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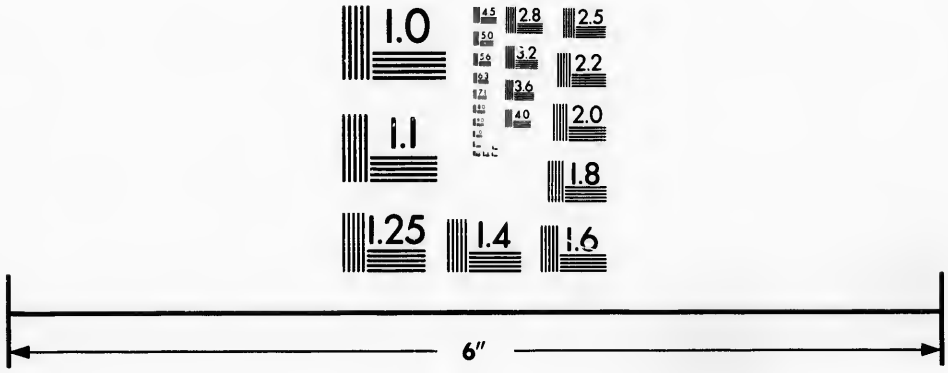

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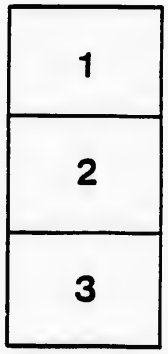

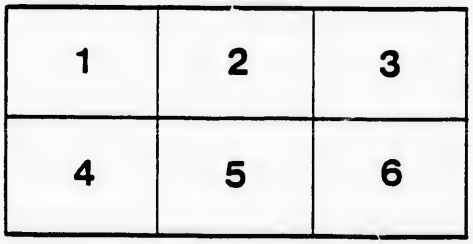

R. Scott Sculp.t Edin.r

PRINCE SCHWARTZENBERG

"*ALL* for Each—and *EACH* for All"

Address to Army before Battles of Leipsic

Pub.d by Rbt.d Khull & Co. Glasgow.

Sou th Ham

THE

CAMPAIGNS

OF

1812, 1813, 1814, AND 1815,

ALSO,

THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

The French Confiscations, Contributions, Requisitions, &c. &c.

FROM 1793, TILL 1814.

BY JAMES M'QUEEN.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

O, these were hours, when thrilling joy repaid
A long, long course of darkness, doubts, and fears!
The heart sick faintness of the hope delay'd,
The waste, the woe, the bloodshed and the tears,
That track'd with terror twenty rolling years,
All was forgot in that blithe Jubilee!
Her downcast eye even pale affliction rears,
To sigh a thankful prayer amid the glee,
That hail'd the DESPOT's fall, and peace and liberty!
SCOTT'S LORD OF THE ISLES, Canto VI

VOL. II.

GLASGOW:
Printed by Edward Khull & Co.
AND SOLD BY
JOHN SMITH AND SON; BRASH AND REID, GLASGOW;
ARCHD. CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH; LONGMAN, HURST,
REES, ORME AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW; AND
WM. LEWIS ST. JOHN'S SQUARE, LONDON.

1816.

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it is impossible to determine; but the numbers must no doubt have been great, perhaps exceeding 6000. In reviewing such tragic scenes as these, the mind sickens at the contemplation of so much misery; and we cannot help wondering, that such should be the work of reasonable creatures, or that there can exist any who could delight to behold it, or to follow war solely from ambition or the love of mischief, as the most noble of all professions. Yet such things are, and by such men has Europe been rendered a slaughter-house. We may complain of what we have suffered, we may dwell upon the evils which assail us. But have our eyes seen, has our country witnessed, a carnage like Borodino—a scene like Moscow—a field like Leipsic! Compared to these, the evils which trouble us are but a grain in the balance, and a drop in the bucket.

Every individual belonging to the allied army, performed his duty on these memorable days. One feeling animated every breast, assisted every effort, and directed every operation. Unanimity and confidence presided in their councils, and the cause which they fought for, equally interested the Commander and the soldier, the Sovereign and the subject. "*All for one! each for all!*"* was the watchword on these terrible days, and nobly was the sentiment maintained. Had it been possible for a spectator to have been carried in safety through both the allied and French armies, and witnessed this dreadful struggle,

> "Might darts he bid to turn their points away,
> And swords around him innocently play,
> The wars whole art with wonder had he seen,
> And *counted* heroes where he counted *men*."†

To the Commander in Chief,‡ Prince Schwartzenberg, for his wise and prudent measures, Europe is deeply indebted. Never before were such means and resources committed to the

* Schwartzenberg's address to his army before the battle, Oct. 15th, 1813.

† Pope's Homer's Iliad, Book IV. verse 634.

‡ This gallant chief, who now held the high and important command of *half* Europe in arms, and in which he acquitted himself with so much honour, is a Nobleman of one of the first families in Austria: he is a direct descendant of the house

hands of one individual, and never were any more closely applied, or more skilfully directed. To the magnanimity and bravery of the Emperor Alexander in a particular manner, to his brave followers, and in short, to every one who was in this battle, is the world indebted for the complete success of these glorious days. "This is the eighth general action," said Lord Cathcart, "seven of them commanded by the ruler of France, in which I have seen the Emperor Alexander in the field, at the head of his army; as usual, unmindful of his personal danger, he approached *every* column, animating the officers and men by his presence and example, and by a few energetic words touching the chords which produce the strongest effects upon the minds of the Russian soldiers, *Confidence in the Supreme Being, resignation to his will*, and attachment to their sovereign."* Those only who are acquainted with the religious temper of the Russian soldiers, and their complete devotion to their sovereign, can duly appreciate the impulse which such conduct on the part of Alexander, would create in them at such a moment. Brave from principle, an army thus composed and commanded, must prove irresistible. There is no part of the conduct of the allied Sovereigns and their Generals, that deserve more our applause and attention, than that uniform spirit of humility and reverence with which they expressed to the Supreme Being their thanks for the success which attended their arms. Such things were ridiculed in the conduct of the Russians, but their effects were soon seen, and put to silence such miserable attempts. It is said, that on the afternoon of the 18th, when the battle was clearly decided in favour of the allies, that Prince Schwartzenberg rode up to communicate this intelligence to the three Sovereigns, who with their attendants

Savoy, his grandfather having married a Princess of Lichtenstein, who was a grand daughter of the king of Sardinia. Prince Schwartzenberg derives his title from a principality of that name in the German Empire, of which he is sovereign Prince; he also possesses very considerable estates in Bohemia. He is now (1813) only in the 47th year of his age, having commenced his military career at a very early period of his life.

* Lord Cathcart's dispatch, October 19th, 1813.

and suites, were standing upon a rising ground near the village of Probestheyda. He addressed himself to his own sovereign, the Emperor of Austria, and communicated the pleasing intelligence. That Monarch immediately alighted from his horse, and with his head uncovered, fell on his knees, and in a solemn manner, returned thanks to the KING of Kings for this glorious victory. His example was instantly followed by the other sovereigns, by the Commander in Chief Prince Schwartzenberg, and by all the officers of their staff, and the whole of their attendants, the whole forming one of the most solemn and impressive scenes ever seen in any age or country.*

That the French army fought bravely, it were folly to doubt. That great skill in directing its operations, during these eventful days, was evinced by its principal officers, is equally certain. But the conduct of their leader, in placing them in such a situation, where even victory could scarcely extricate them, was altogether unaccountable; and shews, in spite of every thing his blind admirers has so long proclaimed in his praise, that he was not the man the world had so long considered him, and that when opposed by real patriotism, and incorrupted integrity, he was even inferior to many. In a strain

* The following account, from an eye witness, will show, that the allied sovereigns continued to acknowledge with grateful hearts, the favour of Heaven, in conferring upon them this signal victory:

Vienna, October 28th.—"By far the most striking and remarkable circumstance I have seen on the Continent, I witnessed on Tuesday the 18th, viz. the commemoration of the battle of Leipsic. In the Prater, (or Hyde Park,) 20,000 chosen troops were drawn up in a square, in the centre of which, on an elevation, was placed an altar, around it stood 12 priests—all the beauty and fashion of Vienna were of course not far off. The Field and General Officers were prancing their horses about—the Ambassadors and Grandees were exhibiting in various parts, when 101 *coups de cannon* announced the approach of the Sovereigns: all eyes were turned in their direction, expecting to behold them advancing in full pomp of military parade; but how deeply were we struck at seeing them coming on the ground on foot, without attendants, and without uttering a word, solemnly walking up to the altar, and there kneel before the KING of Kings and the God of Victory! They were joined by the Empresses, Queen, and Princesses, who were followed by all the Royal Blood in Vienna. At the raising of the host, the whole army fell on one knee!—so thus, at the same instant, did I behold, as it were, all Europe in thanksgiving—a most awfully sublime sight, which, to my latest day I shall remember."

of the severest reproof and bitterest reproach, his old colleague, the Crown Prince, when relating the occurrences of this day, gives the death blow to his military renown. He points out in the clearest manner, the want of judgment, which made Bonaparte place his army "In such an unfavourable position. The Elster and the Pleisse in his rear, a marshy ground to traverse, and only a single bridge for the passage of 100,000 men, and 3,000 baggage waggons. *Every one asks, is this the great Captain who has hitherto made Europe tremble.*"*

The enemy in his account of these battles to the French nation, outdid all his former doings of falsehood and misrepresentation. He boldly claimed the victory in all of them, and stated his loss at only 6,500 men, on the 16th and 18th, and asserted, that his retreat to Erfurt became necessary, to obtain a supply of cannon balls, having nearly expended what he had. To account for the capture of some of his principal Generals, and the loss of his baggage and artillery, he opportunely brought forward the story of the ignorant corporal having blown up the bridge over the Elster, while one part of the army and its equipments remained on the side of Leipsic; and only at the end, did he disclose the truth in some degree, by informing his subjects, that owing to this unfortunate accident, in which he had lost 12,000 men, the French army had "*lost its victorious attitude,*" and was arriving at Erfurt as "*a defeated army should arrive.*"† With these, and such like base evasions, did he endeavour to ward off the evil day of disclosing to the people of France, the immense extent of their losses. But vain and futile were all such attempts. The battles of Leipsic spoke in a voice of thunder which all Europe heard, but at which only the oppressor trembled.

The events of these glorious days diffused general joy throughout Europe. Confidence between nations was restored. Oppression trembled on his throne. Discontent hid her face. Disaffection for a moment disappeared, and for once, party spirit was not to be heard in Britain. All ranks and degrees

* Crown Prince's bulletin, Oct. 21st, 1813.

† Bonaparte's dispatch, Oct. 24th, 1813.

of men seemed animated with the same feelings; and to gild the bitter pill of recantation, by many it was discovered, that the principles of Mr. Pitt and Lord Liverpool were totally different. Even the wildest votaries of democracy began to think Bonaparte was an enemy to their country: Nay even to think, that the British Ministers were wiser than they had imagined, and that they deserved some praise for their firmness and their conduct. Britain, indeed, stood at this moment, in an envious and glorious situation, not only the *deliverer*, but the *acknowledged* deliverer of Europe. There is not an inhabitant of these happy lands, who must not feel his bosom glow with pride and exultation, at the following passages from the dispatches of Lord Aberdeen, speaking upon this subject: "I cannot conclude without congratulating your Lordship upon the brilliant prospect which opens before us. The long sufferings of many nations are drawing to a close. The deliverance of Europe appears to be at hand. The ray of hope for the salvation of the civilized world which has so steadily beamed from our own happy shores is now rapidly diffused over the whole continent. "If any thing can add to our feelings of exultation, as Englishmen, at this prospect, it is the reflection, that the event will be mainly attributable to the unshaken constancy and perseverance of Great Britain. I am truly happy to be able to state to your Lordship, that this feeling is not confined to ourselves, but is admitted and avowed by all who are most entitled to consideration."* Attend to this, all ye who depreciate your country's power, and calumniate her fame, and for once let the blush of shame cover your countenances.

To the numbers engaged "in this battle, probably one of the most extensive and most generally engaged, that ever took place, at least in modern times."† it may be worth while to turn our attention. Including the garrisons of Dresden and Leipsic, and exclusive of any of the others, the effective force which Bonaparte had on the 15th, must have been nearly

* Lord Aberdeen's dispatch, Oct. 22d, 1813.

† Lord Cathcart's dispatch, Oct. 19th, 1813.

280,000 men, as will appear from the following table, taken from the General Returns, viz.

Strength round Dresden at first,	421,000
Add Castiglione's reserves joined,	36,000
	457,000
Losses till battle of the 16th,	171,000
Remaining force,	286,000
Left at Dresden,	35,000
Remain at battles of Leipsic,	251,000
Lost at Leipsic,	144,000
Including sick fled from do.	107,000

The strength of the allied army was considerably greater than that of their antagonists, and was nearly as follows, viz.

	Blucher and Crown Prince united,	130,000
(a)	Prussians and Russians, by Sir C. Stewart's disp.	84,000
(a)	Klenau's corps, do. do	10,000
(a)	Kliest's corps, do. do.	7,000
(a)	All the Austrians, at least	100,000
	Total on the 16th, (b)	331,000
	Lost on the 16th, say,	31,000
		300,000
	Re-enforced by Beningsen on the 17th,	40,000
		340,000

Besides the force at Dresden, 25,000 men, and that under Tauenzien, 40,000 strong, covering Berlin, Sir C. Stewart, in his dispatch of the 15th, states positively, that the allied army *then* hemming in the enemy, was 300,000 strong, round Leipsic; and Lord Cathcart says, that in the battle of the

(a) "I have reason to believe the Russian and Prussian army, exceeds 80,000 men, to these may be added the corps of Klenau of 10,000 men, together with *all* the Austrians. A re-enforcement of 7,000 men, of the Prussian corps, of General Kliest, is upon the road from Prague." Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, Toplitz, Oct. 1st.

(b) "On the other hand must be balanced the advantages derived from the union of 300,000 men, surrounding the enemy at all points," &c. Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, Halle, Oct. 15th.

18th, half a million of *effective* men were engaged, and adding the numbers of the allies and the French force toget. :, as here stated, it is about 550,000, including all on the sick list; and it must be remarked, that in dispatches wrote upon such mighty subjects, and where the thing is only generally alluded to, it is not to be expected, that it can be so accurate as in an account where every particular is watched and particularly noted, as has been the case in the tables above stated.

Such is a general sketch of the memorable battles of Leipsic; where 2000 pieces of artillery, on both sides, continued to pour forth death and destruction amongst half a million of men, and whose consequences will be felt to succeeding generations. According to the account of Bonaparte, the French army expend ' from the 14th to the 20th, 220,000 cannon balls, leaving only 16,000 in reserve. Although his account may be doubted, that it was this want of ammunition alone which made him retreat, there does not seem much reason to doubt the accuracy of his relation, as to the number used; and while it shews his want of judgment in taking it for granted that 236,000 cannon balls were, under the present circumstances, to decide the fate of Europe, it also shews what a destruction these vengeful weapons must have occasioned. As each side had about 1000 pieces of cannon, the allies probably expended as many, while, from nearly 600,000 men, several millions of musquet-balls must have been commissioned for this work of destruction.

It is remarkable, that the 18th and 19th were the anniversary of the beginning of Bonaparte's miseries in Russia, and, on the former of which days Murat was defeated by Beningsen near the river Nara, and, on the latter Bonaparte abandoned Moscow, while it is singular that on the same days of the same month in 1806, Bonaparte's army entered Leipsic in triumph, after the battle of Jena.

The loss of the allies, in all these bloody affairs, amounted to, perhaps, 54,000 men, killed and wounded, as is more particularly stated in the general tables, and which gives about 129,000 men, killed, wounded, and drowned, on both

sides. Thirty thousand wounded, as mentioned by Sir C. Stewart, if taken in the usual proportion, would seem to imply that the loss of the enemy was not so great as is supposed. But we must recollect that the wounded found in Leipsic were not all that were wounded in these dreadful battles, because the ruins of the villages, and all the surrounding country were covered with them, and the enemy carried off a great number with him. Besides, the number wounded at Leipsic was, in reality, less in proportion to the killed, than in any other battle in modern times, because the greater part was decided by cavalry and artillery. In the battle of the 16th, this was particularly the case, and in these cavalry attacks, according to Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, already quoted, the number of killed is almost equal to the wounded. Thirty thousand wounded, therefore, found in Leipsic, considering every circumstance, indicates a greater loss on the part of the enemy, than is generally believed, or than I have stated. At no period, in modern times, except at Borodino, did ever such a small space afford to the eye such a horrible picture.

The enemy fled from these fatal fields in the direction of Wiessenfells and Freyberg, closely pursued by the allied army, and particularly by that part commanded by the gallant Blucher, who, over the same ground where he witnessed the fall of his country seven years before, now, in his turn, drove, in greater dismay and confusion, the remainder of his former haughty conquerors. In this precipitate flight Bonaparte marched over the fields where he fought the battle of Lutzen, and the road by which he advanced after it. But, how changed in his manner! how lowered in his hopes! He had now lost his "*victorious attitude*," and fled as, by the rules of war, a beaten enemy should fly. "*The cloudy train collected by the Cabinet of St. James's during the winter*," had burst in a "*clap of thunder*" on the turrets of Leipsic, "*pulverised his chimerical hopes, and dismembered his Empire.*" On these glorious plains, the *sword of Alexander* had "*cut asunder that Gordian knot*"* of misery and woe, the severest, most intricate, and most galling, that had ever be-

* Bonaparte's dispatch, May 2d, 1813.

fore scourged mankind. At every step the allies advanced they took prisoners, and found the roads covered with the sick, dead, and dying, from hunger and fatigue. Their line of march, says the Austrian bulletin writer, resembled that from Moscow to the Berezina; the most awful scene of human misery ever man occasioned or beheld. "The number of dead bodies on the route increases from day to day. Thousands of soldiers, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, fall behind, and the greatest part die, before they can be carried to an hospital. All the woods for the extent of many miles, on both sides of the route, are filled with fugitives, and sick and abandoned soldiers. Every where the enemy leaves cannon and carriages; he buries his artillery, or throws it into the rivers; his situation gets worse and worse at every step. Our advanced guard encamps among dead bodies; the churches, the houses, are encumbered with dead and dying Frenchmen; and thousands of stragglers, in the agonies of death, are wandering every where in the most miserable condition. According to the unanimous declaration of the brave warriors who made the last campaign in Russia, *the road by which the enemy retired presents the same aspect as that from Moscow to the Berezina.*"* The miseries of the flying enemy were increased in a tenfold degree by the attempt, on his part, to carry off his cannon, and many of his sick and wounded; not, as the gallant Blucher justly observed, from "any principle of humanity, but probably as matter of boast, in the relations that might be given to the world."† This, no doubt, was his real motive, the consequences of which were most disastrous indeed. The roads, in many places, were so completely blocked up with cannon, carriages, dead men, and horses, as to render them, impassable. From Eisenach to Fulda, in particular, a distance of fifty English miles, this was the case, and notwithstanding his distress, his love of mischief never left him, but as in other places, and in the midst of success, the same "pillaging and burning of towns and villages, here marked the

* Austrian official bulletins, Schmalcalden, October 29th, Schluchtere, November 3d, 1813.

† Blucher's report, Fulda, October 31st, 1813.

ferocity with which the enemy had conducted himself."* The number of dead bodies might have been counted by hundreds. The dead and dying were frequently mixed together, lying in groups of six or eight, by half extinguished fires, by the road side. Several of the sick and wounded, it was obvious, had even "*been compelled to move on foot, as their bodies were found on the road, with the sticks with which they endeavoured to support their march, lying by their sides.*"† What agony, distress and horror must have been here! Napoleon could not have compelled all these to *move*, some others must have assisted him in driving them on! Yet France dares to lift up her head, and talk of the humanity of her children. It would be perfectly superfluous to expatiate further on this subject. No language could make it stronger—That "it was like the road from Moscow to the Berezina," says more than any thing which could be wrote upon this subject.

The enemy continued his flight in the direction of Fulda, apparently wishing to gain the Rhine by Ehrenbreitstein, that being the nearest road, and in which direction General Blucher continued his pursuit, by which means the enemy was rescued from total destruction, and their leader again escaped death or captivity. In this retreat, from the 20th to the 28th, he lost at least 25,000 men, principally prisoners. But though escaped the grasp of Blucher, he was not destined to reach the Rhine in safety.

Immediately upon the signature of the treaty with Bavaria at Branau, on the 8th October, General Wrede broke up from that place, with about 60,000 men‡ under his command, and marched for the Mayne. In the course of a fortnight he performed a march of 250 miles, and approached Wurtzburgh, the garrison of which, 6000 strong, abandoned it, and retreated to Frankfort.§ Here General Wrede, perhaps, heard of the disasters that had befallen the French army at Leipsic,

* Blucher's report, Fulda, October 31st. † Do. do.

‡ "On the 24th of this month, General Wrede will be at Wurtzburgh, with about 60,000 men." Lord Aberdeen's dispatch, October 22d; also Bonaparte's account of the battle of Hanau, says, from 60 to 70,000 men.

§ Austrian official bulletin, and Sir C. Stewart's dispatches.

and the line of their flight, for he pushed on with increased speed and reached Hanau on the 28th, where he captured the garrison of 1200 men. Next day the advanced columns of the flying enemy began to make their appearance on the Gelnhausen road, who were immediately attacked and defeated, with the loss of 4000 men. The following day, however, a more obstinate and bloody engagement ensued. General Wrede had only about 30,000 of his army up with him; but with this small force he threw himself in the direct road of the retreating enemy about 80,000 strong.* The engagement lasted most part of the day, and was very severe. The enemy, though he succeeded in forcing his passage to Frankfort, did it at the expence of 15,000 men, killed and wounded, and 15,000 prisoners. That of the allies amounted to 7000, killed and wounded, and General Wrede it was supposed mortally, though fortunately it has not been so. This battle was one of the most murderous in this campaign. Eye-witnesses declare, that at no other place, not even at Leipsic, were so many dead bodies found in an equal space. Nearly at the close of this engagement a considerable body of Cossacks and cavalry, from the main army, came up with the French army, and, attacking it on the north side at the same time, occasioned it considerable loss, which Bonaparte perceiving, fled from the field of battle with 10,000† cavalry, which General Chernicheff continued to follow and harass considerably. With these Bonaparte fled to Frankfort, which he was quickly obliged to abandon, and with the remainder of his once-formidable army, now reduced to about 50,000 men,‡ to take refuge in Mentz, where he arrived on the 2d, thus placing the *iron barrier* of the Rhine between him and his pursuers.

* "And, in his battles with General Wrede, he seems to have brought forward 70 or 80,000 men, a force much beyond what we estimated him to possess, after his various losses." Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, Hanover, Nov. 11th. Lord Aberdeen said, in his dispatch of October 22d, that the force then with Bonaparte was supposed to be about 80,000 men. In his flight Bonaparte must have been joined by a considerable number of troops, from the country and towns in his route; but the number of these it is impossible to determine.

† Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, Hanover, Nov 11th, 1813.

‡ Lord Cathcart's dispatch, Nov. 8th, 1813.

In his accounts of these battles, the enemy, with his usual audacity and disregard for truth, claimed a great victory; rating the loss of the allies, in both affairs, at 7,150 killed, wounded, and drowned, with 9000 prisoners. At Mentz, the tyrant again left his miserable army, under the command of General Bertrand, the whole amount of whose force was only estimated at 40,000 strong. From thence he proceeded on the 8th, and arrived at Paris on the evening of the 9th, to receive the congratulations of his servile Senate, for his victories in this second glorious, or rather most inglorious and fatal campaign.* Four hundred thousand men, he told us in the Spring, were on the Elbe, and 200,000 more on the Rhine and in Italy; but only 40,000, and part of his guards, were all that could now be found of them.

St. Cyr, who was left with a large force in Dresden, learning the disastrous issue of the battles of Leipsic, endeavoured to force his way through the blockading force, and to reach Torgau. There he calculated, that he would be able to extricate the garrison in that place, and afterwards, with their united forces, to march upon Wittemberg, and relieve it. Carrying the force collected from these three places to Magdeburgh, he intended to relieve it also, and subsequently, with the strength assembled from all these places, he meant to form a junction with Davoust, and afterwards try to cut their way to France. Had he escaped from Dresden, his force was such, as would easily have overpowered the besieging armies before any of the other fortresses, and these garrisons, joined with Davoust, would have mustered a force of 100,000 men, certainly a formidable army, and which might have occasioned the allies much trouble. St. Cyr, however, was not able to accomplish his object. He was driven back to Dresden, with considerable loss, where, after suffering the greatest distress, he was obliged to surrender, with all his forces, amounting to 35,000 men, as prisoners of war, as no other conditions would be granted to them. The most dreadful distress was suffered

* Official dispatches from Bonaparte, October 31st, Nov. 3d and 7th, from Frankfort and Mentz; and Paris papers.

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in this and other towns, both by the French troops and the inhabitants, from famine and disease. Hundreds of the former died weekly, and their putrid remains met the eye in every direction, thrown out on dunghills and other places. The hospitals were crowded with dying and dead, and waggon loads of putrid bodies were found in sequestered spots in Torgau and other places. So dreadful was the sickness at this latter place, that after it surrendered, the allies, for some time, durst not introduce any troops into the town. The whole of Saxony was, indeed, rendered a desart, and her cities were become graves for the perishing thousands. Dearly did she pay for the adherence of her Sovereign to the fortunes of Napoleon, when she could have acted otherwise.

In the meantime the main body of the allied army continued to advance upon Frankfort, and afterwards towards Mentz; opposite which on the right bank of the Rhine, the French, under Bertrand, were forming entrenched lines. These the allied armies attacked and carried on the 9th November, after a considerable loss on the side of the enemy. Victory had now placed the allied armies on the banks of the Rhine. From the heights of Hocheim, they beheld this noble river winding along in majesty before them. At the sight of this animating prospect, so dear to the feelings of every German, the whole army, upon the appearance of the Commander in Chief, saluted him with one general shout of joy and admiration. The prospect brought to the recollection of many of them, the days of their former glory and independence, and recalled

"the tales of other times."

On the 5th and 6th, the Emperors of Russia, Germany, &c. &c. and their numerous suites, arrived at Frankfort, where they were welcomed with unbounded joy by all classes.* Blucher, with "the glorious army of Silesia," advanced towards Cologne, and, on the 13th, arrived in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorff, which had previously been taken possession of. General Klenau was detached to assist

* Lord Cathcart's dispatches, Frankfort, Nov. 8th, and 10th.

in reducing Dresden; Kliest besieged Erfurt; and Beningsen, with Tauenzien, the latter of whom had a large force with him, were detached down the Elbe against Magdeburgh, and to join Walmoden before Hamburgh. The Crown Prince, with a formidable army, took the road to Hanover, whose inhabitants received him with open arms, and willingly returned to the allegiance of their former Sovereign. The kingdom of Westphalia fell to pieces. Jerome fled in dismay beyond the Rhine "*in a horrible state.*"* Bremen was quickly freed from its oppressors. The navigation of the Weser and the Ems was completely restored, while strong divisions of the Crown Prince's army marched towards Holland, preceded by those "eyes of the army,"† the indefatigable Cossacks. Their approach was the harbinger of liberty wherever they came—joy and gladness awakened in every town and hamlet at the sight of the hardy warrior of the Don.

Every where the people received the allied armies with unfeigned joy and gladness; while the host of French spies, douaniers, and other reptiles of the same species, fled in consternation to that infatuated country which had sent them forth. The Rhenish Confederation, that dreadful tool of ambition, and that infamous bond of German slavery, was dissolved in a moment; and every one of its members hastened to renounce their connexion with their former imperious master, and return to the former order of things, to the great joy of their subjects.

In Italy, although no great battle had taken place, the Austrians continued to be successful, General Nugent continued to press after the Viceroy, who fell back first from the Tagliamento—then from the Piave—next from the Brenta—and lastly from the Adige. General Hillier having assembled an army of 60,000 men‡ at Trent, commenced operations on

* Intercepted letter to Murat, "I am in a horrible state, and have only 5000 miserable conscripts with me."

† Crown Prince's bulletins.

‡ "People of Italy,—I have passed the Alps with an army of 60,000 men, and I enter the plains of Italy." Hillier's address, Trent, October 26th.

the Upper Adige, and, while he threatened Verona, marched towards Milan. Istria, Croatia, Illyria, and the whole of the Venetian territories, except Venice itself, was cleared early in November; the enemy having lost, to that period, about 20,000 men in prisoners and deserters, besides killed and wounded.

The army under the Marquis of Wellington, having recovered from the fatigues it had undergone before St. Sebastians, prepared again to advance to farther successes. A strong force under the Spanish General Espana, was left to blockade the strong fortress of Pampluna, where it was known great scarcity prevailed, and which was soon expected to occasion the surrender of that place. On the morning of the 7th October, the left wing crossed the lower Bidassoa, and attacked the French positions on the right bank of that river, which they carried in the most gallant manner. In this action the Spanish troops again particularly distinguished themselves, and turned and carried the enemy's strong position on the height of Mandale. The 9th British regiment met with a serious opposition, and charged with the bayonet oftener than once; they suffered considerably. Foremost in this noble service was the hero of Barossa; he commanded that part of the army which had now established itself within the French territory, and was the first which planted the victorious standards of Britain on the fields of France. Having done so, he resigned his command to Sir John Hope, who had arrived the preceding day, and on account of ill health returned to England. The whole army regretted his departure; by whom he was universally beloved and esteemed. In this engagement the enemy was supposed to have lost more than 2000 men; the allies 1562, of which number 577 were British.* Of these important events no notice whatever was taken by the French government, who beheld the *sacred* territory violated and invaded by those nations whom they treated with such contempt, and who, it was haughtily predicted, were to be driven into the sea at Lisbon. But the tables were

* Wellington's dispatch, Lezaco, October 9th, 1813.

turned upon France, and she, in her turn, was doomed to bow her haughty head beneath the arm of the conqueror, and to feel some of those miseries which she had so long been heaping upon defenceless nations.

Pampluna, closely blockaded, and without any prospect of being relieved, and their provisions being completely exhausted, the garrison was compelled, on the 31st October, to surrender prisoners of war to the Spanish force under Don Carlos de Espana. The number of prisoners amounted to 4200 men; the garrison at first was about 5000 strong. Thus, with scarcely any loss on the side of the allies, the conquest of this most important place was achieved, and which Bonaparte had obtained possession of by the basest conduct at the commencement of his unprincipled designs on Spain. The Spanish General, already mentioned, obtained the greatest praise from the Marquis of Wellington, for his conduct during the blockade. This General adopted a plan worthy of imitation on all similar occasions, by declaring that he would make the garrison answer with their lives, man for man for every one of the inhabitants who should perish for want; which declaration occasioned the speedier surrender of the place.

Pampluna reduced, there remained no other fortification on the west of the Pyrenees to divide Lord Wellington's attention, but Santona, and which was too much isolated and too far removed from the scene of operations, to occasion him any uneasiness. Notwithstanding the approach of winter, and the severity of the weather amongst the high ridges of the Pyrenees which the army occupied, it was determined to advance. Indeed, this measure became, in some degree, indispensible, in order to procure for the troops more comfortable quarters, independent of the vast importance of distracting the enemy's attention after his first serious reverses in Germany. Soult occupied a strong fortified position in front of the British army, and had received considerable re-enforcements of the conscription of 30,000 men, ordered out in the southern provinces of France. Bayonne was prepared for a siege, and an entrenched camp formed under its walls, as well as fortifications erected upon the banks of both the Nive and the Adoura.

