still rather strong. In November 1778 a small force occupied Savannah, the capital of Georgia. From this point the troops and their supporters carried the war into the two Carolinas, and seized Port Royal, while an attack made by the French and American forces was driven back. Early in the spring of 1780 Clinton took Charlestown, and then left Lord Cornwallis in command. General Gates, who was sent to oppose him, failed, and the South seemed to be entirely won back by the English. Cornwallis was so sure of this, that he formed a plan of leaving Lord Rawdon to keep the South under control, while he himself marched northwards to join Clinton.

The Southern colonies.

17. This attempt was beyond his power, and he failed. In order to cross the rivers, he had to go far inland; the country was difficult, and the people did not help him, so that he could not get food for his men. The Americans, though routed at Guildford in North Carolina, in March 1781, followed Cornwallis as he retired to Wilmington on the coast. There the English stayed three weeks. At last Cornwallis reached Yorktown in the Chesapeake Bay, and there waited for Clinton to join him by sea. But there he was shut in on all sides. Washington and La Fayette, with a force almost three times as large as his own, marched into Virginia and hemmed in Yorktown; the French fleet came from the West Indies, blocked the York river, and cut him off from the sea. In October, Cornwallis surrendered, after several brave attempts which had only proved his position to be hopeless. Further

Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, 1781.

south the English had been driven back, till, at the end of 1781, they held nothing but Charlestown and Savannah.

18. This was really the end of the war, though in some places fighting continued on a small scale. The English still held New York till November 1783, after peace had been made. But feeling in England was now steadily changing into keen dislike of the war; the majority which supported the Government in the House of Commons grew smaller and smaller. In February 1782 General Conway proposed an address praying the king 'that the war might no longer be pursued,' and the Government threw it out by one vote only. Another motion of like effect was proposed and carried; the ministry could no longer stay in office, and in March 1782 Lord North resigned.

Lord North resigns, 1782.

19. By the union of the two bodies of Whigs, a new ministry was formed under Lord Rockingham, with Lord Shelburne as Colonial Secretary. They were in favour of making peace, and Lord Shelburne at once opened negotiations for this purpose.

The Whig ministry.

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## CHAPTER III.

### WAR WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN.—1778–1783.

1. DURING these later years of the American war, England's task had been made hopeless by the state of things in Europe. Many powers were at war with England, and at one time almost all Europe was openly or secretly hostile. In March 1778 a treaty of alliance was made between France and America. War between England and France soon followed. A French fleet during the summer helped the Americans, and afterwards hovered about the West

War with France.

Indies and took possession of Dominica. Nearer home, the Channel fleet, under Admiral Keppel, was met by a far more powerful French fleet under D'Orvilliers, and, after fighting, retired to harbour.

2. Next year the war in Europe became more serious, for Spain joined France. England was greatly disturbed by threats of invasion. The enemies' fleets were not only superior on the open seas, but also masters of the Channel, which was swarming with American and French *privateers*, or ships sent out, not by government, but by private persons, who wished to gain what they could by attacking the enemy's vessels. Ireland could not be defended; commerce was nearly at an end; the English fleets could only try to keep the enemy off. The French even attacked Jersey, and the Spaniards besieged Gibraltar.

Weakness of England.

3. In 1780 arose a quarrel with the neutral powers which left England for a time without a friend. England had claimed and exercised Right of Search, that is, the right to stop and search all merchant vessels sailing under the flag of any neutral nation, and to take them if they were found to be carrying supplies to the enemy. It was a claim galling to the dignity and harmful to the trade of nations who were at peace, and it unfairly placed their interests at the mercy of those who were at war. The Empress Catherine of Russia, angry at the doings of Spain and England, put forth a Declaration, stating that 'free ships make free goods,' and contraband goods, that is, goods which a nation at war might seize anywhere, were those only that a treaty might have declared to be such; that the blockade of a port was not to be acknowledged unless there were really cruisers off the port to stop merchant ships from entering. Thus, to protect their own interests, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark made a league called the Armed Neutrality. Hol-

Right of search.

land and Prussia afterwards joined, and France and Spain agreed to the Declaration.

4. As might be expected, in 1781–2 England was hard pressed. In European waters, the French and Spanish fleets swept the seas, and although Admiral Parker beat the Dutch near the Dogger Bank, yet, on the whole, the enemy had command of the Channel. Minorca was lost, and Gibraltar was closely besieged. All through 1782 General Elliot and his garrison defended the place, and beat back every attempt to take it. In October Admiral Lord Howe relieved the garrison with a powerful fleet, and Gibraltar was saved, though the siege was kept up till the news of peace arrived. There are few more glorious deeds of daring and endurance in English history than the defence of Gibraltar by General Elliot and his brave garrison. Gibraltar.

5. In the West Indies Admiral Rodney could do little for a time. At last a glorious victory fell to his lot. The French Admiral de Grasse had taken most of the Leeward Islands, and was threatening Jamaica, which Rodney meant to protect. Anchored in St. Lucia, he watched for the French fleet from Port Royal in Martinico. After some days of straggling and rather confused fighting, Rodney forced a general battle. The admiral led the way and broke the French line. The battle lasted for eleven hours. 'I believe the severest ever fought at sea,' Rodney himself wrote. The Count de Grasse at last struck his flag, the whole fleet was broken up, and from that day the French were no more masters of the seas. Admiral Rodney's victory.

6. The new ministry in 1782 was ready to make peace, acknowledging the independence of the United States. France and Spain were by no means desirous of peace, but the Americans willingly entered into negotiations with Lord Shelburne and welcomed the end of war. A

treaty was signed at Paris in November 1782, but was dependent on peace being made between Great Britain and France. Treaties with France and Spain soon followed. England gave back some of her conquests, as Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and St. Lucia, gave up Tobago, St. Pierre, Miquelon, and got some West India islands. Spain eagerly desired to have Gibraltar, but Englishmen, proud of the glorious defence, were resolved to keep it. Minorca and the Floridas were yielded. The treaties were all signed at Versailles in September 1783. Some men were loud in calling them disgraceful, but those who knew how hardly pressed England was, and how the increase of debt and waste of men was crushing her, saw that peace must be had, and that the terms were fair. England came with honour out of the war against these powerful European foes. She had met with disasters in a bad cause in America, but still her soldiers and sailors had done their duty well.

Treaty of Versailles, 1783.

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# BOOK II.

## *THE ENGLISH IN INDIA.*

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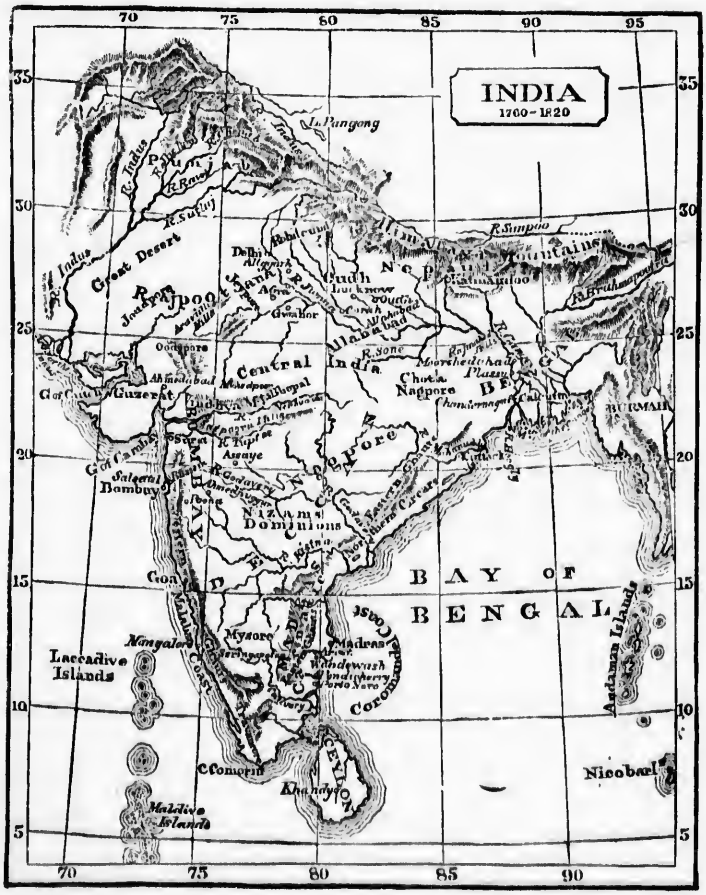
### CHAPTER I.

#### THE PEOPLE.

1. IN INDIA Clive had saved the English settlements, and had greatly enlarged them ;[1] we have now to see how the English made their power felt all over India, and how the native States one after another fell under the control of England. This was due partly to the courage

[1] See Epoch VI., Bk. II., Chap. III., Sec. 8–11.


INDIA
1760-1820
70
75
80
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10
5
L. Pangong
R. Indus
R. Sutlej
Great Desert
Rajpoot States
Delhi
Allygurh
Agra
Jeypoor
Joudpoor
Gwalior
South Nepaul
Lucknow
Oude
Allahabad
R. Simpoo
Himmalaya Mountains
Boutan
Gualpara
R. Burhampooter
R. Nerbudda
Ondeypore
Central India
R. Sone
Chota Nagpore
Berar
Guzerat
Aurungabad
Hyderabad
Poona
Sattara
R. Kistna
Carnatic
Bombay
Goa
Dominions
BAY OF BENGAL
Mangalore
Mysore
Madras
Pondicherry
Coromandel Coast
Laccadive Islands
Andaman Islands
Cochin
Cape Comorin
Ceylon
Nicobar
Maldive Islands

of the English, and to the peace and good order which they made where they ruled. But it was also due partly to the divisions among the natives themselves—for the people of India were not all of one race or of one religion, and the country was broken up under many governments.

2. The people to whom the land belonged in very early times were a very dark race, not much civilised. Some tribes of them still remain in the highlands of Central India, and also in the hills and forests of almost all parts; among the best known are the Santals in Bengal along the Rajmahal hills, the Kôls in Chota Nagpore, the Bheels in Rajpootana, and the Gonds. They are mostly a quiet, simple people, who have never formed great States of their own, but have always lived to themselves, obeying the rulers of other races. They gave the English little trouble.

The hill-races.

3. A great and more civilised people came in upon these tribes, passing over the Indus and down the valley of the Ganges. These spread as settlers all over the land. This race, called Hindoo, though united by one religion, split off into many States. The most important that lasted to the days of English rule were the States of Rajpootana, as Oodypore and Jeypore, and the Mahratta States of Poona, Guzerat, Baroda, and the territories of Sindia and Holkar. Besides these the greatest number of the people in most parts of India are of the Hindoo race; and in many parts tribes, which were not Hindoos by race have become Hindoos in religion, as in Mysore and the furthest parts of southern India.

The Hindoos.

4. Again, men of other races and another religion had come across the Indus from Central Asia; these were Mohammedans, who began to pour into India during the eleventh century. They were eager to con-

quer the rich Hindoo kingdoms, and longed to put down the idolatrous religion. Piece by piece they overran the land, and beat down most of the kingdoms and ruled over them. They set up a great empire, with a capital at Delhi; then they added province after province, all north India as far as the river Nerbudda, all Bengal, and the Deccan as far as the river Kistna. And when the empire broke up, still many of its parts were ruled by Mohammedans who, like the Nizam in the Deccan and Hyder Ali in Mysore, were lords over Hindoo subjects. The hatred between the two races of Hindoos and Mohammedans helped the English to spread their authority over both.

The Mohammedans.

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## CHAPTER II.

### INDIA UNDER WARREN HASTINGS.—1773–1784.

1. WHILE Clive had stayed in India he had ruled firmly,[1] but after his return to England in 1767 the loss of his firmness and honesty was soon felt. It would be scarcely too much to say that greed and oppression, misrule and false dealing, marked English rule in Bengal and Madras during the few years before 1773. The tales that reached home roused men's anger, and when in 1770 a famine killed about one third of the people of Bengal, the home government was forced to interfere.

English misrule.

2. A new constitution was given to the East India Company under 'the Regulating Act' of 1773. This gathered the three settlements of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, or *Presidencies* as they were called, under the Governor of Bengal; it gave him the title of Governor-General, and set up a council of

Regulating Act, 1773.

[1] See Epoch VI., Bk. V., Chap. I., Sec. 5.

four members to help him. A Supreme Court of Justice was also made at Calcutta, like the English Court at Westminster, and thus English law was brought into India.

First Governor-General.

3. The Act named, as the first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, who had been Governor of Bengal since 1772. He had been long in India, and knew about the country. He had sided with Clive in trying to make the English rule better in Bengal. Some reforms he had already begun. He found the gathering of taxes in the hands of natives who oppressed and robbed the people. He made a new and better settlement of the taxes, and removed the capital from Moorshedabad to Calcutta. Hastings ruled on the whole justly, strongly, and wisely, but he did some things which were cruel and unjust, for which he has been rightly blamed. Being pressed by the Directors of the Company in England for money, he made an unfair bargain with the Vizier of Oude, who coveted the neighbouring territory of Rohilcund, while Hastings wanted money. Hastings sold to the Vizier the districts of Corah and Allahabad, and listening to his talk about the bad faith of the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe who had lately settled near him, sold the services of English troops, and became for money the tool of the Vizier, who would make no terms with the Rohillas. They were, perhaps, dangerous neighbours, but they had given no cause for war, and the attack upon them was wicked. By means of English troops their chiefs were slain and themselves driven across the Ganges or enslaved.

The Council.

4. The Governor-General found his new position no easy one; the Regulating Act had not laid down his powers exactly, and his council instead of helping him often went against him. Three of the four members, Francis, Monson, and Clavering,

who came from England with their minds set against Hastings, began to oppose him at the very first meeting of the council. They knew little about Indian matters, and were neither as wise nor as sensible as Hastings. But they were impressed with the evils of English rule in India, and they fancied it was their business to reform everything. The result was soon seen; there was nothing but quarrelling, unfair dealing, and scandals. Even in these difficulties Hastings changed the way of levying taxes with great advantage to the people of India and to the Compa y. He did much to stop bribery in the civil service; he drew up a code of rules for the courts which showed that he was a great and wise law-maker. He was vigorous enough to impress the native mind and just enough to earn their goodwill; and beyond all this Hastings carried on great wars, and saved Madras when its own government was feeble enough to ruin any state.