At break of day, on the morning of the 10th Nov. the British army moved forward to attack the enemy's lines, which, for three months preceding, he had been fortifying with the greatest labour and care; and, after a hard contest, succeeded in compelling the enemy to abandon whatever was not taken from them by force. As the enemy's position, on his right, was extremely strong, the object of the attack was to force the enemy's centre, and establish the allied forces in the rear of it. Sir Lowry Cole obliged the enemy to evacuate the redoubt on their right, in front of the Sarre; and, that in front of the left of the village was also evacuated, upon the approach of the corps of General le Cor to attack it. General Sir Lowry Cole then attacked and possessed himself of the village, which had been turned on the left, by the 3d division under Major General Colville; and on its right by the reserve of Andalusia, under General Giron. General Charles Baron Alten carried the positions of La Petitte La Rhune. The whole then co-operated in the attack upon the enemy's main position behind the village. The 3d and 7th divisions immediately carried the redoubts on the left of the enemy's centre, and the light division those on the left; while the 4th division, with the reserve of Andalusia on the left, attacked their positions in their centre. These attacks completely succeeded, and the enemy were obliged to abandon their strong positions, after having sustained considerable loss.

The enemy's position behind Anhoe, their redoubts on that flank, and all the entrenchments on the banks of the Nivelle, were carried in the most handsome manner, by General Sir Henry Clinton, and the Portuguese division under Lieutenant-General Sir John Hamilton. The enemy's picquets on the Nivelle, and in front of Anhoe, were driven in by General Pringle's brigade, under the command of the Hon. Sir William Stewart, and then Major-General Byng's brigade of the 2d division carried the entrenchments, and a redoubt further on the enemy's left. General Morillo covered the advance of the whole to the heights behind Anhoe, by attacking the enemy at Mandarin, and following them to Itzatee. By these operations of the troops under General Hill, the enemy

were compelled to retire towards the bridge of Cambo on the Nive, with the exception of those at Mandarin, which were pushed into the mountains towards Baggory, by part of the 2d division, under General Stewart. Part of the enemy's troops had retired from their centre, and had crossed the Nivelle at St. Pe, and as soon as the 6th division approached, the 3d division, under Major General Colville, and the 7th, under General le Cor, crossed that river, attacked, and immediately gained possession of the heights beyond it. The day was, however, by this time, too far spent to make any further movement; and the enemy, after having evacuated Arcain, on the afternoon, abandoned all their positions and works in front of St. Jean de Luz, during the night, and retired upon Bidart, destroying all the bridges on the lower Nivelle. The army continued to follow them as fast as the situation of the roads would allow; and the enemy finally retired into their entrenched camp, under the walls of Bayonne. The loss of the French army, in this brilliant affair, was 51 pieces of cannon, 1500 prisoners, and at least double the number killed and wounded; 400 of the latter of which fell into the hands of the conquerors. The loss of the allies was also considerable, and amounted to 2626 killed and wounded, and 73 missing, of which 2112 were British.*

These continued and brilliant successes of the British General, threw the nation into an ecstasy of joy. Wellington and victory were synonimous terms; and, whenever or wherever he moved, fresh glory to the British name, and safety to the Peninsula, was certainly anticipated. By these successful operations the army was removed, at that inclement season of the year, into more comfortable quarters; and, as the autumnal rains were then commenced, it was expected that some time would elapse before any further operations could take place. The enemy, to his dreadful disasters and unparalleled misfortunes in Germany, had now the inexpressible mortification to see a victorious army not only wintering in France, threatening his finest and most vulnerable provinces, but also, that army com-

† Wellington's dispatch, St. Pe, Nov. 13th, 1813.

posed of men he had again and again held up to the derision of all Europe, as novices in the art of war, and commanded by a leader, to whose talents, every one of his boasted Captains had been compelled to yield the palm of victory.

Driven from the Nivelle, and all his posts along that river, the enemy, as we have already seen, was compelled to take refuge within his entrenched camp, under the walls of Bayonne. This had been rendered exceedingly strong by the enemy, who had been busily employed in fortifying it, ever since the battle of Vittoria. It was constructed under the fire of the guns of the place. The right rested upon the Adour, the front of the centre was covered with a morass, occasioned by a rivulet which falls into the Adour. The left was between the Nive and the Adour, on which latter river the left rested. Bayonne, itself, was besides a very strong and a regularly fortified place, the work of the celebrated Vauban. On this formidable position, Soult, one of the most skilful of all the French Generals, with perhaps 60,000 men, now held his quarters, and opposed the advance of the British General. Besides the troops in this formidable position, the enemy had a considerable force at Ville Franche and Monguerre, and also a strong division of the army of Catalonia, under General Paris, at St. Jean Pied du Port. Confident and secure in his truly formidable position, the enemy derided the efforts of his adversary; but to whose superior talents and abilities he was again destined to yield.

Since the passage of the Nivelle, the weather had continued so unfavourable, from the incessant rains, that it was impossible to undertake any military operations of consequence. The westerly winds, which, at that season of the year, blow from the vast Atlantic, bear along in their course, volumes of clouds, which are arrested in their progress to the eastward, by the towering summits of the Pyrenees; and which clouds and accumulated vapours, fall out in dreadful deluges of rain, around their western borders, swelling the numerous rapid rivers which take their rise in them, and inundating the low country. These, however, having in a great measure passed over, by the beginning of De-

cember, the Marquis of Wellington ordered bridges to be constructed over the Nive, and on the 8th commenced his operations for the passage of that river, in order by future manœuvres, to compel the enemy to abandon his formidable position in front of Bayonne. This movement brought on a series of desperate and sanguinary contests, scarcely equalled by any which had taken place in the Peninsula, and which, ended in the complete success of the views of the General of the allied forces. On the 9th, the right wing of the allied army, under the command of General Sir Rowland Hill, and Marshal Sir William Beresford, was directed to pass the Adour, or the Adourn, the former in the neighbourhood of Campo, and the latter, with the sixth division, under Lieutenant Gen. Henry Clinton, in order to distract the enemy's attention at Ustaritz. Both succeeded completely. The enemy's force was immediately driven from the right bank of the river, and retired towards Bayonne, along the road from St. Jean Pied du Port. Those posted near Cambo, had very nearly been intercepted by the sixth division. Beyond Ville Franche, and on some heights parallel with the Adour, the enemy assembled a considerable force. The 8th Portuguese regiment, under Colonel Douglas, and the 9th Caçadores, under Colonel Brown, and the British light infantry battalions of the 6th division, attacked and carried both the heights and the village; but the roads were still so very deep, that the day was too far spent at the close of these operations, to think of advancing any further on that side. While these operations were going on with the right wing, the left of the army, under the command of Lieutenant General Sir John Hope, advanced forward, by the great road from St. Jean de Luz to Bayonne; and reconnoitered the entrenched camp, below the city, and drove the enemy from their posts at Beavitz and Anglet. The light division also, under Major General Alten, advanced from Bassussary, and reconnoitered that part of the enemy's entrenchments, after which, both he and Sir John Hope retired to the ground which they had previously occupied. The enemy's force, stationed at St. Jean Pied du Port, being in danger of being cut off from the rest of the army, if they remained in that place, fell back upon St.

Palais, in consequence of which, General Morillo's division of Spanish infantry, and Col. Vivian's brigade of light dragoons, were stationed at Urcuray and Hasparren, to observe them.

Soult, who was well aware of the designs of his adversary, and also of the danger of his situation, if these were successful, resolved to make a desperate effort to prevent it. During the night of the 9th, with this object in view, he withdrew all his forces from his left, where the Adour still formed a barrier against his foes, with the exception of as many as were sufficient to man the works in front of Sir Rowland Hill. In consequence of which, General Hill advanced and occupied the position, "*intended for him*," with his right to the Adour, and his left bearing upon Villa Franche, communicating with the centre of the army under the command of Marshal Beresford, by means of a bridge over the Nive.

On the morning of the 10th, Soult marched out of his entrenched camp with the whole of his army, except those left in the works before General Hill, and drove in the posts of the light division of Sir John Hope's corps, and made a most desperate attack upon the posts of the former, at the Chateau and church of Arcangues, and on the advanced posts of the latter, upon the high road to St. Jean de Luz, close to the Mayor's house of Beavitz. The British troops most gallantly withstood the enemy's efforts, repulsed him at all points, while the corps of Sir John Hope took 500 prisoners. The brunt of this affair fell upon the 1st Portuguese brigade, and Major General Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, who advanced to their support. These divisions signalized themselves greatly. Sir John Hope received a severe contusion, but, notwithstanding, he remained at his post. After the engagement, the two German regiments of Nassau and Frankfort, under the command of Colonel Kruse, amounting to about 2000 men, abandoned the standards of the enemy, and came over to the allied army, where they were gladly received, and from whence they were transported to Germany, in order to join the ranks of their comrades, and march to combat their oppressors. About 8 o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy again

renewed his attack upon Sir John Hope's corps, and was again repulsed with considerable loss.

The 11th was passed without any operations on either side, but on the morning of the 12th, the enemy again renewed his attempts against the left wing of the allied army, but with no better success than before. The first division, under General Howard, having relieved the 5th division, the enemy was compelled to abandon his object, and to retire within his entrenched camp; and from that time he abandoned all idea of gaining his object on that point. The enemy had two objects in view by these desperate attempts upon the left of the allied army; the first of which was, to compel it to withdraw the right from the advanced position which it held upon his left; and the second, which was of still greater importance, namely, to turn the allied army, by penetrating along the sea coast, and intercepting the communications between them and St. Jean de Luz, and all their supplies and re-enforcements advancing from the rear. The object was of the first magnitude, and called forth all the energies and talents of Soult—but in vain.

Foiled in this point, the enemy turned his attention to a quarter, where he imagined his adversary would be less prepared. During the night of the 12th, he drew his whole army through Bayonne, and with six divisions, above 30,000 men, and according to the only accounts published by the enemy himself, 50,000 men,* attacked the right wing of the allied army, under General Hill, with the greatest fury. But the Marquis of Wellington being aware, that Soult would probably make the attempt, had directed Marshal Beresford to cross the Nive, and with the 6th division, advance to the assistance of General Hill; and the Marquis further re-enforced him with the 4th division, and two brigades of the 3d division; but before these troops could arrive at the scene of action, the enemy had been most completely beaten. The attack was made along the high road from Bayonne to St. Jean Pied du Port, and was of the most desperate description. Twice he repeated it, but in vain. The British troops remained firm,

* Bourdeaux, Dec. 14th.—Moniteur.

and made a dreadful slaughter amongst their enemies, who could not be brought to stand the repeated charges made upon them by the allied troops. They fled in consternation, and got entangled in a narrow defile, in which place the British troops made a terrible carnage among them. The number of dead upon this point was very great. At no place, said an eye witness to the engagement, were there so many dead bodies in one place, except at Albuera. The enemy was completely foiled in this last desperate attempt, and speedily retreated within his entrenched camp, with the loss of two guns and some prisoners. His loss in all these affairs was very great, and certainly exceeded 10,000 men. That of the allies was 4,567 killed and wounded, and 500 missing.* The Marquis of Wellington bestowed the highest praise upon every individual of the allied army for their conduct during these days, and they unquestionably merited it all. It was curious to observe the accounts published by the enemy, of these important operations. In demi-official paragraphs in the French Journals, for no dispatch from Soult ever appeared, they boasted of victories, and always related the operations as far as their troops continued to advance, but no further.

The Marquis of Wellington having now firmly established himself in front of Bayonne, and between the Nive and the Adour, began to make preparations to cross the latter river above Bayonne. In a short time, he succeeded in gaining the command of both these rivers, down which, the enemy received all the supplies for his army and the garrison, from the interior; and as he could obtain none by sea, Soult was obliged to withdraw his army from the formidable camp in front of Bayonne, and after leaving a strong force in that place, marched with the main body towards Dax, in order to secure supplies to his army. Here, he remained for some time, "*manœuvring*," (as the French papers called this retreat and discomfiture,) upon the Adour, till the British General sent him, soon afterwards, to manœuvre in a similar manner, and with similar success upon the banks of the Garonne.

Bonaparte having escaped across the Rhine, with the wreck

* Wellington's dispatch, Dec. 14th, 1813.

of his army, composed of a few miserable fugitives, as has been elsewhere alluded to, again left them to the care of others, and proceeded to Paris. Arrived there, he was not idle. Scarcely had he returned to that capital, when the Senate was assembled, and while arbitrary measures were taken to raise money, a fresh conscription of 300,000 men, was directed to be immediately called out and embodied. If any thing could put the patience and servility of the French nation to the test, it was to be supposed this measure would. This made the fourth tribute of blood demanded of them within the year, together amounting to 960,000 men. Such a profuse waste of human life, for no rational object, was never before witnessed, nor submitted to by any people. In vain the enemy endeavoured, by pompous declamation, to disguise his fears at the real situation of his affairs; and to impute the necessity of these extraordinary measures to the defection of Bavaria; the desertion of the Saxons; or to the conduct of the ignorant corporal at the bridge near Leipsic.* These subterfuges and excuses were alike unbecoming and miserable. The following, however, also given by himself, is a more rational reason. "*All* Europe was with us a year ago—*all Europe is now against us;* it is because the opinion of the world is *regulated* by France or by England."† At this he trembled. He was conscious, that by his odious and oppressive conduct, he had aroused the fury of all Europe against him; and that both France and him merited the utmost effects of the vengeance of her exasperated population. France, at this moment, began to awake from her dream of ambition, and from that state of delirium, into which her intoxicated senses had thrown her: and, with the sword of Justice unsheathed over her head, she began to reflect what her conduct had been to the unhappy

* Yet such were his reasons; for when the conscription of 280,000 were called out on the 7th October, said Count Regnaud, "the defection of Bavaria was not consummated. France was then still ignorant how the Saxons, in the midst of battle, deserted their ranks in our armies,"—nor had—"the *unforeseen* and deplorable event of the bridge at Leipsic added to the advantage of the enemy."—Count Regnaud's address to the Senate, November 12th, 1813.

† Bonaparte's answer to Senate, Nov. 15th, 1813.

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nations of Europe. Reflection opened to her view a scene so distressing and awful, that even the firm nerves of Bonaparte and his servile senators, who were *steeled* against the miseries of the Berezina, and who remained *unmoved* at the bloody plains of Leipsic, could not contemplate that stormy prospect which now came full in their view, without alarm and terror. "What, in short, gentlemen," said Count Regnaud, "would our situation be, if the enemies, who are already on some points of our frontiers, and who menace them on another side, should penetrate into our territory? *What peace could there remain for us to expect, but the peace of slavery, or the peace of the tomb?* What would they do had they crossed the Rhine or the Scheldt, the Alps or the Pyrenees? I do not ask what Justice, I ask, what *treatment France could* expect from them. *The answer, Gentlemen, is in the annals of history.*"* Yes, certainly; in the annals of history was to be found, what treatment all nations had received, who had acted to their neighbours as France had done to hers—in the annals too of a history, which I am afraid, has been, for the last 24 years, but little studied in France, and but too little in other places. In the annals of a history, which statesmen are but too apt to overlook, or to disregard; but which is, notwithstanding, the most certain rule of conduct, as it is dictated by a wisdom that cannot err, and confirmed by a power that cannot be turned aside; and which, whatever man may think to the contrary, does, and must apply to his concerns in all ages, and in every country. The comparison cannot be mistaken. It is recorded in inimitable language, the sublimity of which, no human powers can equal, no time can impair. It was the fate of that nation, who with her ruler "made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms; that made the world a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof, *that opened not the house of his prisoners.*"† The picture here is too correct in all its parts, for France to have mistaken it, and, at the same time, not to have been moved with terror, at the terrible denunciations of Omnipotence at such conduct.

* Count Regnaud's address to Senate, Nov. 12th, 1813.

† Isaiah xiv. 16, 17.

"Call together the archers against Babylon; all ye that bend the bow, camp against it round about; let none thereof escape; *recompense her according to her works;* according to all she hath done, do unto her, for she hath been proud against the Lord, against the Holy One of Israel."* "Behold, a people shall come from the north, and a great nation, and *many* kings shall be raised up from the coasts of the earth. They shall hold the bow and the *lance;* they are cruel; and will not shew mercy: their voice shall *roar like the sea*, and they shall ride upon horses, every one put in array, like a man to the battle, against thee, O daughter of Babylon.† Every one that is found shall be thrust through: and every one that is *joined* unto them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon, the name, and remnant, and son, and nephew, saith the Lord. I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will *sweep it with the besom of destruction,* saith the Lord of hosts. For the Lord hath purposed; and who shall disannul it? and his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?"‡ There was but one way left by which France could escape a similar fate, and that was by abandoning the paths which had led her to become an object of hatred to mankind, and obnoxious to her Maker.

Scarcely had the Ruler of France issued his decree for the fresh tribute of blood already mentioned, and for the establishment of a depot for 100,000 men at Utrecht, when its operation was doomed to be limited, and the position for this intended army wrested from his grasp. Holland revolted from his sceptre. Her people said "we are free" and their oppressors fled in dismay and consternation. It was on the 16th November that this auspicious event took place; to the indescribable joy of the inhabitants, and satisfaction of the world. A few of the Jacobinical school murmured, but their murmurings were quickly drowned by the general joy and appro-

* Jeremiah l. 29. † Jeremiah l. 41, 42.
‡ Isaiah xiii. 15, 16. xiv. 22, 23, 27.

bation. The day was past for them to revisit or scourge mankind any more. A Provisional Government was immediately established, composed of the most respectable inhabitants; and Brune the French Governor was requested to decamp as quickly as possible. A deputation was immediately sent to England to recal the Prince of Orange, and also to request supplies and succours from the British Government. These were promptly and readily granted, and the Prince obeyed the call of his country with alacrity. On the 1st November he landed at Scheveling, from the Warrior of 74 guns, and proceeded to the Hague, where he was welcomed with unfeigned joy, and immediately proclaimed "Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands, by the title of William the I." What his feelings were, at being recalled to his former station, after nineteen years absence from his country, which had suffered so much in the convulsions which had shaken Europe to pieces, may be more easily imagined than described. In the meantime the people were not without fears, lest their former cruel masters should return upon them, as they were almost without arms, and their enemies still held all the strong places in the kingdom. These fears, however, soon subsided, on the arrival of supplies of all kinds from Britain, while the enemy continued too weak to attempt any serious resistance. Detachments, too, from the Crown Prince's army began to arrive, and, by the 24th November, those harbingers of joy and liberty to suffering nations, the hardy warriors of the Don, were seen spreading their simple couches for their night's repose upon the streets of Amsterdam. The enemy continued to evacuate one place after another on the appearance of these indefatigable soldiers, who always preceded the regular troops, which by the beginning of December had arrived in sufficient force to banish all uneasiness, with regard to any serious attempt from the force which the enemy had stationed in that quarter. No fighting of any consequence took place, except at Arnheim and Woerden, to which latter place, the French returned, and surprising the patriots, exercised the greatest cruelties upon them. Arnheim was taken by assault by the Prussians on the 31st, and the whole garrison put to the sword.

The Revolution in Holland was one of the most extraordinary events, in the extraordinary times in which we live. It seems to have been wholly unlooked for by the enemy, and was a dreadful blow against his power, not only on account of its laying open the whole of Belgium to the allies, whose approach would give scope to the same spirit in that country which had been manifested throughout Holland—not only on account of the probable capture or destruction of all the enemy's navy and naval depots in the Scheldt, but more particularly so, from the recall of their legitimate Sovereign, by the people of Holland, as affording a serious example to the French nation, and a fact which he could not possibly conceal from them for any length of time.

Before proceeding farther, I shall, agreeable to my plan, collect into a connected form and short Table, the losses of the French army, during the campaign of 1813, and then subjoin, in notes, the returns from which the Table is formed:—

ARMIES IN SAXONY,

INCLUDING DRESDEN AND LEIPSIC.

Total, at rupture of the armistice, ...	421,700
LOST.	
Battles with Crown Prince, to date of his 6th bulletin, ...	13,000
Gerard's defeat, August 27th, ...	3,500
Battles with Blucher, previous to 26th August, ...	15,800*
Do. do. from 26th Aug. to 2d Sept.	30,000
Advance to and attack on Dresden, ...	13,900
Battles with Vandamme,.....	29,400
Battle of Dennevitz, ...	21,900
Battle of Nollendorff, ...	6,000
Blucher's 6th report, ...	2,000
Carry forward	135,500

* The numbers lost in these engagements cannot be exactly ascertained. The amount was generally stated to exceed 15,000.

Brought forward,	135,500	421,700
Platoff's affair with cavalry, ...	2,500	
Blucher, at crossing the Elbe, ...	2,000	
Sundry other affairs to 14th Oct.	31,500	
		171,500
		250,200
Re-enforced by army of reserve at Wurtzburgh,		*36,000
		286,200
Left at Dresden, and taken there, ...		35,000
Force at Leipsic, including garrison, ...		†251,200
Lost in battles at Leipsic, *(see tables)*		144,000
		107,200
Allow of wounded early in campaign to have rejoined,		‡15,000
		122,000
Lost by sickness, want, and fatigue, ...		‖20,000
Effectives fled from Leipsic, ...		¶102,000
Lost from Leipsic to Gelnhausen, ...		25,300
Carry over,		76,900

* The Moniteur stated this army at 46,000 strong; but 6000 were in Wurtzburgh, and 4000 in Frankfort. Sir C. Stewart, August 26th, says, St. Cyr had newly joined with 15,000 men of this army, and Augereau joined before the battles of Leipsic, with upwards of 15,000 more.

† Sir C. Stewart, in his dispatch, Oct. 16th, says, that Bonaparte's force, between Leipsic and Dresden, was then supposed to be about 180,000 effective men, *exclusive* of garrisons, and at that time he did not know of, nor include Augereau's reserve; —also, in the number here stated, all the sick in Saxony, at the time, are included.

‡ Few wounded, from the rupture of the armistice to this date, could rejoin, as the time was short.

‖ This is certainly not too many to allow, when we reflect on the dreadful harassing warfare, want, and distress, to which the French army was exposed. Above 12,000 were in Dresden and Leipsic alone, besides what were in other places, and those sent off to France, before the battles of Leipsic.

¶ "A single bridge for the passage of 100,000 men, &c." Crown Prince's bulletin, (October 23d, at Leipsic.)

Brought forward,	76,900
Re-enforced by troops fled from Wurtzburg,	*6,000
Remain at battles Hanau, ...	†82,900
Lost in battles with Wrede, ...	35,200
	47,700
Re-enforced by garrison of Frankfort, ...	‡4,000
	51,700
Lost at lines of Hocheim, ...	700
Remains fled across the Rhine, ...	§51,000

DETACHED ARMIES.

Beauharnois in Italy, ...		90,000
LOST.		
Defeats, Viceroy's, till C. Prince's bulletin,	9,000	
With General Nugent, till 2d Nov.	16,800	
Do. do. Hillier, till 8th do.	15,800	
Do. do. do. 11th till 19th do. ...	5,000	
		46,600
Remains at that date, ...		43,400

* "Six thousand fled from Wurtzburgh."—See Austrian bulletin of battles of Hanau.

† "And in his battles with General Wrede he seems to have brought forward 70 or 80,000 men."—Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, November 11th. In this number the garrison of Frankfort could not be included.

‡ "Our garrison at this moment amounts to 4,000 men, *besides the troops of the Grand Duchy.*"—Frankfort, October 18th, 1813.

§ "It seems impossible that he can have carried 50,000 men with him, though there are persons who estimate the force still higher." Cathcart's dispatch, Frankfort, November 8th. The Crown Prince estimates the force at about 60,000 men. Bonaparte said, that Bertrand remained at Mentz, with 40,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, which is 50,000. Sir C. Stewart says that Bonaparte fled, with 10,000 cavalry, from Hanau. Upon the whole, about 50,000 was all the force which appears to have escaped.

Davoust at Hamburgh and Bremen, ...	47,000
Lost at Pecheux's defeat and in other affairs,.....	8,800
	38,200

GARRISONS.

Besides Dresden and Leipsic, ...	116,400
Lost in skirmishes, noticed in dispatches, ...	3,000
Remain, ...	113,400

ARMY ON THE INN.

Under Wrede, ...	35,000
The whole joined the allies, ...	35,000

GENERAL ABSTRACT, GERMANY AND ITALY.

Total force at rupture of armistice, ...		756,100
Wounded rejoined, ...		15,000
		771,100
Killed and wounded, ...	199,486	
Prisoners, ...	232,614	
Defections and desertions, ...	73,000	
Cooped up in garrisons, ...	113,400	
Remains of the main army, ...	51,000	
Remains with Beauharnois, ...	43,400	
Remains of Davoust's army, ...	38,200	
By sickness and fatigue, ...	20,000	
		771,100

TOTAL ABSTRACT FOR GERMANY AND ITALY.
1813.

Killed and wounded, ...	261,986
Prisoners, less by 7,500, ...	248,114
Carry over,	510,100

Brought forward,		510,100
Desertions and defections,		73,000
Cooped up in garrisons,		113,400
Remains of grand army,		51,000
Remains of Beauharnois' army,		43,400
Remains of Davoust's do.		38,200
Lost, by sickness and fatigue,		20,000
		849,100
Total army and re-enforcements,	834,100	
Wounded early in campaign, rejoined,	15,000	
		849,100

ABSTRACT OF FRENCH LOSS IN SPAIN, 1813.

Total strength at the beginning of campaign,*		173,000
LOST.		
Suchet's defeat by Murray,	5,000	
Battle of Vittoria,	15,000	
Battles of the Pyrenees,	20,000	
Battle of Bidassoa,	5,000	
Garrison of St. Sebastians,	6,000	
Do. do. Pampluna,	5,000	
At entering France, October 9th,	2,400	
Forcing French lines, November 10th,	5,000	
Various actions and garrisons, till date,	14,600	
		78,000
		95,000
HOW DISPOSED OF.		
Army under Suchet and others on The east coast,	30,000	
Garrisons still in Spain,	22,000	
		52,000
Remain carried forward,		43,000

* I have continued the former account of the French strength, all other accounts from Spain stated it as much greater. The Moniteur for this year, said it was 200,000. Indeed, the French force in Spain was stronger than was supposed. In every engagement they were found of vast force, as is clearly established in the trial of Sir John Murray.

Brought forward,		48,000
Re-enforced by conscription of September,		30,000
		73,000
Lost in battles at Bayonne, from 9th till 13th Dec.	10,000	
Do. by desertions at do.	2,000	
		12,000
Soult's force, December 14th,		61,000

A considerable number would be lost, or rendered inefficient, by sickness and fatigue, but not so many as formerly, as they were now in their own country, where these, as well as the wounded, would be much better attended to; and, therefore the number of the latter rejoined was, in this case, very likely equal to what was lost by the former cause.*

* The following are the particular Returns from which the preceding Abstracts are taken; but the French accounts are more curious than accurate. In these it is impossible to determine what is correct and what is not.

GERMANY—FRENCH OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1813.

Battle Place, or Dispatch.	French Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.	Allied Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.
Small actions, about		200
Dispatch, 28th and 30th April,	167	267
Stettin, 1500, Spandau 1000		2,500
Wittemberg		600
Lutzen	10,000	(a) 25,000
Dispatch, 5th May	550	2,000
Do. 9th May		1,500
Do. 10th May		(b) 1,800
Do. 14th May		2,000
Do. 16th May	250	800
Carried over,	10,967	36,667

(a) Twenty-five to 30,000, including several thousand prisoners.—Allied army from 150,000 to 200,000 strong, *say* 27,500.
(b) From 15 to 1800.

On the banks of the Rhine, the allied powers now began to assemble their numerous hosts, and to concert measures for the invasion of France. No sooner was this design apparent, than the usual gloomy prophecies were hazarded, and the usual canting about lenity, humanity, and forbearance to that coun-

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FRENCH OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1813.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	French Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.	Allied Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.
Brought forward,	10,967	36,667
Bautzen	(a)12,000	18,000
Dispatches, 27th and 29th		513
Dispatch, May 30th	300	71
Dispatch, June 21st		401
Thorn, Moniteur, March 16th	(b)5,500	
Spandau	3,000	
Number, per Notes		11,500
Dispatch, 20th Aug. put into the Bober		12,000
General Zucchi at Lahn		500
Near Goldsberg. August 23d		(c) 5,000
Near Fluesburgh		(d) 5,000
Dispatch, 28th	4,000	60,000
French loss in Silesia, by their papers	(e)2,500	
Dispatch, Sept. 1st, Vandamme	6,000	(f) 5,000
Do. do. 2d, additional at Dresden		20,000
Dispatch, Sept. 6th, 3 to 4000 prisoners	(g)4,000	
Milan, Sept. 11th, Viceroy, Sept. 6th	250	750
Dispatch, 13th and 17th, nothing		
Viceroy, Sept. 12th to 14th, Moniteur	160	830
Ney's report, battle of Dennevitz	8,000	8,000
Carried forward,	(h)56,677	(i) 184,232

(a) From 10 to 12,000.—Allied loss, viz. 18,000 wounded; killed, *say* 6000, and "some thousands prisoners," suppose 3000.

(b) 4,000 Bavarians, and 1,500 French—3,300 when it surrendered.

(c) Besides wounded and some prisoners.

(d) At this point, not including the former.

(e) These papers say, that the prisoners taken from the allies were 2,000.

(f) From 4 to 5000.

(g) No account of killed and wounded.

(h) Of this number 10,800 were prisoners.

(i) Of this number 47,110 were prisoners.

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his design apparent,
arded, and the usual
rance to that coun-

S, 1813.

Allied Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.
36,667
18,000
513
71
401
11,500
12,000
500
(c) 5,000
(d) 5,000
60,000
(f) 5,000
20,000
750
830
8,000
(i) 184,232

unded; killed, *say* 6000.

surrendered.

allies were 2,000.

try, were loudly echoed. A last attempt was made to stay the arm of indignant nations, and to animate France, and strike them with terror. Do not invade France, the rich, the beauti-

FRENCH OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1813.—CONTINUED.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.
Brought forward,	45,877	10,800	137,111	47,121
Italy, Sept. 16th and 17th, Moniteur, Sept. 26th	240	150	(a)	—
Bonaparte's dispatch, October 4th	300	1	(b) 6,000	400
Do. do. do. 13th			3,500	5,000
Do. do. do. 16th	2,500		(c) 21,500	3,500
Do. do. do. 24th	4,000	12,000	(d)	500
Do. do. do. 31st	450		(e) 4,000	6,000
Do. do. November 3d	60		3,500	
Gen. Grenier's do. Italy Oct. 31st	(f)		600	300
Paris, November 9th, in Italy			(g) 12,000	
St. Cyr, Dresden, October 17th	150		3,000	
Milan, Nov. 11th, Paris, Nov. 21st	25		800	800
Beauharnois, Caldieros, Nov. 15th	500		1,500	900
Do. Verona, Dec. 5th	43		400	800
Bayonne, from 9th to 13th Dec. Moniteur	(h)3,750		15,000	-
French papers, from Jan. 3d to 8th, sundries	3	10	176	103
1st January, near Ramigen				300
Verona, Nov. 19th, at St. Martin	600		1,200	200
Gen. Milhaud, Colmar, Dec. 24th, and 26th	73		300	230
Verona, Dec. 26th, at Cartagnaro	110		400	
Total,	58,681	22,960	210,987	66,154

(a) "He also lost many men." Same affair as Gratz. Gazette Sept. 18th.