5. During this time the English power was threatened by the Mahrattas. These were the men of the great Hindoo empire of the Deccan, which had been founded by Sevajee in the seventeenth century. The Peshwa, as the head of their race was called, could not keep hold over his generals. Four new powers grew up, the Raja of Nagpore, the Gaikwar in Guzerat, Sindia, and Holkar. At the headquarters of the Mahrattas in Poona, a regency on one side with a usurper on the other had thrown all into confusion. Without asking the consent of Hastings, the Governor of Bombay supported the usurper Raghoba, and received in return the island of Salsette and the port of Bassein. The result was a great war with the whole Mahratta confederation. The Bombay troops, successful at first, presently failed, and after a defeat at Wurgaum nothing but the courage and energy of Hastings saved Bombay itself. An expedition

The Mahratta war.

under General Goddard, sent from the banks of the Jumna to Bombay, reached Surat on the western coast in safety. This was a wonderful march made by less than 5,000 men across more than 1,000 miles of country almost wholly unknown to Englishmen. It was one of the grand rash acts of Hastings, one of those strokes of genius by which he impressed the natives with his greatness. The Mahratta league tried the English power to the extreme. General Goddard took Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzerat (1779), and the Gaikwar agreed to leave the confederation. But this did little good, for a fresh alliance with the Nizam in the Deccan and Hyder Ali, Rajah of Mysore, gave the league courage to attack all three Presidencies at once. Leaving General Goddard to save Bombay from Sindia and Holkar, Hastings first saved Bengal by buying off the Rajah of Nagpore, who deserted the league. With his usual boldness he ventured to send a sepoy army by land to the help of Madras. The Hindoos were forbidden by their religion to go on the sea, and they had lately mutinied rather than obey an order to do so. But they willingly endured the march of 700 miles by land, and bravely fought to save Madras from Hyder Ali. Hastings was able to make a general peace with the Mahrattas in 1782. By the treaty of Salbye, conquests were restored, but the island of Salsette was kept.

War with Hyder Ali.

6. The peace did not take in Mysore, and its ruler Hyder Ali still pressed hard on Madras. He had rushed upon the Carnatic in 1780 with a large army, well armed, and in part trained by French officers. The Nabob made no resistance, fort after fort fell, and the army drew on towards Madras. Sir Hector Munro tried to relieve Arcot, and another force under Baillie was to join him. But Baillie was defeated, and Munro hurried back to Madras with the loss of his guns. On news of this Hastings was roused. He sent off Sir

Eyre Coote by sea at once with what force he could spare, and sent a sepoy expedition along the coast through Cuttack and the Northern Circars. Coote retook Arcot which had fallen, relieved Wandewash, and gained a great victory at Porto Novo. With small resources and poor support from anyone except Hastings, Coote held his own and beat off all the attempts of Hyder Ali. The year 1782 saw the English fortunes in Madras at a low ebb. French troops and a French fleet under Admiral Suffrein brought help to Hyder Ali. Madras was again besieged by the Mysore army, and was in great danger, but at the end of the year Hyder Ali died, and his son Tippoo hurried his army home to Mysore. The treaty of 1783 with France relieved the English from a threatening danger in India.

7. In the end of 1784 Hastings gave up his office, and went back to England early in the next year, leaving the English territories in India at peace. He left behind him a great name as a strong ruler both in peace and war. He had always at heart not only the interests of England, but also the welfare of the Indian peoples whom he ruled. A great man, always patriotic though not always scrupulous enough, he made a new great empire in the East while the English king and his ministers were losing the great dominion in the West. Hastings and Clive were the two greatest Englishmen who had to do with India.

Warren Hastings leaves India

8. Not long after the return of Hastings, an attack was made in the House of Commons on his conduct in India. A resolution was carried, ordering his impeachment at the bar of the House of Lords. The movers in the matter were his old enemy Francis, and Burke and Fox. The ministry were in a difficulty. Pitt, and Dundas the President of the Board of Control, had never liked Hastings; they believed many

Impeachment of Warren Hastings.

of the stories told against him and against English rule in India: but they did not want to have things looked into. They consented to the motion, but refused to help in the management of the impeachment. So the managers were chosen from the Opposition side of the House, Burke, Fox, and Sheridan being the chief among them. Articles of impeachment were drawn up containing nine charges, which were afterwards increased to twenty-two. The trial began in February 1788. Burke, in a fine speech, which it took four days to deliver, accused Hastings and those under him of every kind of cruelty and wrong-doing. Only four out of all the charges were gone into fully. These charged him with robbery, cruelty, and taking bribes. The prosecution spread over nearly five years, and the whole trial lasted more than seven years, in which time the court sat altogether 145 days. Judgment of acquittal on all charges was given in April 1795. The delay had allowed people to forget the fine speech and the exaggerations of Burke and Sheridan. And as time went on, most men thought that Hastings was being unfairly treated. Before the end of the trial Lord Cornwallis had come back from India, and was able to give strong evidence of the good results of Hastings' rule.

## CHAPTER III.

### INDIA FROM 1783–1813.

1. For some time there had been a feeling that the mode of governing India needed to be changed. The territory had become so large that the king's government could no longer leave it entirely in the hands of a company of traders. The Coalition government[1] pre-

Fox's India Bill, 1783.

[1] See Epoch VI. Bk. V., Chap. II., Sec. 12.

sented their India Bill to the House of Commons in November 1783. This Bill was prepared by Fox and Burke, who both knew Indian affairs well, and both were deeply impressed with the stories of the mismanagement of the Company. It proposed very great changes. All charters of the Company were to be done away with. The government of India was to be placed for four years in the hands of a Board of seven Commissioners. All accounts were to be laid before Parliament. The Bill was a good one, and many of the things which it proposed have been done since; but at the time, the changes seemed too great to be made. It passed the House of Commons, but the king got the House of Lords to throw it out. So the Coalition ministry had to resign, and Pitt became first minister.[1]

2. Pitt also found India a pressing question. No sooner had the general election in 1784 given him a majority, than he brought in and carried an India Bill through both Houses. This Bill was approved by the Company, and aimed at reforming abuses with as little change as possible. It appointed a Board of Control, which, as a department of the English government, should take some of the management of Indian matters away from the Directors. So that while the Directors kept their right of appointing to all offices, the king's ministers could at any time of danger make the Directors do as they pleased.

Pitt's India Bill, 1784.

3. In 1786 Lord Cornwallis, who had commanded in America, became Governor-General. He ruled India well, as he had great powers, and was well supported by Pitt. He did much to cure the bribery and corruption among the civil servants, and by paying them better, took away the excuse for it.

Lord Cornwallis.

4. He managed a difficult war with Mysore well,

[1] See Epoch VI., Bk. V., Chap. II., Sec. 13.

though the need of the war is not clear. The Nizam having applied for help against Tippoo of Mysore, Lord Cornwallis allowed it to be known that he did not count Tippoo as an ally. Soon after this Tippoo attacked Travancore, and the Governor-General made a vigorous move against him. In alliance with the Nizam and the Peshwa he carried on active campaigns and took several strong forts. Early in 1792, with 22,000 men and powerful artillery, he threatened Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, a remarkably strong fortress on an island in the river Cauvery. The camp, strongly posted on the northern bank of the river, was stormed, and a landing made on the island. Then Tippoo yielded, and bought peace at the price of half his dominions and a large sum of money.

War with Tippoo.

5. But the fame of Lord Cornwallis rests chiefly on his settlement of the land question of Bengal. The Company derived most of its income from the land-tax, and because of bad ways of levying and collecting this tax, agriculture was failing and the *ryots*, or cultivators of the land, were in misery. The 'Permanent Settlement' of Cornwallis made over the ownership of land to the *zemindars*, or larger landowners and landholders, who were then to pay the government a fixed sum. The interests of the ryots were to be guarded by a provision that the land could not be taken from them while they paid rent as at the date of the settlement. On the whole, the plan was just and good.

The 'Permanent Settlement.'

6. Sir John Shore governed from 1793 to 1798, five quiet years, during which the Mahratta States grew rapidly.

Sir John Shore.

7. In 1798, Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquess Wellesley, was made Governor-General. He knew Indian affairs well, and was a man of great ability and firmness, with a real genius for ruling,

Marquess Wellesley.

and a strong belief in the need of English authority making itself felt throughout India.

8. As in the days of Hastings so now again there was danger from the French influence in the native States of India. There were French troops at the court of the Nizam, and with the Peshwa, and in the service of Sindia. And Tippoo in Mysore had gone so far in making an alliance with the French in Mauritius that they landed a force at Mangalore to join him. Wellesley interfered at once; he partly persuaded and partly forced the two friendly powers, the Nizam and the Peshwa, to put themselves under the protection of the English and send away their French troops.

French interference.

9. He then demanded that Tippoo should disband his force, but he did not obey. War followed, and in the spring of 1799 English armies marched on Seringapatam. General Harris, under whom Colonel Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) was serving, moved with 20,000 men from Madras. From Bombay General Stuart came with a smaller force. Tippoo met Stuart, but failed to turn him; he then hurried off to resist the army from Madras. The English defeated him at Malavelly, and then besieged Seringapatam early in April. A month later General Baird stormed this great fortress, which was desperately defended. Tippoo died fighting in the gateway. So ended the family of the Mysore usurpers, who were fierce Mohammedan despots that had set their feet on the necks of the Hindoos of the Deccan. Lord Wellesley restored a ruler of the old line, and Mysore gave no further trouble. The Deccan was now safe, with the Nizam protected by English troops and no longer independent. The Carnatic, too, now became an English province dependent on the Governor of Madras; and

Conquest of Mysore.

the Nabob Vizier in Oude was compelled to take, instead of his own troops, a British force for whom he paid a large sum of money.

War with the Mahrattas. The Peshwa.

10. The Mysore war had put an end to two great powers, but a third remained, the Mahratta nation. Of the several powers into which the race was divided the Peshwa was the head, but all were really independent, and were even rivals. The two most ambitious and powerful leaders were Sindia and Holkar. These not only made war one upon another, but also as rivals threatened the Peshwa. Lord Wellesley interfered to save the territories of the Peshwa, who was then partly forced, and partly led by his fears of Sindia and Holkar, to agree to the treaty of Bassein, 1802, which reduced him to the level of the Nizam, a subject protected by English troops.

Sindia, 1803.

11. Sindia and the Raja of Nagpore determined not to let the lands of the Peshwa become English according to the treaty of Bassein, so they tried to get Holkar to join them and to make the Peshwa leave his new masters. Wellesley found out their plan and was too quick for them; he declared war, August 1803, and at once attacked Sindia on all sides. General Wellesley in the Deccan took the great fort of Ahmednuggur and occupied all the district south of the Godavery. Then with his small army of 4,500 men he attacked Sindia's entrenched camp of 50,000 men at Assaye, further north. Sindia's army fought well, but the English troops simply walked right over his guns and his infantry, with the loss of one third of their number. The Mahratta force was broken up, and the remains driven beyond the river Taptee. General Lake meanwhile attacked Sindia's possessions in Hindostan proper, which reached from the Sutlej on the west to Allahabad on the east. He took the stronghold of Allygurh, and

pushed on to Delhi where he beat a portion of Sindia's French forces. He next took Agra after a siege, and defeated the enemy in a hard-fought battle at Laswarree. In less than half a year Lord Wellesley had broken the power of the Mahrattas and made his own authority supreme.

12. One Mahratta chief, Holkar, had not joined his rival Sindia, but his habit of plundering his neighbours soon brought him to war with Lord Wellesley, and he too, like the others, had to submit. Holkar, 1804.

13. But before the war was fully over Lord Wellesley was recalled by the authorities in England in 1805. They did not at all like the things that he had done, though he had made England supreme in India. Their desire was for peace and no interference, but Lord Wellesley knew, better than they did, that peace could not be firm till England was able to forbid the native States to tear one another to pieces. Years later, when the opposite plan had been tried, men saw at last that Lord Wellesley had been right. Recall of Lord Wellesley.

14. Lord Cornwallis landed in India, and died. His successor, Sir George Barlow, 1805–1807, did the opposite to what Wellesley had done; that is to say, he would not interfere in anything which lay outside of English territory. This meant war on all sides between native States, and the rise of great conquerors such as Holkar and Sindia, who made themselves masters of smaller States which were more friendly to England. Sir George Barlow.

15. Lord Minto (1807–1812) intended to follow the same plan, but he soon found that he could not leave the native States alone. He could not help interfering so far as to make Runjeet Sing, the greatest of the Sikh leaders, keep to the west of the river Sutlej. So the English frontier was moved from the Jumna as far as the Sutlej. A powerful expedition sent by Lord Minto (1810) took the Isles of Bourbon and Mauritius Lord Minto.

from France. This made the Eastern trade of England quite safe by putting an end to the last remnant of French power in Indian waters.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### INDIA UNDER THE NEW CHARTER.—1813–1822.

1. DOWN to this time, by their charter, the East India Company had kept all the trade with India and the East to themselves; other persons could not enter the country to trade or to settle there. Even those missionaries who would have tried to teach the people were forbidden; but now the twenty years, for which the latest charter lasted, were coming to an end. It would soon be needful to ask Parliament for a new one, but Englishmen were no longer willing to let the Company have their own way so much. The ministers too saw that greater freedom of trade with India would be good for England. So the new charter which was given to the Company in 1813 made a great change. Though the Directors did not like it, their monopoly of trade was taken away, and the trade with India, though not with China, was made free to all English merchants. Missionaries were allowed in the country.

The new charter. Opening of Indian trade. 1813.