(b) "He left 6000 dead on the field of battle, ours," &c.

(c) With Schwartzenberg.—That with Blucher not given.

(d) "On the 18th our loss may be valued at 4000; that of the enemy must have been *considerable in the extreme.*"

(e) Ours only from 4 to 500 killed and wounded.

(f) "Besides killed and wounded."

(g) Claim a great victory, and say Austrians lost 12,000. But no place nor date is given.

(h) "Our loss not a quarter of our enemy's." Moniteur, Jan. 20th, 1814.

ful, and the invincible country. Whoever is mad enough to attempt it, will arouse her as one man against them, and to her vast national strength and resources, call forth an impulse, which will not only enable France to defend her own territories, but once more to overwhelm Europe. It might have been imagined, on reading such miserable rhapsodies advanced, or arguments brought forward, that the reasoning powers of the human mind, and the feelings of our common nature were inverted, whenever that unprincipled people were attempted to

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OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE ALLIES, 1813.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch,	French Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.	Allied Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.
Morant's defeat	3,500	
5th April, Beauharnois' do.	2,987	364
At Neinburgh, April 13th, uncertain	3,000	
Garrison of Zentochan		
Sundry small affairs	130	
Sortie from Stettin	500	
Do. from Magdeburgh	400	
Do. from Wittemberg	76	268
Thorn, from 4 to 5000	4,500	
Spandau, besides loss in siege	3,529	
Bulow's defeat of the Viceroy at Halle	2,100	
Lutzen	15,000	10,000
At Hamburgh, May 10th	300	165
At Bichoffswerda, May 4th	1,000	
At Hoyerswerda and Bautzen	(a)25,400	14,000
Small affairs	250	
Do. do, London Gazette, June 9th	(b)3,000	465
Do. do. do. do. 19th	2,000	
Bulow's affairs June 26th	1,300	
Carried forward,	68,672	(c) 25,466

(a) It is clear that the bulletins of the allies mean that the loss on the 19th was 5000, on the 20th 6000, and on the 21st 14,000, the 400 was in skirmishes.

(b) Besides a great loss at Reisenbach "some hundreds"—*say* 400.

(c) Many of the allied returns of their losses are omitted in the English newspapers, or given in such a garbled manner that it is impossible to ascertain them exactly. Where that is the case, I have omitted them altogether, and shall, at the end, calculate these in proportion to those given.

be resisted, or frustrated in their designs. Those men who argued after the above manner, threw altogether out of the question, that France, without any cause whatever, but her own insatiable ambition and lust of power, had invaded every country in continental Europe—had violated every principle sacred and civil—trampled upon every principle, moral or religious—ruined every thing that was good and virtuous—destroyed the properties, and violated the rights of every nation and of every individual—perpetrated every crime publicly and privately,

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OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE ALLIES, 1813.—CONTINUED.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	French Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.	Allied Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.
Brought forward,	68,672	25,466
Woronsow, at Kinnerea	700	
Do. at Leipsic	500	
Bulow's defeat of Reggio	3,000	
Small affairs, from Dresden to Bautzen	3,383	
Nos. per Notes	400	
Loss at Spandau and Zentochan during siege, suppose	1,500	
Sixth Swedish bulletin	12,000	
At Luckau, by Cr. Pr. besides the above	1,000	
Defeat of Gen. Gerard, on 27th, Berlin Gazette, August 30th	3,500	
Berlin, Aug. 30th, reports from Silesia		
Jauer, Aug. 24th, Sacken, &c. Aug. 18th	(a) 972	
Gen. Sacken, Aug. 19th, Haynau, &c.	(b) 1,356	
Do. by General D'York		
Same report, three days to 24th		(e) 2,000
Blucher, Sept. 2d, order of the day	(c) 18,000	(d) 3,000
Before Dresden, by Sir C. S. dispatches	11,000	(f) 11,000
Carried over,	125,983	41,466

(a) Several hundreds were cut down. (b) Loss from 1,200 to 1,500 men.

(c) Bears no proportion to the enemy's loss—*say* 3,000.

(d) "The loss of the enemy must be very considerable as we had the advantage of the ground"—*say* the same 3,000.

(e) Besides killed, wounded, and drowned in actions, from 26th to date, which were very great—*say* 12,000.

(f) The enemy's loss must have been considerably more—*say* 2,000.

which could render man contemptible, and which could disgrace human nature; and yet, forsooth, she must be spared—deal liberally and gently with her, for she hath merited nothing else from your hands. It was never taken into consideration, that it was impossible to render France more united than for the last twenty years she had been, when all her sons were soldiers, and poured forth, without let or hinderance, at her tyrant's call; nor could any thing ever again kindle in their minds the phrenzy which distracted them at the commence-

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OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE ALLIES, 1813.—CONTINUED.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	French Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.	Allied Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.
Brought over.	125,983	41,466
Advance to Dresden, on 22d	(a) 400	
Retreat from do. dispatch, Aug. 30th	(b) 6.400	3,000
Do. dispatch, August 31st, decisive affair with Vandamme	(c) 15,000	5,000
Eleventh Swedish bulletin	(d) 9,100	8,000
Twelfth do. do. taken near Torgau	800	
Do. do. do. retreat of Davoust to the Stekneitz	1,000	
Affair at Dantzic, Sept. 2d	1,000	
Hillier's defeat of the Viceroy	9,000	
Berlin, Sept. 12th, by Cossacks on Elbe	1,200	
Langeron, 18th Aug. official	(e) 3,000	
By others, before the 26th	4,500	
Austrian bulletin, Toplitz, Sept. 9th	(f) 400	
Swedish do. Sept. 14th	(g) 1,000	
Carried forward,	178,783	57,466

(a) "Besides a vast number killed and wounded"—*say* 500.

(b) "Enemy's loss may be averaged double." Sir C. Stewart.

(c) Besides killed and wounded. Engagement very severe; the enemy's loss in killed and wounded was immense; "*it was a massacre.*" Toplitz, August 31st—*say* 8,000. Crown Prince's bulletin says 15,000 prisoners.

(d) "The field of battle is strewed with dead and wounded—6,000 of the former are already counted. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded must have been immense." Our Government Bulletin says from 16 to 18,000 prisoners—*say* 12,000 killed and wounded.

(e) Besides killed and wounded. (f) And many others prisoners—*say* 400.

(g) "And many killed and wounded."—*say* 400.

ment of the revolution. But had it been even possible to do so, France had not the same resources which she then had, to be seized by her violent government, for its use, nor durst the arbitrary commands of Bonaparte attempt what the mad Convention did; while, even if he could have done so, a totally different spirit animated Europe, than what did at that time, and one which, had it sooner appeared, would have quickly arrested the career of French ambition, vanity and madness. But

OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE ALLIES, 1813.—CONTINUED.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	French Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.	Allied Loss. Killed, Wound & Pris.
Brought forward,	178,783	57,466
Swedish bulletin, Sept. 16th	542	
Actions near Magdeburgh, Aug. 21st	220	60
Dantzic, August 29th, Gazette	400	300
Do. Sept 2d, do.	1,000	300
Walmoden, Domitz, Aug. 18th	5,500	538
Wittgenstein, Dohna, Aug. 8th		(a) 1,000
Matadoff, near Bautzen, Sept. 9th	(b) 1,200	
Swedish bulletin, Sept. 20th	167	
Do. do. 22d	(c) 3,770	
Battle of Nollendorff, 16th Aug.	(d) 6,000	1,000
Gen. Schluthberg, at Freyberg, Sept. 18th	720	4
Number, per notes	42,300	
Carried over,	(e) 240,802	60,688

(a) French loss "more considerable"—*say* 1,200.

(b) And much of Bonaparte's baggage.

(c) Including three regiments of horse chasseurs, only thirty of which escaped.

(d) The French loss, 4000 prisoners. Crown Prince's bulletin.—The killed and wounded, double that of the allies. Sir C. Stewart, Sept. 19th.

(e) Of these 96,300 were prisoners—the victory over the Viceroy is officially mentioned. Of the preceding numbers the army opposed to that under the command of the Crown Prince and the detachments under his orders, lost 28,767 prisoners, and 22,951 were killed and wounded—the army opposed to Blucher lost 26,700 prisoners, and had 19,750 killed and wounded—the army opposed to the main army in Bohemia had 14,420 taken prisoners, and 30,000 killed and wounded—the Swedish bulletin, dated Sept. 22d, says, the Crown Prince's army had taken 28,000 prisoners—and, that Blucher's army and the main army had taken 40,000 prisoners. The present tables make it 41,110, which shews it is very near the truth.

nothing of all this ever entered the thoughts of those who advocated the cause of France, and who always threw cold water upon the energies and exertions of the allies. Do not invade France, beware how you profane that "*sacred*" territory. It will become a land of fire, and consume whoever attempts it. What, said the indignant nations assembled against her, shall she "Sit as a queen, and say, I shall see no sorrow," while her conduct has "made the world a wilderness, and millions weep?" To all such arguments, said the nations of Europe, we must

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OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE ALLIES, 1813.—CONTINUED.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.
Brought over,	60,688		144,502	96,300
Blucher's 5th report, Sept 10th			(a) 523	
Do. 6th do. 25th	312		1,400	600
Swedish bulletin, Sept. 26th	(b)			405
Do. do. 30th	379		(c) 668	442
Austrian report, Sept. 24th			550	(d) 2,204
Do. do. 29th			(e)	
Sir C. Stewart, Toplitz, Sept 29th, Platoff			1,000	(f) 1,540
Thornton's dispatch, October 4th, D'York, at Wartenberg			1,000	(g) 1,500
Twentieth Swedish bulletin			1,500	
Twenty-first do. do.			(h) 550	438
Carried forward,	61,379		151,693	105,417

(a) Besides Matadoff's affair already mentioned.

(b) The loss of the allies, a few wounded.

(c) Besides desertion, great—"from 30 to 40 men daily come over to us."

(d) In this number 1,500 formerly taken by Thielman is included; but uncertain.

(e) A great deal of hard fighting in Italy. Much loss on the 16th. No returns.

(f) Besides killed and wounded; 8000 cavalry, and 700 infantry completely routed; supposed loss 1000; Demi-official accounts make it much more.

(g) "Above 1,000 prisoners," besides killed and wounded. German accounts make the loss 3 or 4000. Bonaparte makes the allied loss 6000, which was, perhaps, his own.

(h) Besides many others killed and wounded, say 112, and 1,500 deserters.

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ays threw cold water
ies. Do not invade
sacred" territory. It
whoever attempts it.
led against her, shall
no sorrow," while her
, and millions weep?"
of Europe, we must

, 1813.—Continued.

	French Loss.	
Prison.	Killed, and Wound	Prison.
	144,502	96,300
	(a) 523	
	1,400	600
		403
	(c) 668	442
	550	(d) 2,204
(e)		
	1,000	(f) 1,540
	1,000	(g) 1,500
	1,500	
	(h) 550	438
	151,693	105,417

ly come over to us."
is included; but uncertain.
on the 16th. No returns.
700 infantry completely
it much more.
nded. German accounts
s 6000, which was, per-

and 1,500 deserters.

turn a deaf ear. "Submission alone, can prevent invasion—submission alone, can save her." Nor could it be otherwise, for, with the exception of the British soldier, of the million of combatants which were now arrayed against her, there was, perhaps, not one solitary individual, who, besides his national dishonour, had not also the most bitter private wrongs to redress; not one who had not had his property torn from him, and wasted by the lawless arm of France; not one whose wife, daughter, or female relation, had not been violated or seduced by the

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OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE ALLIES, 1813.—Continued.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Allied Loss.		French Loss.	
	Killed, and Wound	Prison.	Killed, and Wound	Prison.
Brought forward,	61,379		151,693	105,417
Tettenborn, at Bremen			(a) 300	1,500
Augereau's advance to Leipsic			(b) 1,000	1,000
Blucher, Lindenthal, October 16th	7,000		(c) 10,000	2,000
Schwartzenberg, Leibert Wolkowitz, October 16th	25,000		(d) 25,000	
Battle of Leipsic, October 18th	22,000		(e) 25,000	70,000
Carried over,	115,379		212,993	177,917

(a) Demi-official accounts.

(b) Augereau's loss is uncertain. Lord Cathcart merely says that it was very considerable; but it certainly exceeded 3000.

(c) Sir C. Stewart's dispatches, October 16th.

(d) This was Bonaparte's statement of the loss of the allies. It was not contradicted, and his loss, it was well understood, was equal.

(e) Scarcely any thing is more confused than the different dispatches regarding this memorable battle, as each only relates to a part, and is, by the translators, placed for the whole. Sir C. Stewart is the most clear and pointed till the date of his dispatch, on the morning of the 19th. I shall endeavour to notice the whole, in order to ascertain the point. To the morning of the 19th, says Sir C. Stewart, the *collective* loss of the enemy was above 60,000 men; *an immense number of prisoners;* the desertion of the whole of the Saxons, also the Bavarian and Wirtemberg troops; and the garrison of Leipsic; the rear-guard of the French army, and all the enemy's wounded (the number of which exceeds 30,000) which account appears to me, should stand thus:—above 60,000 killed and wounded, 15,000 prisoners, which, according to other authorities, was the number on the 18th; desertions 30,000; the garrison of Leipsic and the rear-guard of the French army, together, at least 25,000;

French barbarians; not one whose father, son, brother, or friend, had not been butchered in defence of their altars and their homes, or carried captive into a foreign land. And was it to such men, that at this moment, it was attempted to inculcate patience—to such, lenity or forbearance—to men, whose crying wrongs called them to battle—whom justice had rendered victorious, and while the foe yet resisted and menaced, by infusing the cold spirit of fear into their hearts, endeavoured to unnerve their arms. As well might the voice of man have attempted to proclaim peace to the wind in a tempest, or

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OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE ALLIES, 1813.—CONTINUED.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.
Brought over,	115,379		212,993	177,917
Capture of Leipsic, on the 19th	3,000		10,000	
Battle at Lindenau, on 16th, suppose	2,000		2,000	
22d Swedish bulletin, October 22d			1,500	2,000
Blucher's 10th report, 27th				(a) 5,103
Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, Nov. 2d, Halle, &c.			400	(b) 3,700
Carry forward,	120,379		226,893	188,720

(a) Besides killed and wounded, and numbers found dead on the road, in one place at least 1,000. Also liberated 4,018 prisoners.

(b) Besides near Froshe, many Frenchmen were driven into the Elbe, "and last night the number of prisoners amounted to *several thousand men.*" Halle, Nov. 9th, *official.*

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as Lord Aberdeen, on the 22d, expressly states the total number of prisoners then taken at 40,000; and our Government bulletin states, that at the departure of Mr. Sully, on the 20th, with a duplicate of Sir C. Stewart's dispatches, 35,000 prisoners had been brought in, exclusive of the sick and wounded. The wounded cannot be enumerated here, as they are previously so, but the sick, as they are not previously included in any enumerations, should be so; and, allowing that they were 6000, this would make the total loss of the enemy, on the 16th, 18th, and 19th, 150,000, including what were slain around, and drowned in the Elster, &c. of which latter number, Lord Aberdeen says, several thousands were taken from the river; and which together must have been at least 10,000 men. The translator of the Austrian official bulletin makes it say that the total loss of *all* the allies was 10,000 men on these three days, and that of the French 40,000 killed and

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1813.—Continued.

French Loss.	
Killed, and Wound	Prison.
212,993	177,917
10,000	
2,000	
1,500	2,000
	(a) 5,103
400	(b) 3,700
226,893	188,720

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usand men." Halle, Nov.

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the ocean in a storm. France was aware of this, and France trembled; but while she continued to yield herself to the will of the tyrant, and to support the measures which had leagued the powers of Europe against her, she had no favour to expect from them; and till she felt what the miseries of war were, it was obvious, that the voice of the people of France would not come forward to compel their government to sheath the sword in the spirit of peace.

With the inhuman conduct of the French soldiers, and hor-

OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE ALLIES, 1813.—Continued.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.
Brought forward,	120,379		225,893	188,720
Battle of Gelnhausen, Oct. 29th				4,000
Battles of Hanau, 30th	7,000		(a) 15,000	15,000
Austrian bulletin, Schmalcalten, October 29th				4,000
Austrian bulletin, Schluchtern, November 2d				1,520
Wrede, at Hanau, October 28th			(b)	1,200
Carried over,	127,379		241,893	214,440

(a) This does not include the previous numbers. The bulletin farther states, "Fugitives are taken on all the roads, and *besides those* already mentioned, 15,000 prisoners have been recently brought in; their numbers augment every instant."

(b) "And a great number of officers."

wounded. The first part shews clearly that this is an error. Blucher, on the 16th, lost 7,000 men. The Crown Prince, who was not in the battle of the 16th, states, in his bulletin, Mulhausen, October 28th, that the loss of the Army of the North of Germany at Leipsic, was from 2 to 3,000 men, and that of the corps of Langeron, under his command, "*more considerable,*" or say 7,000 for both, which, with Blucher's on the 16th, is 14,000 being more than what the Austrian bulletin states the total to be. It is, therefore, evident either that the 10,000 mentioned in the bulletin is the Austrian loss alone in all these battles, and substituted by the translator for the total loss of the allies; or that it alludes solely to the battle of the 18th, and the loss of the army under Schwartzenberg alone. It is evident that every nation kept their own returns separate. The Crown Prince states the loss of the French army, on the 18th and 19th, at 60,000, killed, wounded, and prisoners, (15,000) besides 23,000 wounded, and

rid atrocities which they committed in all the countries cursed with their presence, I might fill volumes. These are such as the inhabitants in this happy country can form no idea of, and exceed their belief. Nevertheless, they are true; and such as will be remembered, by continental Europe, to future generations, with fear and indignation. In their present disastrous retreat through Germany, to such a deadly pitch had the animosity of the inhabitants arisen against their oppressors, that they refused to bury the dead bodies which were left on the roads from famine

OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE ALLIES, 1813.—CONTINUED.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.
Brought over.	127,379		241,893	214,140
Swedish bulletin, Hanover, November 10th				(a) 5,500
Dantzic, Nov. 1st			500	
Dresden sortie, Nov. 6th			800	
Lines of Hocheim, Nov. 10th			400	(b) 400
Garrison of Dresden				35,000
Carry forward,	127,379		243,593	255,340

(a) These were taken by Chernicheff, independent of Blucher's 10th report, and Austro-Bavarian report of Gelnhausen and Hanau.

(b) Several hundred men were made prisoners." Sir R. Wilson; say 400.

adds, Bonaparte had only saved from 75 to 80,000 men, after passing the Elster. The Official bulletin published at Verden, October 29th, by the authority of the Russian courier Baron Von Herbert, dispatched from the field of battle on the 19th, states the loss of the enemy on these days at 25,000 killed and wounded; 35,000 prisoners; and 25,000 wounded taken, besides desertions. The Swedish accounts, published at Carlscrona, October 26th, says, the enemy's loss on these fatal days, the 18th and 19th, was 60,000 killed and wounded, and 30,000 prisoners. The Austrian bulletin already alluded to, says, that on the "evening of the 19th eight regiments of Polish infantry abandoned the enemy's standard, and came over to us." The desertions certainly exceeded 25,000; these have been estimated as high as 35,000, but call it 30,000. It is evident the difference of numbers in the various official accounts arises solely from the different parts of the engagements which these relate, and to the dates when wrote. Sir C. Stewart's, however, is the clearest, and, with Lord Aberdeen's dispatch, on the 22d, enables us to ascertain the number very correctly, and which corresponds with the strength of the army

and fatigue. The following short account of their conduct at Woerden, upon which they returned by surprise, after having abandoned it, may suffice as a specimen of their conduct in other places: "The houses which could not be opened on account of the doors and windows having been fastened, were

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OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE ALLIES, 1813.—CONTINUED.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.
Brought forward,	127,579		241,893	255,340
Nugent, Nov. 1st			6,000	(*a*) 10,800
Trent, Nov. 8th, Hillier, Italy			4,000	(*b*) 11,862
Istria, Croatia, &c. Gazette, November 23d			300	(*c*) 1,460
Crown Prince, Boitzenberg, November 30th, and Roslaw omitted	200		1,819	(*d*) 2,223
Do do. do, Nov. 6th			550	(*e*) 1,100
Austrian bulletin, Sept. 15th			600	(*f*) 2,293
Add numbers, per notes			1,824	
Hillier, from 11th to 19th Nov.			5,000	(*g*)
Total,	127,579	.	261,986	(*h*)286,078

(*a*) Besides killed and wounded, and all that were taken from 2d till date. Altogether, (says dispatch) besides killed and wounded, a loss in prisoners beyond the whole Austrian force under Nugent." Killed and wounded about 6000.

(*b*) Including 2,000 deserters and 4,000 men, formerly Austrian subjects, that came over to us, and were all taken in a short period preceding this date. Killed and wounded about 4,000.

(*c*) By British naval officers, and General Nugent, from 6th to 19th Sept.

(*d*) Besides fort of Zoltcamp, Zwoll, and killed and wounded at Doesberg.

(*e*) Besides a great many more killed and wounded, but not enumerated.

(*f*) Thielman at Wiessenfells, &c. (*g*) Including prisoners.

(*h*) Including 38,000 of the desertions M. Giraud says *France* lost 187,462 prisoners this year, but to these we must add all those lost by the States under her sway, which will bring it to the number I here make it.

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at first, and the numbers which the Crown Prince, and all other official authority say escaped. The numbers will, therefore, stand thus, viz.

Killed and wounded, above 60,000, say	64,000
Prisoners,	40,000
Drowned and slain round the Elster, &c.	10,000
Sick taken, suppose	6,000
Desertions,	30,000—150,000

beaten open by artillery, every kind of furniture or property in them was destroyed. Death and destruction had penetrated into every habitation; the blood of the most virtuous husbands and fathers, of the best mothers, of grey-haired ancients, of tender infants, stained the walls of their peaceful dwellings, and streamed out of the houses along the streets. Not even the ministers of any religion were spared, although they had fled to the altar. Old men of upwards of eighty years of age, and infants in their mothers arms, were immediately shot, or slain by the sword. A woman in child bed, and who would have been delivered of twins, was deliberately shot through the body,

ALLIED OFFICIAL RETURNS, CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN, 1813.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	British. Total.	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.
Mina, January 3d,			105	(a) 92	300
Senor Nebot, Alicant, Jan. 8th				(b) 200	500
Madrid, Dec. 27th, by a fall of snow,				200	
Longa, at Salinas de Anane					252
Lord Wellington, 20th Feb. sharp action				no returns	
Garrison, Tafalla, February 2d				100	300
Madrid, March 4th, Caleade					200
Carry forward,			103	500	1,552

(a) And perhaps an equal number on the 7th, 92.
(b) "A great number were killed."—*say* 200 killed and wounded.

The loss of the allies on the 18th and 19th, I estimate as under, viz. Crown Prince about 3,000; Langeron, considerably more, say 4,000, and suppose Blucher 5,000 and the Grand Army as many, 12,000, in all 24,000, or say 25,000 men. I have thus endeavoured to be as particular as possible, in order to ascertain, from the best authorities, the numbers lost on those dreadful days, and to compare the different authorities, in order to clear up the seeming confusion, and more likely the errors of a hasty and thoughtless translation of the foreign bulletins. Indeed, the total loss is more likely above than below what I here state. "The details of the captures," said Sir C. Stewart, October 21st, "are greater than I had conceived." "The results of the great battles of the 16th, 18th, and 19th," said Lord Aberdeen, October 22d, "*surpass all conception*—every hour adds materially to the amount."

whilst lying in her bed, they then uncovered her, and set the bedstead on fire, consuming the mother and her offspring. No tears of the poor creatures begging for mercy, no cries of kneeling children could soften the hearts of these miscreants; who, on the contrary, and with loud laughter and derision, disgraceful to humanity, carried their cruelties so far, as to commit their murders before the eyes of the nearest relations, throwing out the bleeding bodies, covered with dirt, in presence of the despairing widows and shrieking children, and

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ALLIED OFFICIAL RETURNS, CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN, 1813.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch,	British. Total.	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.
Brought forward,			103	500	1,552
Pojo de Sal. 13th February, Wellington, 17th do.				216	
Sir J. Murray, March 10th				(a) 21	
Epos y Mina, 31st March, Lodosa				1,000	
Sir J. Murray, Castalla, April 14th	402	627	52	(b) 5,000	
Garlapagar, April 26, by Mindedeu					80
Baron de Erolles, Ampolla, Battery, &c.					
Lord Wellington, Salamanca, 26th May				230	250
Epos y Mina, near Estella, April 22				1,500	
Clauzel's loss in pursuit of Mina				2,500	
Palombino's loss at Castra, &c. (c)				2,500	
Francisco de Campona, Navia Villa Franca, May 8th, dispatch to Wellington				900	
Vittoria, and before it	3,459	5,173		15,000 (d)	554
Fort Balaguer, 7th June	44				115
Wellington, Ostiz, July 3d, sundries	58	94			1,130
Do. Graham at Tolosa	105	325		325 (e)	209
Carry over,	4,048	6,219	155	29,602	3,841

(a) And many killed and wounded in a second action.

(b) Spanish account—*say* 5000 in all, including pursuit.

(c) Collier's dispatch, Santander, June 20th.

(d) French loss in battle of Vittoria was, at least, 15,000 men; those inserted are in previous actions. Castlereagh stated it 12,000; and Mr. Freemantle, in the House of Commons, more than double.

(e) Besides killed and wounded, at least equal to the allies, 325.

committing all abuses on the naked corpses."* Yet such were the monsters whom we were called upon to respect, as if there were no other individuals in France who had acted thus, no

* Official accounts from Dutch journals.

ALLIED OFFICIAL RETURNS, CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN, 1813.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	British. Total.	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.
Carried over,	4,048	6,219	155	29,692	3,841
Wellington, July 10, Valley Hastan	73	129		129 (*a*)	
St. Sebastian to raising siege	702	917	301		
Battles of the Pyrenees, add 175	4,729	6,363	705	16,000 (*b*)	4,000
Garrison of Zaragossa					500
Duraca, August 11th					
Lord Wm. Bentinck, August 10th	14	14		23	16
St. Sebastian, 27th Aug. (Collier)	19	19			
Storming of St. Sebastian, &c.	1,715	2,494			
Repulse of Soult, 31st August	417	2,462	156	5,000 (*c*)	
Castle of St. Sebastian	15	15		4,164 (*d*)	1,836
Denia, September 16th		14			
Wellington, Lesaco, October 9th	577	1,562		2,000 (*e*)	422
Lord W. Bentinck, 12th, 13th Sept.	470	470		470 (*f*)	
Lord Wellington, Vera, Oct. 18th		140			
Garrison of Pampluna				800	4,198
Wellington, 13th November	2,112	2,553	73	3,500 (*g*)	1,500
Wellington, 28th do	100	100			
Wellington, December 14th, battles of Bayonne	2,672	4,437	(*h*)504	10,000	2,000
Total,	17,665	27,908	1,894	71,780	18,315

(*a*) No returns; at least equal, 129.

(*b*) Exceeds 15,000, says Government bulletin; all accounts state their loss above 20,000; letters from officers even rate it as high as 30,000 men.

(*c*) Private demi-official accounts state the enemy's loss at 7000 men—*say* 5000.

(*d*) Garrison, originally three times the number which capitulated.—*Official.*

(*e*) At least 2000 killed and wounded.

(*f*) At least equal, 470.

(*g*) Besides killed and wounded, 400 of which last were taken. Demi-official accounts make the total loss 5000.

(*h*) Of allies, 276 British killed 362, Portuguese do. Total prisoners, 504, viz. 210 British, and 294 Portuguese. From the French some prisoners were taken on the 12th, number unknown. Two French regiments deserted, perhaps 2000 men, or more; their loss, at least, besides 10,000 men, eye-witnesses estimate it at 5 to 1.

other places in Europe which had felt their fury but Woerden! alas, horrible as is the picture, it is upon a small scale, and faintly coloured indeed, in comparison to those vast scenes of horror, desolation, and woe, which Spain mourns, which Germany has experienced, and Russia felt through all her borders. And could France escape? No! it was impossible. To her might be addressed the language of the prophet Jeremiah to the sons of Jerusalem, "For though ye had smitten the whole army of the Chaldeans, that fight against you, and there remained but wounded men among them, yet should they rise up, every man in his tent, and burn this city with fire."*

Leaving the armies of Europe animated with one spirit, and collecting on one point, ready to enter the French territory from the east, while the immortal Wellington had already unfurled the British standard upon the fertile banks of the Adour; let us, for a moment, turn our attention to the wonderful events of the campaign thus closed. And to what pleasing reflections do these not give birth? All continental Europe conquered! all Europe free! After twenty years of carnage and crimes, unparalleled in the history of the world, the armies of France are found shrinking, with fear, from the contest, on that spot where they commenced, with exultation, their triumphant career. What had France herself suffered during that fatal period? What millions had perished, what miseries had Europe endured; and where was the country or family, in which there had not been written in legible characters, "Lamentation, mourning, and woe?" The history of the world can afford no example, where power, by similar means, was carried to the same extent, as that of France lately was; nor can it furnish one instance of such complete and rapid destruction, as the conspicuous events of the campaign which we have just considered affords. I call them conspicuous, because the terrible events of the preceding year were endeavoured to be coloured and lessened by Bonaparte, his friends and admirers, by the intervention of the "*premature*" rigours of the season.

* Jeremiah xxxvii. 10.

But in this campaign no such subterfuge could be used to cloak his discomfiture, humiliation, and disgrace.

In a few months Europe beheld the independence of Prussia restored upon a firm foundation—The splendour and dignity of the Austrian monarchy re-establised—Holland rescued from the jaws of the tyrant, and restored to her rank among nations—Spain and Portugal completely freed from their invaders—The whole Rhenish Confederacy overturned in a moment, and nations returning, with alacrity and cheerfulness, to their old customs, laws, and institutions. Commerce, so long shackled by the tyrant's madness, was now rendered free; and confidence betwixt nations restored. That gigantic arm which spread terror over Europe, was completely paralized; and that colossal power, before whose frown nations trembled, was blasted for ever. Though it was still doubtful whether France might not defend herself against any serious impression from invasion, yet it was now obvious to the meanest capacity, that she could no longer be able to over-run kingdoms, nor bend Europe to her imperious will. The power of France, and her name, had indeed been most extensive and great; but then that extention was only productive of misery, and that greatness only conspicuous by its crimes. A new system, consisting entirely of fraud and force, was established, and to a degree that had never before been introduced into the world. Could it have been possible to have continued this galling system for a few years longer, Europe would have been completely plunged into a state of ignorance and barbarity, similar to that in which she was some centuries ago; nay, worse, for then religion, though clouded with superstition, had some controul over the cruel and destructive passions of man; but in the present case even that barrier was destroyed—no law remained but the law of arms, and no knowledge was taught but the knowledge of oppression and destruction.

In reviewing the conduct of Bonaparte, during the last two eventful campaigns, we see in his character, as a General, only an unrelenting ambition, supported by the utmost degree of arrogance, and ignorance of human nature. He either never calculated upon adversity, or had not the talents to contend with it, Nothing, also, can shew in a clearer point of view his in-

sincerity upon the subject of peace, and his unwillingness to conclude it upon terms honourable to Europe, than his cooping up such an amazing number of veteran troops in the numerous fortified towns, between the Niemen and the Rhine, when he had so much need of them to incorporate with his raw levies, to enable him to stem the torrent, which, in the allied armies, rolled against him in the field. Either he must have had the idea of again being able to over-run and subjugate these extensive countries, or he meant, by garrisoning these places, to obtain in lieu of them, such concessions upon his own frontiers as would be incompatible with the safety of the neighbouring nations; and which would, at some other period, have placed it in his power once more to put in execution his odious schemes of universal dominion. Upon no other principle but one of these can his conduct possibly be accounted for, with regard to the places already mentioned. But "*quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat;*" and these garrisons held possession of by him, in defiance of treaties, the terms of which was dictated by himself, proved the greatest source of his future misfortunes. They ceased to be of use to him, and could render him no assistance in the hour of his distress; while in them were cooped up, without the smallest prospect of relief, thousands upon thousands of those willing slaves of his unprincipled ambition, suffering every misery which famine, sickness, and the sword could inflict, thereby rendering their very crimes the weapons for their punishment.

But to proceed with the military events. Notwithstanding the reverses which Bonaparte had suffered, and the losses which he had sustained, still their was not wanting men who extolled his power, and doubted whether the success of the allies would be of any utility. So long as he was supported by France, these men considered that nothing which had yet taken place would be of any beneficial tendency; and firmly believed and loudly promulgated their belief, that his efforts would soon change the face of affairs. But these men only dealt in assertion and declamation, and confounded the particular objects of the contest, nor took a correct view of its commencement or progress. They believed that as France possessed a population of

28,000,000 of inhabitants, that therefore, her resources were inexhaustible, and her strength invincible. They considered the matter no further. But those who had watched the progress of this tremendous contest, saw in it the steady advance of ruin and destruction to French power and dominion. The campaign of 1812, in the North, had solely for its object, whether Russia should remain an independent power, or become the vassal of France. By its issue that independence was fixed upon a basis not to be shaken by any external effort or movement. The contest during 1813 was of still greater magnitude and importance; namely, for the freedom and independence of all that part of Continental Europe situate between the Niemen and the Rhine, from East to West; and from Cape North to the extremities of Calabria, from North to South; together with the whole of Spain and Portugal. This object was also most signally and completely accomplished. But the campaign which the nations of Europe were now about to commence was of a different nature, and was intended to compel France, upon French ground, to relinquish her ambitious projects and intentions; and, in sincerity, to give a solid and an honourable peace to Europe. Such were the intentions of the allied powers; and from this important object, it was evident that they were not to be turned aside by either the arts or the arms of their adversaries. The time was propitious, and the prospect cheering. They promptly and eagerly caught the flood-tide of prosperity, to accomplish their just and honourable views.

No sooner had the miserable remnants of the fugitive French army gained the left bank of the Rhine, without the prospect or possibility of being there re-organised or re-enforced to any extent, for some time, than the allies prudently turned their attention to extinguish the hostile embers which they, in the pursuit of their main object, had left behind them. For this purpose, the siege of the numerous fortresses were pressed with redoubled vigour, and in a short period Kustrin, Modlin, Torgau, Wittemberg, and Dresden, were compelled to surrender, thereby relieving a great number of troops, who either marched forward to re-enforce the main armies, or added strength to those bodies which were besieging the unsubdued fortresses.

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A considerable portion of the fine army of the North of Germany, under the command of the Crown Prince, was detached against the Danes and Davoust; who had hitherto maintained themselves upon the fortified lines of the Steiknitz. These, however, were quickly forced, after some severe engagements; and Davoust made the best of his way with the French troops, amounting to about 26,000 men, to Hamburgh, where they shut themselves up, leaving the Danes to their fate. The Crown Prince continued to press them vigorously; and, after repeated conflicts, Holstein was over-run, and the important fortresses of Fredricsort and Gluckstadt were taken by the allied army.* Thus situated, Denmark was compelled to sue for peace, which was granted, upon her ceding Norway to Sweden, in exchange for Swedish Pomerania, and her agreeing to join the allies in the coalition against France, and to furnish 10,000 men for offensive operations. The conduct of Denmark had long been inimical to the general interest and liberty of Europe. She was the willing slave of Bonaparte, in all his wild projects; her conduct had been double and disgraceful after his discomfiture in Russia, and when he again resumed the offensive on the Elbe. She met her fate deservedly, and fell unlamented and unpitied. Her conduct, before the armistice, was, also, the sole cause of the woes and miseries which Hamburgh afterwards endured; for, had she not joined Davoust, he would not have obtained possession of that ill-fated city before that event; one of the provisions of which was, that it should remain with the power which had possession of it when the armistice was signed; but Hamburgh was taken by Davoust only a few days before that event took place. Every thing being concluded with Denmark, a very large force, under Beningsen, was left to besiege Hamburgh; and the rest of the army was ordered to proceed to France, whether the Crown Prince himself also hastened.

While these events were passing in this quarter, numerous bodies of troops continued to press forward to Holland, in order to secure the independence of that country; which, with the exception of some of the principal fortresses, the French had now

* Crown Prince's bulletin, Kiel, December 21st, 1813.

abandoned. By the 1st of January, upwards of 50,000 men, under Bulow, had entered that country, and continued their route into Belgium. The British, also, by that time had 10,000 men in that quarter, under the command of the Hero of Barrosa, who undertook the siége of Bergen-op-Zoom, the key of Holland on that side. The Dutch also were exerting themselves to bring forward men and supplies for the general cause; but these, considering the disorganized and exhausted state in which this country was found, took some time to render of much service. At the same time, the grand army of the allies, under their respective sovereigns and principal leaders, were assembling about Frankfort upon the Mayne. To this place re-enforcements were marching from all parts. Stores also, of all descriptions, were conveyed to this quarter. The heavy baggage of the army which had been left behind in the rapid pursuit of the enemy, and the heavy artillery for their future operations, were also brought forward without delay. When we consider that it was now the depth of winter, and that all these things were to be conveyed through a desolated country, so far from being surprised that the allies remained six weeks at Frankfort, (as was expressed by many at the time) we may rather wonder how these most extensive plans and formidable operations were chalked out and completed in such a short space of time. Nor was the army remaining stationary while the head-quarters remained at Frankfort. During that period, the principal part of the force was marching towards the Upper Rhine and Basle, where it was determined to cross that river with their main strength. This latter place is about 190 miles from Frankfort, and 400 from Leipsic; a distance marched over with 400,000 men in two months.

In order to gain time, and to endeavour to sow dissensions amongst the Confederates, Bonaparte, during this time, had recourse to his favourite object, negotiation. For this purpose, he sent the Baron St. Agneau to the head-quarters of the allies. There, however, all his efforts were of no avail, and only served to shew him, for the information of his Master, the unanimity and determined spirit which reigned amongst this formidable host. All solicitations for an armis-

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tice, or suspension of arms, were refused; and though the allies readily agreed to negotiate, they gave the enemy to understand, that it was resolved, that while these negotiations were going on, the operations of the campaign should also proceed. This was language Bonaparte had been unaccustomed to, and for which he was but ill prepared. Manheim, and afterwards Chatillon sur Seine was chosen, as the place where the negotiators were to meet; and to which place Lord Castlereagh, the principal Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, repaired on the part of Great Britain.

Bonaparte saw the storm which was preparing to burst upon him; but he had too much obstinacy to yield, and vanity frankly to confess his danger. He still flattered himself with the undivided support of the people of France, by which means he imagined to retrieve his affairs. He trusted also that this coalition would turn out like all the previous coalitions against France; which had been vanquished by disunion and want of energy. "When we cast our eyes," said the Conservative Senate, "on this coalition, composed of elements which repel each other; when we see the fortuitous and strange mixture of nations, whom nature has made rivals; when we reflect that many of them, by inconsiderate alliances, expose themselves to dangers which are not a chimera, *we cannot believe that such an assemblage of interests, so different, can be of long duration.*"* His hopes were particularly sanguine that the Crown Prince, being a Frenchman, and Austria from her family alliance, would secede from the coalition—he was mistaken. Every method was tried to rouse the French nation to second his efforts. Their situation was justly described to be totally different from that of one nation attacked by its neighbour. "Frenchmen!" said he, "*the situation in which you are at this moment placed, resembles in no respect, the ordinary situation of a people threatened by the ambition of its neighbours.*—Listen to the *truth*: you are worthy of hearing it. Our enemies, so often humbled by our victories; so often reduced to solicit peace from the

* Conservative Senate, December 27th, 1813.

generosity of the victors, will come among us with hearts *cankered wi' resentment*, and they will dictate laws to you with fire and sword in their hand."* Conscience, that faithful monitor, was now awake, and told France and Bonaparte what they deserved—it was this made them tremble. The infant king of Rome and his unfortunate Mother were dragged forward in a theatrical manner, to arouse the sensibilities of the Parisians. Commissioners, with unlimited powers,† were sent into the different departments to call forth the population. This scheme was also resorted to by the furious Convention, but then with a different effect. Proclamation after proclamation was also addressed in the most pathetic language, to the French nation, calling upon them to arise, and crush "*those barbarians, which, like a tempest, were issuing from the caverns of the North.*"‡ His servile senators endeavoured to comfort him. "The enemy" said Lacepede, "shall not tear asunder this beautiful France, which, for these fourteen centuries, has maintained itself with glory, through such diversities of fortune. We will fight for our dear country, between the tombs of our fathers, and the cradles of our infants."§ Arise, then, said Bonaparte, for "Bearn, Alsace, Franche Comte, and Brabant, are invaded. The cries of these parts of my family rend my heart. I call upon the French to succour the French. *The question is now no more to recover the conquests we have made.*"¶ No; the bloody field of Leipsic settled that question beyond all controversy. In vain he proclaimed, "what will be the condition of those who have acquired national property, whose titles are interwoven with the existence of the government." In vain he told them that "the subversion of fortunes would be universal—the public monuments would be mutilated—the master-pieces of arts would fall into the hands of the barbarians,

* Address to the nation, Paris, December 28th, 1813. Moniteur.

† Decree by Bonaparte, 26th December, 1813.

‡ Official address to French nation, Paris, December 28th.

§ Official address, December 30th. ¶ Bonaparte's answer to the Address.

who "will strip our museums of those sublime productions of genius, the fruits of our victories, and objects of eternal jealousy to our enemies."* The spring which gave vigour to the efforts of France, in 1798, was now exhausted. His old friends, the Jacobins, detested the man who had deserted them—the moderate party were wearied of war and bloodshed—the royalists looked forward to the restoration of their legitimate Sovereign, and only the military remained attached to him. Amongst these the furor which inflamed their minds in old times, was abated. The charm of victory was unknown to most of them, and no longer elated their minds, and bore them, without feeling or thought, through scenes of blood and destruction. France remained, comparatively speaking, deaf to his cries; while disaffection, not "loud but deep," rapidly spread throughout, and took a firm hold in the principal departments.

The preparations and plans of the allies were by this time complete. Their numerous armies in formidable array, hung, like the threatening tempest along the banks of the Rhine, from Basle to the German ocean. Provoked and wearied with the chicanery of the enemy they determined to commence offensive operations; but, previous to this, they issued from Frankfort, under the date of December 1st, 1813, a proclamation stating, in clear and explicit language, their objects and intentions. "The French Government" said this noble production, "has ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts. The motives of the Senatus-consultum to that effect contain an appeal to the allied powers. They, therefore, find themselves called upon to promulgate *anew*, in the face of the world, the views which guide them in the present war; the principles which form the basis of their conduct, their wishes, and their intentions.

"The allied powers do not make war upon France, but against that preponderance *haughtily* announced—against that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, the Emperor Napoleon has too long exercised, beyond the

* Lacepede's address, December 30th, 1813.

limits of his empire. Victory has conducted the allied armies to the banks of the Rhine. The allied Sovereigns desire that France may be great, powerful, and happy. They confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France, under her kings, never knew.

"But the allied powers also wish to be free, tranquil, and happy themselves. They desire a state of peace, which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, may henceforward preserve the people from the numberless calamities which have overwhelmed Europe for the last 20 years.

"*The allied powers will not lay down their arms, until they have attained this great and beneficial result, this noble object of their efforts. They will not lay down their arms, until the political state of Europe be re-established anew;—until immoveable principles have resumed their rights over vain pretensions;—until the sanctity of treaties shall have, at last, secured a real peace to Europe.*"

Such was the language of this noble document. Firm, clear, and determined; it was a death blow to the evasion, chicanery, falsehoods, and ambitious views of Bonaparte. The liberality of its principles, and the policy of its intentions was much cried down at the moment, but certainly without any just reason. The policy of making France more powerful than before the revolution, might indeed be questioned, after what Europe had suffered from her arms. But then, it should have been recollected, that a total change had taken place in the sentiments of the people and governments of Europe, which, for the future, would prove a check to her designs, and it was also a question of policy, how far any intention of wresting any portion of her territory from France, might not call forth a national feeling which would induce them to rally round the standards of a government, which it was clearly the wish of the allied powers, and a great portion of the French people themselves, should be destroyed. The government of France, however, beheld it in a different light to other people. They clearly appreciated its object, and trembled at the consequences. "This declaration," said they, "is unusual in the diplomacy of kings. *It is no longer to kings like themselves*, that they explain their griev-

ances, and send their manifestoes. *It is to the people they address them;* and from what motive do they adopt such a *new* method of proceeding? It is to separate the cause of the people from that of their governors, though the interests of society has every where united them.

"*May not this example be fatal?* should it be given at this period, when people's minds, agitated by all the diseases of pride, are so averse to bending under the authority which protects them, while it represses their audacity? and against whom is this indirect attack aimed? Against a great man, who *merited* the gratitude of all kings; because, by re-establishing the throne of France, he has *closed up the crater of the volcano which threatened them all.*"* Never was there a severer or more just censure passed upon the French revolution, nor a clearer statement of its diabolical views, than the latter words here quoted contain. Yes, the destruction of all kings, and the governments and liberty of Europe was its avowed object. Never was French audacity or impudence carried to a higher pitch, than to claim merit to a man and his adherents who had an hundred times sworn eternal hatred to all kings; who had raised themselves to what they were by their enmity against them; who had compelled many to beg their bread, and drink the bitter waters of affliction; to beg favour for a man and his followers, every act and declaration of whom, for the last twenty-four years, had been most pointedly addressed to disunite the people from their governors.

The adherents of the French government dwelt long upon this insidious declaration, as they chose to term it; and endeavoured by distorting the conferences at Frankfort, to arouse the jealousy and hatred of the French people against the allies. In these conferences, the preliminary basis proposed by the allies, was, *the independence by sea and land, of all the countries and states politically known at the beginning of the French Revolution.* This basis Bonaparte accepted; but the allies soon found, that he conceived, that Holland, for instance, could be as independent under a French viceroy, as under the Prince of

* Count Fontane's report, December 22d, 1813.

Orange. The allies justly thought otherwise. The conferences upon these subjects were no doubt of an important nature. Of their contents, however, we are not precisely informed. All we know of them, is from the *ex-parte* statements of a man, notorious for his disregard of truth; but even the statements which he himself has furnished us with, exhibit his wonted ingenuity in devising plans to divide the allies, and to calumniate Great Britain. These things he published, after undergoing the necessary process at Paris, with the intention of making the discontented in Britain and the people in France believe, that to the British government alone, was to be attributed the continuance of the war; and that the other powers were not prepared to support her pretensions. The following, among many others, is a striking instance of this mode of deception, and the miserable shifts to which the French government had recourse to accomplish their object. On the 9th December, at 9 P. M. says Baron St. Agneau; Prince Metternich sent for me, and amongst other things said, "that the allies were near coming to an understanding; that the ideas conceived of peace ought to give *just limits* to the power of England, and to France all the *maritime liberty* which she had a right to claim, as well as the other powers of Europe;—a few moments after, Count Nesselrode entered; he repeated the same things Prince Metternich had said, and stated that, Count Hardenberg, the minister of Prussia, might be considered as present, and approving all that was going to be said; I proposed to *note* down these words, in order to be able to give a correct report, which Count Nesselrode *insisted should be done on the spot*,* and Prince Metternich led me into a closet, where I wrote the note, and when finished, I retured into the room. Here, said Prince Metternich, is Lord Aberdeen, the English ambassador, our intentions are the same, and we may, therefore, continue our discourse in his presence. He then asked me to read what I had written. When I came to that article relat-

* Nesselrode was right, otherwise these conversations would have been reported still wider from truth than they even are.

ing to England, Lord Aberdeen seemed not to have well understood it. I read it a second time; he then observed that the expressions, "*freedom of commerce and rights of navigation*," were very vague; I answered, I had written what M. de Metternich had commissioned me to say. M. de Metternich replied, that in fact these expressions might *confuse* the question, and that it would be better to substitute others for them. He took the pen and wrote, that England would make the greatest sacrifices for peace, founded upon these bases," (those before laid down.)

"I observed, that these expressions were just as vague as those for which they had been substituted. Lord Aberdeen assented, and said, that it would be just as well to restore what I had written, that he reiterated the assurances that England was ready to make the greatest sacrifices, &c."* But in commenting upon this mischievous jumble of misrepresentation, the French government wished it to be believed that the Continental powers were willing to conclude peace upon these terms; or, that Britain had refused to abide by what her minister had sanctioned. Baron St. Agneau, say they, saw at Frankfort "the Austrian minister Prince Metternich, and the Russian minister Count Nesselrode. Both, in the name of their courts, laid before him, in a *confidential* conversation, the bases of a general pacification. The British ambassador, Lord Aberdeen, was present at this conference. *Observe this last fact, Senators, it is of importance.*"† The importance which the French government wanted the Senate and the people of France to attach to this was, that as Lord Aberdeen, to whom all the Continental powers were obedient, had *dictated* (for that was the invidious light in which French ingenuity wished to place it) a basis for negotiation, that consequently, his Government was bound to proceed upon this basis proposed by him; and, therefore, that all delay in entering upon the negotiations, under pretence of consulting the British Government, was only a disguise for the insincerity of their

* St. Agneau's report, November 9th.

† Fontane's report, December 22d.

professions. "It is difficult to suppose," said Caulincourt, "that Lord Aberdeen can have had powers to propose a basis, and not to negotiate. *His Majesty will not affront the allies.* They have been undeceived, and they still deliberate."* This designing and impudent insinuation, Prince Metternich boldly repelled. "The supposition," said he, "of your Excellency, that it was Lord Aberdeen who proposed the basis, and that he was furnished with powers for that purpose, *are wholly unfounded.*"† This, Caulincourt and his government were both perfectly aware of, though it suited their views to assert otherwise. With similar audacity did they attempt to propagate falsehoods about the conduct of the allies, with regard to the King of Saxony. "The Sovereign of Saxony," said the Conservative Senate "*has placed himself at the mercy of the allied powers.* Has he met with actions *conformable to the assurances given!* Unhappy reports are spread in Europe: may they not be realised."‡ The French Government forgot that Bonaparte informed them that he had *left* the King of Saxony at Leipsic, to prevent the principles of the allies spreading amongst his subjects. Notwithstanding the mischievous but absurd design of such accusations, yet, strange to say, this miserable rhapsody of expiring malevolence met with its advocates, and created alarm *only* in Britain. The allied powers had hitherto acted in a different manner, and there was no reason to suppose that they meant to alter their conduct. No! such accusations were no longer to be listened to, nor deserved an answer. The sword, it was now clear, was to be the only umpire in the approaching contest, and the fate of France and of Bonaparte were to be determined in Paris.

There was nothing that Europe dreaded so much as negotiations with Bonaparte. These, she well knew, could neither end in an honourable nor a solid peace. Her arm was lifted up for the fatal stroke; her courage and indignation were aroused to the highest pitch, by all the most powerful motives which ever animated the human mind, or called the combatants to

* Caulincourt's letter to Metternich, January 6th, 1814.

† Metternich's letter to Caulincourt, January 8th, 1814.

‡ Conservative Senate, December 27th, 1813.

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battle. She wished not to be checked in her course, while her disturber and destroyer remained able to occasion her any future uneasiness; and, in proportion, as she viewed with sorrow the negotiations at Frankfort, were her spirits elevated, when the grand and decisive movement took place which cut asunder this Gordian knot of doubt and perplexity—which banished all her fears—which animated her to further exertions, and left only one clear and noble path open for her march to certain glory and independence. *The allied armies crossed the Rhine.* What a moment! and what recollections! Twenty-two years of carnage and crimes had carried the French Eagles in triumph over Europe, and planted them on the ruins of Moscow. A twentieth part of the time had rolled back this torrent of desolation, and the sons of the Wolga, of the Danube, and of the Oder, in return now carried their triumphant banners over the "iron barrier" of the Rhine, without the smallest opposition.

THE ALLIES CROSSED THE RHINE! On the night of the 20th December, this important event took place at Basle and Schaffhausen; and, in a short period, from 160,000* to 200,000 of the bravest troops in Europe, had, at this point, crossed this noble stream, and took their way in different directions. Forty thousand under Bubna, marched in the direction of Geneva; a considerable force in the direction of Colmar; and the main body took the road to Franche Compte and Besancon. Lower down the river, Wittgenstein crossed at Strasburgh with 40,000 men. With this force, under the command of Prince Schwartzenberg, marched the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia; Lords Aberdeen, Cathcart, Burghersh, and Prince Metternich, with the other allied ministers. In order to prevent any attack, through this part of France, which was the most vulnerable, Bonaparte had induced his tools at the head of the Swiss government to proclaim the neutrality of that country, as if he could have for a moment supposed, that the allies would be so stupid as not to see the object of this. Whoever is not for me is against me, had long

* Sir C. Stewart's and other official dispatches.

been the adage on which he had acted; and it was idle to suppose that the allies would, for a moment, listen to the present neutrality of Switzerland, so notoriously proclaimed by French influence, and to suit French purposes. "The allied sovereigns cannot admit a neutrality which exists only in name. Without any pretensions to intermeddle with her interior relations, they will never suffer that Switzerland should be placed under a foreign influence. They will recognize her neutrality on that day on which she shall be free and independent, and their Imperial and Royal Majesties solemnly engage themselves not to lay down their arms before they ensure to the republic those places which France has torn from it."* This was just and decided language. While Count Bubna continued to march in the direction of Berne and Geneva, and the main army in the road to Besancon, General Wrede was left to besiege Huninguen, and the Prince of Wirtemberg to attack Kehl.

Lower down the river, General Blucher, with the "glorious army of Silesia," passed in the neighbourhood of Mayence on the 5th January. The first column, under Generals Lautern and D'York, passed at Caub. On the 3d, they took Bingen and marched upon Lautern. General Sacken, with another column, crossed at Manheim; and, after driving the enemy from all his positions, advanced to Alsig, on the left of General D'York. The 3d column, under General St. Priest, crossed at Coblentz, made himself master of the town, and took 500 prisoners. The united army of Silesia, disposable for the field, amounted to from 80 to 100,000 combatants. A third army, under Generals Kleist, Woronzow, Tettenborn, &c. with the Swedes, was rapidly assembling in the neighbourhood of Cologne, and soon after crossed at that place; while Bulow, with an army at least 50,000 strong, and which was daily augmenting from all quarters, had already entered the Netherlands. All these formidable armies were daily receiving numerous re-enforcements, sufficient to enable them to press forward with a powerful force, and at the same time leave a sufficient number to

* Count Capodistra, and the Chevalier de la Vestern's declaration to the Landamman.

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blockade the fortresses which they left in their rear. Europe, indeed, at this moment, was truly alive to her interest. Her whole population were in motion. From the Uralian mountains and the shores of the Caspian, the terrible current set with an irresistible impulse in the direction of Paris—forward they marched,

> "Rolling and blackening swarms succeeding swarms,
> With deeper murmurs and more hoarse alarms."

To Paris! so long the seat of violence, pride, and injustice, was the watchword of this formidable array. To Paris! the source of all our fatigues, pains, and miseries—to Paris! flamed on the warrior's helmet, and added lightening to the Cossack's spear.

The force which Bonaparte had at the beginning of this last campaign, cannot be so exactly ascertained as in the former campaigns; because the French official documents were not so communicative on that head as they had formerly been. However, a little attention will shew us that it was much more considerable than was generally supposed, and enable us to come very near the real number. The only difficulty is to ascertain the re-enforcements which joined the army that covered Paris, and this we shall, according to Bonaparte's way of acknowledging his loss at Leipsic, be able to do by "*approximation.*" At Laon he had on the 10th March 80,000 men, and he had lost at least 10,000 at Craonne, Soissons, and Rheims, before that; consequently, he must have had 90,000 men at that time against Blucher. The force left to oppose the main army under Schwartzenberg could not have been less than 61,000, or they could not have opposed him for a moment. His force therefore, at this moment, was at least 150,000 men. To that date, in his various struggles with the allied armies, he had lost 61,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides the loss from sickness and fatigue. At Paris, when it was taken, there were about 25,000 troops of the line, and 30,000 national guards, besides the force under Marmont and Oudinot. What re-enforcements from the battle of Laon joined him is uncertain. At Rheims, on the 14th, he received a considerable number; and Ames' division of 5000 men was marching to join him when met by the allied armies.

There was also a considerable force under General Alex, at Auxerre; of its strength we are ignorant, but it must have been considerable, as the allies had, under Guilay and others, from 8 to 12,000 men in that quarter. Augereau had 40,000 men at Lyons, part of whom, however, were from Suchet, (10,000.) The British journals stated Bonaparte's account of this army to have been exaggerated, but without any foundation; for Lord Burghersh said that Augereau moved with 25,000 men towards Macon, and up the Saonne, but then he had at the same time a very considerable force, at least 15,000 men, on the confines of Switzerland, and Savoy; and, in fact, his force was such, that though Count Bubna had about 40,000 men with him, Prince Schwartzenberg was obliged to detach General Bianchi, with 15,000 men, and other re-enforcements to oppose him. These things being premised, I shall proceed to put into a connected form what this force was altogether, and what had been called out subsequent to the battles of Leipsic, or the advance of the allies to the Rhine. In garrisons, besides these previously enumerated, there were

Besancon,	10,000	by Moniteur.
Huninguen,	3,000	.. Do.
Strasburgh,	(a) 13,000	.. Allies.
Spire,	(b) 9,000	..
Mentz,	15,000	.. Allies.
Wesel,	1,500	.. Do.
Bergen-op-Zoom,	5,000	.. Moniteur, Jan. 20th.
Grome,	2,000	.. Allies.
Bersleden,	4,000	.. Dutch.
Coevarden,	1,000	.. Do.
Batz,	500	.. Do.
Helder, (c)	800	..
Naarden,	1,200	..
Gorcum,	5,000	.. Moniteur.
Carry forward,	71,000	

(a) Paris, March 16th, 1814.—" Besides the garrison, there is from 7 to 8,000 national guards in Strasburgh.

(b) Spire, December 11th.—" Mortier reviewed 9,000 troops, which compose our garrison."—*Moniteur*.

(c) Amsterdam, December 15th.

Brought forward,		71,000
Flushing,		8,000 by Moniteur, Jan. 7th.
Antwerp,		18,000 . . Do. Dec. 4th, 1813.
Castle of Wurtzburgh,		3,000 omitted in 1813.
Neuport,		1,000
Bruges,		1,200
Lisle, Valenciennes, Metz, Thionville, Befort, Verdun, Bitche, Maestricht,	(a)	9,900
Arnheim,		4,000
Bois le Duc,		900
Total,	(b)	117,000

According to the Moniteur, March 16th, 1813, about 150 battalions were in the interior of the Empire, and which of course, in part, formed these garrisons, and afterwards re-enforced them upon the approach of the allies.

In garrisons in Poland and Germany, by other tables,		113,400
In fresh garrisons, on the Rhine, Holland, and frontiers,		117,000
Remains of Grand army,		51,000
Do. of Beauharnois,		43,000
Do. of Davoust and Danes,		38,000
Force at 9th March, deducting the remains of the Grand army already enumerated,		99,000
Lost till that date,		61,000
Suppose with General Alex, at Auxerre, &c.		5,000
In Paris at its capture, besides Marmont and Oudinot,		58,000
Corps of Maison, &c. on side of Flanders,	(c)	20,000
Carry forward,		605,400

(a) Uncertain, but most probably their strength exceeded this number; and to these we have to add numerous garrisons in places of inferior note, whose numbers are unknown.

(b) Besides troops at sea-ports, and all other strong places in the interior. The Moniteur, April 6th, 1813, informed us that 37 cohorts, of 1,000 men each, were organized to defend the sea-ports.

(c) Sir C. Stewart, November 24th, mentions Molitor's corps, on the confines of Holland, of this force. These were incorporated very likely with the garrisons, but their places were supplied by others. The force on this side was, at least, 20,000 though not assembled in one body. The Moniteur, October 15th, 1813, said 16,000 troops were in the kingdom of Cassel. Jerome had 5,000 of these, when he got into "*a horrible state;*" and perhaps 5 or 6,000 of Douanier's, &c. made their escape from all the Northern parts of Germany, which would make 22,000 that would get across the Rhine at Dusseldorf, and would be placed in garrisons in the Netherlands.

Brought forward,		605,400
Augereau, at Lyons,		40,000
Re-enforced in Italy, by Moniteur, December 3d,	(a)	22,000
Do. do. do. do, January 21st,		24,000
Suchet and garrisons in Spain, deducting 10,000 sent to Augereau,	(b)	42,000
Soult and garrisons of Navareins, &c.	(c)	90,000
General Ames' corps,		5,000
		828,400

From the above statement it would appear that his force, at the commencement of the campaign, anticipating the re-enforcements which joined him till 9th March, would stand thus, viz.

In garrisons, including Spain and Bayonne,	262,400
In Italy, under Beauharnois, &c.	89,000
Under Soult, deducting the garrison of Bayonne,	80,000
Do. Suchet, after re-enforcing Augereau, and exclusive of garrisons,	20,000
Do. Augereau,	40,000
Do. Bonaparte, including Alax,	155,000
In Paris at capture, besides Marmont and Oudinot,	58,000
Under General Ames, re-enforcements all taken,	5,000
Do. Maison, Decaen, &c. in Flanders,	20,000
Do. Davoust, including Danes,	38,000
Lost by the Grand army alone till the battle of Craonne,	61,000
	828,400

or 505,000 for the field, and 255,000 in garrisons. These numbers give as fresh re-enforcements, by new levies, or troops in the interior, from the advance of the allies to the Rhine, in November, as under, viz.

(a) This would make Beauharnois' army, at the first of the year, 65,000. The Moniteur January 21st, says it was then 60,000, *exclusive of garrisons*, and the next or second reserve would raise it, by the one account, to 89,000, by the other, to 84,000. The garrisons were numerous and strong. Genoa, when taken, had 6000. Venice, Mantua, &c. must have had very strong garrisons.

(b) Official report by the Secretary of War to the Cortes, Madrid, March 28th, states the number of French troops in garrisons in Spain at 20,000, besides Lerida, Mequinenza, &c.

(c) Soult and Suchet both detached large bodies of old troops to Bonaparte, but their places were immediately supplied by Conscripts, which make no difference in the total numbers. *Paris, January 12th*, 1814, army under Soult from 90 to 100,000 men.