2. Lord Moira, Marquess of Hastings, succeeded the Earl of Minto as Governor-General, 1813-1822. At home in former days he had disliked Lord Wellesley's plan of interference, and had said that native States should be left alone. In India he soon changed his opinion, and made known his determination to exercise authority over the whole land, to control native States, and to keep peace between them.

The Marquess of Hastings.

3. His first troubles were with the Nepaulese on the northern frontier, and the Pindaree and Patan freebooters

in central India. The power of Nepaul had lately grown, and the Nepaulese, or Goorkhas, had come down into the plains beyond their own frontier. After often ravaging the British borders they at last tried to take possession of all lands north of the Ganges. Negotiations failed and war became needful. The country, a valley enclosed within the lofty ranges of the Himalaya, was most difficult to get at, but it was necessary to strike a decisive blow. Four expeditions started from different points to invade the country, and of these, three failed; but the fourth, under General Ochterlony, passed range after range of the mountains, and took fort after fort in spite of a most brave resistance. The same general again made a successful campaign early in the next year. The Nepaulese, twice defeated, sued for peace when Katmandhoo, the capital, was threatened. A treaty of peace was made, and Nepaul has been a friendly neighbour ever since.

War with Nepaul.

4. The Pindarees and Patans were robber bands who had long lived by plundering central India. In 1815–1817, they crossed the Nerbudda into the English lands; they reached the Kistna, and again as far as the Coromandel coast, burning hundreds of villages and torturing the people. Lord Hastings at last determined to make the other powers join with him and put down these robbers. The smaller princes, such as Nagpore, Bhopal, Oodypore, and Jeypore, were very glad to have the English to protect them. But the interference was not so pleasing to the Peshwa Bajee Rao, or Sindia, or to the chiefs of Holkar's state. The Peshwa, who was willing to do anything to lessen the power of the English, openly helped the Pindarees. All central India was in confusion. But the English power was too strong. The Peshwa's forces were overthrown in the battle of Kirkee, and his capital, Poona, was taken. The army of Holkar's state was broken at the battle of Mehid-

The Pindarees.

pore, on the Sipree. The Pindaree chiefs, then left to themselves, were no match for the English ; their forces were broken up in several fights and disappeared in a few months. The great river Indus was now declared to be the boundary of English dominion.

5. Thus Lord Hastings' plan was successful, and security and greater prosperity in after years followed from keeping the native princes at peace. But in England statesmen and the Directors of the Company alike did not understand the needs of the English position in India, and believed that increase of territory was the one great evil to be guarded against. Yet the growth of English power so far brought peace and security in India that Lord Hastings was able to carry out wise changes, suited to the country. Good and peaceful government became possible when the English were no longer afraid of subjects or neighbours. Hastings encouraged the education of the natives, and at the same time helped the growth and freedom of the press and of a public opinion. His firm, prudent, and liberal way of ruling was a governing of India for the good of the people of India.

Success of Lord Hastings' policy.

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# BOOK III.

## *THE MINISTRY OF PITT.*

## CHAPTER I.

### PITT AS A PEACE MINISTER.—1783-1789.

1. It has been told before how Pitt was made minister, and how by his help the king won in the great constitutional struggle against the Whig houses, and set up again the power of the crown.[1]

[1] See Epoch VI., Bk. V., Ch. II. Se

Pitt remained in power for almost eighteen years, December 1783--March 1801, about nine years of peace and about nine years of war. With the support of the king, of the House of Commons, and of the country, he was supreme. With such an able statesman, of commanding ability and powerful will, the king could not have his own way as much in the state as he had before. But even Pitt made common cause with the king, and moving away from his early principles, cared less for the wishes of the people, and became more decidedly the king's Tory minister.

Pitt becomes first minister, 1783.

2. During the early years of Pitt's power he was a wise and capable ruler, and he was willing to trust the people much. He was a peace minister, and his energies were devoted to make the country prosperous. Finance, commerce, parliamentary reform, and the government of Ireland took up his attention.

Reform of the finances.

As regards finance he did many useful things. In the late wars the national debt had grown till it reached about 250,000,000*l.* Taxes had been laid on at haphazard to meet the needs as they arose. Pitt set before him the reduction of the debt as an important end of all financial measures. He saved much for the country and encouraged honest dealing by his plan of borrowing money by public contract, and so getting it at the lowest possible interest. And he did much good by publishing the accounts of the money received and paid by government. By lowering the heavy duties on tea, wine, and spirits, which were fast handing over the trade of the country to smugglers, he lessened smuggling, improved trade, and raised the revenue. The payments of customs duties on goods imported, and of excise duties on things made in the country, were very many and very difficult to calculate. By doing away with these many duties,

and fixing instead one single duty on each article, he saved merchants much trouble and made taxation less unpopular. The increase of revenue soon allowed him to take off some of the worst taxes—among others, those on retail shops and on women servants.

3. Pitt also tried to get rid of the high protective duties which crushed the trade of Ireland. These duties were heavy taxes laid on Irish goods, and were intended to enable English manufacturers to make and sell things much cheaper than Irishmen could do. He wished by taking away these duties to give free trade to Ireland, and so to place her in a situation of commercial equality with England. Already since 1780 European produce might be imported through Ireland; the same freedom was now (1784–5) to be extended to American and African trade. Pitt's first proposals passed through the Irish Parliament with one small alteration. After many changes the bill which embodied them was carried in the teeth of the English merchants and manufacturers, and in spite of Fox and the Whigs, who both opposed free trade and did not wish to do anything more for Ireland. But after all it could not be got through the Irish Parliament sitting at Dublin, because Grattan, Flood, and Curran persuaded it to assert its independence of England. A commercial treaty with France (1786) did away with many high duties which were intended to stop trade. Instead of them small duties were fixed, which did not prevent merchandise from being brought in, and yet paid something towards the revenue. Thus the treaty increased the commerce between the two countries, and was a step towards freedom of trade.

The Commerce bill.

4. Following the example of his father, Pitt had early in his life thrown himself earnestly into the question of parliamentary reform, but with little success. In 1785

he brought forward his measure. He proposed to take away the right of sending members to Parliament from thirty-six decayed boroughs, and to give their seventy-two members to the largest counties, and to the cities of London and Westminster. He gave a vote in counties to copyholders, or tenants holding lands under a lord of a manor, and means were provided by which members should be given to populous towns, and be taken from other boroughs which might decay from time to time. But on such a question Pitt's followers would not follow him, and he was beaten by a large majority. He found little support in the country, for it had been made indifferent by prosperity and good government.

Reform of Parliament.

5. Towards the end of 1788, during a serious illness, the king lost his reason. After a time it was doubtful if he would recover, and the question of a Regency, to rule in his place, was talked about. There is no provision in English law for any exercise of royal power during incapacity or the minority of a sovereign. The Prince of Wales was of age, and it was proper that he should be Regent, but there were many difficulties in the way. He was not on good terms with the king, and his conduct had made him unpopular in the country; he had so openly taken the side of the chiefs of the Opposition in Parliament, that it was certain he would dismiss the king's ministers as soon as he could. To help him to power seemed to be taking part against the king himself. When Parliament met in December, Fox made matters worse by rashly saying that the Prince of Wales had a right to the Regency, a right as clear as in the case of the death of the sovereign. Pitt answered that he had no right more than another person, unless Parliament gave it to him. Fox tried to explain away his words, and the Prince himself said that he claimed no such right. Still Parliament looked into what had

The Regency Bill, 1788–9.

been done in former times in such cases. At last, after many delays, a Regency Bill setting forth Pitt's view had almost passed the third reading in the House of Lords, when the king's recovery put an end to the whole thing. The Bill had given the care of the king's person and the authority over his household to the queen; the regency to the Prince of Wales, and the royal power, with certain limitations. When, in 1810, the king's health gave way so that he never recovered, the Prince of Wales was made Regent by a Regency Bill founded on that of Pitt, with almost exactly the same limitations. The king recovered his health in the middle of February 1789, to the very great joy of all classes, and the delight of the people at having escaped the rule of the Prince of Wales and his friends made the minister's power greater than ever.

Foreign policy.

6. For some years the foreign policy of Pitt was peaceful and of small interest. The Peace of Versailles had been favourable enough to England to be welcome, but the two countries had continued to distrust each other.

Holland.

7. Differences had arisen in Holland between the democratic party, supported by the Court of France, and the Stadholder, as the chief magistrate of Holland was called, upheld by his brother-in-law, the King of Prussia. Pitt would not interfere at this time, but in 1788, England, Prussia, and the Stadholder of Holland made an alliance, by which they agreed to defend each other against any enemy. Thus England and Prussia became responsible for the independence of the United Provinces.

Russia and Turkey.

8. Pitt, in the next thing he did, met with his first serious check. Under the Empress Catherine, Russia was growing strong, and pushing southwards. Pitt watched the war between Russia and Turkey (1788-91) with all the anxiety which English-

men have felt in this century. The Russians stormed and sacked Ockzakow, at the mouth of the Boug, and established themselves on the Black Sea (1788). Their great general, Suwarrow, drove the Turks across the Danube and occupied Wallachia (1789). When Suwarrow sacked Ismail, a fortress at the mouth of the left arm of the Danube, and slaughtered about 30,000 Turks with horrible barbarity, Pitt wished, even at the risk of war, to prevent Russia from taking any territory from Turkey. But the country would not hear of war for such a cause, and Turkey was stripped of the land beyond the Dniester.

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## CHAPTER II.

### ENGLAND DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—1789-1795.

1. A TIME, however, came when foreign affairs held the chief place, and the great peace minister was driven into war. The war soon greatly upset his peaceful plans at home, and by and by made him rule less wisely, and with less trust in the people. The French Revolution of 1789 was such a great event that men were forced to think of it before everything else. It altered men's notions of politics, and it changed for a time the whole face of the map of Europe.

Causes of the French Revolution.

The extravagant and selfish despotism of the French monarchy, and the oppression of the people by the nobles, had brought France to a state of discontent and distress in which peaceful and sufficient reform was almost impossible. For years the notion that men ought to rule themselves and not be ruled entirely by a king and his nobles, had been set forth in French writings. The idea of a revolution, or change of government, had been in men's minds. In 1789 things came to a head. The

States General, a kind of parliament, at last, after an interval of 175 years, had been called together by Lewis XVI., who was desirous of reforms. It declared itself the National Assembly, and took to itself the power of the other Estates. Riots broke out in Paris and elsewhere; the Bastille, which was the great prison in Paris, was destroyed; the abolition of all privileges or special rights of nobles, of clergy, and of all classes, was swiftly decreed. The feeble but well-meaning king was helpless in his capital, the nobles were soon in exile.

2. Most Englishmen were glad at the news of the overthrow of despotism. Freedom had been gained, they thought; at some expense, no doubt, but things would soon settle down into order and a better government. But there were some Englishmen who, like Burke, disapproved even from the first; and when, after a time, the revolutionists grew more and more violent, and showed themselves unable to set up a firm and free government, English opinion became less in their favour.

Feeling in England.

3. The effect of the French Revolution on English politics was most marked. Burke violently attacked those who agreed with it, while Fox constantly praised them in extravagant language. The difference of opinion destroyed the long friendship of these two great statesmen. The same difference gradually broke up the Whig party, for not only Burke, but later the Duke of Portland also, and others, ceased to act with Fox and Sheridan, and began to support the government. Thus the opposition became weaker in Parliament, had less hold on the country, and at the same time grew more violent.

Break-up of the Whig party.

4. Pitt, at first not sorry for the overthrow of the French Court, was most anxious to keep aloof from French politics; but this became impossible. A small portion of

the English people greatly admired the French Revolution, and their unguarded language and conduct drove the majority to extreme opinions of the very opposite kind. Societies and clubs in some English towns connected themselves with the Paris clubs, and their conduct led to disturbances.

Republican societies in England.

5. The opening of the year 1792 was prosperous, and peace seemed so sure that both parties in the House of Commons agreed in reducing the forces. But on the Continent the violence of republicans was terrifying the governments and leading them to be very watchful over their own subjects, and to be willing to make war against France. The English ministry still wished for peace, and determined to put down with a high hand all signs of agreement with French republicanism. With this intention Pitt was gradually led on to interfere with what people did and said in a way that became very oppressive. In France the Assembly was powerless before the mob of Paris, and the king's life was threatened.

Growing dislike of the doings in France.

6. At this moment the governments of Austria and Prussia determined to invade France, put down the republicans, and restore King Lewis XVI. to power. A large army was to enter France from the north, under the Duke of Brunswick, and a force of French exiles was to join him. The invasion was wrong, because the French people had a right to change the government of their own land if they pleased. These two States that interfered are to be blamed for bringing on the general European war that followed. France did not at that time threaten Prussia or the Empire, and however much foreigners might dislike the condition of monarchy in France, there was no call for interference. And the Duke of Brunswick made

Invasion of France by armies of Austria and Prussia.

such demands and put forth such threats as a great nation could not endure.

7. This foreign interference at once led to a new revolution in France; the king and queen were imprisoned; the National Assembly was replaced by a Convention in September, which at once voted to do away with the monarchy. All power fell into the hands of the extreme men among the republicans, of whom one small party after another gained the upper hand.

Deposition of the King of France.

8. Meanwhile the allies took the frontier towns of Longwy and Verdun, and might have pushed on to Paris; but their slowness gave the French generals Dumouriez and Kellermann time to unite their forces and stop the way. After a slight defeat at Valmy in September, the allied forces left France. Dumouriez then occupied Brussels and the district to the Meuse (then the Austrian Netherlands), and other French forces gained successes in Germany and Savoy.

Success of the French forces.

9. It was natural that the French republicans should be inclined to make war in their turn, when, for the moment, the fear of foreign invasion was past. Proud of their successes, but with entire want of good judgment, the Convention published the 'Decree of November 19,' offering help to all nations that desired to recover freedom, in other words, to cast off their kings; and they annexed Savoy to France. A demand which the French made for the opening of the trade of the river Scheldt was an attack upon Holland, and upon England, which was bound by treaty to Holland.

Violent measures of the French Convention.

The Decree of November 19 was received almost as a declaration of war against monarchy, and against all countries ruled by kings. A change was soon to be found in the words of the English ministry: England was drifting on towards war. At the opening of Parlia-

ment in December, the king's speech urged an increase of the army, and, whilst hoping war might be avoided, gave a warning that war was likely. The execution of the King Lewis (January 1793) led to an open breach with France, and in February war was declared by France against England and Holland.

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## CHAPTER III.

### PITT AS A WAR MINISTER.

1. The English entered on the war rather unwillingly. Pitt felt bound to defend Holland, but did not want to interfere within France, though he thought the war would be short, and would end in the defeat of the republicans. The first division of the war dates from February 1793 till the peace negotiations of Basle and Paris in the spring of 1796.

Pitt did not desire war.

2. The French, under Dumouriez, at once invaded Holland, but the Austrians, entering Belgium, forced them to retire, and won back all the Netherlands. Nor were the French at first more successful on the Lower Rhine, for the allies took Mentz. Dumouriez, vexed at the constant interference of the Convention in military matters, and desirous of playing a great part in a restoration of the monarchy, entered into a treasonable correspondence with the allies. His schemes failed, but he passed over to the Austrians, and then went to England, where he was little heard of afterwards. An English expedition under the Duke of York landed and joined the Austrians, but the campaign was badly managed by the allies. Instead of pressing forward with energy, they wasted time on the sieges of Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy, in which success was of little use. An allied fleet failed to save the city

Failure of the allies.

and port of Toulon for their French royalist friends. And no help was given to the royalists who rose in La Vendée till the struggle was over, and a fearful slaughter of the peasantry made further resistance hopeless.

3. Meanwhile all France had been roused to fury. The arrogance of the allied invaders, the treason of Dumouriez, the fall of the frontier fortresses, the threat of a march on Paris, made the republicans frantic. The Girondists, as the party was called that had gathered round the deputies from Bordeaux and the department of the Gironde, lost all influence. They were the more moderate party in the Convention, but now power passed to the Jacobins (June 1793), of whom a small committee became rulers of France. Robespierre, St. Just, and the Jacobins, forming the Committee of Public Safety, were in power for nearly fourteen months, and their tyranny in Paris and other cities well earned its name of 'The Reign of Terror.' The 'Revolutionary Tribunal,' as the men who acted as judges were called, put thousands to death, trying, condemning, and executing in a day. Cartloads of victims were slaughtered every day, often without even the pretence of a reason, the Queen Marie Antoinette among the number. It was a horrible time, but any government of Frenchmen seemed to the people better than the rule of foreign conquerors. So France submitted easily to the patriotic Jacobins, who quickly taught France her power for war, and successfully defied Europe. And in this the people were wise, for when the Reign of Terror passed away, France was still powerful and safe from the foreign foe.

The Committee of Public Safety.

4. The campaigns of 1794 and 1795 brought no honour to England. The Duke of York failed to take Dunkirk, and the defeat of the Austrians at the battle of Fleurus lost Belgium. The French even pressed on into Holland, and were well

Campaigns of 1794-5.

received by a large republican party, who did not like the English alliance. An expedition to the Bay of Quiberon to assist the Chouans, or royalist insurgents in Brittany, was a disgraceful failure. On the German frontier the successes of France brought out the jealousies of the German States, and in 1795 Prussia made peace, leaving the Austrians and England to carry on the war. The English fleet under Lord Howe gained a great victory over the French in the Channel on June 1, 1794, a victory always named from the date only. English arms prevailed in India and the West Indies, and English forces gained Ceylon, Malacca, and the Cape of Good Hope. Disturbances in Corsica ended in the expulsion of the French and the union of Corsica to the crown of England for a time. But these things did not make up for the ill-success on the Continent.

5. Early in 1796 there seemed an opportunity of making peace, and little reason for longer war. The alliance was broken up, Holland was more friendly to France than to England, the hope of restoring monarchy in France was gone, for a stable republican government was in power there. The war had become unpopular in England. Trade had suffered, banks had failed, taxes were pressing heavily, and the debt had been greatly increased. The war had changed Pitt too, and his home policy. Believing monarchy to be in peril, he and his party had acted as if they saw revolution all round them. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for the time, and so people could be put in prison, and kept in prison without being tried. The freedom of the press was almost put down, freedom of speech almost at an end, spies and informers were everywhere. One bookseller, Ridgway, had been punished for selling Paine's 'Rights of Man,' a book which was a coarse attack upon Monarchy. It had been published in

Ill effect of the war on England.

England and it had been already condemned in a court of law, while the author was in Paris joining in the French Revolution. Another bookseller, Holt, who was also editor of a newspaper, had died in prison for publishing an address on reform. In Scotland matters were still worse, but everywhere the law was severe, and the judges were ready to press it so as to meet every case. At last, the city of London began to make a stand against the tyranny of the courts, and the juries of citizens refused to find men guilty who were brought to trial for treason. When a jury (December 1793) acquitted Perry, the editor of a newspaper, who was accused of publishing a seditious libel because he asked for parliamentary reform, and when (December 1794) a prosecution for high treason against Horne Tooke and others failed, people again began to feel confidence in the law courts.

6. With the country thus disturbed peace had been needed, and Pitt had become willing for peace. Negotiations were opened, but the French Directory, as the new government was called, was elated with success, had grand plans of conquest, and distrusted the English desire for peace. France refused to give up Belgium or Holland or Milan, which she had annexed. Moreover England was almost without allies, and the Directory, careless of the fact that not England but Prussia and Austria had made the war upon her, turned with a savage hate against England and against Pitt, to humble them before all Europe. The peace negotiations came to nothing.

Pitt desires peace, 1796.

7. After the negotiations of 1796 the nature of the war was changed, and the feeling of the English people also. They had cared little to support the government in attacking France, or in helping continental despots to overthrow the republic. Many had feared that war and victory endangered their

Changed nature of the war.

own liberties. But now peaceable England was on its defence against a proud enemy, and Pitt, as the champion of his country in a war which could not be helped, was stronger than ever.

8. The French Government was no longer merely defending itself, but now threatened to invade Ireland and even England. Both Holland and Spain had joined France, and so with the Dutch and Spanish fleets the French hoped to sweep the English navy off the seas, if not to conquer England. But the Irish conspirators and the French Government did not work together. An expedition to Bantry Bay, in Ireland, failed, and the landing of 1,400 men at Fishguard, in Pembrokeshire, February 1797, was ridiculous. Without artillery, deserted by the frigates that brought them, this small body surrendered at discretion to Lord Cawdor, who had gathered a still smaller force of volunteers, yeomanry, and militia.

Invasion of England.

9. In the same month, February 1797, Admiral Sir J. Jervis and Commodore Nelson met a very powerful Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and gaining a considerable victory, forced them to retire to Cadiz. The Dutch fleet during the summer had been prevented by the weather from trying to join the French at Brest. When in October they did put out, an English fleet under Admiral Duncan attacked them off Camperdown, nine miles from land, and after a most obstinate battle, took more than half the ships.

Battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown.

10. These successes put an end to any serious attempt at invasion. But during this year the country was troubled by serious mutinies in the fleets at Spithead and the Nore in April and May. Fortunately the dangers passed away. The Admiralty yielded in the one case to reasonable and fairly urged claims of sailors badly paid, badly fed, and badly cared

Mutinies in the fleet, 1797.

for. In the other case they showed firmness in refusing insolent demands, and punished a few ringleaders who had behaved very ill.

Napoleon in Egypt.

11. Though the invasion of England was still threatened, the mind of Napoleon Bonaparte, who was now rising to power in France, was bent on a different scheme. From the southern port of Toulon he aimed at the conquest of Egypt, Syria, and possibly of India. In July 1798, after seizing Malta, he landed in Egypt, took Aboukir, Rosetta, and Alexandria, and soon pushed on to Cairo. Though Nelson was sent off early in May to watch the French fleet, it was not till August that he found them. Sixteen sail were drawn up at anchor, in a safe position in the harbour of Aboukir, well supported by guns on the shore. Nelson, who had a plan for everything that might happen, worked his ships in alongside of the Frenchmen, and began a battle which lasted all night from sunset. Two French ships of the line and two frigates escaped, but by morning the victory of the English was complete.

This grand victory of the Nile, or Aboukir Bay, did much to make Napoleon's expedition to Egypt an entire failure. He, however, still aiming at the conquest of Syria, reduced El Arish, Gaza, and Jaffa, but his march was stopped by the fort of Acre. Sir Sidney Smith, whose ships had been blockading the port of Alexandria, set off to the help of the Pacha in command of Acre, and capturing the French ships with a battering train of great guns on his voyage, was in time to aid in the defence. The place was in a condition unfit for resistance, yet those who were inside, by untiring work and undaunted courage, were able to hold out for sixty days, and when in great distress were relieved by fresh troops. The siege was raised in May 1799, Syria saved, and Napoleon very soon returned to Cairo and to France. The French

occupation of Egypt lasted two years longer, but its importance was over. In March 1801 a force of 15,000 men under Sir Ralph Abercromby landed at Aboukir, and defeated the French army which opposed them. On the surrender of Cairo in June and of Alexandria in August, the French army agreed to leave the country, while the fleet fell into the hands of the English. A body of 7,000 sepoys from India under Sir David Baird arrived too late to share the fighting, but their very presence showed how utterly the eastern schemes of Napoleon had come to nothing.

12. When Napoleon hurried home from Egypt in August 1799, he put an end to the Directory, and soon under the name of First Consul became chief ruler of France. Men were mostly glad of the change. The Directory had been ruling feebly, while Napoleon soon gave Frenchmen plenty of glory. His rule was firm, and fairly just, and while he acted as one who had no mere party ends to gain, he did not seem to undo the good of the Revolution. He gave France order, and good law, and even when he made himself Emperor, his subjects felt that there was social equality for all below him. The year 1800 was a year of French successes under the rule of Napoleon. One French army under Moreau overran Bavaria. Napoleon himself, by a very bold plan, crossed the Alps to the rear of the Austrian army which was besieging Genoa, entered Milan, gained a victory at Marengo, near Alessandria, and forced the Austrians to give up all North Italy, except Genoa, to France. Later in the year Moreau gained the battle of Hohenlinden, which opened the way over the river Inn to Vienna, and placed Austria at his feet. The Austrian Emperor was compelled to agree to the treaty of Luneville (1801) which ceded the land on the left bank of the Rhine, and gave France the Rhine for her border from Basle to its mouth, while the

Napoleon supreme in France.

Adige became the border of the Cisalpine Republic, which Napoleon controlled.

13. In 1801 England stood alone at war with France. The continental states either had been subdued by Napoleon, or were too weak to resist him, or, like the Northern, or Baltic, powers had their own cause of quarrel against England. Paul, the Emperor of Russia, the head of this Northern League, was hostile to England partly from a half-insane admiration for Napoleon, partly because of the old grievance about the right of search of vessels under a neutral flag. Sweden and Denmark followed his lead, and even Prussia was unfriendly. Things abroad looked dark for England, and they were little brighter at home. The ministry had not cared to listen to Napoleon's proposals for peace made soon after his return from Egypt. They had misjudged the strength of France, and had fancied that the many changes of the government were signs that the Revolution was failing, and the republic would come to an early end. Now Englishmen longed for peace, for the distress in the country had grown great and the price of corn was very high. Moreover, Pitt had resigned office on the Catholic Emancipation question. He felt that, after the union of Ireland with England, Roman Catholics ought at once to be freed from those laws which gave them less liberty than other people had. Especially he wished that they should be able to become members of the House of Commons. He would have passed a law giving them such freedom. As the king would not consent, Pitt would no longer be his minister. The king, however, became incapable of attending to business, and so the new ministers were not yet in office.

The Northern League.

14. The power of the navy and the firmness of Nelson at this moment saved England by breaking up the

threatening Northern League. A fleet was sent out in March 1801 under Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson second in command. The object was to separate Denmark from the League, or to take her fleet, that it might not fall into French hands. After many delays the fleet passed up the Sound and anchored off Copenhagen. When the Danes had refused to accept the terms offered, Nelson's squadron of twelve ships opened fire on their fleet and forts, and after some hours made the Danish ships strike their flags. A truce was made which grew into an armistice, or stopping of war, for fourteen weeks.

Bombardment of Copenhagen.

15. And fortunately the death of the Emperor Paul caused a change of Russian policy, and peace was made with the Baltic powers, June 1801. The Right of search was to be confined to men-of-war and refused to privateers, and blockades were to be real, with enough ships of war to close the ports and really prevent vessels from getting in or out. The break-up of the Northern League, added to the decisive battle of Alexandria, made the French willing to renew proposals of peace, and these were most acceptable. England was to give up her conquests, except Ceylon and Trinidad; France to withdraw from Naples and Rome, to give up her claims to Malta and Egypt, and to leave Portugal in peace. Such were the terms of the Peace of Amiens, March 1802; 'a peace,' as was truly said, 'which everybody would be glad of, but which nobody would be proud of.' But the peace was little or nothing more than a truce between foes who were to fight again very soon.

The Peace of Amiens, 1802.

# BOOK IV.

## *IRELAND.*

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE.

1. THE wish of William III. to set up a firm and just rule in Ireland had come to nothing. Men in England and Ireland alike would not be tolerant of one another's differences; the government had had little patience, and had not paid proper attention to the real interest of Ireland.

A close union of the two countries, with no separate Parliament at Dublin, with all rights of liberty, religion, and trade the same in England and Ireland, under a law firm and equal alike for Englishmen and Irishmen, would have been best. A career being thus offered to all alike in the government of the whole kingdom, and in its army and other professions, time would probably have cooled those passions which harsh and unequal laws kept at a fierce heat. For want of such a career at home Irishmen were driven to be adventurers in France and Spain, and to fight against the armies of their country, or to carry off the vigour and the trade of the north to the American colonies.

2. As it was, no Roman Catholic could sit in the Parliament at Dublin, and therefore a large and growing part of the population had no voice in governing itself. Laws were passed against the Roman Catholics so harsh that they could not be

Bad laws.