To army to cover Paris, including force from Soult,	223,000
Do. Beauharnois,	46,000
Do. Soult, besides replacing old troops detached,	27,000
Do. Augereau,	30,000
Do. Maison, &c. in Flanders,	20,000
Do. garrisons on the Rhine and the frontiers, allowing that these were only half manned at the battles of Leipsic,	50,000
Total,	404,000

Which were raised from the conscription of 280,000 men in October, 40,000 belonging to Molitor's corps, and those which fled with Jerome, and from Westphalia, and other places in the north of Germany; 9,000 men at Spire on the 11th December, perhaps those which escaped across the Rhine in that direction, of French spies, douaniers, and troops, from Baden, Wirtemberg and Swabia; and 15,000, the conscription for the kingdom of Italy, together 344,000, without including any part of the 150 battalions, which were, according to the Moniteur, guarding the interior, nor the conscription of 300,000 men, called upon in November, nor any of the force from the naval depots, which, it is well known, were drained to recruit the army, and which were not included in the conscriptions for it.* These things, placed in different items before the reader, will no doubt astonish him. But nothing was more easy than the collection of this force, when we recollect the dreadful conscription laws of France, which always kept their battalions and their regiments full, and when we remember that all the male population of France, from sixteen to forty-five were soldiers, and were what was called the national guards,† of which a great part of the present force of Bonaparte was composed, both for the garrisons and the army. France, therefore, notwithstanding the dreadful reverses of the two previous years was still formidable, as besides an armed

* For last five years 80,000 conscripts for the navy. *French Exposé, Feb. 25th, 1813*, 30 or 40,000 annually were to be called out in the maritime departments reserved from army conscriptions for that purpose.

† "And now what are the national guards of the Empire? The nation armed." *Conservative Senate, March 10th, 1812.*

population, she had the *remains* of an army of a million of men*, besides still some vassals and auxiliaries. Every year the number of youths which came of age, and liable to the conscription, were 360,000; and every one of these that were not called upon, and who were not married before they were called upon, were still liable to serve whenever the government required them, till they reached the age of forty-five, and, in cases of emergency, like the present, till they were sixty, unless excused by sickness, or other bodily infirmities. So formidable still was Bonaparte, and such was the force he still had left, to put down which, required "*Europe in arms;*" and which obviously and clearly accounts for the dreadful struggle which the allies had to support, in order to accomplish his overthrow. The accounts of his strength were, by many, turned into ridicule; while, at the same time, at every point where the allies met him, they still found formidable numbers; and none were readier, when this was the case, to rate his force as superior in numbers to the allies, than those who at first decried them as unworthy of notice. This was not dealing fair with the public.†

Still more formidable, however, were the forces which were brought against him, and which could be recruited to any extent. From the Vistula on the East, from Italy on the

* "You were lately a *million* of men." *Address to the army by the Provisional Government, April 2d,* 1814.

† French re-enforcements not enumerated nor referred to in the tables or the notes:—

Paris, January 29th—"Mortier received another re-enforcement of 10,000 men."

Provins, January 30th.—"The army of the Duke of Treviso, 40,000 strong, broke up from Troyes this morning." It is not mentioned that Mortier was in the battle of Brienne, where Bonaparte had 80,000 men; this re-enforcement would therefore make his force 120,000. Moniteur, February 2d.

Mæstricht, Jan. 16th.—Macdonald's proclamation. "One hundred thousand troops of the line are *behind* us. Two hundred thousand national guards are marching from Normandy, Piccardy, and Artois; and may be triple[illegible]

Leige, December 4th.—"It is certain that we have an army of 30,[illegible] men at Sedan."

Mons, January 20th.—"Troops of the line and national guard[illegible] Chamberry,

south-east, from Spain on the south, independent of the navy of Great Britain, the following is nearly the strength which were *immediately and actively* engaged to conquer or to overthrow him:—

Austrians,	250,000
Russians,	250,000
Prussians,	200,000
All the *ci-devant* Confederation of the Rhine,	145,000
British, in Spain and Netherlands,	60,000
Spaniards and Portuguese,	80,000
Swedes,	30,000
Dutch, but newly organized,	30,000
Neapolitans,	30,000
Danes,	10,000
	1,085,000

Besides immense forces not employed, and the Landwehr, &c. Still, some of these forces are certainly under-rated. The Russian force that recrossed the Rhine was 240,000 strong. Prince Repnin, in his address to the inhabitants of Saxony, November 8th, 1814, expressly states that they had furnished supplies

8,000 men, and increasing daily." Same paper, same date, on the 16th there were at Grenoble, 15,000 men and sixty pieces of cannon.

Paris, January 27th.—" Yesterday his majesty reviewed 18,000 horse and foot."

Paris, January 19th.—" Yesterday his majesty reviewed 18,000 men of all ranks, all marched off to the army."

Paris, Feb. 7th.—" Two divisions of the army of Spain passed to the Grand army; re-enforced before Bayonne by conscripts." *Moniteur.*

Paris, Feb. 8th.—" Second division of the army of Spain arrived at Versailles."

Paris, Feb. 5th.—" Joseph reviewed yesterday several corps of cavalry, infantry, and artillery; the cavalry were very numerous; marched for the armies."

Paris, March 3d.—" To-day 4,500 national guards of *Loire Inferiure*, &c. arrived here, and marched to the Emperor's army.

Paris, March 21st.—" Numerous re-enforcements of troops joined his majesty at Rheims, brought by General Jansens; 10,000 from Suchet joined Augereau. Every day regiments pass for the army."

Paris, March 24th.—" Ever since Sunday large bodies of troops, cavalry, and infantry, march for the army. On the 20th several regiments of old troops from Britanny set out for the army.

to 400,000 men returning to their country, and which could only be the Russians and the Prussians. When we recollect that a very large portion of the Prussian army was left on the Rhine, and that Russia had perhaps 30,000 men before Hamburgh, and other places, which did not pass through Saxony in their return, we may form some estimate of the vast force which Russia had in this contest. She, indeed, put forth all her strength, as did all engaged in it. What a tremendous struggle did the overthrow of Napoleon and French ambition cost Europe? Posterity will treat as fabulous, the account of the numbers employed in this dreadful conflict.

The following is the manner in which this vast force was divided, and employed at the passage of the Rhine:—

IN ITALY.		
Austrians,	70,000	
Neapolitans,	30,000	
		100,000
IN SPAIN.		
Opposing Suchet,	20,000	
Besieging Bayonne, &c.	30,000	
Opposing Soult,	80,000	
		130,000
Besieging Hamburgh,	30,000	
		30,000
BESIEGING GARRISONS.		
Dantzic, (a)	50,000	
All other Garrisons, at least equal to the force in them, including the British in Netherlands,	193,000	
		243,000
AT FIRST CROSSING THE RHINE.		
Prince Schwartzenberg,	200,000	
Blucher,	100,000	
St. Priest, Kliest, &c.	50,000	
		350,000
Carry forward,		853,000

(a) Berlin Gazette.

Brought forward,			853,000
Russian Reserves, and Guards,	(a)	40,000	
Danes,		10,000	
Swedes,		30,000	
Dutch,		30,000	
Bulow, Woronzow, Tettenborn, Thielman, &c. including all the rest of the Crown Prince's army,	(b)	125,000	
			235,000
Total,	(c)		1,088,000

(a) These passed the Rhine after the Grand Army had entered France, and were those for which Schwartzenberg retreated from Troyes to secure his junction with them.

(b) There were probably more, but the increased numbers proceeded from the troops which pressed forward from the garrisons which had fallen in Germany, after the first passage of the Rhine. Bulow left Holland with upwards of 50,000 men, upwards of 40,000 crossed the Rhine at Cologne, before the arrival of the Swedes, and vast numbers in all directions. It was a continued swarm.

(c) The following are a few of the vast re-enforcements which crossed the Rhine, after the great armies of the allies passed that river:—

January 14th, 1814.—" Prussian and Russian guards crossed at Basle, 30,000 strong." Sir C. Stewart.

Basle, January 31st.—" Numerous columns of Russian troops passed the Rhine at Rynsweiller on the 28th."

Basle, February 5th.—" Five thousand troops passed this for France."

Nuremberg, February 9th.—" A strong Russian force to pass this; the advance composed of 1,000 Cossacks passed to-day, and columns will pass daily without intermission."

Leyden, January 30th.—" Russian reserves under de Tolli 40,000 strong." This is supposed the same mentioned in next reference, and at any rate is the force which Schwartzenberg retreated from Troyes the first time, in order to secure his junction with de Tolli.

Schaffhausen, February 17th.—" Last week many Austrian and Russian troops passed here, and we expect immediately 40,000 more. To-day the 1st column of the Austrian army of reserve arrived here, consisting of two battalions of chasseurs, and three of Hungarian infantry."

Basle, March 5th.—" The Baden troops 15,000 infantry and 2,000 horse, broke up from the neighbourhood of Strasburgh for France."

Breda, January 9th.—" Forty thousand of the allied troops passed through this city."

Breda, January 5th.—" Thirty thousand of the Crown Prince's army arrived at Dusseldorf, and proceeded for Blücher's army." This is supposed to be part of St. Priest and Kliest's corps of 30,000, which arrived at Bommel.

Dorsten, January 26th.—" Several thousand Russian troops passed here yester-

But if we double the above number, we shall not exceed the strength of the regular troops on foot in each nation; and if we treble it we shall still fall short of the number of men in arms throughout Europe—all marching, and ready to march to Paris.

In recording as briefly as possible, the wonderful events of the ensuing campaign, I shall, to avoid confusion, follow the operations of the Grand Army until the junction with Blucher at the battle of Brienne. After this I shall trace the operations of Blucher to the same period, and then follow the operations in Holland and the Netherlands, until that date

day evening, and we expect 6,000 to-morrow. A division of Saxon troops has also passed this place."

Bois le Duc, February 6th.—" Detachments of troops arrive daily; yesterday 2,000 Saxons arrived."

Aix la Chapelle, February 8th.—" Five thousand Russians and Cossacks arrived yesterday, and departed this morning."

Cologne, February 9th.—" Woronsow's corps, and Major Lutzen's free corps, from 12 to 15,000 arrived here to-day; on 8th and 10th arrived Tettenborn, &c. from 8th to 11th passed here 36,559 men, and 6,624 horses."

Brussels, February 24th—" Forty thousand of the Crown Prince's army has passed Namur, (this number is supposed the same as the two preceding ones.) Besides Bulow's and Winzengerode's force, in another direction, 50,000 strong. The Swedish army, 30,000 strong, crossed the Rhine, some time after those already mentioned."

Breda, March 1st—" Three thousand Prussian troops passed yesterday; to-morrow 3,000 more will pass this."

Bremen, February 28th and 1st March.—" Ten thousand men under Walmoden, passed this place for France."

Brussels, March 7th—" A corps of 12,000 cavalry, and 40,000 infantry are to pass through Namur between the 2d and 11th March."

Brussels, March 21st.—" Thielman's corps, 6,000 strong, arrived at Tournay."

Cassel, March 5th.—" Nine thousand Hessian troops (*the 3d column*) marched for France."

Brussels, March 11th.—" We expect 10,000 men of the Crown Prince's army, which yesterday reached Louvain."

Vienna, February 22d.—" Six thousand disposable troops, almost all troops of the line, are ready to march to the Rhine."

Bulow's proclamation, Laon, middle of March.—" The Crown Prince to come with 80,000 fresh troops."

" Danish auxilliary army 10,000 strong."

" The Rhenish States to furnish in all 145,000 men."

when the operations of all the armies were directed to one grand point, the occupation of Paris.

From Deux Ponts and Keyserslautern, on the north, a ridge of mountains, called the Vosges, run nearly parallel to the Rhine, and about thirty miles from the course of that river, as far as the neighbourhood of Besancon and the defiles of Porentrui on the south, at which latter place they are joined to branches of the Alps which intersect Switzerland. From the southern end of that ridge rise the springs of the Saone, which runs south to the Rhone, and from the west side issue the springs of the Moselle, which runs north to the Rhine. Any passage across these mountains is very difficult for a numerous army; while on the northern corner, a chain of fortifications meet the invader on the road to Paris. The defiles of Porentrui, and the fortified town of Besancon, with those of inferior note, viz. Blamont and Befort, afford the only obstacle to an invading army in that quarter. These, however, are, by no means barriers of a formidable nature. Between these and Paris no obstacle whatever intervenes, except what a numerous army may oppose to an enemy. By the course which the army of the allies took they avoided the difficulty and danger of a passage across the mountains, while the main army, supported on its left by the forces marching on Geneva, after passing Besancon, turned in a north-west direction towards Paris. Advancing in this direction, it was plain that they would come upon the rear of the French army, should it attempt to make a stand against Blucher on the line of Lautern or the Moselle, while, on the other hand, if the enemy collected all his forces to oppose the main army of the allies in the neighbourhood of Besancon, the advance of Blucher in a W. S. W. direction, would place them still in a similar situation. Unless, therefore, the enemy had a force sufficient to oppose each of these armies, it was obvious he could not, without the utmost danger of total destruction, prevent the junction of the allied armies upon the Marne, and in the very heart of France. The advance of Bulow through the Netherlands, who threatened Paris with a superior force from that quarter, and

at the same time the rear of Macdonald's army assembled between Cologne and Liege, while the latter was opposed in front by the accumulated force of Kleist in that direction, rendered the advance of Blucher quite secure, and free from any danger from Macdonald coming upon his rear. Whoever casts his eye over a good map will perceive the masterly plans and movements of the allies, which at once brought the din and desolation of war into the lion's den, and the deepest recesses of his strength and power, which had hitherto been beautified and enriched by the spoils of Europe. The lads of Paris, who, in the preceding spring, were "to finish the contest on the confines of Asia," were now to see it finished on the heights of Montmartre, and in the palace of the Thuilleries.

Upon entering the French territory, Prince Schwartzenberg issued a proclamation to the people of that country, which, like all his other proclamations, was just and energetic. It spoke volumes in every sentence: "We do not make war upon France, but we repel far from us that yoke which your government wished to impose upon our respective countries, which have the same rights to independence as yours. We are not animated by the spirit of vengeance. We wish not to retaliate upon France the numberless calamities with which France, for the last twenty years, overwhelmed her neighbours and the most distant countries. The only conquest which is the object of their ambition is that of peace; but, at the same time, a peace which shall secure to their own people, to France, and to Europe, a state of real repose. We hoped to find it before touching the soil of France. We come hither in quest of it."* On the 21st December, the head-quarters were at Lorach, while the different divisions of the army continued their route. On the 23d, Count Bubna, entered Berne, and that canton, together with that of Soleure and Zurich, quickly overthrew their Frenchified constitution, and returned to the old order of things. On the 30th, Count Bubna reached Geneva, from

* Schwartzenberg's proclamation, Lorach, Dec. 21st, 1813.

which the French troops hastily withdrew, an the town was taken possession of by the Austrian troops. The French account of this is a very curious one. "By a sort of fatality, General Jordy, who commanded in the town, and who had put it in a good state of defence, was attacked with a fit of apoplexy upon the morning of the day when the enemy appeared. The officer who commanded under him suffered himself to be prevailed upon by the citizens, and the garrison left the city."* From this city Count Bubna sent out detachments in the directions of Lyons and Grenoble, and occupied the passes of the Alps, at St. Bernard and St. Gothard, from Italy, and extended his patroles to Turin. Prince Schwartzenberg moved from Altkirch to Montbelliard. The Bavarians, under Gen. Wrede, were at Colmar, General Bianchi invested Befort. Prince Hesse formed the blockade of Besancon, Count Wittgenstein crossed the Rhine at Fort Louis, and occupied forts Vauban and Alsace, and pushed his advanced parties in the direction of Nancy; while other detachments, with the Cossacks from the centre of the army, advanced as far as Epinal and Langres. A few trifling skirmishes were the only conflicts which had yet taken place; the enemy retreating in every direction as the allies advanced. For some time the information, on the part of the enemy was very scanty and unsatisfactory. All they chose to mention was where their principal Generals had arrived. According to these accounts, Victor, Duke of Belluno, had passed the Vosges, and fixed his head-quarters at Bocaro. Ney, Prince of Moskwa, at Nancy, and Duhesme at St. Diez; while, according to the same authority, on the 6th, 800 of the allies entered Lons Le Saunier, and 600 Dole, which they took possession of in the name of the Emperor of Austria; and they asserted that, on the 9th, the allies were foiled in their first attempt upon Langres with some loss.

Langres, however, was occupied by General Guilay, upon the 12th, and it was the only place, says Sir C. Stewart,

* Paris, Jan. 5th. Moniteur, Jan. 6th, 1814.

"where the allies have not been well received,"* the inhabitants at the instigation of one of the extraordinary commissioners (as was afterwards ascertained) having fired upon them. On the 12th, Prince Schwartzenberg's head-quarters were at Vesoul, and on the 16th at Langres; the Cossacks continuing very far in advance. On the 10th, the Bavarians under General Wrede, had a very sharp action with the enemy, near St. Drey. They were commanded by Marshal Victor, and were the assailants. at first the enemy were successful; and the French cavalry under General Mulhaud repulsed the allied force. The speedy arrival of General de Roy's Bavarian brigade restored the fortune of the day, and the enemy were beaten and compelled to retire "towards Luneville, with the loss of several officers, a considerable number of killed and wounded, and 500 prisoners."† The enemy was now understood to be collecting his forces near Chalons, on the Marne, at the place where the career of the allies was stopped in 1792, and where he presumed, no doubt, that the same fate would await them in 1814. On the 14th, the Russian and Prussian guards and reserves, 30,000 strong, crossed the Rhine at Basle, to follow the army to which their sovereigns were now advancing. "It is quite impossible," said Sir C. Stewart, "to give an idea of these troops by any description. Their warlike appearance, their admirable equipment, their military perfection; and when one considers what they have undergone, and contemplates the Russians, who have traversed their own regions, and marched in a few months from Moscow across the Rhine, one is lost in wonder and admiration."‡

The grand army continued its advance in the direction of Chaumont and Troyes, leaving a force to blockade Besancon, and the other fortresses in their rear. The force under Bubna advanced towards Lyons, and occupied Macon, Bourg, and Chalons, on the Saone, while the main army continued its advance upon Chaumont, its left moving upon Dijon, and the

* Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, Basle, Jan. 14th, 1814, and also Lord Cathcart's do.

† Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, do. and Lord Burghersh's, Jan. 14th.

‡ Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, do. do.

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right towards Toul and Nancy, in which direction Blucher was advancing. The enemy was now compelled to speak out. The advance of the allies could no longer be either concealed or treated lightly; and accordingly a long official article appeared in the Moniteur of the 21st, under the head of "*news from the armies.*" But these merely recounted the positions which their Generals were successively obliged to abandon; and that on the 19th, the Duke of Treviso (Mortier) had taken up a position at Chaumont, where he had been joined by two new divisons and 70 pieces of cannon. The Duke of Ragusa was at St. Mihiel, after having provisioned Thionville, Metz, Bitche and Verdun; and Victor had fallen back from Strasburgh upon Nancy, and was in communication with Ragusa and Treviso. The Duke of Tarentum and Sebastiani had put Nimeguen, Venloo, Juliers, and Graves, in a good state of defence, but had been obliged to *concentrate* their forces on the 14th at Maestricht, and on the 18th at Namur. On the side of the Netherlands, General Molitor had abandoned Holland. In Italy, the Viceroy, with 60,000 men, had his head-quarters at Verona, and his communications open with Venice; while Mantua and other fortresses were well supplied and provisioned. An army of reserve, 24,000 strong, was at Alexandria, and the conscription organising in Piedmont. Augereau had arrived at Lyons, and was assembling a force in all haste, which was to be augmented by part of Suchet's army, now to be withdrawn from Catalonia. Camps of reserve were forming at Meaux, Chalons, Soissons, Troyes, and Arcis Sir Aube. One hundred squadrons of cavalry were forming at Meaux and Melun, under the Generals of division, Borde, Soult, and Pajol, and the national guards of Normandy, Poitou, and Brittany, were on their march to re-enforce the camps at the above places, and 600 pieces of cannon were collected at Chalons under General Ruty."

Such were the positions and the enumeration of the French armies at the commencement of this campaign; different indeed from any which for many years had appeared in that haughty

* Moniteur, January 21st, 1814.

and arrogant Gazette, and which at the same time announced an equally unexpected and alarming event; namely, the inability of the national bank to make good its engagements in the regular way. Bonaparte had exhausted its funds; and, no doubt, many individuals afraid of the worst, had commenced the withdrawing their money in order to secret it. This compelled the bank to stop, and limit its payments to 500,000 francs daily, and which sum was only to be paid in portions, to those individuals who had a certificate from the Mayor in the quarter where they resided. This was a tremendous blow to French vanity, and to the ardent admirers and extollers of French wealth and power. Their means were proven not only to be limited, but exhausted; while the whole debts of this mighty bank, was proven to be only 44,700,500 francs, and its property 45,68,000 francs, a sum exceeded by almost every provincial bank in Britain.*

Matters were now arrived at that point, in the affairs of Bonaparte, when "flying hence or tarrying here" was equally dangerous. Necessity compelled him to leave Paris to put himself at the head of his armies; but under what different circumstances was it to those which he had been accustomed to; yet one of the French Journals, with the thoughtlessness of that people, congratulated the people of Paris, "that by the near approach of the head-quarters of their army unto the capital, the supplies would be the more expeditiously conveyed to it!" Bonaparte appeared to leave Paris at this moment with particular reluctance. He seemed to doubt the noisy loyalty of the Parisians, and to think that he should never return. Either this was the case, or like the actor upon the stage, who can call forth passions in his audience which he himself cannot feel, Bonaparte endeavoured to arouse the feelings of the Parisians. Mustering the national guards of Paris, which he had called out under his own command, as a mark of his special favour, he informed them, that as the French territory was invaded, he went to place himself

* Audibert's report, January 18th.—Sec. to Committee.

at the head of his armies, whom by the blessing of God*, he hoped to lead to victory, and to expel the invaders beyond the borders; and that, in the meantime, he left under their care the objects of his dearest affections, conscious that if in the midst of those "*grand manœuvres which were preparing*," any hordes of the enemy's light troops should threaten their repose, by approaching the borders of his capital, that they would do their duty, and protect the charge he had confided unto them. During this discourse, which was spoken *in a tremulous tone, the Emperor continued to fix his looks tenderly upon the Empress, and King of Rome, whom, his august mother carried in her arms.* "It is impossible," said the Moniteur, "to describe the effects of this transporting and affecting scene. At that instant a thousand voices resounded—a thousand arms were raised to swear to defend the precious trust confided to a faithful people; enthusiasm and emotion were at their height; tears flowed from every eye; every father on seeing that infant, the hope of the nation, thought of his sons; monarch, princes, subjects, assembled by the same wishes, bound by the same sentiment, seemed but to form one great family, and to confound in the defence of the country all their affections, all their interests, all their courage." "No, Sire!" they said. "No! the enemy *shall not come to Paris* as they flatter themselves; they shall no more than they did in 1792. We have once driven them from Champaigne, and we will all serve you."† After this theatrical scene, at seven o'clock of the 25th January, Bonaparte left Paris for the army. Oh! would he tell his feelings, how distressing these must, at this moment, have been—tears, such as Emperors weep, must then have dimmed those eyes which had so often overlooked, without emotion, the carnage-covered field. A story is attempted to be circulated, that the Emperor had previously been employed with a celebrated actor in studying the most affecting address and most engaging attitudes, in order to move the feelings of the Parisians.‡ If the story is true, it on-

* Moniteur, January 24th, and Gazette de France, January 21st.

† Moniteur, &c.

‡ Gérard's Campaigns of 1813 and 1814.

ly shews how an actor of *any description* may call forth the attention of the people of Paris to his views, and adds little to their national character; but the story appears to be one of those to which the people of France have recourse to blacken his character, though done at the expense of their own understanding. There can be little doubt but at this moment Bonaparte must have felt much of what he here expressed and shewed, though he was politic and ambitious enough to make those feelings serve his purpose, in withdrawing the attention of the Parisians from their real situation. But the time to shew such feelings with effect was past. The heart of Europe was *steeled* against receiving any favourable impression from them. His public conduct had long been so atrocious, that there was no individual, except men like himself, who regarded his private griefs. In this farewell scene between Bonaparte and his family, the reader cannot fail to recollect the affecting scene of the last parting of the gallant Hector and the affectionate Andromache, as it is so feelingly recorded by Homer. But how different was one character here, at least, to what that of Hector was; and if the Empress felt what the faithful Andromache did, and had her sentiments been related to us, we should have had the same melancholy forebodings as issued from her tender lips, and the same dread of the doom of her Lord that Andromache had.

> Europe, while torn by faction, "strove in vain;
> "Now hosts oppose thee, and thou must be slain."*

But, to return to the operations of the indefatigable Blucher. Having effected the passage of the Rhine, as has been already mentioned, an event, says Sir C. Stewart, which will be as memorable for its rapidity and decision, in military annals, as the passage of the Elbe,† he continued to advance, in defiance of the severity of the season and the dreadful state of the roads. "Soldiers, (said he to his army) you are now about to pass the Rhine, to compel to peace the enemy, whom nothing can con-

* Pope's Homer's Iliad, Book VI. verse 517.

† Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, Frankfort, January 5th, 1814.

sole for having lost, *in two campaigns*, those conquests which cost him 19 years to acquire. Soldiers! to the conquerors of the Katzbach, of Wittemberg, Mockern, and of Leipsic, it is only necessary for me to point out the road to fame, and I am sure of a happy result."* To the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine, he said, "To restore the freedom and independence of nations, and to conquer peace, I have conducted the army of Silesia to the left bank of the Rhine. The Emperor, Napoleon, had included Holland, a part of Germany, and of Italy, within the boundaries of the French Empire; and he has declared that though his enemy should occupy the heights of Paris, he will not cede one village of his conquests."† Marmont, who was the immediate opponent of Blucher at this time, upon his approach, abandoned the formidable pass of Keyserslautern, where such torrents of blood was shed in the early years of the revolution. On the 10th, Blucher's head-quarters were at Kassel, and soon after at Saarbruck. To this date he had made 3,000 prisoners. D'York advanced to Metz, Sacken to Pont-a-Mousson, and Kliest to Thionville, leaving sufficient forces to blockade the fortresses in the rear. On the 14th, General Sacken, with his division, took possession of Nancy, at which time he came in communication with General Wrede's corps, which had been relieved in the blockade of Huninguèn, and now formed the right of the main army. The armies of the allies were now in full communication in the heart of France. The strictest discipline was observed by them. "No act of outrage of any sort," said Lord Burghersh, "has been committed by any of the troops; and, it is to their honour, that they have abstained from different conduct, while the countries from which they have been assembled have witnessed the cruel example held out to them by the French troops."‡

In the meantime, the enemy having collected a disposable force of 20,000 men, in the neighbourhood of Breda, under the command of Gen. Decaen, lately arrived from Spain; General

* Blucher's proclamation, January 1st, 1814.

† Do. do. do.

‡ Burghersh's dispatch, January 14th.

Bulow, with a division of the army under his command, left Breda on the 11th January, to attack this force. In this attack he was assisted by the British forces under the command of General Graham. After a severe engagement, which was obstinately contested by the enemy, his position at Hoogstraten was forced at all points, and he was compelled to relinquish the field of battle with the loss of 12 or 14 pieces of cannon, and at least 3,000 men, including 800 prisoners. The loss of the allies was also considerable; but it was much inferior to that of the enemy. After the battle, the defeated enemy took up a position at Breskaat heath, not far from Antwerp. Here they were to have been attacked again on the 12th, but they retired during the night, and General Bulow next day occupied the position which they had held the preceding evening, On the 13th, the enemy were again attacked in their position in front of Antwerp; and by the valour of that division of the allied army under the command of General Graham, they were driven into Antwerp with considerable loss. The British loss in this latter affair was 40 killed and wounded.* The enemy, in his account of this affair, had the hardihood to assert that every attempt of the allies was defeated with enormous loss. But the reverse was proved to be the fact, from the consequences which followed. Bois le Duc capitulated on the 26th. Antwerp was blockaded, and Bergen-op-Zoom invested; and the enemy soon after made a great boast of the exploit of General Maison forcing his way through the blockading army before these places, in order to join the Duke of Tarentum. The severity of the season, and the strength of these places, defended by numerous garrisons, prevented any progress being made in the sieges; while Bulow, re-enforced, left a sufficient force before Antwerp, (General Graham taking charge of Bergen-op-Zoom) and pressing forward into Belgium, on his way to France, as has been already noticed, compelled Macdonald to retreat in all haste upon Liege and Namur, and afterwards towards Rheims and Soissons. The number of troops which passed in this direction, and by Cologne and

* General Graham's dispatch, Calamhout, January 14th; and Dutch Gazette.

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Dusseldorf, were very great; day after day the divisions of the Crown Prince's army, and other re-enforcements, arrived, and pushed forward; while, on the upper Rhine, equal activity in the march of troops was displayed. Wittemberg had been taken by storm, after a gallant resistance, in which most of the garrison were put to the sword. Dresden had surrendered; and these besieging armies moved forward to supply the place of those ordered forward from other places in advance: "and thus, (said Sir C. Stewart) we have re-enforcements, and three lines of reserve, as it were, on the Oder, the Elbe, and the Rhine, from which we constantly derive aid."*

Concerning the operations in Italy, the information is more scanty. After numerous engagements, with considerable loss on both sides, the Viceroy was constantly obliged to retrograde; though, considering the force which the Austrian Generals had to assail him, it must be acknowledged that he defended himself with skill and bravery. The country indeed was strong, and the season of the year very unfavourable for the operations of an invading army. Still, however, the Austrians persevered. Venice was surrounded. A force under General Nugent was landed South of the Po, and advanced along the bank of that river. Rovigo, Lorio, and Adria, with the adjoining territory, were taken possession of by the Austrians, who repulsed a severe sally, which, the enemy, in the presence of the Viceroy, made from Legnago. Beauharnois depended much upon the advance of the Neapolitan army to counteract the operations of Nugent, and to attack the Austrians on the flank and rear. But he was grievously disappointed; Murat was advancing for a different purpose. He, too, had forsaken the fortunes of his former friend, and also near relation—he joined the allies. It is most astonishing the ignorance in which the French cabinet seemed to be of these defections. They seemed to be taken completely unawares by them, and to have no idea of them. Bribery and corruption, which had so often served their cause in the cabinet, even better than their armies in the field, was completely beyond the reach of all their agents.

* Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, Basle, January 17th, 1814.