IRELAND
1798
SCOTLAND
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R. Bann
L. Neagh
ULSTER
Donegal Bay
L. Erne
Belfast
L. Strangford
Killala B
Sligo R
Sligo
Sligo
L. Conn
Mayo
Castlebar
Dundalk B
CONNAUGHT
Boyne
Trim
Meath
L. Mask
L. Corrib
L. Ree
Dublin
Dublin B
Kildare
LEINSTER
Liffey
Kildare
Curragh
L. Derg
Wicklow
Limerick
R. Shannon
Kilkenny
Carlow
Clonmel
MUNSTER
Waterford
Wexford Har
L. of Killarney
Waterford Har
CORK
Cork
Bantry Bay
Mizen Head
C. Clear

carried out; there were laws forbidding Roman Catholics to exercise particular professions and trades, laws to disable them from inheriting land or holding offices, laws to bribe them to become Protestants for the sake of lands or offices or pensions. These evil laws failed of their object, but they made men false and deceitful, and they kept up the old religious feuds in a way scarcely known elsewhere.

The government of England was no wiser or juster in Irish matters than the Parliament at Dublin. The English people looked upon Ireland as an ill-behaved island that must be kept down, and as a dangerous rival that must be kept poor. They forgot that it is the poor, not the rich, who rebel; prosperity would have gone far to soothe the discontent, and with peace most parts of Ireland would have prospered. All chance of prosperity was killed by the keeping down of the trade and growing manufactures of the island. The Navigation Act of 1663 had made a distinction between English ships and Irish, so that Irish ships could not trade direct to the colonies, and all exports and imports must come first to English ports and in English ships. When a thriving trade in cattle and produce with English ports began to grow up, it was stopped in the interest of English farmers. The rich grass land of Ireland fed immense flocks of sheep, and her wool commanded a high price all over Europe; but a regulation forbad the sale of Irish wool and Irish woollens to any country except England. The wool trade was crushed, and the woollen manufactures in like manner, and numbers of the most valuable and industrious inhabitants left the country.

Hence it came about that the Protestants, injured by bad laws and bad government, became more disaffected towards England than the Roman Catholics were. And in the latter part of the eighteenth century a demand

began to be put forward for the entire independence of Ireland.

3. As we follow Irish history through the years of the American and European wars down to 1782, we find the demand of independence gradually shaping itself, and, after giving way in one small point after another, England in a moment of desperate difficulty yielded and granted a new constitution.

4. Ireland sympathized much with the Americans, for their claims for self-government and for free trade were those which the Irish had so often made. The Opposition in the Parliament at Dublin, like the Whigs in England, openly said they agreed with the colonists; the leader of the Opposition, Grattan, pressed the demand for independence just when England was getting more and more into difficulties. Troops had to be withdrawn for America, and, while smuggling grew, lawful trade was almost entirely killed by the swarms of privateers who swept the Channel and even ventured to engage with men-of-war.

Sympathy with the Colonies.

5. The French war (1778) made the Presbyterians of the north in some measure return to their loyalty; but it made the condition of Ireland worse than before, for it ruined what remained of Irish trade. Then England began to give way. Some measures to quiet Ireland seemed absolutely needful. Some relief to trade was given, except to the woollen manufacturers; some relief to Roman Catholics, who had been very loyal, was given by making the penal laws less harsh. But even then Burke failed to alter the Navigation laws, and he lost his seat as member for Bristol because of his attempt to get justice for Ireland. The measures which England would grant were too insignificant and too late; the weakness of England, and her powerlessness to defend Ireland from invasion, seemed to call on Irishmen

Rise of the Volunteers.

to protect themselves. Suddenly, all through the land bodies of volunteers enrolled themselves, to the number of not less than 40,000, under no control of the government, either Irish or English. The command was in the hands of the leading men of each town or district, and so the control of Ireland passed from the hands of the government into the power of a national army. Events moved quickly, for the ministry, pressed by the French war, afraid of the volunteers, and urged by the Whigs in the English Parliament, gave way to one Irish demand after another. Concessions, some good, some bad, were made, so that the so-called patriots put no limits to their demands, and England had no time to consider what would be the effect of all this yielding. Acts restricting trade were hurriedly done away; the Test Act was abolished; a Catholic Relief Bill was no longer refused. Then came a demand for a repeal of the Act called Poyning's Law, which had given the English Parliament control over legislation in Ireland.[1]

6. At last, in April 1782, Grattan brought forward a motion amounting to a Declaration of Rights, and made a demand for the absolute parliamentary independence of Ireland. His proposals were carried through both Houses, and sent to England. The ministry had little hold upon Ireland; they yielded to avoid an immediate outbreak.

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## CHAPTER II.

### IRELAND FROM 1782–1798.

1. THE independence of Ireland was now complete. England no longer claimed to pass laws binding Ireland. The Irish Parliament was to make laws for itself. But the new constitution did not work well. The Irish parties quarrelled among themselves. The

Party quarrels.

[1] See Epoch IV. p. 9.

Protestants were by no means willing to give way to the Roman Catholics. The government found the Irish more troublesome than before. Before the end of the year Rodney's great victory and the safety of Gibraltar lowered the tone of France and Spain, and made an honourable peace possible, and England repented of having yielded.

During the next few years Irish politics were steadily making the union of the two countries necessary, as the only possible mode of government. Pitt worked for this, with freedom of trade, reform of parliament, and Catholic emancipation. Union, with or without these reforms, was the best thing for Ireland, for by it alone could fair rights ever be given to the two religious parties, and all outbreaks be calmly kept down.

2. Meanwhile the volunteers melted away, after an unsuccessful attempt to get a Reform Bill without giving votes to Roman Catholics. The unfortunate failure in 1785, of Pitt's Commerce Bill,[1] by which he wished to make trade between England and Ireland free, added to the difficulties. Flood, Grattan, and Curran alike stirred the passions of their countrymen to defeat an excellent measure. The absurdity of the new constitution was shown in 1789 by the behaviour of the Irish leaders about the Regency Bill. Eager to hamper Pitt, and to take any opportunity of disagreeing with England, they led the Irish Parliament to offer the Regency to the Prince of Wales with full kingly power, while the English Parliament was carefully settling limits and conditions. The recovery of the king made their conduct fruitless as well as ridiculous. In 1794–5 it was made plain that any measure of emancipation which should give equal political rights to Irishmen would be hopeless while the Irish House of Commons remained as it was.

Difficulty of dealing with the Irish Parliament.

[1] See p. 40.

3. The last years of the century were years of great trouble. The wiser counsels of Grattan no longer prevailed; new leaders arose. The new bond of union, the Society of United Irishmen, now became a revolutionary body, and grew more popular and more powerful. Many of the leaders were wild and rash adventurers, such as Hamilton Rowan and Wolfe Tone, full of enthusiasm for French republicanism and of hatred for England. In Dublin, Belfast, and elsewhere a powerful Protestant following formed their strength. The lower classes of Roman Catholics looked to them for the signal to root out for ever the Saxon and the heretic from the land. As has been usual in Irish history, the government had no difficulty in learning the whole plot from informers, of whom numbers offered themselves. Outrages became common, and had to be put down by force, so that a fierce spirit grew on both sides.

The United Irishmen.

4. The first plan was to get the French to invade Ireland and set up an independent republic. Wolfe Tone, with Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, two young men of good family, negotiated with General Hoche, and an expedition was arranged. Everything that the English Government could leave undone was left undone. The blockading squadron which should have been off Brest let the French fleet pass. Lord Bridport's fleet from Portsmouth made no attempt to find them. No force came by sea to stop the enemy, no soldiers were sent from England to meet him if he landed. The ministry disbelieved the whole story, and it seemed that they neither could nor would protect Ireland.

Plots with France.

5. Generals Hoche and Grouchy sailed out of Brest on a fine night, December 16, 1796, with a fleet of twenty-eight sail and fifteen transports, and an army of 15,000 men well equipped. They were to meet off Mizen Head, or later at the Shannon mouth.

Invasion of Ireland.

The way was open, there were no troops worth mentioning in South Ireland, and it was thought that the peasantry would rise everywhere. The fleet separated in the darkness of the first night, and one large ship went down; during several foggy days the fleet gathered again till, on the 21st, off Cape Clear, thirty-five vessels were mustered. But since the first night the *Fraternité*, with General Hoche on board, was nowhere to be seen. Grouchy waited for Hoche, who never came. Then a gale drove all to take refuge in Bantry Bay. There fog shut them in for days, and at last a storm swept them out to sea, and back to Brest, where they learnt that General Hoche had put into Rochelle, and had never seen Ireland. The French expedition had come and gone. Scarcely a man had landed; no Englishman had opposed, no Irishman had aided.

6. The Orange Association of Protestants, so called from William of Orange, now began to draw the northern republicans to itself, and became by and by a formidable weapon wherewith to put down the rebels in the south, who were almost all Roman Catholics.

The Orangemen.

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## CHAPTER III.

### THE REBELLION OF 1798.

1. THE death of Hoche, the battle of Camperdown, the rise of Napoleon's power, put an end to the hopes of French help.

Thrown back on themselves, the leaders fixed on May 23 for a general rising. The government, who knew their plans, arrested the committee in Dublin. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in a desperate struggle, stabbed two officers, one mortally. He was himself shot, and died in prison of his wounds. A

Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

vigorous but vain and wilful young man, he had been led by unprincipled men to use most foolishly the influence which birth and position gave him. He was wholly without statesmanlike qualities to atone for his unhappy attempt at rebellion.

2. The arrest of the committee saved Dublin from a massacre which had been carefully planned, but the surrounding counties, Kildare, Meath, Wicklow, and Wexford were soon full of rebellion and bloodshed. The government was for the moment almost heipless, with few troops and those inexperienced. Fierce attacks were made on several stations in Kildare which were held by small bodies of yeomanry and militia. Farms, country houses, barracks, villages, were attacked, pillaged, and burnt, and unoffending people were massacred with revolting cruelty. Carlow was saved with difficulty, and there the troops, after fighting bravely, slaughtered the rebels with a ferocity which at the least equalled their own. In Meath, at Tara Hill, the insurgents were at once thoroughly beaten. For a moment the rebellion hung fire. An offer of submission was made in Kildare, and Dundas, the general, was willing to listen. Unfortunately, another band offering submission was savagely cut down on the Curragh by yeomanry marching from Limerick, and news spread among the rebels that no terms would be granted. Martial law had been instantly proclaimed, and the terror of the ruling class burst forth into mad fury. Before a hurried court-martial any suspicion was evidence enough to declare a Roman Catholic guilty, and to hang him. The government was scarcely strong enough to be cool; no troops arrived from England; the Irish yeomanry and militia were led by officers wild with hate and distrust, and eager for vengeance.

*The outbreak*

3. Very soon the rebellion in Wexford seemed to excuse both terror and severity. The chief leader was a

parish priest, Father John Murphy, a bigoted, blood-thirsty man, who made the rising into a furious onslaught upon heretics, a wild religious war to restore Ireland to the true church. The Bishop's palace at Ferns was wrecked and burned; a small force from Wexford was overpowered by the pikemen who crowded after him in thousands. Enniscorthy, a little town garrisoned by some 300 men, was attacked and taken, and the Protestants were butchered. A great camp was formed on Vinegar Hill, close to the town. Here vile atrocities, almost equal to those of the Reign of Terror in France, were committed in the name of religion; innocent prisoners were daily murdered in batches. Wexford next fell into the hands of the rebels, who then began to plan an attack on Dublin.

Wexford

For some days such an attempt had chances of success; but time was wasted. One division intending to make its way through Carlow and Kildare was defeated at Newtownbarry. A second division reached New Ross, but was frightfully cut up in the streets of the town. The fighting was desperate; no quarter was given, and the angry soldiers could not be held back. At midday, before the battle was over, a portion of the rebels murdered about 300 wretched persons whom they had made prisoners on their march. A third division, under Murphy, was stopped after a fierce battle at the bridge of Arklow.

4. By the middle of June the cause of the rebels was hopeless. A force of 13,000 men was marching in several divisions to attack the camp of Vinegar Hill. The rebels fought well, but anything like war was now over. Those who were in Wexford had time for one more vile massacre. Nearly a hundred prisoners were piked to death in cold blood before rescue came. Then Wexford submitted; the leaders, including the fanatic Murphy, were hanged.

The rebellion crushed.

Small bands passed over into the Wicklow mountains or into Kilkenny, and still committed outrages A strong government might have quieted the country at once, but instead ferocious scenes of retaliation were common, and large portions of the country were harried by the soldiers, who were as cruel as the rebels, and licentious besides.

5. Lord Cornwallis was sent over, in order that the Lord Lieutenant might hold supreme military as well as civil authority. He withdrew the extraordinary powers from the courts martial, which were acting with violence, and soon proclaimed an amnesty. But party feeling and the vindictive conduct of the Parliament in Dublin interfered with his attempt to quiet the country.

Measures of Lord Cornwallis.

6. Soon a new danger threatened. General Humbert landed a small body of French troops at Killala in Mayo in August, and marched inland. Joined by a few hundreds of Irish, he reached Castlebar, where General Lake's force of 3,000 militia and yeomanry melted away before him. But when Lord Cornwallis placed himself in the way on the road to Sligo, nothing remained for General Humbert but to surrender, with no terms for his rebel followers. A French squadron which was coming to his aid was defeated and most of the vessels taken, including the *Hoche*, which had Wolfe Tone on board. He was tried and condemned, but committed suicide in prison. It is a curious illustration of the reckless mode of putting down the rebellion, that though Wolfe Tone was certainly guilty of treason, his conviction by a court martial was illegal; and though his judges had chosen to try him as a soldier, they refused him a soldier's death and sentenced him to be hanged.

General Humbert's landing.