The situation of the Viceroy now became one of great danger and difficulty: but we shall see in the sequel that he continued to make head against it with less disastrous consequences than his master did. In Dalmatia, the French affairs were equally unfortunate. The indefatigable exertions of Captain Hoste, and other British officers in the Adriatic, soon reduced their garrisons to the necessity of surrendering. On the night of the 12th October, a division of the enemy's gun-boats, and the fort of St. George, near the important post of Cattaro, was taken by Captain J. Harper, of the Saracen, in the most gallant manner; and General Gauthier, with 600 men, cooped up in the fort of Cattaro; and, soon after, this important place surrendered to the allies. A brilliant exploit was also performed about this time by a detachment from the ships of the British fleet, off Leghorn. On the night of the 13th December, a considerable force, with some Italian levies, were landed, unexpectedly, under the command of G. H. Dundas of his Majesty's ship Edinburgh. The enemy were defeated at all points, and compelled to take refuge in the town; but it being strongly fortified, and the inhabitants making no effort to assist the troops, the British forces were reluctantly obliged to re-embark with the loss of 15 men, while that of the enemy was nearly 300. The ships engaged in this service were the America, Armada, Edinburgh, Imperieuse, Furieuse, Rainbow, Termagant, and Mermaid.*

While these things were going forward, Hamburgh continued to be closely pressed by the allied forces; and the unfortunate inhabitants to feel the full vengeance of the merciless Davoust. The inhabitants were compelled to lay in provisions for six months, and all who could not do so, were forced to leave the city. Every person was compelled without exception, and even women of the first rank, to labour upon the fortifications. The horrible sufferings of this unhappy city is detailed at length under another head. The conduct of Davoust in this place, is a disgrace even to the wildest system of French cruelty, and will occupy a mournful page in the vo-

* London Gazette, January 22d, 1814.

lume of history. The place had a numerous garrison—had been rendered very strong, and it was determined to maintain it to the last. On the night of the 13th and 14th January, the Russian troops under the command of General Markow, drove back all the French posts to the entrenchments of Sternschanze, and other works near Altona. On the 20th, Count Strogonoff took all the villages before Hamburgh, and next morning the enemy were repulsed in an attack on Ochsenwerder. Their loss in these affairs was severe; in the latter two it amounted to 500 prisoners, and many killed and wounded. On the 25th, the birth day of the Empress of Russia, another attack was made upon the enemy's posts at Hamm, Auschlagerweg, and the Stadeiche with success. The Russian troops, animated with the watchword, "For our adored Empress," bore down all before them, and caused the enemy a loss of upwards of 300 killed, and 300 prisoners, while their own loss was inconsiderable.*

Previous to this, the important fortress of Dantzic had surrendered to the besieging force before it. The garrison had capitulated early in December, upon condition that they should be sent to France, and not to serve for one year against the allies. These terms the Emperor Alexander refused to ratify, the consequence of which was, that General Rapp, the governor, was compelled to surrender at discretion. On the 2d January, the allies took possession of the place; and part of the garrison, consisting of 11,800 French and Italians became prisoners of war; 3,500 Poles were disbanded and returned to their homes, and 2,860 men, partly Dutch, partly of the Rhenish Confederation, and some Spanish and Portuguese troops, were placed at the disposal of their respective sovereigns. The garrison had suffered most severely during the siege from sickness, introduced into the place by some of the wretched survivors of the Russian campaign. "General Rapp," said Bonaparte, "has formed a good battalion of foot guards, which is composed of *fatigued or frozen men*, who took refuge in the fortress."† The details of human le[illegible]ty and depra-

* Russian bulletins.

† Bonaparte's dispatch, June 24th, 1813.

vity cannot afford an instance of such indifference as is here displayed, at such a sad case of human misery. If the Emperor had possessed any feelings, in which the milk of human kindness could be traced, these must have remained frozen when he dictated this sentence. The conduct also of the governor and the whole garrison had been most vexatious, oppressive, and unjust. "The system of exaction which had been practised by the French since they have had possession of Dantzic, has borne hard on all ranks of people, and by which many of the most respectable inhabitants have been robbed of their property, and reduced from affluence to a comparative state of indigence."* Modlin, a fortress of great importance, situate upon the Vistula, also surrendered. Thus the allies were in possession of one line of those fortresses, which the enemy had retained, in defiance of the faith of treaties.

In Italy, General Nugent continued his career of success on the southern banks of the Po. He entered Forli after an obstinate resistance, and a loss of four pieces of cannon and 400 prisoners to the enemy. Palma Nuova had been blockaded since the 24th of December. Lugo was also occupied by his forces, who, at the same time, advanced upon Cesena and Savignano. His main strength at this time, was collected between St. Alberti and Ravenna.† The Neapolitan troops continued to press forward to the scene of action, and some divisions had arrived at Bologna, while still more powerful corps were advancing through Tuscany, and along the western shores of Italy. On the other hand, detachments from the army under Bubna had entered Savoy from the side of Switzerland, the inhabitants of which received them as deliverers, and eagerly returned to their allegiance to their old sovereign. The Viceroy continued to maintain himself upon the line of the Mincio, and under the important fortress of Mantua; but as the allied army from the south, under Nugent and Murat, was advancing on his rear on that side, while

* Major Macdonald's dispatches, Feb. 13th.

† Vienna Gazette.

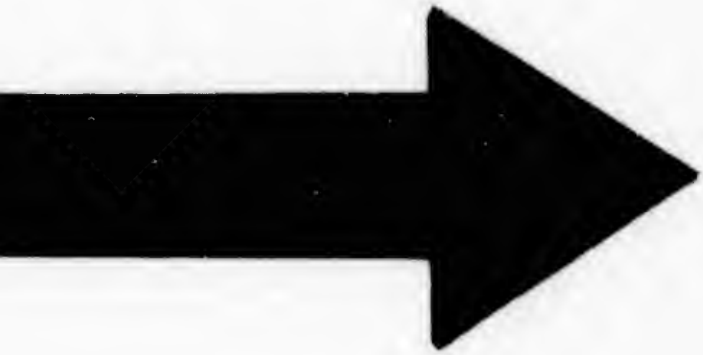
the Austrian force from the side of the Tyrol threatened Milan, and the movements in Savoy had shut up the passes into France by that road; it was evident, that in order to prevent himself from being completely cut off from all communication with France, his only plan was a speedy retreat, and which could now only be effected with great difficulty and d[illegible]er.

On the side of the Netherlands, the allied forces [illegible]tinued to advance with very little resistance. Bulow had entered Ghent early in February. The Prussian General Von Colomb surprised Mechlin and Louvaine, and took in these places 20 pieces of cannon. Winzengerode, who had passed the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Cologne, continued to follow the footsteps of Macdonald, and from Namur commenced his march in the direction of Rheims, while large re-enforcements under Tettenborn, and others from the army under the Crown Prince, continued to press forward in that quarter.

But to return to the operations of the grand armies under the command of Schwartzenberg and Blucher. On the 6th, Count Wittgenstein, and Platoff, who again appeared on the scene, fell in with a division of the enemy, who had fled from Epinal, and routed them with great slaughter, and the loss of 500 prisoners; the road from Thaon to Isney being covered with their dead. On the 7th of January, Count Wittgenstein again drove the remainder of this division of the enemy, consisting of 1000 infantry and 500 cavalry, with 4 pieces of cannon, under the command of General Milhaud, from Wansenaw, with considerable loss.* From the 15th, the army of Blucher was in communication with that of Schwartzenberg. Toul surrendered to General Leewen, with 400 prisoners, 4 pieces of cannon, and 2 stand of colours; and, the army of Blucher liberated a considerable number of Spanish prisoners, during their advance in that quarter.† On the 17th, Blucher had entered Nancy, where he remained some days, and during which period he received an address from the inhabitants of Nancy, to which he returned an answer, couched in language equally just and

* Official report, Vesoul, January 14th, 1814.

† Thirteenth bulletin, Silesian army, Nancy, January 21st.



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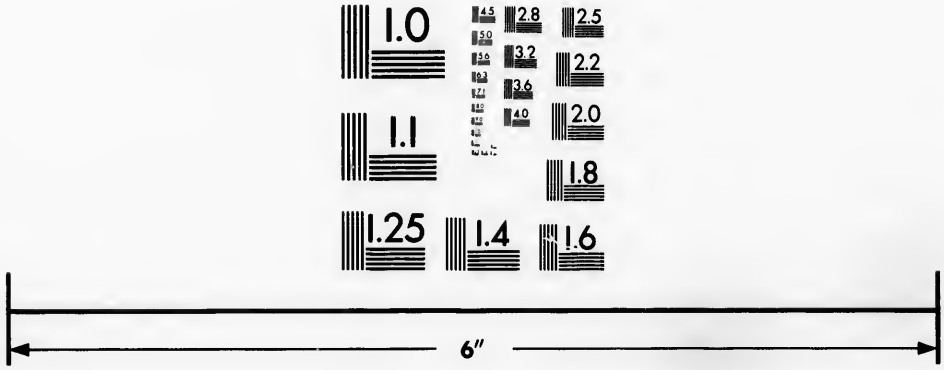

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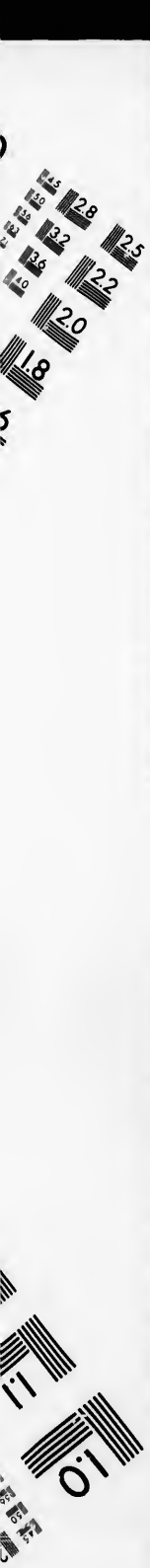
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strong: "A just and wise providence," said he, "has conducted our arms into the French territories; *all Europe is at length awakened from her destructive slumber*—the people of the Wolga, of the Danube, of the Elbe, of the Thames, have quitted their own homes, and are now on the soil of the once happy France. To the insatiable ambition of one man you are indebted for all this—It is him who has caused even those people who were not hitherto warriors, to become so; because they could no longer bear the depression and disgrace with which he had overwhelmed them, nor the despotism and knaveries of his agents"—But continued he, "God in his justice, has at length decreed a severe retribution; *in the course of two campaigns, upwards of* 600,000 *Frenchmen have disappeared from the surface of the earth*, miserable victims of the insatiable ambition of a conqueror, who seems careless of shedding French blood, *because it is not his own*. And what has France gained by this immense quantity of bloodshed? *a whole generation of mankind*, and all her youth from twenty to thirty years of age have been devoured by the sword of war; ready money is out of circulation, commerce destroyed, the arts and industry sunk, agriculture without encouragement. The people groaning under the weight of insupportable expenses, *gens de armes* bearing away thousands of conscripts from the bosoms of their families, and dragging them by force, to serve under the standard of this ambitious man, who, by his want of prudence, and care for their support, *suffers them miserably to perish*." After noticing, in forcible language, the silence of despair which France was obliged to maintain, under the arbitrary rigour of "*pensioned spies and military commissioners*." He proceeds, "It is for the benefit of a few Generals, Intendants, and Commissaries, who have been enriched *by the plunder of our territories*, and by their mean disgraceful knaveries, that ye have suffered so much. Oh unhappy people!"

"We have already made frequent offers of peace, which we were willing to purchase by the greatest sacrifices. These proposals were either *haughtily rejected*, or a dubious and faithless answer was returned to them, the only intention of which was to gain time. We are, therefore, obliged to seek

this peace with arms in our hands, and on your own territory, *nay, even in your capital itself, if needful.* We will not *degrade* ourselves, by taking vengeance for the enormities perpetrated by your hands in our countries—*we make war against him alone, who wishes to render it everlasting.*"* Nothing could be more just than the language of this energetic production. Every line of it spoke volumes to the people of France; and unless every feeling of honour, every spark of justice and truth, were dead in their bosoms, it must have left a deep and a lasting impression on them.

The allies had hitherto met with scarcely any resistance during their advance so far into France, but from this period a more determined resistance was made. In consequence of orders to the Prince of Wurtemberg and General Count Guilay, the enemy, under Mortier, was attacked upon the 24th, overthrown, and pursued to the bridge over the Aube at Fontaine. There, a division of the French force, 12,000 strong, with 10 pieces of cannon, were advantageously posted. Availing themselves of this position, the enemy attacked the allies with vigour; but was twice repulsed and pursued as far as Fontaine. As this point supported the communication between Bar Sur Aube, and Troyes, the enemy made every effort to unite the whole of his forces to defend it. At the same time, that General Count Guilay advanced to the attack on one side, the Prince of Wurtemberg fell upon the enemy at Colombey, made himself master of that point, and pursued him to Lignel. That position was also immediately occupied; and the enemy, who were there stationed, retired to Rouvre, where his principal force was. Perceiving the allies assembling their forces in order to attack this position also, and alarmed at the events of the preceding day, the enemy abandoned Bar Sur Aube during the night, and retired upon Chalons and Troyes. Next day, General Guilay occupied Bar Sur Aube. In this obstinate engagement, the enemy lost 2000 men, principally of the old guard. The loss of the allies was also considerable, but much less in proportion. Fort Joux had surrendered to the allies upon the

* Blucher's address to the inhabitants of Nancy, Jan. 20th, 1814.

16th, with 286 men, 10 cannon, and 4 mortars, with a considerable quantity of military stores.*

From this moment began the tug of war, and the important events of this remarkable campaign. Bonaparte, as has been already mentioned, left Paris early on the morning of the 25th, and took the road to Chalons Sur Marne, where he arrived that night, and immediately assumed the command of the army, and led it to offensive operations. Before commencing the narrative of the interesting and bloody events I am about to record, it may be necessary to take a general view of the positions of the contending armies at this moment. The allies had now established themselves in the heart of old France. They occupied an immense line, extending from Turin in a north-west direction, by Annecy, unto Bourg on the Saone. Thence north by Dijon, along the sources of the Yonne, Seine, Aube, and Marne. The whole line of the Meuse to the confines of the Netherlands, and thence along the frontiers of Picardy and Artois. Their main force, however, pressed along the Seine and the Marne, to that centre of all their hopes and wishes—Paris; while, their advanced parties pressed on in the direction of Auxerre, as far as Orleans on the Loire. The principal force which Bonaparte had collected to oppose this formidable invasion was assembled at Chalons Sur Marne; whether Victor, Marmont, and other generals had fallen back, and between Bar Sur Aube and Troyes; at which latter place Mortier had established his head quarters with 40,000 men. Macdonald also was hastening from the north to Chalons; and on the south, Augereau was collecting a considerable army at Lyons, to oppose Bubna; and, if possible, to drive him back, and alarm Schwartzenberg for his rear. Bonaparte, it was supposed, had allowed the allied armies to penetrate into France thus far without opposition, in order that they might fall into the same error which he did in Russia, by which means he calculated upon their more certain and disastrous defeat. But the cases were widely different. They were but a short distance from countries which were their friends. They

* Austrian official report, Langres, January 26th, 1814.

had innumerable armies advancing to their assistance—in Russia, he was removed to an immense distance from any power, on whose assistance he could cordially depend; and having there lost one army, he had not another, until he collected it in France, distant from him 1,700 miles. Perhaps, also, he calculated, that by assembling his army at Chalons, he should thereby encourage them with the recollection of what the French nation effected at that place in 1792, when the Austrian and Prussian armies were compelled to abandon France with great loss—but different principles animated this coalition, and France now possessed feelings different from what she then did.

But, whatever were his intentions, the continued and determined advance of his opponents, left him no alternative, but to meet them immediately in the field. As it was not for empire or conquest which he now fought, but for his throne and his life; it was to be expected, that he would call forth all his energies and military knowledge, gained by the experience of 22 sanguinary years, to oppose his enemies, and therefore an easy conquest of him, or victory over him, was not to be at this time expected.

With the force assembled at Chalons, Bonaparte immediately commenced the contest; and marching towards St. Dizier, he attacked and carried that place on the 27th, and from thence he endeavoured to throw his force in the rear of the allies. On the same day, Blucher had passed the Marne, and in conjunction with the army of Schwartzenberg, was marching upon Troyes and Auxerre. The advance of Bonaparte, however, on their flank and rear, induced them immediately to collect their forces, and attack him at Brienne and La Rothiere, and if possible, to prevent the junction of the force which was advancing from Troyes under Mortier, 40,000 strong, with that under Bonaparte. These movements on both sides, brought on the memorable and sanguinary battle of Brienne. On the 29th January, a severe engagement took place, between the army under Bonaparte advancing from Vitry and St. Dizier, and the principal part of Blucher's army, amounting to 40,000 men, Russians and Prussians. Of this engagement, the allies

have given us no details, and therefore we must take that of the enemy, whose account of the operations, subsequent events shew was tolerably correct, though highly coloured and exaggerated in the consequences. The attack commenced at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and continued during the greater part of the night. General Lefebre Des Noutes made several charges with a division of cavalry on the right of the road, and took possession of the height of Peothi. The Prince of Moskwa, with six battalions, advanced upon the town from the road of Mazerres; and General Chatteau, with two battalions turned the right, and got into the castle of Brienne by the Park. The allied army, it appears, fell back in the direction of Bar Sur Aube, when Bonaparte sent a column on that road to obstruct their retreat, "the attack was warm, and the resistance obstinate:" and the allies who did not expect it, had but just time to withdraw their parks from Lesmont, where he intended to pass the Aube. In the mean time, the combat continued. The position of Brienne gave the allies many advantages; but having neglected to guard the castle with a sufficient force, they lost the benefit of it. Finding that they could no longer maintain their ground, about eight in the evening, they set fire to the houses of the main street of Brienne, and under cover of the confusion it occasioned, endeavoured to retake the castle. But they were foiled with great loss, leaving, according to the French bulletin, "all the approaches to the castle covered with their dead," in consequence of which, they determined to retreat, and which, it is evident, they effected.* Such is the account the enemy gives of this battle; it is evident it was severe, though no loss is stated in the official dispatches of the enemy; and it is to be regretted that the accounts of the allies are not given, for Colonel Lowe's report of the operations previous to Feb. 1st, are only referred to in the Gazette accounts of the battle of La Rothiere. It is to be regretted that these details are witheld, as it gives an appearance of accuracy to

* Bonaparte's dispatch, February 3d, 1814. Demi-official accounts rate the loss of the allies here at 4000.

the enemy's reports, whose statements we have no means to compare or check.

After this, Bonaparte was employed during the 30th and 31st in repairing the bridges over the Aube, in order that he might "advance (retreat was a more appropriate expression) towards Troyes, to operate upon the columns which directed their march by Bar Sur Aube, and the road of Auxerre, by Sens. This was, no doubt, the principal part of Schwartzenberg's army. But it was the morning of the 1st of February before the bridges could be completed, and only part of the troops had been made to file off. Leaving the French accounts of the succeeding operations, which are meagre, confused, and unsatisfactory, I shall chiefly follow those published by the allies, which, concerning the general engagement of La Rothiere, where the allies gained a complete victory, are clear and satisfactory.

The allied army under Blucher and Sacken having been reenforced by that of Schwartzenberg's army, which had not taken the direction of Sens, and which part was under the command of the Prince of Wurtemberg and General Count Guilay, prepared to attack the enemy's position. The force engaged on each side was nearly equal, and amounted to 80,000 men. The enemy held Dienville, La Rothiere, and his left was at the small village of La Gibrie. "His cavalry, as well as that of the allies, was drawn out in the plain between the two positions; his infantry disposed in large masses on the flanks of and within the villages, which were lined with artillery." General Count Guilay advanced from Bar Sur Aube, upon Dienville. The Prince of Wurtemberg was in communication with the right of General Blucher, and in position at Maison. General Wrede had been ordered to co-operate with General Wittgenstein in his attack upon Vassy; but, the enemy having abandoned that position, General Wrede was directed to advance by Tremilly and Chaumenil. General Barclay de Tolli, with 6000 Russian grenadiers and curassiers, formed a reserve for the different corps engaged on this day. The enemy's reserve, under General Marmont, occupied Morvilliers; and a considerable force was also posted on the heights of Brienne. The preparations

of Blucher being complete, the attack began at noon. Skirmishing and cannonading, on the plain, was a prelude to it. The corps of General Guilay attacked the town of Dienville; but met with an obstinate resistance. The contest was continued at this place till after midnight, before the enemy could be expelled; who, besides killed and wounded, left 280 prisoners in the hands of the victors. The enemy retired across the Aube, and broke down the bridge. On the enemy's left, the Prince of Wurtemberg drove the French from the village of La Gibric. They, however, returned in force, and again obtained possession of it. A brigade of grenadiers were ordered to the Prince's assistance; but, in the meantime, he had again attacked the enemy, and again obtained possession of the wood and village. The enemy menaced the flank of the allies; but this movement had been foreseen and provided against, and it made no alteration in the plans of Blucher. The enemy having moved a corps to support his left, General Sacken, who commanded in the centre, drew all his forces to the attack of La Rothiere, which formed the key of the enemy's position. The success of the Prince of Wurtemberg had previously secured his right. It was at La Rothiere where the engagement was most serious, and where the most obstinate resistance was made. General Sacken succeeded in expelling the enemy; but he returned with strong columns and formidable batteries of artillery, and renewed the attack with great vigour, and obtained possession of the church and some houses; while the Russians remained firm in the others. While the infantry was engaged in the attack of the village, General Blucher ordered a charge of cavalry on the right of it, which was completely successful. A great number of Bonaparte's guards were killed or taken, and 20 pieces of cannon also fell into the hands of the allies. In his last desperate attack upon La Rothiere,* Bonaparte, in person, led on his men, and had a horse shot under him. But all his efforts were of no avail: about 10 o'clock in the evening the whole village remained in possession of the brave Russians. The victory was now complete; and though the enemy still held the heights of Brienne, he abandoned these on the following morning, and moved in all haste upon Troyes and Arcis

Sur Aube. The beaten enemy retreated in two columns, the right upon Lesmont, and the left upon Lassicourt and Ronay. So closely was he pressed in all his movements, that, during the darkness of the night, the advanced posts of the allies and those of the rear of the French army were frequently so intermixed, that enemies were mistaken for friends, on both sides; and individuals passing with orders were surprised and made prisoners. The Prince of Neufchatel had a narrow escape, while one of his aides-de-camp was taken.

Such is a faint outline of the important battle of Brienne, or La Rothiere, where the enemy, equal in numbers, was driven from a strong position, and completely defeated upon French ground. The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Prince Schwartzenberg, arrived upon the ground soon after the battle began; but the whole was the plan of and conducted by Blucher, who was foremost in the attack upon La Rothiere, where a Cossack was killed by his side. The whole of the allied officers and men engaged conducted themselves in the most gallant manner. The loss on both sides was no doubt severe; and it is to be regretted that the official dispatches do not state what it was. The enemy himself confessed a loss of near 3,000 men killed and wounded, and stated that of the allies as at least double. The number he acknowledged to have lost was great, and, according to his usual scale of computation, might fairly be estimated at four times as many. The dispatches of the allies inform us, that they took 73 pieces of cannon and 4,000 prisoners; and state, that the killed and wounded were very great. Indeed, from the length and obstinacy of the action, it must have been immense. Colonel Lowe, who was an eye-witness, expressly states, that "there were many details, which time did not admit of his giving; but in proportion as they become known, the battles of La Rothiere, *in the numbers engaged, in the losses on the part of the enemy*, and in its consequences, will perhaps be found one of the most important of the war."* Upon this scale, 10,000 is by no

* Colonel Lowe's report, Trannes, February 1st.—Lord Burghersh's dispatch, February 1st and 2d, and French bulletin.

means too many to state as the number killed and wounded. The force which Bonaparte had in this battle was also not his whole force, for Colonel Lowe only says, Bonaparte, it was supposed, had the great body of his army collected."* The design of the enemy, by this battle, was completely frustrated. He intended to separate Blucher from Schwartzenberg, to fall upon a part of the allied forces, and annihilate them in detail: and at the same time check the advance of the columns in march upon Sens; and, as the victory was gained in the heart of France, so there was no longer any possibility of the French people remaining ignorant that he could be defeated, which few of them would believe. To Schwartzenberg, the commander-in-chief, the greatest praise was due, for the excellent condition in which the army was; and, accordingly, the Emperor Alexander, upon the field of battle, bestowed upon him a sword, as a token of his respect and approbation.

The allies continued to follow the flying enemy, whose rear guard abandoned Brienne at break of day. General Guilay moved along the Aube, upon the enemy's right; the Prince of Wurtemberg marched upon Brienne; and General Wrede advanced upon the right of the Prince Royal. At St. Christophe the Prince of Wurtemberg made a brilliant charge on the cavalry which covered the enemy's retreat. General Wrede dislodged a corps of infantry from a strong position upon the Voire, near Lassicourt; and General Guilay, assisted by the infantry of the Prince Royal, took Lesmont by assault. The enemy had a force at Vitry, and about 2000 infantry and two squadrons of cavalry near Sogny, on the road to Chalons. These troops joined the army of Macdonald, who had arrived at Chalons, and pressed on towards Vitry and Brienne, but too late to be of any service. General D'York, who had been left in that quarter, followed him; and on the 3d, between Vitry

* Lowe's report.—It is doubtful if Mortier's corps was in the battle; no person mentions them, and the Paris papers state they only broke up from Troyes, on the 30th, and probably joined after the battle. These were 40,000 strong—Bonaparte's 80,000—and those under Macdonald perhaps 20,000, which gives 140,000 for the enemy's force in that quarter at this time. The prisoners taken were of the 3d, 4th and 6th corps.

and Chalons, the advanced guard of the allies, under D'York, had a sharp affair with the rear guard of Macdonald, in which the latter lost three pieces of cannon and several hundreds of prisoners. Macdonald afterwards marched in the direction of Arcis Sur Aube, upon which place Marmont was falling back, and in the neighbourhood of which they effected a communication. Macdonald finding he had arrived too late, fell back, upon Chalons, followed by D'York, who immediately commenced the bombardment of the city, but which Macdonald surrendered by capitulation on the 6th. His forces and those under Sebastiani and Arrighi, who had joined him, falling back upon the Marne, towards Epernay, and Chateau Thierry.*

In the meantime, the main army continued to follow Bonaparte upon Troyes. On the 6th, the Prince of Wurtemberg turned the enemy's position at Ruvigni, and took possession of the village of Lambrissel, on his right. On the 7th, he entered Troyes, a city containing many resources, and 30,000 inhabitants. The enemy retired upon Nogent, on the road to which, General Guilay came up with his rear guard, and took several hundred prisoners. In the South, Count Bubna continued his career with success, and occupied an extent of country from Grenoble on his left, by Bourg his centre, to Macon, on his right; threatening Lyons, where Augereau's force was yet too weak to oppose him.

We are now arrived at a most important period of the campaign, when a momentary success attended the army of France, which, however, was of very little real utility to the enemy; and which, while it enlivened his hopes, emboldened him to rush on to more certain destruction. The events which now occurred in a short period of time were of the first magnitude, and pressed upon the heels of each other so quickly, that every succeeding day produced some event more important than the other.

Each moment teemed a new one.

Immediately after the glorious victory of Brienne, the army an-

* Col. Lowe's reports, and Lord Burghersh's do.

der Blucher separated from the grand army, which latter took the line of the Seine, and forming a junction with General D'York, the united force, comprising D'York's, Langeron's, and Sacken's corps, consisting of 60 regiments of Russian infantry, and the flower of the Prussian army, 80,000 strong,* marched along the Marne with a force which bore every thing before it. Macdonald was successively driven from Epernay, Chateau Thierry, Ferte sous Jouarre, and had entered Meaux; having destroyed all the bridges in his flight. Marmont was compelled to make a similar precipitate flight, and successively abandoned every position, followed by the persevering Blucher, who had advanced beyond Sezanne and Montmirail. "The army of Silesia, (said the official dispatch) was only three marches from Paris,"† therefore it was high time for him to bestir himself for its protection. Having been re-enforced by a division of the army of Spain, and the national guard d'elite, from Montereau, Normandy, and Picardy, under the command of General Pajol, the enemy was enabled to leave these and other considerable forces to oppose Schwartzenberg,‡ and by means of the cavalry to make a sudden march to the Northward of Nogent, to Sezanne, in the neighbourhood of which part of Blucher's army had arrived, under the command of General Alsusieff. This brave General was attacked by vastly superior numbers, and severely defeated. Forming his infantry into squares, he resisted for a long time the efforts of the enemy; but was at last overpowered by reiterated attacks from superior numbers. The enemy's account of this, and all of the succeeding actions, is full of the most palpable falsehoods and gross exaggerations. His cause had long been supported by this system, which was now become more than ever necessary to him. In nothing was he correct but the dates and positions. Repeatedly he endeavoured to surround the brave troops of Alsusieff and cut them off from Chalons, but in this he failed; for 1,500 of them, according to his own accounts, got away.

* Bonaparte's dispatch, February 12th, 1814.

† Do. do. do. 7th.

‡ Do. do. do. 12th.

Alsusieff himself was taken prisoner, and paraded through Paris with great pomp. The enemy made his force at first, 8,000 men, the remains of 18,000, of which 4,000 were made prisoners; and, with the exception of 1,500, the remainder were killed, wounded, or destroyed; 2000 alone being drowned in a lake. The Russians lost also 200 carriages and 30 caissons. His own loss did not exceed 200 men!!* Col. Lowe, however, gives a very different account of the number engaged in this action, and one more consonant to truth, and which subsequent events proved to be correct. The whole force of Alsusieff amounted only unto 3,500 men, all infantry, with 24 pieces of cannon; of these 1,500 men made their escape, and 15 pieces of cannon were brought off. The enemy's force was very numerous, as besides the infantry he had from 5 to 6,000 cavalry.† His loss must have been severe, as every one knows that the attacks of cavalry upon infantry, while these remain unbroken, are always most destructive to the former. The enemy, indeed, says, that he broke these squares, but a *body* of them escaping together, with the greater part of their cannon, proves that this was not true; as being without cavalry none of them could have escaped from an enemy so powerful in that arm. His loss was no doubt equal to that of his opponents, if not greater, and it is a curious fact, that in almost every engagement where Bonaparte reduces his loss so far below all proportion, it will invariably be found that his own loss in killed and wounded was nearly, if not exactly, what he stated that of his enemies to be.

While these things were going on, General Kliest, with General Kapsiewstz, was at Fere Champenoise, and Blucher himself with them. General D'York was at Chateau Thierry; and General Baron Sacken at Ferte Sous Jouarre upon the Marne, and nearer Paris. No sooner had Bonaparte succeeded in his object against Alsusieff, than he pushed on with an imposing force, principally cavalry, against General Sacken, whom he expected to surprise and defeat, in the same manner. It may here be remarked, that these movements of Bonaparte's were

* Bonaparte's dispatch. February 12th, 1814.

† Colonel Lowe's report, February 11th, at Bergeres.

executed with comparative ease on his part, and that it was easy for him to bring together a superior force at any one point, to attack the flank of the allied armies, advancing in two lines along the Marne and the Seine, while his whole force remained considerably superior to each army of the allies when separated; because the distance from the Seine at Montereau, to the Marne at Chateau Thierry is only about 30 miles, a march he might soon accomplish with cavalry; and he had no other way to save his capital from destruction, than by rapid movements of this description, either to destroy his enemies in detail, or by partial successes over them, compel them to fall back to secure their communications with each other and their supplies; but according as this retrograde movement on their part took place, he had less chance of succeeding against them in this mode of attack, which to him must have been most exhausting, vexatious, and destructive; while it was evident, that unless he could totally destroy one army of the allies, that the re-enforcements marching to their assistance, would soon render each his equal, if not superior in numbers to him. For this purpose, he endeavoured to strain every nerve to accomplish his object; and so far succeeded as to relieve his capital for this time from the threatening danger.