7. It was clear that Ireland could not govern itself in connection with England. It is no less clear to anyone

who reads Pitt's great speech on the subject, that a close union between the two countries was good for both and needful. Pitt made up his mind to carry an Act of Union, by which the Irish Parliament should cease, and Ireland should be represented in the British Parliament. The Union was carried by Pitt's influence, in spite of slight interest shown in England and much hostility in Ireland. Wholesale bribery cleared a passage for it through the Irish legislature. The Act of Union provided for a United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with one Parliament at Westminster. It gave to Ireland representation in the Parliament by four spiritual peers sitting by rotation, and by twenty-eight temporal peers elected for life by their own body; and by one hundred members of the House of Commons. It provided for almost entire freedom of trade between the two countries. And it provided that the laws of Ireland should remain as then in force, with power in the Imperial Parliament to alter or repeal them, or to enact new laws for Ireland, separately or in common with the rest of the realm. The Act took effect on January 1, 1801. It was one of Pitt's greatest measures, and the fault did not lie in him that it was not made still more perfect by the addition of a provision for the relief of Roman Catholics from all disabilities. But this was at the moment impossible.

The Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

# BOOK V.

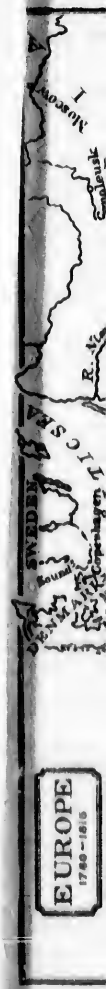
## *THE EUROPEAN WAR*, 1803–1815.

### CHAPTER I.

#### 1803–1807.

1. THE ministry of Addington, who succeeded Pitt in 1801, was one of the weakest which have ruled England. Addington. Addington was an honourable gentleman, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons for eleven years with some success. He had never been thought a man of great ability, and as First Minister in difficult times none had entire confidence in him. During the months that ended the war, and during the peace negotiations, the new ministry carried out Pitt's plans, and were safe with his support.

2. It was clear, even before the end of 1802, that the peace would not last. Napoleon's aggressive conduct The renewal of the quarrel. was alarming Europe. He annexed to France the Island of Elba in August, and Piedmont in September; he occupied Parma and Piacentia in October, and Switzerland about the same time. He had some cause of complaint that England had not left Malta according to agreement. He was also angry because England received French exiles, and did not prevent them from writing against him. Both nations prepared against war, and so provided that there should be war. The government, supported by Pitt, declared war against



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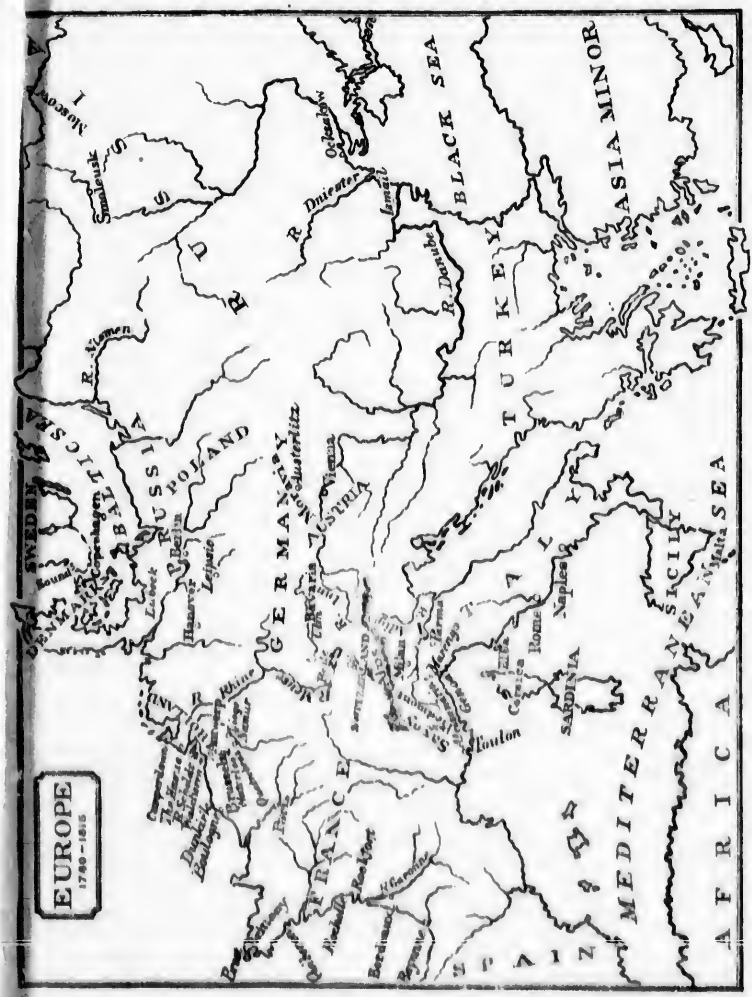

France in May 1803, and soon after against the Batavian Republic, as Holland was now called.

3. On the part of the French vigorous measures were at once taken, and Hanover was occupied. Before the other powers were roused, immense preparations were made, as though the war were solely for the conquest of England. All the coast from Brest to Antwerp was busy with arrangements for an invasion, of which the headquarters were at Boulogne. England met the threatened attack with much spirit; volunteers enrolled themselves in all places, to the number of 300,000. This all gave an aim and a popularity to the war which had been wanting before 1802. The eagerness of the public spirit seemed to outrun the energy of the government, and Addington resigned in April 1804, unable to withstand the attacks of the Opposition. The ministry fell because the country believed that Pitt alone was able to govern in such perilous times.

Preparations for the invasion of England.

4. Pitt's Second Ministry lasted from May 1804 to January 1806, when he died. The great points of his policy were to strengthen the navy to the utmost, and to make a great European Coalition against Napoleon.

Pitt's second ministry, 1804–1806.

During 1805 Napoleon, now become Emperor of the French, had himself crowned King of Italy at Milan, and annexed the republic of Genoa. Meanwhile, Pitt arranged terms of alliance with Russia, and the allies were joined by Austria, and by Sweden a little later. The objects were to stop the encroachments of France, and to withdraw Hanover, Holland, Switzerland, Piedmont and Italy from the control of Napoleon.

5. The Coalition, Pitt's grand scheme, failed, as we shall see; and the grand scheme of Napoleon for the invasion of England failed as entirely. His plan was that Admiral Villeneuve, with the

Villeneuve's failure.

powerful Toulon fleet, should draw away Nelson's squadron to the West Indies, then, returning, should join the Rochfort squadron and the Spanish fleet, and, suddenly sweeping the Channel, should help the invading flotilla. The plan was good and had fair chance of success. Villeneuve sailed, drew Nelson off to the West Indies, and got back to Europe several days before him. On his return he put in at Ferrol. Napoleon's orders, which he found there, were precise. Villeneuve was to go to Brest, fight the English blockading squadron, and with the Brest fleet go up the Channel to Boulogne. He sailed instead to Cadiz for more ships, believing that his twenty-nine ships of the line were not strong enough to meet the English combined fleets. Napoleon in August waited for his fleet at Boulogne, but the fleet was at Cadiz; and so, through the admiral's grievous fault, all possibility of the invasion was at an end. Nelson had come to England, but by the end of September he was off Cadiz, and on October 21 the French and Spanish fleets met him near Cape Trafalgar. Nelson and Collingwood had twenty-seven liners to meet thirty-three, and they were ready. Their plan was to sail in two lines and break through the enemy's line. Each admiral led his division, and each was successful. The result was a wonderful victory: twenty of the enemy's ships were taken, the French admiral was a prisoner, the Spanish admiral was killed. Nelson himself, shot by a musket-ball from the tops of a French ship, lived just long enough to know that his work was done. This, the sixth great naval victory of the European war, destroyed for the French all hopes of beating England at sea.

6. The news of Trafalgar reached England early in November, but four or five days earlier very bad news from Ulm had arrived. Napoleon, disappointed by Villeneuve's sailing to Cadiz, had instantly changed his plans. Swiftly moving his troops Austerlitz.

to the Rhine, before September was over he attacked the Austrians in Bavaria, and in October had surrounded General Mack at Ulm, on the Danube, and forced him to capitulate with a splendid army of 30,000 men. He entered Vienna in November, and following up the Austrian army, which had joined the Russians, overthrew their combined forces at Austerlitz, in Moravia, with enormous loss. The Emperor Francis yielded to all Napoleon's demands, and the Coalition was no more.

7. Pitt, who died in January 1806, at the age of forty-six, lived to hear of the failure of his plans, and it was said that Austerlitz had killed him. So, to the sorrow of England, passed away the great minister of this reign, who, able, untiring, upright, liberal, had wielded power in the country for nineteen years. He had been a wise and open-minded administrator in peace; less fortunate, and, indeed, less able in war, though friends and foes alike had felt, so late as 1803, that unless Pitt were at the head of affairs, England's course indeed was run.

Death of Pitt, January 1806.

8. Lord Grenville now formed, with Fox (who, however, died in September) and Addington (now Lord Sidmouth) a ministry which was called of 'all the Talents:' but the foreign policy was unchanged. The ministers declared all the French coasts under blockade, a blockade which was meant to include the Baltic and Italy. It was a foolish thing, for such a blockade could not be kept up, and was irritating to neutrals. Napoleon, with most of the Continent at his feet, having overthrown Prussia at Jena and occupied the capital, put forth the 'Berlin decree,' forbidding all intercourse with Great Britain. He hoped to crush the trade of this country by cutting her off from continental markets, but his plan failed. In turn, the English Government (January 1807), by Orders in Council, re-

The Grenville ministry.

asserted the right of blockade and of search of neutrals, an unwise claim which led at last in 1812 to war with America.

9. The Grenville ministry was dismissed by the king in March 1807, because they would not promise to let the Catholic Emancipation question rest. Their home policy had been good, but they were unwise to raise again a question which had overthrown Pitt once, and which both Pitt and Fox had meant to leave till there was a new king. The Duke of Portland succeeded, with Spencer Perceval, Canning, and Lord Castlereagh, these Pittites having joined the followers of Wilberforce in a 'no-Popery' cry unworthy of those who had been friends of Pitt in 1801, and with him had been in favour of emancipation.

The Portland ministry.

10. In the summer of 1807 a pressing danger called for the utmost vigour. Russia, worn out with war, made the Peace of Tilsit and passed under the influence of France. With her ports closed against England, those of Prussia in French hands, and Russian influence brought to bear upon Sweden and Denmark, there was a repetition of the Baltic League of 1801. An immense fleet and army was at once sent to Copenhagen under Admiral Gambier, Lord Cathcart, and Sir Arthur Wellesley. A demand for the possession of the Danish fleet being refused, a regular bombardment by land and sea led to a surrender (September). The fleet, with stores and guns, was carried off to England just as a French army entered Danish territory. This strong measure was thought needful, since Denmark commanded the Baltic, and England could not quietly allow all northern Europe to be arrayed by France against her.

Bombardment of Copenhagen.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE PENINSULAR WAR.

1. THE Treaty of Tilsit placed almost all western continental Europe under the mastery of Napoleon, and the 'Berlin decree' was an offensive avowal of the mastery. It led to the Peninsula war, in which the English gradually drove the French armies from Portugal, through Spain, over the Pyrenees into France. Portugal refused to submit to the Berlin decree. She was an old ally of England, and owed much to her. The English influence was great, and her trade most valuable. Just at the right moment disputes in the royal family of Spain gave Napoleon an opportunity of interfering in that country. An appeal to Napoleon ended in a treaty (October 1807) for the partition of Portugal. French troops were sent into Spain, and an army under Junot, a young and able general, marched from Bayonne, through Salamanca and Alcantara, and occupied Lisbon. Other forces cut off the northern provinces from Madrid, or turned towards Barcelona.

Junot's occupation of Portugal.

2. Early in 1808, both King Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand placed themselves in Napoleon's hands at Bayonne, and the kingdom of Spain was resigned to him. His brother, Joseph Bonaparte, who had been King of Naples, now became King of Spain, and entered Madrid in July.

Joseph Bonaparte King of Spain, 1808.

3. Meanwhile, among the Spanish people there was a fierce outburst of determination to resist the French. There were riots in all parts, with outbreaks of savage barbarity against the upper classes' in Madrid, Seville, Toledo, and almost every town. It was a wild effort of a confused patriotism, with-

Resistance of the Spaniards.

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out any great men to lead. The French were staggered for the moment, and the new king left Madrid and retired to the Ebro, August 1808.

4. For a time Lisbon was quiet under the military rule of Junot. But though his rule was in some ways better than the miserable government of the Regent, who had fled to Brazil, still the country was not willing to be thus annexed to France. The arrogance of Junot and his demands for money roused a spirit of resistance, and the influence of Spain and England made the people ripe for insurrection. The first signs of a rising were at Oporto, and before long the whole country round the French posts was in arms, while an English squadron was blockading Lisbon. An attempt was then made by the English government to drive the French from Portugal, with a hope, very ill-founded as it proved, that the rising of the Spaniards would free their country. Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in August at the mouth of the Mondego, and prepared to strike a blow near Lisbon with a small force of about 12,000 men. Marching southwards near the coast by Leiria and Torres Novas, a successful fight at Roliça opened the road towards Torres Vedras At Vimiero he attacked Junot's army, and, after a hard fight, forced it back. Wellesley was unable to reap the fruits of his victory, as he was superseded by Sir Henry Burrard, and he by Sir Hew Dalrymple, who took command on the next day. The intended advance was stopped; but Junot, afraid of a rising in Lisbon, offered to leave Portugal under a convention. This was agreed to, and, according to the 'Convention of Cintra,' by the end of September Portugal was clear of French armies.

Expulsion of the French from Portugal.

5. Another expedition was not so fortunate. Sir John Moore, a brave and honourable man, and one of England's best generals, was sent into Spain to assist the Spanish

armies. When his force arrived at Salamanca, it was clear that he was too late to be of any great service in Spain. The Spanish forces had been routed, the French were in far too great strength everywhere. He made up his mind to retire to Portugal, but over-persuaded by false information, he advanced to Sahagun, and there found that Napoleon would be upon him with an enormous force. He at once retreated over the river Esla, and past Lugo towards Ferrol and Corunna, with the French army, now under Soult, close upon him. The fleet which was to take him off was a day too late at Corunna, and a battle had to be fought. Soon after mid-day the French from the outer circle of hills attacked the English position; but by nightfall the advantage lay with the English. During the night the army was embarked without confusion or difficulty. Sir John Moore, struck by a cannon ball during the battle, died, and was buried in the citadel of Corunna. This small expedition had disarranged Napoleon's plans, and drawn the French troops to the north, saving the south and Portugal. The retreat before so powerful an enemy was an honourable achievement, deserving far more praise than it received.

Sir John Moore.

6. Meanwhile Napoleon had filled Spain with troops to the number of 300,000 men, reoccupied Madrid, and recovered the country.

7. After Portugal had been cleared of French troops according to the Convention of Cintra, it was neglected for some time by the English Government. At Lisbon the Regency was weak, elsewhere there was scarcely even the form of a government. Sir John Cradock with the English force held Lisbon, but he could do no more. In the south Marshal Beresford, an English officer, was making a Portuguese army. In the north Soult, leaving Corunna, was threatening Portugal. Towards the end of

March 1809 he took Oporto, and set up French influence firmly in the district round.

8. At this time Sir Arthur Wellesley was sent to succeed Cradock in command of the English troops in Portugal. Taking up the plan of holding Lisbon at all hazards, he made ready to fall upon Soult's army. Passing Coimbra, he surprised the French by suddenly crossing the Douro in May, and so forced them to leave Oporto. Soult, though surprised, made a masterly retreat into Gallicia. Thus in 28 days Wellesley restored confidence, cleared Portugal of enemies, and forced a victorious army to retreat with the loss of all its guns.

Wellesley lands in Portugal.

9. Wellesley marched on into Spain, but the small number of troops which he brought into the field prevented his doing much. He aimed at threatening Madrid by the line of the Tagus. The various French armies began to gather upon him, and he placed his forces on the heights of Talavera. After some days' skirmishing a general attack was made by the French under Victor and Jourdan and King Joseph himself, who was too eager to wait for the operations of Soult in the rear of the English. All through the intense heat of the afternoon of July 28 there was desperate fighting, but the French attack failed, and a grand charge of the English cavalry and the irresistible advance of the 48th infantry gained the victory. The French retired, and next day their army retreated. Wellesley presently moved off into Portugal, and held the line of the Guadiana during the winter. The campaign had relieved Gallicia, but otherwise it was a failure. Wellesley indeed had been successful, but the Spaniards had proved useless allies.

Wellesley's advance into Spain. Talave .

10. The English people were weary of the war, and

the news of Wellesley's retreat, and the failure of an expedition to Walcheren, led to a quarrel in the ministry, and its resignation, September 1809. A more thoroughly Tory government succeeded, under Mr. Perceval, with the Marquess Wellesley as Foreign Secretary. The new ministry was unpopular at home, and not vigorous enough abroad.

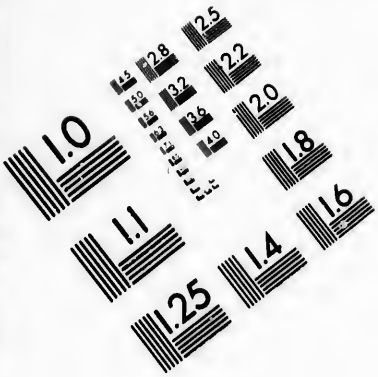
Mr. Perceval's ministry.

11. The next year (1810) was marked by a great display of French power. Napoleon, victorious in Germany, was able to attend to Spain. Victor invaded Andalusia and blockaded Cadiz. Massena, arriving in May, took Ciudad Rodrigo, and pressed on towards Portugal. Wellesley, now Lord Wellington, had sagacious plans ready. Lisbon was to be defended by the English and Portuguese armies inside three strong lines of fortified works drawn from the Tagus to the sea, while an English fleet was in the harbour. In September Massena with 65,000 troops was at Viseu, north of the Mondego. Wellington retreated before him, after making a successful stand on a high range of hills, the Sierra Busaco; and then crossing the Mondego, and passing Leiria, drew his army within the lines of Torres Vedras. The lines included 50 miles of fortification, 150 forts, and 600 guns. Besides the regular army, sailors from the fleet, English marines, Portuguese artillery and militia, and a Spanish division were engaged in the defence, while the army and fleet off Cadiz kept French troops in Andalusia from reinforcing Massena.

Massena's advance to Lisbon, 1810.

12. The blockade lasted throughout the winter, but as Wellington expected, his position was as strong as ever in the spring, and by March 1811 Massena was obliged to withdraw. He retreated across the Mondego, and out of Portugal as far as Salamanca, Wellington following to attack the French garrison at Almeida. Then Massena turned to meet him,

Massena leaves Portugal





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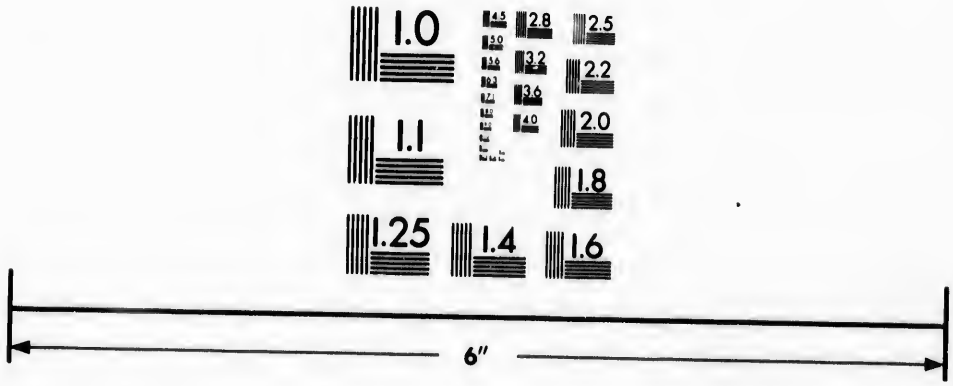



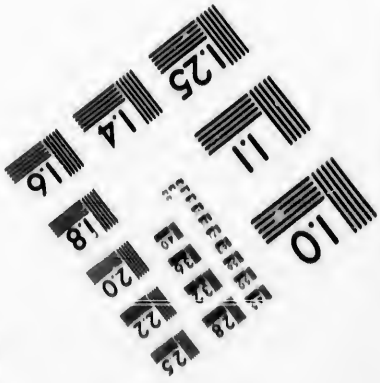


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and a fierce battle was foug[t] at Fuentes d'Onoro (May) in which both sides claime[d] the victory. The advantage lay with the English: they were forced to give some ground, but defended the village and still kept up their blockade of Almeida. The French shortly left the place, and Marmont, who succeeded to the command of the army, fixed his headquarters at Salamanca.

Albuera.

13. Further south Beresford's army was eager to take the powerful fortress of Badajoz. Soult, who had a large army in Andalusia, left Seville in May, and forced Beresford and his Spanish allies to break up their investment of Badajoz and take position for battle on the heights of the stream called the Albuera. Here was fought a long and confused battle, which was going against the English and Spaniards, till at last the tremendous pressure of the steady march of 8,000 fusiliers of the English infantry up the crest of the hill decided the day. Of the 8,000 only 1,200 arrived at the top, but when they arrived the battle was over. The loss on both sides was enormous, the advantage was not great. The glory belonged not so much to the general, for his dispositions had been bad, as to the soldiers, for it was a soldiers' victory.

Storming of Ciudad Rodrigo.

14. The winter saw the blockade of the great border fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo. For Wellington's plans of invading Spain, the capture of this place and of Badajoz was absolutely needful. The siege was hurried in every possible manner, that no French force might come to the rescue in time, and thorough preparations had been made beforehand in Almeida and places near. In twelve days the breaches were practicable, a fourfold attack was made, and the place was stormed. A frightful scene followed; all discipline was cast off by the soldiers, who even set fire to the town in their drunken madness.

15. Wellington then turned to Badajoz. This famous fortress had been twice invested during 1811, and twice left untaken. In March it was again invested, this time to be taken. The French governor, Phillipon, was an engineer second to none, and he did all that could be done. But in April the place was stormed and taken after siege operations which cost 1,500 men, and an assault costing 3,500 more. These successes, with the capture of Almaraz on the Tagus, gave Wellington new and strong bases of action beyond the frontier.

Storming of Badajoz.

16. In June, no longer fearing for Portugal, he advanced to the river Tormes, attacked Salamanca, and passed across the river. A month later he was in the same position again, with Marmont's army close by, threatening his communications. From this he intended to retreat, when suddenly he found an opportunity of falling on Marmont's army, broken into three divisions. With great skill the left of the French was instantly attacked and thrown into confusion, and Marmont himself badly wounded. General Clausel saved the centre, but the whole army was defeated, and next day was in full retreat. In a few days Wellington was at Valladolid, and Clausel had been driven towards Burgos, while King Joseph, who had been unable to join him, left Madrid. The battle of Salamanca was the first decisive victory in the war. The French armies were driven headlong, and all the centre of Spain was cleared of the enemy. While King Joseph crossed the Tagus to Aranjuez, Wellington entered Madrid.

Wellington's advance to Madrid.

The power to hold central Spain depended on the movements of Soult with the army of Andalusia. When he left Seville to join the armies of the centre and north, Wellington decided to leave Madrid and the siege of Burgos, and retire to his base, Ciudad Rodrigo. There

in the surrounding district he made ready for winter, after the greatest campaign which he had yet fought.

17. This year, 1812, had seen a change of ministry in England, for Mr. Perceval had been shot by a man called Bellingham, a merchant who fancied that the government had treated him badly. Lord Liverpool re-made the ministry, with but little change of policy. Abroad they were not much more vigorous or successful; at home there was some small inclination to grant slight reforms, though little was done.

Lord Liverpool's ministry.

18. During the winter Wellington prepared for the work of the next year. He made his own army ready, and visited the Spanish Cortes at Cadiz, and the Portuguese Junta at Lisbon, to urge them to support his plans vigorously. The campaign of 1813 was to be decisive. Many things favoured the allies. The desperate need of keeping France and Germany quiet since the failure of the Russian expedition made the war in Spain now a small matter in Napoleon's eyes, so long as Wellington could be kept out of France. Stronger bands of guerrillas, who were irregular troops, half soldiers half robbers, were springing up all over the north of Spain, shutting the roads, and threatening the French posts along the coast of Biscay. Differences of opinion between King Joseph, Soult, and Suchet also damaged the French cause.

Plans for the campaign of 1813.

19. With headquarters at Valladolid, the French armies stretched from Alicante to Toledo and on to Salamanca. The English forces had grown in numbers, and their allies had improved in quality. After waiting till May for the green forage, the allies, with wide front, advanced in three armies across the Esla, the Douro, and the Tormes, in such force that the French retreated before them. Passing Salamanca, they were at Valladolid in the beginning of June. Crossing

Advance to Vittoria.

the Carrion and the Pisuerga, they turned the sources of the Ebro. Thus the French had to leave the coast and concentrate themselves on Vittoria, while Santander became a new and convenient depôt and base for the allies, now cut free from Portugal. At Vittoria a decisive battle was fought. The town stood at the end of a wide basin about eight miles by ten, circled by rocky hills. Into this basin was gathered all the material of the French army, with not far short of 80,000 men posted to defend the heights. On June 21 the allies closed round the basin, and then forced their way through the hills, driving the enemy six miles to the last height before the town. From this point, with further fighting, they advanced, taking gun after gun, while the enemy hurriedly retreated. The loss of men was not enormous, but all the baggage, all the treasure, all the papers, and all, save two, of the guns of the army were left to the allies in the basin of Vittoria. It was the end of the French occupation of Spain, and in a few days all the frontier line from the valley of Roncesvalles to the Bidassoa was held by the allies, and Pampeluna and San Sebastian were invested. In six weeks Wellington had marched almost 600 miles, and driven 120,000 troops, under excellent generals, out of Spain.

20. For a moment, Soult, who was now at Bayonne, again in command, hoped to unite his armies, and relieve the fortresses of Pampeluna, San Sebastian, Santona, and occupy Aragon. But he made no way in nine days of hill fighting, in which ten actions were fought. San Sebastian surrendered after a brave defence of sixty-three days, and Pampeluna soon after. In October Wellington was in France, at Vera; and in November the passage of the Nivelle was forced. Soult was driven back on Bayonne, and still the English army pressed him. However much he was de-

The passage into France.

layed by want of stores, money, or ammunition, or distracted by the contrary views of the ministry in England, or disturbed by Bourbon plots or Spanish quarrels, still Wellington steadily and cautiously closed his grasp upon Soult, who fought with untiring spirit and yet no hope of success. In February, 1814, General Hill crossed the Adour; a battle followed at Orthes in which the French were again beaten. Next Soult was obliged to leave Bayonne, which was at once invested. Fighting all the way, he retreated on Toulouse, the great arsenal which commanded the southern roads and the passage of the Garonne. There the war ended. One desperate battle was fought outside Toulouse in April, before the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon was known. It was scarcely a victory for the English, scarcely a defeat for Soult, but he had to retreat two days later, and Wellington entered Toulouse. He had done his work so as to earn glory for the English armies seldom if ever equalled.

The glory was due to general and army rather than to the government. In no other part of Europe had the English schemes succeeded. The home government had shown little energy or good sense. An expedition sent to the island of Walcheren and to Antwerp at the mouth of the Scheldt to aid in driving out the French had been a wretched failure. It took Walcheren and its town of Middelburg. But so much time was spent in taking Flushing that all chance of getting Antwerp was lost, and no more was done. The Dutch did not want such help, and the French could not be driven out. The services of 40,000 men were wasted, and very many lives lost.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.