He accordingly marched on with the utmost diligence against Sacken, and D'York, after the affair with Alsusieff, and on the 11th came up with their forces upon the Marne. General Sacken, having heard of the misfortunes which had befallen Alsusieff, and learning the advance of the enemy in that quarter, quitted Ferte Sous Jouarre, and marched in the direction of Montmirail, on the way to which, he was joined by General D'York and three brigades of his army from Chateau Thierry. At ten in the morning of the 4th, the French army, 30,000 strong, under Bonaparte in person, appeared in the neighbourhood of Marchais, which Ney was directed to line with troops, as it was by this village which Sacken intended to debouch. The allied army attacked this village, which was defended by the French General Ricart. They carried it; but were again forced to abandon it. It was taken and retaken three different times during the day. At 12 o'clock, General

Nansoutty, with 16 battalions of the old guard, under General Friant, advanced to the right, to cut off the road to Chatean Thierry, but in this it does not appear he succeeded. At 3 o'clock, Mortier arrived from Sezanne, and debouched upon Montmirail with 16 battalions of the old guard. Bonaparte with all these re-enforcements, still seemed to doubt the sufficiency of his strength to accomplish his object, "for he wished to wait for the coming up of the other divisions, but night was approaching."* The centre of the allies were stationed at Epine-aux-Bois. On this position depended the success of the day; and accordingly it was defended by 40 pieces of cannon, and the hedges were lined with triple rows of tirailleurs, formed behind masses of infantry. Bonaparte says, he endeavoured to deceive Sacken, by ordering his troops to yield part of the village of Marchais, which induced the allies to weaken their centre, in order to take advantage of this apparent success. At this moment, the centre of the allies was attacked with great fury. The old guard, says the enemy, "came up to him running, and produced on them the effect of the head of Medusa." The battle was dreadful. "The artillery could no longer play—the fire of the small arms became dreadful, and success was balanced." According to the enemy's accounts, after a desperate effort, he succeeded in breaking the masses of the allied army, threw them into disorder, and defeated them with great loss. The sound of the cannon and musquetry ceased—silence reigned around. "The enemy no longer sought safety, but in flight. Generals, officers, soldiers, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, all fled pellmell." The Emperor placed his head quarters at the farm of Epine-aux-Bois. The latter part of this gasconading account, is however contradicted, point blank, by Colonel Lowe, who expressly states, that after repeated and desperate efforts for several hours, "both armies remained on the ground, in the same positions they had occupied at the commencement of the engagement."† The enemy stated his loss to have been 1,000 killed and wounded, amongst the latter was Ge-

* Bonaparte's dispatch, Feb. 12, 1814.

† Col. Lowe's report.

neral Michell. He also stated, that he " had taken *many* cannon, and six stand of colours; but Colonel Lowe, with more appearance of truth states, that General Sacken, at one time, had taken six pieces of cannon, but that owing to the badness of the roads, which (Bonaparte informed us were *execrable*) he was afterwards obliged to leave these, with four of his own he could not withdraw. That the allied armies retained their position during the night, there cannot be a doubt—for Bonaparte says, that as " at 8 P. M. the night *became obscure*, it became necessary to take *a position*,"* and though he asserts he placed his head-quarters at Epine-aux-Bois, which was the principal point of attack; yet it must be recollected that the dispatch stating this, was not wrote till the subsequent day, when the retreat of the allies, as at Borodino, gave him an opportunity to fabricate this falsehood, with the appearance of its being correct; and as for his assertion, that the appearance of his guards had the same effect upon the allies as if it had been the head of Medusa—he had forgot, that at Borodino, the Berezina, and Leipsic, these allies had seen more terrible heads, and as terrible guards, without either fear or flight. That the contest was obstinate, and the loss severe, cannot admit of a doubt. But as he attacked a strong position, admirably fortified, and skilfully defended; it requires no great degree of judgment to perceive, that his loss could not be less than that of his adversaries if not much greater.

Unable, however, to make head against the superior forces brought against them, and fearing, least the enemy should throw his force whole between them and the army under Blucher, and also Chalons, the point from whence all their supplies, and re-enforcements were to assemble and diverge; Generals Sacken and D'York, very prudently determined to retreat, to preserve all these objects; and, accordingly on the morning of the 12th, they abandoned the position which they had so gallantly maintained on the preceding day, and took the road to Chateau Thierry, followed by the enemy. The allies seem to have conducted their retreat in a masterly manner:

* Bonaparte's dispatch, Feb. 12th.

and that, notwithstanding every effort of the enemy to disturb or prevent it. The enemy boasted of considerable injury he did them; and particularly, that General Letort, with a division of dragoons, surrounded the masses of the Russian rear guard, and made a dreadful carnage amongst them. He also lost, says the enemy, 2,000 prisoners, and 4 pieces of cannon; but from the small number of the latter, it is obvious the other accounts are in the enemy's usual style of exaggeration: for, considering the weather and the roads, the number left would most likely have been much greater, had the flight been disorderly. Arrived upon the Marne, the allies crossed that river at Chateau Thierry, the bridge at which they broke down, and from thence, continued their retreat unmolested. The enemy who concealed his real objects in these attacks upon the allies, at least his want of complete success in them, now commenced his strain of boasting and irony for which he was so remarkable. General D'York, (said he) boasted, that 10 howitzers would be sufficient to render him master of Paris.—A smaller number did the business. "In going, these troops talked only of Paris; on returning, it was peace which they invoked."* From this topic he made a quick transition to bitter invective and abuse against the allies; but particularly his old friends the Cossacks, who it would appear, were not idle. It appears, he was never at his ease when he remembered them. The *hourra* which frightened him from Moscow, and compelled him to wade through a pig-stye at Oschnisany, still rung in his ears, and shook his nerves with terror. "There are no vexations, cruelties, crimes, which these hordes of barbarians have not committed. The peasantry pursue them, track them in the woods like wild beasts, seize them, &c."† All these tirades, however, were only uttered against these indefatigable people, for the services which they rendered his opponents, the injury which they did to him and his adherents, and to try, if possible, to kindle the passions of the whole French nation against the invaders. But these efforts failed. Few believed these odious accusations.

* Bonaparte's dispatch, Feb. 12th, 1814.

† Bonaparte's dispatch, Feb. 12th.

He was quickly, however, called off to more serious and difficult operations. Blucher, who remained at Vertus, having been joined by the corps of General Kliest, and a division of Count Langeron's corps; with this force, amounting to about 20,000 men, he broke up from that place on the 13th, and marched against Marmont, who was posted at Etoges with about 10,000 men. The French General not being able to oppose the force brought against him, commenced his retreat to Fromentieres, followed and harassed by the Cossacks. At Fromentieres he bivouacked for the night, and Blucher next morning moved forward to attack him. Marmont, however, was not inclined to risk a battle with his antagonist, but fell back upon the village of Janvilliers and Montmirail. At the former place, 6 pieces of cannon, which had been carried forward by the Prussians, in the ardour of the pursuit, were, by a bold dash, made by the enemy's troops, seized and taken; but these were instantly retaken by the Prussian cavalry under General Zeeten and Colonel Blucher, son of the Marshal. Several prisoners fell into their hands, from whom they learned, that Bonaparte with all his guards, and a large body of cavalry, were arrived to the assistance of Marmont. Aware of the danger from this movement of Blucher's in his rear, Bonaparte, on the evening of the 13th, directed his guards and cavalry, by forced marches, during the night, to proceed to Montmirail. At 4 o'clock in the morning of the 14th, he left Chateau Thierry, and at 8 arrived at Montmirail, where the troops, principally cavalry, had already assembled. Thus united, the French force was much superior to Blucher's, and nearly all composed of cavalry. The infantry of Marshal Blucher were advancing in columns of battalions on the open grounds on each side of the Chaussee, when suddenly; through the advanced guard of the French army, a formidable body of cavalry in a solid mass, attacked with the utmost fury, the battalions of Blucher's army on the plain. The movement having been perceived, just as it was about to be executed, the infantry formed themselves into squares, and remaining firm on the ground, commenced a most destructive fire on the enemy. From this moment began

the battle of Montmirail, which considering the forces engaged, their numbers, their positions, and its issue, is one of the most remarkable throughout all the bloody campaigns of the 22 preceding years. The glorious army of Silesia here added fresh glory to its former fame. On a field to the right of the village, six squares of the infantry were attacked at the same moment. Every one succeeded in repelling the enemy. The cavalry of the Prussian advance retired, during the interim in which the squares kept up a tremendous fire upon the enemy's columns, and marching through the vacant spaces, formed in the rear of the squares, and then again and again advanced to the charge against the enemy's troops, every time that the destructive fire of the squares had thrown these into disorder. The numbers and fury of the enemy continued to increase. He made every attempt to turn, and the most desperate efforts to break the squares of the Prussian infantry; but in the one case without any effect, and in the other every attempt was fruitless. The village of Veauchamp, (said the enemy) "was vigorously attacked, and as vigorously defended; it was taken and retaken three times."* General Grouchy was ordered to turn the Prussian right—he marched a league beyond their position, came upon their rear, sabred three battalions, and drove the rest into a wood; and at the same time, Bonaparte commanded the Chief of Squadron de Biasse, to charge with four squadrons *de service*, which he did, and "a square of 2,000 men were pierced, and taken."† This, General Lowe positively denies, and says, that not one of them ever were broken. Indeed, the enemy in the very next sentence of his dispatch falsifies his former accounts, when he says, that after this, "all the cavalry of the guard arrived at a sharp trot, and the enemy was *pushed sword in hand*,"‡ a favourite expression, which he was taught on the banks of the Bober, and which the world by this time very fortunately understood the meaning of. Had any part of the allied army there been pierced and taken, these and

* Bonaparte's dispatch, Feb. 15th, 1814.
† Do. do. do.
‡ Do. do. do.

the remainder would have been pushed in a very different manner than sword in hand. At two o'clock, continues the enemy, we were at Fromentierres; the enemy had lost 6,000 prisoners, 10 colours, and 3 cannon.* Still this description was that of a retreat, according to his own account of it. It really was so. The gallant Marshal, sensible that he had no hope of success, against an enemy so immensely superior in numbers, and that his position in an open country was altogether untenable against such fearful odds, determined upon a retreat. This he effected in the face of dangers, and in such a masterly manner as reflects eternal honour on his name. He brought off his army with considerable loss, but unbroken. The army commenced its retreat, the infantry formed in columns and squares, the artillery in the intervals, the flanks covered with the skirmishers and cavalry. The country through which they had to pass, was generally open, and free from inclosures; but in different places there were small copses of wood, which enabled the enemy's cavalry to move forward at times unobserved. These copses, the allied army avoided as much as possible. The enemy made the most desperate and reiterated attacks upon them. From Janvilliers to half way between Champ Aubert, and Etoges, a distance of 4 leagues, it was one continued combat. The Russian artillery kept up an incessant and well directed fire. The vollies of musquetry from the squares were terrible, firing and loading as they moved on, in the most perfect order. The attacks of the enemy were so incessant and determined, that his cavalry were frequently mixed with the infantry in the squares; but were always compelled to retire, and every effort to break them was tried without effect. About sunset, a considerable force of the enemy's cavalry, which had been observed to take a circuit round them at a distance, was found to have posted itself in the rear of the allied army, on the road between Champ Aubert and Etoges, determined to bar the passage. This cavalry was under the command of General Grouchy. At this moment, the situation of Blucher was most critical. He was surrounded on

* Bonaparte's dispatch, February 15th, 1814.

every side. His resolution was prompt and decided—he determined to continue his march, and to break through the obstacles which opposed him. Assailed on every side, he continued to move forward. The artillery and infantry opened a tremendous fire upon the enemy's cavalry which endeavoured to block up the road. These were terrified—they abandoned their post, and opened a way to their daring adversaries, and were afterwards obliged to limit their attacks to the flanks and the rear. The enemy said, in the situation in which Bluchor was, that "*all would have been taken*, had the bad state of the roads permitted twelve pieces of light artillery to follow the cavalry of General Grouchy,"* but as it was, from the darkness of the night, he could only succeed in destroying three squares, which were all either killed or taken, and the remainder pursued as far as Etoges, with the loss of three pieces of cannon. But this was not the fact; though all the squares were assailed in front, or flanks and rear, "not a single *one, during the whole time was broken, or lost its order*;"† and as it was only at sunset that this effort was made by Grouchy, so it could not be so dark as not to allow him to see what was going on around him. Extricated from this danger, the gallant Blucher immediately afterwards found himself in another. A column of infantry from the enemy's army had marched by some bye roads, threw themselves in his rear, and were posted in the village of Etoges. There the allied army was received with vollies of musquetry from all hands. Generals Kliest and Kapsiewitz, however, overcame all opposition, forced their way through this fresh obstacle, and, without further molestation, brought off their troops to the position of Bergeres where the army bivouacked for the night. The force of the enemy which here endeavoured to interrupt them, was commanded by the Duke of Ragusa, who, the enemy asserts, attacked with the bayonet the allied rear, composed of Russian troops, and took 1,000 prisoners. The loss of the Prussian army, according to the accounts of the enemy, was 10,000 pri-

* Bonaparte's dispatch, February 15th, 1814.

† Colonel Lowe's do. do.

soners, besides killed and wounded, 10 colours, and 10 standards; but his own loss was only from 3 to 400 killed and wounded.* The total loss of the allied army, however, during this arduous retreat, was about 3,500 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 7 pieces of artillery. The enemy's force was double, and amounted to 40,000 men, 8,000 of which were cavalry. He, evidently, contemplated the total destruction or capture of the whole force under Blucher, and for this glorious aim he made the most desperate efforts. Blucher's artillery were more numerous and better served than that of his opponent; who, with his usual disregard of truth, asserted the reverse, and that it was from that circumstance that his loss was so small, in comparison to that of the Prussian army. "The Prussian," said he, "as soon as he saw the great force of cavalry on our side, immediately put his artillery in retreat, so that he marched constantly exposed to the fire of 60 pieces of cannon, while of the 60 pieces of cannon which he had, he opposed to us only two or three."† This was a miserable excuse for his not taking more, and a still more wretched subterfuge to conceal his loss. The very reverse was the fact. The rapidity of his advance, first from Chateau Thierry, and next from Montmirail, prevented him from bringing forward his artillery; and the consequence was, that while he was constantly exposed to a fire from 60 pieces of cannon, he could only oppose to these two or three. Hence his loss was most severe. Every one knows that when cavalry does not succeed in breaking a body of infantry, that the greatest loss is on their part; and had Bonaparte taken 10,000 prisoners, besides the killed and wounded, out of a force of 20,000 strong, while he lost only 400 out of 40,000, the remainder of Blucher's force could hardly have escaped his grasp. The French loss was certainly much greater than that of the allied army. "From the fire of its artillery, (said Col. Lowe) from the constant repulses of his cavalry, and by the fire of the squares, the loss of the enemy must have been *excessive*."‡ No

* Bonaparte's dispatch, February 13th, 1814.

† Do. do. do.

‡ Colonel Lowe's dispatch, February 15th, 1814.

praise is too great, to bestow upon the exertions of Blucher, and his army, on this memorable day: and the combats of Montmirail will be handed down to posterity, as adding a fair wreath to the brow of the conqueror of the Katzbach and the Bober. Had Bonaparte succeeded in destroying or taking this force, it is impossible to calculate what mischief might have flowed from it. While it would have enabled him to attack the other parts of the allied army, in detail, it might have encouraged France to view his cause with a greater prospect of success, and which might have lengthened this bloody contest; but the spirit of Europe was such, that it could not have altered its final results. The allies, however, were saved, by the firmness and courage of Blucher, from any immediate danger of very disastrous consequences; and though Blucher had failed in his object for the moment, he was soon in a condition to renew the attempt, while Bonaparte failed most completely in what was to him a much more important object, namely, "*to cut the army of General Blucher in two*,"* and of course to destroy it in detail. Till he accomplished this he only warded off the danger for the moment, to make it fall more heavy on his exhausted strength. But as if he had been entering the Kremlin in triumph, he boasted with as much exultation, that the force of Blucher, which was 80,000 strong, had "been, in four days, beaten, dispersed, *annihilated, without* a general action, and without occasioning any loss proportionate to such great results."† But where was all this done—not on the confines of Asia—not on the unattackable lines of Dresden—no—"the army of Silesia was only three marches from Paris!"‡ a wonderful difference. We shall soon see how far this army of 80,000 men was beaten, dispersed, or annihilated. Sacken and D'York continued their route to Chalons Sur Marne, unmolested; and Blucher also fell back in that direction, to reunite and re-organize his army; and adopt a fresh plan of attack.

The temporary success which here attended the arms of Bona-

* Bonaparte's dispatch, February 12th, 1814.
† Do do. do. 15th.
‡ Do. do. do. 12th.

parte, and that too purchased at a very dear rate, but for which he did not care, providing he succeeded at all; had neither rescued him nor Paris from danger, though it enabled him, for a while to continue the contest. The grand allied army, under Schwartzenberg and its respective sovereigns, advanced, at the same time, towards Paris from the South-east, along the banks of the Seine. To oppose them, General Gerard and the Duke of Belluno were posted at Nogent, and the Duke of Reggio, with the 7th corps, at Provins, in order to defend the Bridges of Bray and of Montereau; and General Pajol was placed near Montereau and Melun. The allied army continued to advance from Troyes, which Victor being unable to oppose, crossed the Seine at Nogent, leaving a garrison of 1,200 men in the place. Count Hardegg lodged himself in part of the place on the 10th; and on the 11th, the enemy states that the allies made repeated attempts upon it; but were always repulsed, with the loss, in the different attacks, of 2,000 men. But the bridge of Bray, which Oudinot had caused to be blown up, having been repaired by General Wrede, who passed over part of his army at that place, the enemy abandoned Nogent and all the left bank of the Seine, blew up the bridges at that place and Montereau, and marched upon Nangis. General Wrede marched his army upon Provins; General Wittgenstein passed the Seine at Pont Sur Seine, and directed his march upon Provins and Villenox; the Russian reserves crossed between Mery and Nogent, and the whole army between Mery and Montereau on the 13th. From thence Generals Wrede and Wittgenstein directed their march upon Nangis and Melun, and General Bianchi upon Fontainbleau. Sens had been taken on the 11th, by the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, after some resistance, who immediately marched upon Pont Sur Yonne. On the 17th Count Hardegg and the Hetman Platoff took possession of Fontainbleau, where they took some prisoners and cannon. But the palace was preserved, said the enemy, by the interposition of the Austrian General, of whom the inhabitants did not complain, but of the Cossacks, *those monsters which dishonoured the Sovereign who employed them, and the army who protected them,* who were loaded with gold and jewels, and had eight

or ten watches a-piece; and who, strange to say, at Fontainbleau, pillaged some door-keepers, and took away, what? why the *horse-cloths from the stables!* And could the enemy complain, or brand them as monsters for this? why, if they had taken away the horse-cloths, horses, door-keepers, and all that was in the palace, they would only have done right; and no more than its Master did from the Kremlin, from whence he took "a Madona set with diamonds, and *many other curious things;*" and had they applied one of those squibs and fuzes to it, which were applied to Moscow, or a train like that which fired the Kremlin, and endeavoured to destroy Smolensk, no person would have blamed them. It might, no doubt, hurt the feelings of a Caulincourt, or a Maury, to see the Cossack riding on the cloth of their Emperor; nevertheless, the Cossack was still the most honest and most moderate of the two.

The main army of the allies was now what the army of Silesia had been, only three marches from Paris. The misfortunes, however, which had befallen the army of Blucher, and its retreat, enabled Bonaparte to march with a strong force from that side, on which there was no immediate danger, and throw himself upon the main army of the allies, posted along the Seine, in the same manner as Blucher's was along the Marne, and by a desperate push to come upon it unawares, and also endeavour to cut it in two. For this purpose he crossed the country from Montmirail, with his guards, cavalry, and other forces; and as the distance was not great, he reached Guignes on the 16th, and on the 17th came in contact with the forces under Wittgenstein at Nangis, where a severe engagement took place, in which the allies were worsted and compelled to retire. Count Valmy, with the dragoons of General Treilhard, coming from Spain, arrived in time to turn the village of Mormant by the left. Count Milhaud, with the 5th corps of cavalry, turned it on the right. General Drouet advanced with numerous batteries. In a moment all was decided. The Russian squares were broken, 6,000 prisoners, 16 pieces of cannon, and 40 caissons were taken, and General Wittgenstein fled towards Provins, acknowledging (said the enemy)

that he had been well beaten."* Count Valmy and the Duke of Reggio then marched against the Bavarians under Wrede at Provins. They were attacked and put to the route by General Gerard, and this Bavarian force of 8 or 10,000 men would have been lost, says the enemy, *if* General Scherber, who commanded a divison of dragoons, had attacked when he ought.† But he allowed them to escape. In the meantime the allies continued their retreat across the Seine. General Bianchi on the 18th, took up a position on the heights of Montereau, commanding the bridges, with the two Austrian divisions, and the Wurtemburg division. General Chateau attacked him, says the enemy, but not being supported he was *repulsed*,‡ and Sieur Leconteulx, an intrepid young officer, killed. The Duke of Belluno was to have arrived at Montereau on the 17th; "he halted at Salins, *which was a great fault*, as the occupying the bridges of Montereau would have gained the Emperor a day, and enabled him to avail himself of a flagrant error of the Austrian General."§ In the meantime the enemy continued to press with all his forces upon the important point at the bridges of Montereau. He made repeated and desperate attempts to force the passage, but was repulsed with considerable loss, both of prisoners and cannon, by the Prince Royal of Wurtemburg. At last, however, Bonaparte in person came to the spot, about two o'clock in the afternoon. The attack was renewed with redoubled fury: and, under the fire of 60 pieces of artillery, pouring forth grape shot, the enemy succeeded in passing the bridge, and in preventing the allies from blowing it up, who, according to the accounts of the enemy, were overthrown and driven into the Seine and the Yonne, with the loss of 4000 prisoners, and 5000 killed. The Prince of Wurtemburg, thus hard pressed, fell back upon Bray. That his loss was considerable there is no doubt, though certainly much exaggerated by the

* Bonaparte's dispatch, February 19th, 1814.
‡ Do. do. do,
† Do. do. do.
§ Do. do. do.

enemy, as the circumstance of no artillery, but six pieces, falling into their hands, will shew. But, as no particular account of these battles, or the loss sustained in them, was given by the allies, the accounts of the enemy stand uncontradicted, and not invalidated, except where his own vanity and accustomed disregard of truth does so; particularly in that part where he says that his loss in both the battles of Nangis and Montereau was only about 400 men killed and wounded! But aware himself that he was far exceeding the limits listened to by credulity itself, he adds, to make it go down the easier, "*though this is seemingly improbable, nevertheless it is true.*"* The inhabitants of Montereau, during the retreat of the allies through the town, fired upon them from the windows of the houses, for which conduct they were afterwards awarded as the laws of war prescribed, by having their dwellings set on fire. The enemy stated, that in this situation the Austrian and Wurtemburg troops threw away their arms, but this is by no means probable. The Austrian force at Fontainbleau, hearing of these movements of the enemy, commenced its retreat, which it effected, without any molestation; while General Count Montburn, who abandoned the place to them, and who had been left with 1800 men to defend it, was suspended from his command, and sent before a Council of Inquiry for his conduct. The enemy continued to advance, and the allies to retreat before them. Oudinot advanced from Provins, and took the road for Nogent, and, on the 20th, Bonaparte established his head-quarters at that place. On the 23d the enemy advanced to Troyes, and made repeated attempts upon the place. Three times he attacked the allied forces, and was as often repulsed. The destruction of the town would have been the consequence of further operations against it. To prevent this, the enemy at last proposed a Convention for evacuating the city,"† which was acceded to by the allies, who immediately evacuated the place without molestation.

* Bonaparte's dispatch, February 19th, 1814.

† Bulletin, allied army, Troyes, March 22d, 1814.

The enemy, in his dispatch, takes care to omit that it was him who solicited this Convention. Immediately after entering the place, Bonaparte issued a decree, declaring it high treason in any person who had worn the distinguishing badge of the former Royal Family of France, in any of the towns occupied, or that had been occupied by the allies. Under this decree, Sieur Gau, an old emigrant, who had worn the cross of St. Louis in Troyes, was sentenced to death and shot; and another, Sieur Viderange, who had committed the same offence, was outlawed for not appearing. This was the last effort of the Tyrant's power in this way. "I die, the last victim for the Bourbons," said Sieur Gau, and patiently submitted to his fate.

While these things were going on around Troyes, Blucher, the beaten and annihilated Blucher, again appeared upon the scene. Having united his force with that of Sacken and D'York, in the neighbourhood of Chalons Sur Marne, and hearing of the retrograde movement of the Grand Army, he marched with 60,000 men towards Troyes, by Arcis Sur Aube and Mery. At this place he came in contact with that part of the Grand Army of the Allies, under Wittgenstein, and completely opened a communication with it. His advance in that direction called the attention of Bonaparte to that quarter. On the 22d, he marched towards Mery, where Blucher was preparing to cross the Seine. The Prussian army endeavoured to defend the passage, and commenced the destruction of the bridge, which the rapid advance of the enemy prevented them from carrying completely into execution. In the meantime that half of the town of Mery situated on the left bank of the river took fire, whether by accident or design was not known,* though the enemy expressly charges the allies with having done it intentionally, in order to retard his advance. The flames raged with inextinguishable fury, augmented by a high wind, and the place was totally consumed. The enemy, however, succeeded in passing three battalions over the half broken

* Lowe's report, 22d February, 1814.

bridge to the right bank, where they were soon driven back with considerable loss; and the allies succeeded in completely destroying the bridge over the Seine at this place. The loss of the Silesian army in this affair was 220 killed and wounded; that of the enemy is not stated, but must have been more. In the afternoon, while reconnoitering the positions of the enemy, a musket ball passed through one of the boots of Marshal Blucher, but did him no injury. Count Valentine, of the staff, and Prince Schubateff, a General of the Cossacks, were both wounded. Wittgenstein, immediately upon the arrival of Blucher at Mery, marched to the main army, which was on this day, the 23d, abandoning Troyes, and falling back behind the Aube.

While Blucher was re-organizing his army in the neighbourhood of Chalons, General Winzengerode, with a part of the army of the North of Germany, was advancing to join Blucher in the neighbourhood of Chatteau Thierry. At Soissons he was opposed by a considerable French force there stationed. He immediately attacked the place and carried it by storm; and, besides the killed and wounded, the enemy sustained a loss of 3000 prisoners. The demi-official accounts rate the total loss of the enemy at this place at 10,000 men, which is probably exaggerated; and which, perhaps, proceeded from the accounts previously inserted in the Paris papers, that there were 10,000 in it. Bonaparte said, that the first ball killed General Rusca, who commanded in the place; and that the garrison, consisting of 1000 men of the national guards, being *thunderstruck*, surrendered.* Bonaparte reflected severely upon the General who commanded after the death of Rusca, saying, the place ought not to have been taken by a *coup de main;* but that, nevertheless, General Winzengerode, with 4 or 5000 light infantry, succeeded in taking it, for which the French officers were brought before a Court of Inquiry."† From his conduct, at this time, it would appear that Bonaparte was becoming suspicious of the fidelity

* Bonaparte's dispatch, February 21st, 1814.

† Do. do. do.

of his officers, and wanted, by punishment, to keep them in the line of their duty; for he was constantly complaining of some of them, a thing, previously, not very common with him. Immediately after the capture of Soissons, Winzengerode found that the army of Blucher was retreating in different divisions upon Chalons, in which direction he also instantly set out, and Soissons again reverted to the enemy. The amount of Winzengerode's force is not exactly stated, but it must have been considerable, perhaps 15,000, as Colonel Lowe says that his junction would "present a full compensation for any losses that had been sustained."* Previous to this, the Cossacks, in the advance of Winzengerode's army, had entered the ancient and venerable city of Rheims, where the kings of France were wont to be crowned, and containing 40,000 inhabitants. Bonaparte upbraided this place, and threatened it with his vengeance, because they not only "opened their gates to 150 Cossacks, but complimented and well-treated them for eight days."† These indefatigable warriors, the constant object of the tyrant's dread, and bitterest abuse, were found in all directions, 50, 80, and even 100 miles in advance of the army. They had penetrated even to the banks of the Loire, and entered Orleans. From thence the retreat of the grand army again recalled them to the Seine and the Yonne. The enemy accused them of perpetrating every atrocity, and burning buildings in the most wanton manner; which accounts were, no doubt, designedly exaggerated. At a village on the Yonne, said he, where the Cossacks were *amusing* themselves burning a farm-house, the inhabitants sounded the tocsin, and "*threw some thirty of them into the flames.*"‡ The peasants, said he, every where pursue and kill great numbers of "these Tartars, who have nothing human."§ Had the Cossacks thrown every Frenchman into *the flames*, who, in Russia, by way of amusement, burnt farm-houses, and even palaces, they

* Lowe's report, February 16th, 1814.

† Bonaparte's dispatch, February 19th, 1814.

‡ Do. do. do. § Do. do. do.

would better have deserved the character of nothing human. The humanity, according to the enemy's own statement, was all on the side of the warriors of the Don.

In these different movements of the contending armies, and rencounters they had, besides the more serious affairs, the loss of men was considerable on both sides; but of the exact numbers we are no where informed. At Troyes the enemy asserted, that he made 2000 prisoners, besides 1000 wounded left in the hospitals. That the number of wounded in the hospitals was correct, is very probable, as there must have been many whose severe wounds rendered it impossible to remove them; but the number of prisoners that were not so is hardly credible, when we remember that the allies evacuated the place under a convention, by which they had their own time, and none of the dispatches from the allies make mention of any prisoners being taken from them. At this time, the enemy, and the press of Paris under his controul and subservient to his cause, endeavoured to depict the conduct of the allies, but particularly of the Russian troops, in the most odious point of view. He endeavoured to charge them with every crime, and load them with every species of obloquy. "The Austrians," said they, "are, indeed, very exorbitant in their demands, but they are not cruel; whereas, the Russians have an instinctive ferocity, which nothing can soften."* "The inhabitants of Paris might have expected the greatest misfortunes, had the enemy arrived at their gates, and they surrendered their city without defence. *Pillage, devastation, and fire*, would have finished the destinies of this fine capital."† "In the intoxication of their ephemeral successes," continued he, "the Russians publicly announced their entrance into Paris, and their design to carry off all the precious monuments, the immortal trophies of our victories; to give up Paris to pillage, to carry off the women to people their horrible desarts, to *blow up the Thuilleries*, and in short to turn the seat of the fine arts into a heap of ruins."‡ Was the determination extraordinary—was it unjust? Why

* Paris, February 25th, 1814.

† Bonaparte's dispatch, February 21st.

‡ Paris—Municipality of Paris.

not Paris as well as Moscow—the Thuilleries the same as the Kremlin? The charges thus loudly rung, had, however, very little effect either in France or Europe. The conduct of the allied troops was known to be very different from what it was represented; and certainly very different, indeed, from what that of the French troops had been in every part of Europe. And as for the charges of stripping Paris of the fine arts, the world considered, that the Russians had a better right to take these from Paris, than France had to take them, as she did, from their lawful owners; and with regard to the wish and intention of the Russians to blow up the Thuilleries, no person could blame them who recollected the Kremlin; and the present and future generations would have said they did right, while France continued the scourge of Europe, and Bonaparte as the master of it. "These banditti, (continued the enemy,) spoke only of burning and pillaging Paris. I have been assured, (said one,) that each had a torch slung at his back; and when asked what use they meant to make of it, they universally answered, that it was to set fire to Paris."* "We are resolved," said the allied army, "to exterminate and take from you for 50 years to come, the means of fighting and defending (say rather of annoying your neighbours,) yourselves."† If the troops of the allies, had in reality, professed such intentions as are here enumerated, as it is probable many of them did, it is really not much to be wondered at, when we reflect, what a long list of carnage, crimes, and misery, had been hatched in Paris, and from thence scattered over Europe; by which every individual in it, in every rank and station, had keenly suffered, and whose indignation, now aroused to the utmost pitch, very naturally directed that vengeance against the source of all their woe and misery. There was really nothing extraordinary in all this, or rather it would have been extraordinary, had it been otherwise, and submission and contrition, not accusation and complaint, ought to have been the language

* Moniteur—Report to the Minister of the Interior, by M. Despres Chasse, auditor of State, March 2d, 1814.