1. WHILE Wellington had been making his way into France, the end of Napoleon's power had come. In 1811 he had annexed Holland and the neighbouring coast as far as Lubeck; Westphalia and all the minor States of Germany were in his power. But in 1812 Russia and Sweden were no longer willing to be shut out from trade with Britain. Napoleon at once attacked Russia, crossing the Niemen in June, and passing through Lithuania to Smolensk and Moscow. He was victorious, but his army perished of cold in its retreat, and very little of it repassed the Niemen in December. His power was broken, and the people of Prussia and of other parts of Germany were eager to rise and join Russia in overthrowing him. Though he had successes in the spring and summer of 1813, his enemies closed upon him, and the decisive battle of Leipzig, fought through great part of three days in October, allowed the allies to follow him into France. Amidst frequent battles and much negotiation Paris yielded, March 31, and then Napoleon abdicated in April, while Wellington and Soult were fighting near Toulouse.

Invasion of France. 1813-14.

2. The allies had been fighting not alone for independence, but also for the old monarchy which the French Revolution had overthrown; they therefore again set up the old line of French kings, and Lewis XVIII. was placed on the throne. The task of restoring the old limits of kingdoms, and the old state of things, wherever possible, was given to a Congress of diplomatists who met at Vienna.

The Restoration, 1814.

3. The war, however, was not yet all over; one great campaign more had to be fought. For eleven months a feverish peace lasted, and then news suddenly came that the Emperor Napoleon was again in France. He had been placed in the little island of Elba, and from thence, in March 1815, he crossed, and landed near Cannes. He was everywhere welcomed, the army and his old generals gathered round him. He was in Paris in three weeks, and the restored king had gone again. There is no wonder that men who had fought and suffered as Frenchmen had for equal rights and for glory should eagerly welcome the great general and Emperor who was to free them from the feeble king who reminded them of the old days of despotism and of the conquest of Paris by the foreigner. But the allies would have no terms with the Emperor, no terms with France save as a beaten country. Wellington was at Brussels early in April, and armies of English, Prussians, and other allies began to gather. Napoleon crossed the frontier near Charleroi on June 15; and he was at once within reach of the Prussian forces at Charleroi, Namur, Liége, while the English were moving close to Quatre Bras.

The return of Napoleon, 1815.

4. The Prussians, attacked at Charleroi and again at Ligny, retreated after suffering some loss. The English, who fought at Quatre Bras with success, were moved back a distance of seven miles. There, on June 18, was fought the decisive battle of Waterloo. About eleven o'clock the attack was begun by the French; and the fighting lasted till evening. The whole brunt of the battle fell upon the English army, and they bravely kept their ground. About seven o'clock the last French charge was made upon the left centre, and it failed. By that time the Prussians, under Blucher and Bulow, had come up, and to their timely assistance it was due in

Waterloo, June 1815.

great measure that a great victory was won. The war was now over and the French empire at an end.

5. Napoleon reached Paris on the 21st, and abdicated. At Rochfort he placed himself in the hands of the captain of an English man-of-war. The allies decided that he should be exiled to the island of St. Helena, an English possession in the Atlantic, where he stayed till his death. Abdication of Napoleon.

6. There was nothing now to hinder the march of the victorious armies. The allies entered Paris on July 7, and Lewis XVIII. was restored on the next day. France was held by foreign troops till the work of restoring the old map of Europe was done. England had nothing to gain by any settlement, but she took her part in setting up the old despotisms with little care for the people of the different states. Restoration.

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## BOOK VI.

### *THE RESULTS OF THE WAR.*– 1815–1820.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE YEARS OF PEACE.

1. From the outbreak of the French Revolution, England had been more than usually affected by foreign politics. And from the year 1793 she had been obliged to attend almost wholly to war. During the whole time social improvement had been checked, and of constitutional progress there had been scarcely any. The government feared all discussion, and tried to prevent all change or reform. Any desire for change was called unpatriotic and un-English, all Want of reforms at home.

reforms were looked on as revolutionary and French. The country generally shrank from disturbance in home politics, thinking the time not suitable. The dread of making great changes during war, combined with a fear of the danger of any approach to French republican views, had prevented all reform of Parliament; the same fate had befallen the other great question, Catholic emancipation. Although in each case valuable time was lost, perhaps it was well that England did not pretend to reform herself at a time when she was helping the powers on the Continent to stamp out demands of reform in other countries.

2. The many years of war had done much to destroy the wealth and prosperity which had grown so fast in the early years of Pitt's ministry. For all manufactures and every kind of trade had been injured except so far as war had in some few cases made an extraordinary demand, and so brought wealth to some classes, as to the farmers, who got very high prices for corn and other produce. For most persons the means of living had been so exhausted by the loss of trade, the waste of life and money, and the enormous amount of the taxes, that distress had become widespread.

3. After the peace of 1815 was made, the effects of the war made themselves most thoroughly felt for the next few years. Foreign politics gave way to difficulties at home; war was succeeded by profound peace, save in one spot and for a moment, but for years the peace was full of troubles.

4. The one exception to the general peace was an interference of civilised Europe against barbarian practices.

Putting down Christian slavery.

The small Mohammedan States of northern Africa, Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, had for centuries been wont to sweep the seas as pirates, to take the vessels of all nations, and to carry off

Christians into slavery. In the seventeenth century we hear of Turks and Barbary corsairs even in the English Channel. To leave money for the ransom of Christian slaves from the Moors was a common form of charity in England. The power of these States was less now than formerly; while other nations had stronger fleets, and the Mediterranean was public water. The Christian States would allow this habit of piracy no longer. Public opinion as to slavery had changed; England had put down her own slave trade in 1807; and Napoleon had found time to do the same in the hurried days of 1815; and other nations followed. The worthiest memorial of the Congress of Vienna is its agreement to put an end to the deeds of the corsairs of the Mediterranean.

5. An English fleet under Lord Exmouth forced the rulers of Tunis and Tripoli to give up their Christian slaves, to the number of 1,800, and to bind themselves by treaty to take no more. The fleet, with a small squadron of Dutch ships, was off Algiers in August. Lord Exmouth's demands were made at once, including freedom of all Christian slaves and the end of Christian slavery. When no answer was given, the fleet worked in close to the immense batteries and facing the Algerine fleet and the higher forts. The first shot was fired by the Algerines, it is said, and then all the afternoon and the evening there was deadly fighting, till almost all the enemy's guns were silenced. The fleet worked out in the night with a loss of about 900 men, better spent in this than most causes. Next morning the Dey of Algiers yielded to all demands, and gave up 1,083 Christian slaves.

Bombardment of Algiers, 1816.

6. The exhaustion of the country was great, and the recovery at first was slow. The enormous debt pressed hard, and distress created bitter discontent before society had fitted itself to the new conditions. The heavy

taxes seemed more unbearable in peace than they had been in war. All those branches of industry which had flourished because of war prices now suffered. Many workmen were thrown out of employment. Much suffering was felt before advantage could be taken of those new openings for trade which peace would gradually offer. Large numbers of soldiers and sailors were no longer needed, and yet it was not easy to take them into the professions and trades without injury to others. Parliament listened to the complaints of landowners and farmers, and to prevent them from being injured by a fall in the price of corn, forbade all imports unless the price reached 80*s.*, that is till there was famine in the land. This unfair and foolish law hurt all other classes, and almost starved the poor. Bad seasons and wretched harvests followed. Distress led to riot among the agricultural labourers in the eastern counties, and among the colliers and miners of the midland districts and of South Wales. There were also riots of distressed mechanics who knew no better than to try to put down the machinery which was now being largely brought into use. In thickly peopled places, such as Manchester and Glasgow, demands for reforms led to great disturbances. The country was fast becoming difficult to manage. The government, unwilling to admit the need of any changes, or unable to find remedies, looked only for means to force the people to be quiet. They suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and got Parliament to pass the severe laws of repression known as the Six Acts, which took away the usual liberty of holding public meetings, increased the harshness of the law of libel, and gave to the authorities powers to search private houses for arms. It must also be remembered that the king through illness had taken no part in business for years,

Distress and disturbances.

and that the Regent was neither respected nor liked. Crown and Parliament were alike held in suspicion.

7. The reign of George III. therefore ended in a time of sullen agitation, the result in part of the usual distress caused by a long war, in part of the putting off of needful measures of reform. These were now urgently called for, to make our laws reasonable and fair, to allow for the natural growth of the community, and to give the great majority of the people their fair share in governing themselves. The story of the struggles for these reforms belongs properly to the later period of our history.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE DEMAND FOR REFORMS.

1. BUT while that story must be left, still two great movements deserve mention as worthily marking this period, though neither came to a full end within it. The one was the improvement of English criminal law; the other was a crusade against the slave-trade, ending in the abolition of slavery.

2. English law had long needed reform. It was of unwieldy bulk, badly arranged, and slow of application. The criminal law was also frightfully severe, and, in consequence, very ill executed. For juries could not be found to subject men and women to its harsh punishments. A small knot of energetic men set to work to reform the criminal law. They were mostly, as was natural, men of advanced liberal views. Their master, Jeremy Bentham, was a learned and wise lawyer. Unfortunately the government was afraid of all reformers, and was also specially afraid of the effect of mildness in what they thought most dangerous times. To

Reform of the criminal law.

make the laws milder when men were lawless, seemed to them a move in exactly the wrong direction. It is astounding now to think that in this century men were liable to death for forging receipts, or for sheep-stealing, or for picking pockets, or for shop-lifting. In the reign of George III. the punishment of death was due by law for about 160 different crimes, 'actions which men are daily liable to commit.' Sir Samuel Romilly, in 1808, was able to do away with the punishment of death for picking pockets. And at last, after many years, in 1818, Sir James Mackintosh, aided by Canning and Wilberforce, against the whole force of the government, carried in the House of Commons a motion for a Select Committee on capital punishment, which led in the end to a rearrangement of penalties, and made English criminal law fit for a civilised and law-abiding people.

3. The abolition of the slave-trade was due to that religious party which has borne the name of Evangelicals. They were representatives of the spirit which arose from the teaching and the religious fervour of the Wesleys and Whitfield and their admirers. These men were leaders of an earnest revival of religion in the eighteenth century. They were pious Oxford students who gave themselves up to do good. They went everywhere preaching, to awaken people to a sense of their sinfulness, and to lead them to live better and more religious lives. The Church at first did not like them, and they met with many difficulties, for their doings were often odd. But though many laughed at them, their success was very great. Thousands were converted by their preaching. The whole tone of English feeling was changed by the renewed religious life which grew out of it. Very many, who did not become followers of them in name, yet learnt much from their piety and unselfishness, and joined them in good works.

The Wesleys.

4. From the foundation of American and West Indian colonies negro slaves had been brought from Africa, and the trade had greatly fallen into the hands of Englishmen. The horrors of the traffic and the sufferings of the slaves on the passage roused attention in England. A determined attempt was made to regulate or even to put down the traffic. The leaders of this attempt were Wilberforce and Thornton in Parliament, and Granville Sharp, Clarkson, and Zachary Macaulay outside. The last had been manager of a slave plantation in Jamaica, and knew well the evils against which he fought so hard. In 1788 Pitt ved for an inquiry with a view to regulate the trade, and awful disclosures were made of cruelties, scarcely credible in these days. But when next year Wilberforce proposed to put down the slave-trade and make it illegal, the merchants of Liverpool and other ports were too strong for him, and they defeated him for many years. No effort was spared, a Society was formed, the matter was urged in season and out of season. They rescued slaves where they could, and formed a colony for freed slaves at Sierra Leone under a charter, of which Macaulay was governor from 1793-1799. The two great statesmen, Pitt and Fox, opposed on most questions, were united on this, and supported the change on the ground that traffic in human beings was wrong. The length of the battle had its value, for the long discussion showed that more was involved than a mere question of cruelty on board ship, more was needed than the end of the slave trade. When at length success crowned the efforts of the Society, in 1807, and the slave-trade was abolished by the Grenville government, the philanthropists had not finished their work. They began again, and fought for many years, till 1833, a harder and a longer battle, and they won a still more honourable victory in the abolition of slavery in all the dominions and colonies of the British empire.

The abolition of the slave-trade.

## CHAPTER III.

### SUMMARY.

1. LOOKING back over the reign of King George III., we find that it was a time of great events. England lost most of her great colonies in America, and gained a great and growing empire in the East. She fought a long and exhausting war in Europe with great bravery and perseverance, and came out of it with a high reputation.

The seeds of many changes also were sown, to grow vigorously before many years passed; indeed of nearly all the great reforms by which England has become so great, so well governed, so prosperous, and so contented.

2. It is especially to be noted that during this reign, power had been gradually passing into the hands of the middle classes, and, more particularly, the population of the great cities. The power of the great Whig noble families of the Revolution had been broken by the king. Again, the power of the crown had grown less. King George III., who was thoroughly English, and most attentive to business, tried hard to have his own way; he succeeded to a great extent, in some measure because of his industry and his desire to do what he thought was good for his subjects. But his policy was not wise, and the results of his exercise of power were disastrous, and after a time he grew feeble and then for a long time he was mad.

The crown loses power.

3. While the crown thus lost power, the middle classes, to whom it was passing, were becoming more ready to claim it and more competent to use it. The example of the American colonies was before their eyes. The influence of the French Revolution was greatly shown in the new spirit

The middle classes gain power.

of inquiry, which spread widely. A demand for information created a quickly growing supply of books, periodicals, and newspapers, both in England and Scotland, and these in their turn tended to increase the demand for education. The desire for news from the war helped the sale of newspapers to a degree not before known. While the House of Commons grew less and less representative of the people, the newspapers were becoming the best means of appealing to public opinion.

4. The wealth, also, of England had grown greatly by reason of an enlargement of trade. This, though checked by the war, was constantly tending to throw a larger proportion of wealth into the hands of the middle classes, in whose hands manufactures and commerce chiefly lay. Much fell also to the largely growing class of artisans. The influence of scientific invention was the same; it too greatly benefited the trading classes. Engineering made great strides, especially through the adaptation of steam to machinery, to engines of locomotion on land, and to ships, though the great effects of the invention were not seen till later. All these things threw wealth into the hands of the middle classes, and increased wealth meant increased influence and power in the country. In every way the middle classes were becoming the great power in England.

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