† Municipality of Paris. February 25th.

of France at this awful moment. These alone could, and these only, at last, did save her from the fate, which the banditti who had long trampled upon her and Europe, had caused her richly merit from indignant nations.

No sooner had the enemy entered Troyes, than an event took place, which, as related in his accounts, astonished Europe. This was no less than a solicitation on the part of the allies, for so the enemy insinuated, to conclude an armistice. "On the 23d," said he, "Prince Wezel Lichtenstein, arrived at the head quarters. This *new* flag of truce was sent by Prince Schwartzenberg to propose an armistice."* "Count Flahant," continued the enemy, "Aide de camp of the Emperor Napoleon; Count Ducca, Aide de camp of the Emperor of Austria; Count Schuwaloff, Aide de camp of the Emperor of Russia; and General Rauch, Chief of the engineer corps of the king of Prussia, have assembled at Lusigny, in order to treat of the condition of a suspension of arms."† From what motives this originated—what were the views of the parties in it—upon what terms such a suspension was to take place—what progress was made in it—and why the negotiations were broken off, the enemy did not, at this time, condescend to inform us. However, some time afterwards, when, as he conceived, matters wore a more favourable aspect for him, he became more communicative; but still avoiding the main point, namely, which party it was that proposed the armistice; he stated, that it had failed, from the exorbitant nature of the demands of the allies. "They wished," said he, "not only to extend their line upon the Saone and the Rhone, but to include Savoy in it."‡ To this Bonaparte objected; and proposed to leave matters, in that quarter, as they stood at the moment between Bubna and Augereau; this the allies would not consent to, but wished to include Lyons within their line, which could only be meant in the expression, to "extend their line on the Saone and the Rhone,"

* Bonaparte's dispatch, February 24th, 1814.

† Do. do. do.

‡ Bonaparte's dispatch, March 12th, 1814.

beyond where they knew it was. But it is evident, that this was not the utmost length the allies wished to go. They wanted to bridle him still more closely, and evidently demanded possession of the passes between Italy and France, which were not already in their power; and further, the advance of their line, both on the north and the east, beyond where they at that moment stood. For Bonaparte expressly said, that "he could not consent to abandon his communications with Italy; and besides, the Emperor did not think he had a right to place *a numerous population under the iron yoke from which they had been delivered.** These severe terms, shewed the high ground on which the allies stood, at a time when their situation was considered extremely dangerous; and was, no doubt, the reason why Bonaparte, at the time, durst not disclose to the people of France, that such terms were exacted from him, nor who it was, that solicited this armistice. It was of immense importance to him to have it believed, that it was the allies who solicited this suspension of arms, and that he was in a condition not to be dictated to. The allied Sovereigns, however, contradicted these insinuations and assertions of the enemy, with regard to their being the party which solicited this suspension of arms: "Meantime, the victorious armies approached the gates of the capital—The plenipotentiary of France *received orders to propose an armistice*, upon conditions which were similar to those which the allies themselves, judged necessary for the restoration of peace. He offered the immediate surrender of the fortresses in the countries which France was to give up, all on condition, of a suspension of military operations. The allied courts, convinced by twenty years experience, that in negotiations with the French cabinet, it was necessary, carefully to distinguish the *apparent, from the real intentions proposed, instead of this, immediately to sign preliminaries of peace*,"† &c. This, however, was not what Bonaparte wanted; and therefore, the negotiations which he had proposed were broken off. Such was the true state of the case; and no-

* Bonaparte's dispatch, March 12th, 1814.

† Declaration of the allied powers, upon rupture of the negotiations at Chatillon.

thing shews in a stronger point of view, the unparalleled and atrocious nature of *that* French government, than the odious system of falsehood and deceit which it had recourse to, in order to support its cause, and to enable it to continue the work of blood and destruction.

The temporary successes which had attended Bonaparte, and the assertion, that the allies were in a manner supplicating an armistice from him, were greedily snatched by the gloomy and desponding, to alarm the minds of the nations of Europe. "Did we not tell you," said those men, "what would be the consequences. The allied troops will be swallowed up and consumed in France—few, or none, will ever repass the Rhine —What a grand peace you would have made, had you never passed that river, but left Bonaparte and France untouched; and now, what a disgraceful one must be concluded, with him who is still to be the Lord of the ascendant—Conquer France and overthrow Bonaparte, so firmly fixed in the affections of France, as the execution of the emigrants at Troyes testified—impossible! Conquer France! the rich, patriotic, civilized, beautiful, harmless, and strong country—"Oh! tame and feeble Cervantes—Oh! calumniated crusaders." The ancient prophecy of twenty years standing, and arguments similar to the above, were eagerly brought forward; and the blame of all the mischief that was to happen, was, as usual, laid upon the heads of the British Cabinet. "the allied troops will all be destroyed or driven into the Rhine! was echoed in France and repeated in Britain. The enemy certainly thought so. "Fly to arms" said Marmont, "make all weak detachments, all isolated men prisoners; do not furnish any means of subsistence to the enemy; destroy all the bridges which might be useful to his retreat, whilst we shall precipitate his flight. The Emperor, in person, is pursuing the enemy, and will not stop till his destruction shall have been completed. *God protects France.* I repeat it, never was there a more favourable moment for freeing and revenging yourselves."* "When they learned the Emperor was approach-

* Marmont's proclamation, Etoges, February 15th, 1814.

ing, they were struck with sudden terror. *The name of Napoleon was sufficient to drive them from our town.*"* "The *sacred territory* which the enemy has violated will become a land of fire to consume them,"† and it is presumed that very few men of the enemy's army will repass the Rhine."‡ The name of Napoleon has struck them with terror—the sacred territory which they have violated will become a land of fire to consume them—it is presumed very few of the allies will be able to repass the Rhine,—was the burden of that doleful song on which vain ambition, and those bosoms which were callous to the cause of European independence, loved to dwell. This boasting was short—their triumph a dream. It was the last effort of delirious ambition and despairing faction.

The enemy soon found that it was one thing to foil the allies in their object for the moment, and another to incapacitate them from renewing the attempt, and ultimately succeeding in it. When Blucher was forced to retreat, it became necessary for Schwartzenberg to retreat also, in order to secure his communication with him. Besides, it was still more necessary for Schwartzenberg to do so, in order to guard against the attempts of Augereau, who was moving from Lyons, with 40,000 men, against Count Bubna, stationed in Franche Compte, with an inferior force in the Prince's rear, the enemy, thereby, threatening the road by which the whole of his supplies and re-enforcements were advancing. At that very moment, the Russian guards and reserves, about 40,000 strong,§ were advancing upon Langres, and it became absolutely necessary, for Prince Schwartzenberg to prevent the enemy from throwing a force between him and Blucher, for if they succeeded in doing so, the same force would have interposed between him and his resources, and he have been unable to detach re-enforcements to Count Bubna, in order to enable him to repel the attempts of Augereau. They were

* Chatteau Thierry, February 8th, 1814.
† Bonaparte's dispatch, February 17th, 1814.
‡ Do. do. 19th.
§ Do. do. 24th.

in an enemy's country, and both a populous and a powerful country,—in the middle of winter too; when it behoved them to be more certain of all their movements. The fate of Napoleon in Russia had taught them a lesson, which, unless distracted they could never forget. They acted a very prudent and cautious part. As soon as Prince Schwartzenberg had secured all these important objects, we shall presently see how much further he retreated, and how much more Bonaparte was able to advance. His successes had not carried him so far as the point from which the allied armies set out in the undertaking, in which they had been unsuccessful, but not annihilated, and were again ready to renew the attempt. Like Sarpedon, when he retired from before the Grecian wall, Blucher and Schwartzenberg yielded:

> "The Prince gave back, not meditating flight,
> But urging vengeance and severer fight."*

"He drew back his armies," said Lord Cathcart, "to re-enforce the divisions at Dijon, Lyons, and Geneva, and to distribute in his army the velites of Hungary, and other Austrian re-enforcements."† While the force under the command of Bonaparte was much superior to either of the armies of Blucher and Schwartzenberg, it was evident that the nearer they advanced to Paris the more concentrated he became, and was thereby enabled to fall upon either with a superior force. Till either army, therefore, was able to make a stand against all the force he could muster, neither could advance to Paris with safety. The re-enforcements advancing from the eastward and northward were such as would soon enable them to acquire the superiority, and, therefore, it became necessary for Bonaparte to make every exertion to crush either the one or the other, before these re-enforcements advanced to their assistance. This was the cause of his late desperate efforts, and which the caution of the allies prevented from being attended with the success which he wished and expected.

In the meantime the operations in Italy continued to be at-

* Pope's Iliad, Book XII. ver. 495.

† Cathcart's dispatch, March 31st.

tended with success to the Austrian arms. The Viceroy, however, made a vigorous stand, and was not dislodged from the positions which he occupied, without a severe struggle. The nature of the country, abounded with formidable positions, and intersected with so many deep and rapid rivers, while the Alps on the northern frontier, covered with snow, and impassable on that account, secured his flank, and prevented him from being turned on that side, except with great danger and difficulty, were all circumstances extremely favourable to him. Nevertheless, the Austrians continued to gain ground. On the 9th February, they passed the Mincio near the position of Goito, at the moment the Viceroy was preparing to pass that stream, and attack them. Leaving a force, however, in front of Monzambano, the Austrians marched during the night, with the principal part of their army, and passed the river lower down at Borghetto, thus threatening the Viceroy's flank, upon a quarter which he little expected. The Viceroy immediately followed, according to the accounts of the enemy, and attacked the Austrians on the plains beyond Roverbello; while General Verdier was warmly engaged at Monzambano, upon the upper Mincio, with the Austrian force left to oppose or attack him. The battle at Monzambano, but chiefly that on the plains near Roverbello was obstinate and bloody. The positions of both armies were good; and, according to the accounts of the enemy, after a severe contest, which was continued from the morning till an hour after it was dark, they succeeded in obliging the Austrians to repass the upper Mincio, and abandon their intentions of maintaining themselves on the right bank of that river, the command of the whole line of which, they assert, they obtained. But, as they state, they only remained during the night on the field of battle, and then repassed the Mincio, in order to secure their communications with General Verdier, who, on the preceding day, had been completely isolated from them; it was obvious they only meant to disguise their defeat. But, as no Austrian account of this battle ever appeared in the English journals, we can only form our judgment of the truth of the enemy's accounts from the consequences which followed, certainly unfavourable

to them. The Austrian loss was stated to have been 5000 killed and wounded, and 2500 prisoners, while the enemy acknowledged a loss of 2500 men;* which shews that the battle had been severe, and even from their own statements, written undoubtedly in their usual style not much to their advantage. The Austrians, however, according to the enemy's accounts, for we have no other, having still retained possession of the bridge at Borghetto, which was commanded by some heights, also in their hands, on the night of the 9th, marched 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, and endeavoured to maintain themselves upon the right banks of the Mincio. They were, however, attacked, and compelled to repass the Mincio, with the loss of 200 prisoners, and as many killed, while the French loss was only 20 killed and 150 wounded.† A considerable Austrian force from the Tyrol and upper Mincio, endeavoured to throw themselves in the enemy's rear, and marched upon Brescia; and though the enemy stated that this force was repulsed, with the loss of from 3 to 400 men‡, yet it was clear that it was of little advantage to them, for the Austrians finally succeeded in compelling the enemy to abandon the line of the Mincio, while the victories of which the enemy boasted, near Roverbello, were very different indeed in their consequences from the engagements on the same ground in 1796.

On the side of the Netherlands, the army of the North of Germany, consisting of the troops of all nations, continued to press on to the scene of action. On the 10th, the Crown Prince arrived at Cologne; and, during that and the two preceding days, there arrived in that place, 36,559 men, and 6,624 horses, amongst which was the corps of Woronzow, and the fine corps of Major Lutzen's, from 12 to 15,000 strong. Bulow, with a formidable force, was pushing on through the Netherlands; the advance of whose army, under Winzengerode, had already captured Soissons, Avesnes, and Rheims. The Swedish army was advancing by forced marches; as were also the Danish

* Milan, Feb. 10th. Moniteur, February 17th, 1814.

† Volta, Feb. 10th. Do. do. 19th.

‡ Milan, Feb. 16th. French loss, 115 killed and wounded.

troops by the routes of Bremen and Munster. From Cologne, the Crown Prince addressed an animated proclamation to the people of France, in which he said, "the government under which you live has it continually in view to treat you with contempt, in order that it might debase you: it is high time that this state of things undergo an alteration. All enlightened people express their wishes for the welfare of the people of France; but they, at the same time, wish that she may no longer be the *scourge of the earth.* The allied monarchs have not united themselves to make war upon the people, but to force your government to acknowledge the independence of other states."* "Frenchmen, what is become of your innumerable armies? What of your military glory? When your eyes overlook the globe, they can scarcely discover one friendly people, and every where they meet with countries which are the graves of thousands of Frenchmen. Who is the author of so many evils? a man who is not a Frenchman." After sacrificing 40,000 to his ambition in the East, he abandoned them—he came among you—was rewarded with the Imperial purple.—He promised France internal repose, and Europe peace. You believed him. What has he done to fulfil your hopes? *broken every treaty as soon as he made it.* This peace-maker has carried death and desolation into Spain. He made the incorporation and the overthrow of one country follow that of another; and in his convulsive rage he robbed Europe of the last illusion of a durable state. At last he reached the gaol, when he left his dominions, to lead the French 700 leagues from their country, and by this gigantic enterprise realized *all* that is related of the madness of the conquerors of antiquity;—he betrayed his unhappy soldiers, and abandoned them in immense deserts of snow, without food, without clothing, and without a guide! yet he ventured to appear again before you, to demand from you new exertions—new levies of troops. He obtained too many. Again have 200,000 perished, to drench with their blood the plains of Germany, whose inhabitants

* Proclamation, Cologne, Feb. 12th.

loved the French till after thirteen years of ill treatment and disgrace. Divine justice has baffled the last efforts of expiring tyranny. The allies will not divide France—they offer it peace—they demand it. Frenchmen look around you! The abyss is still open—the hand which plunges you into it is still lifted; shall it throw the last of you in? If you do not compel your Ruler to conclude the peace which is required of you, the allies must lament that *they cannot reach the oppressor of France, but through a people whom they esteem.*"* Except among the creatures of the revolution these addresses made a deep impression upon the minds of the people of France. On the side of Picardy and Artois the enemy were assembling a force under General Maison, but that was not an object of serious attention; it was in the neighbourhood of Paris where the grand struggle was to take place, and to which thousands were hastening. They left the fortified towns behind them, which were but ill provisioned and supplied, and certainly unprepared for a crisis like this.

The negotiations at Chatillon continued, but their deliberations remained a complete secret, except that the enemy asserted† that the allies threw every obstacle in the way, which was afterwards known to have been the reverse; and, at the same time, complained bitterly of his old friends the Cossacks, who, by intercepting his couriers, prevented him from obtaining information from Chatillon, but once in four or five days, though he was only ninety miles from it.‡

While these important events were going on in the heart of France, equally important, and to the enemy distressing events, were taking place in the South West. Since Soult had been obliged to leave his formidable position under the walls of Bayonne, no important operations had taken place in that quarter. The heavy rains rendered the roads altogether impassable for artillery for nearly two months. Dur-

* Crown Prince's proclamation, Hanover, Feb. 6th, 1814.

† Bonaparte's dispatch, February 21st, 1814.

‡ Do. do. do.

ing this period of the cessation of hostilities on the South West, the pressing danger from the Eastward had induced Bonaparte to recal a very considerable portion of cavalry and infantry, from the army under Soult; expecting, that by their assistance, he would be able to ward off the blow which threatened his capital and authority, and whose unexpected arrival upon the Marne was, in fact, the principal means of his being able to check the progress of the allied armies, during their first advance upon Paris. Soult, however, though he was by these means lessened in his effective strength, was not so in point of numbers; as the places of those who were recalled to Paris were filled up by conscripts. His army was still formidable and numerous; and, according to the French papers, amounted to 90,000 men.* The approach of spring having brought more moderate and settled weather, the allied army, under the command of the Marquis Wellington, prepared to move from their cantonments, in which they had enjoyed a short period of repose, after the long and arduous campaign of the preceding year. Sir John Hope, second in command, was left with a strong force to besiege Bayonne, and the rest of the army prepared to move after the enemy, and bring him to battle.

On the 21st, the 6th and light divisions were ordered to break up from the blockade of Bayonne, and the army, on the following days, passed the Gave de Moulion; while the pontoons which had been collected at Garries were carried forward to the Gave de Oleron, and Gave de Pau rivers. On the 24th, Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill passed the Gave de Oleron at Villenave, with the light, 2d, and Portuguese divisions, under the command of Major-General Baron Alten, Lieutenant-General Sir Wm. Stewart, and the Marischal de Campo Don Frederick Lecor; while Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton passed with the 6th division between Montfort and Laos, and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton made demonstrations, with the 3d division, of an intention to attack the enemy's position at the bridge of Sauveterre,

* Bayonne, January 21st. Moniteur.

which demonstration induced the enemy to blow up the bridge. Marischal del Campo Don Pablo Murillo drove in the enemy's posts at Navarreins, and blockaded that place. At the same time Marshal Beresford, with the 4th and 7th divisions, and Colonel Vivian's brigade, which was in observation on the Lower Bidouze, attacked the enemy in their fortified position at Hastingues and Oyergave, on the left bank of the Gave de Pau, and compelled them to retreat within the *tete du pont* at Peyvehorade. As soon as the passage of the Gave de Pau was effected, Sir Rowland Hill and Sir Henry Clinton commenced their march towards Orthes, and the great road leading from Sauveterre to that town. This movement compelled the enemy to retire from Sauveterre during the night. They crossed the Gave de Pau, and, having destroyed all the bridges over that river, assembled their army in the neighbourhood of Orthes, on the 25th. The whole allied army continued to advance by corresponding movements, and, having crossed the river, prepared to attack the enemy in the strong position which he there occupied. The right of the French army held the heights on the road to Aix, and occupied the village of St. Boes. The left held the heights above Orthes and that town, and opposed the passage of the river by the troops under the command of General Hill. The course of these heights was such that the centre of the French army was considerably retired, and the strength of his position altogether gave him extraordinary advantages.

But nothing could deter the British General. Marshal Beresford was ordered to turn and attack the enemy's right, with the 4th division, under Sir Lowry Cole, and the 7th division, under General Walker, and Colonel Vivian's brigade of cavalry. Lieut.-General Picton was directed to move along the high road leading from Peyvehorade to Orthes, and to attack the heights on which the enemy's centre and left stood, with the 3d and 6th divisions, supported by Sir Stapleton Cotton, with Lord Edward Somerset's brigade of cavalry. Major-General Charles Baron Alten, with the light division, kept up the communication, and was in reserve be-

tween the two attacks. General Hill was also directed to pass the Gave, and to turn and attack the enemy's left. Such was the order in which the British army attacked the enemy at Orthes. Marshal Beresford, with the troops under his orders, attacked and carried the village of St. Boes, after an obstinate resistance; but the ground was so narrow that it was found impossible to attack the height, notwithstanding repeated efforts made by Major-General Ross, and Brigadier-General Vasconcillo's Portuguese brigade. It became necessary, therefore, to adopt a new plan of attack. For this purpose Colonel Barnard's brigade of the light division was brought forward to attack the left of the height, on which the enemy's right was stationed. The attack was led by the 52d regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Colbourn, and supported on the right by Major-General Brisbane's and Colonel Kean's brigades of the 3d division, and by simultaneous attacks on the left by Major-General Anson's brigade of the 4th division, and on the right by Lieut. Gen. Sir Thomas Picton, with the remainder of the 3d division, and the 6th division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton. This plan was completely successful. The enemy was driven, after an obstinate resistance, from all his positions, and commenced his retreat, followed and attacked, in the most spirited manner, by the allied army. At first the enemy conducted his retreat, in a masterly style; but General Hill having crossed the Gave de Pau above Orthes, advanced upon the enemy's left, and not only pressing it closely, but threatening to turn it, the whole French army were thrown into confusion, and their retreat was soon converted into a precipitate and disorderly flight.—Many of the soldiers threw away their arms, a great number of prisoners, (the Spanish accounts said 3,000,) and six pieces of cannon, were taken, and "*the whole country was covered by their dead.*"* The total loss of the enemy, in this action, was not less than 10,000 men. That of the allies, including the previous affairs, was 2630. The troops of the allied army conducted themselves in their usual gallant style, and the enemy was once more obliged to yield the palm of victory, in

* Wellington's dispatch, March 1st, 1814.

a pitched battle upon their own territories, to the skill and bravery of their opponents.

From the disastrous field of Orthes, Soult fled, with his broken and dispirited army, across the Adour, by St. Sever, whither the allied army followed him, and, on the first of March, crossed that river, the head-quarters being, on that day, established at St. Sever. For the first time the French soldiers abandoned their colours; vast numbers came over to the allied army, by whom they were dismissed to their respective homes. After the passage of the Adour, Soult, instead of continuing his movement towards the North or North East, left the high road to Bourdeaux open, and turned off to the South East towards Tarbes. This he did for two reasons, which does credit to his talents as a General; namely, to prevent the advance of the British army in that direction where disaffection, not loud but deep, was beginning to shew itself; and the next was, to secure his communication with the remainder of the army under Suchet, which was advancing from Catalonia to his assistance. At Aire the enemy had considerable magazines established, and which place he endeavoured to defend until these could be removed. Two divisions of his army held the place, in which they were immediately attacked by Sir Rowland Hill; and, after an obstinate resistance, completely overthrown, with the loss of 100 prisoners, and a great number of killed and wounded*, together with all their magazines; the loss of the allies, in this affair, was 158 killed and wounded. All the roads were covered with arms and accoutrements, which the enemy's soldiers, in their flight, had thrown away. In this last attack, Lieutenant-Colonel Hood, a very deserving officer, was unfortunately killed.

The consequences of these important operations were, that Navarreins, St. Jean Pied du Port, and Bayonne, were closely invested; and the army, after having passed the Adour, had obtained the command of all the great communications of that river, and all the enemy's magazines. On the 23d Feb.

* Hill's dispatch, March 2d, 1814.

Sir John Hope sent a force across the Adour, below Bayonne, consisting of 600 men, under the command of Major-General the Hon. Edward Stopford, which was immediately attacked by the enemy before farther assistance could be sent unto them. They, however, maintained their ground, and repelled the enemy. On the 24th, after great exertions, the vessels which were destined to form the bridge, were got into the Adour, by the assistance of the crews of the ships of war stationed at the mouth of the river, the consequence of which was that Sir John Hope obtained complete possession of both banks of the river below the town. Three of the enemy's gun-boats were destroyed the same day, and a frigate which was also stationed there received considerable damage, and was compelled to seek refuge higher up the river, in the neighbourhood of the bridge. The bridge being completed on the 29th, Bayonne was more closely invested than before. The village of St. Etienne was attacked and carried, at which place the enemy lost one gun and several prisoners, and the posts of the besieging army were advanced to within 900 yards of the outworks of the place.

In Spain the fortress of Jaca, into which the enemy had thrown a garrison, capitulated to the Spanish forces before it; and that active and enterprising officer, the Baron de Erolles, having obtained Marshal Suchet's cypher, by that means deceived the garrisons of Llerida, Mequinenza, and Mauzon, and succeeded in capturing the whole, amounting to 2500 men. With this cypher he directed the governors of the different places to evacuate them, and to march in a certain direction to join him. The Baron took care to have a sufficient force stationed in the pass of Martorell, where he succeeded in forcing the whole to capitulate.

In the meantime, the road to Bourdeaux having been left open, the Marquis of Wellington sent Marshal Beresford with a detachment, to take possession of that great city. This he did on the 12th March, not only without opposition; but the inhabitants came out in crowds, to meet and welcome the British troops, with every demonstration of joy. But this feeling did not stop here. Delivered from

those fetters, with which they had been so long held in bondage, the badge of the ancient family, was instantly and generally displayed, and all the images of the Imperial government overthrown and trampled upon. The Duke de Angouleme, who had some time before this left England, and landed in the South of France, and who was at this time, at no great distance, quickly made his appearance among them, and was received with the most lively joy and satisfaction. It was now clearly seen, that the Bourbons were not forgotten in France, and that a large portion of the inhabitants of that country eagerly sighed for their return to the throne of their ancestors. That opportunity was now offered to them; and also for the people to shew their willingness to embrace and support their cause. Other branches of that ancient house had left their place of refuge in England, and landed on the Continent. The Duke de Berri went through the Netherlands, and was ready to make his appearance in Picardy and Artois; and Monsieur had followed the tract of the grand allied army, and had entered Franche Compte and Lorraine, where he also was received with joy and satisfaction, and although it was not deemed prudent nor politic in the allies, publicly to espouse his cause, yet it was obvious, that they wished it success; and it was clear, that in every part of France, a feeling for their legitimate Prince was become very general. These things, no doubt, alarmed the Imperial government not a little; but it never durst make the smallest mention of any of these important operations, least the flame should spread more rapidly throughout France, when it was known, that it was kindled in any one quarter. Hence all mention of the operations against Soult, and his repeated defeats and disasters, were carefully refrained from by the followers of Bonaparte.

From St. Sever, the Marquis Wellington moved his head quarters to Aire; from whence, he on the 6th March, detached General Fane, with a force to take possession of Pau. Soult having been joined by 10,000* men from the army of Suchet, endeavoured to assemble a considerable force at Conchez, in

* Wellington's dispatches, March 13th and 20th, 1814.

order to alarm the British General for his communications in his rear; but the advance of the allied army in that direction, quickly obliged the enemy's force to retire, first upon Limbege, then upon Vic Bigorie, and then to Tarbes. The enemy was driven from position to position, by his indefatigable opponents; and in the last affairs at Tarbes, on the 20th, he suffered a considerable loss, while that on the part of the allies was trifling.* At Tarbes, on the 10th, Soult issued an angry proclamation, denouncing vengeance on the allied army, and accusing Lord Wellington of endeavouring to seduce the French people from their allegiance to their august Emperor; and threatening those with the utmost effects of his vengeance, who deserted the Imperial standard. The time, however, was gone by, when those menaces occasioned any fear or alarm, or could deter the people of France from following their own inclinations--nor was Soult himself aware, how soon he also would join the cause which he now denounced. "Soldiers," said he, "the enemy's General has had the audacity to invite you and your countrymen to sedition and revolt. This offence cannot be avenged but in blood—to arms! Our duty is marked out. *Honour and fidelity*, that is our motto. To combat to the last, the enemies of our august Emperor, &c."† And here we must leave him, for a short period, and return to operations and scenes, which will put this *fidelity and honour* to the proof.

Schwartzenberg having secured the object of his retreat, quickly resumed the offensive. He detached General Bianchi, with a considerable force to assist Count Bubna, and oppose Augereau; and, at the same time, placed all the Austrian troops which were at Dijon, and in that part of the country, under his orders. Bonaparte remained, at Troyes, shut up for three days, during which, all access to him, except to a very few, was denied. The French army, however, had followed the allies by Vandœuvres, and towards Bar Sur Aube. On the 26th, when Prince Schwartzenberg had determined to re-advance from

* Wellington's dispatch, March 20, 1814.

† Soult's proclamation, Tarbes, March 20.

Bar Sur Aube to Vandœuvres, the enemy, in great force appeared before Bar Sur Aube, where General Wrede was posted. He retired before them, and abandoned the place. Prince Schwartzenberg, immediately afterwards, sent orders to retake it. This was immediately done by the Bavarians, who drove the enemy from it at the point of the bayonet, with considerable loss. The loss of the Bavarians was trifling. The town was, however, again retaken by the enemy, but the Bavarians continued to hold the suburbs. The enemy endeavoured to envelope the corps of General Wrede, by posting a considerable column on the heights in the direction of Levigny. Prince Schwartzenberg, who had been previously determined to attack them, now accelerated his operations for that purpose. Count Wittgenstein's corps were assembled in front of Colombe, and directed to pass in the rear of General Wrede's corps, and to attack the column of the enemy which were moving in the direction of Levigny. About noon, Wittgenstein arrived on the heights. The contest began. It was obstinate and severe. The enemy's cavalry thrice charged to cover their flying infantry; but a well directed fire of grape shot, from the Russian artillery, drove them back in disorder, and General Wrede stormed and took the town of Bar Sur Aube.* Schwartzenberg himself, in many instances, directed the attack of the Russian troops. He was slightly wounded, as was also Count Wittgenstein. The enemy was defeated, driven from all his positions on the right bank of the Aube, and compelled to repass that river at Durlancour, where Count Pahlen succeeded in doing them still further injury. The loss of the enemy was about 3,000 men, and their discomfiture after the victories, of which they had previously boasted so much, was represented as complete.† The allies crossed the Aube, and advanced upon Vandœuvres, while another part of the army under the Prince of Wurtemburg and Count Guilay, marched upon Bar Sur Seine, and Prince Schwartzenberg directed him to advance, and attack the enemy posted at Ferte

* Bulletin, allied army, Colombe, March 2d, 1814.

† Lord Burghersh's dispatch, February 27th.

Sur Aube, "Or any other situation where he might find him."* The enemy were driven from all these places, and the Prince of Wurtemburg was directed to advance upon Troyes, by the right of the Seine, while the main body took the direct road by Vandœuvres; which place, General Fremont, with the advanced guard, entered on the 1st March, after a sharp affair with the enemy. The French army at this place, opposed to the allies, were the corps of Victor, Oudinot, and part of that of Macdonald. General St. Priest, with his force, had arrived at Vitry Sur Marne; and General Jaco was at Joinville, with orders to join General St. Priest. General Tettenborn had advanced to Fere Champenoise, where he met with a French force, which obliged him to return to Vertus.

Such was the situation of affairs with the main army, now returned, with increased confidence and augmented forces, against Bonaparte. In another quarter, the movements were still more interesting. The situation of Bonaparte was daily becoming more perilous, though he certainly made extraordinary exertions to ward off the blow. But it was obvious, that the crisis was approaching which was to decide this contest:

> "Dangers on dangers still around him grow,
> "And toil succeeds to toil and woe to woe."

Blucher, the indefatigable Blucher, instead of retreating along the Aube, and keeping in communication with Schwartzenberg, now took a step which astonished Europe, and which alarmed and confounded the enemy. On the night of the 24th, he threw three bridges over the Aube at Baudemont, and passed the whole of his army over that river during the night, without being perceived by the enemy. He immediately took the road to Sezanne, from which place, Marmont, who with 10,000 men, was marching towards Chalons, fled on his approach towards Ferte sous Jouarre, where he passed the Marne, and was joined by Mortier from Chateau Thierry, with a force nearly equal to his own, and composed chiefly of the young

* Lord Burghersh's dispatch, March 1st.

guard; Blucher followed at his heels with his whole army, and detaching Generals Sacken and Langeron, he directed them to march upon Coulomiers and Chailly, and afterwards to pursue their route to Meaux, threatening to cut off Marmont and Mortier from Paris. This bold manœuvre, immediately compelled these Generals to abandon Ferte sous Jouarre, and retreat to Meaux, in order to secure their communication with the capital. General Sacken's force took possession of the suburbs of Meaux on the left bank of the Marne, while General Sacken himself established his head quarters at Triport, the enemy having also abandoned the opposite bank of the river. On the 27th, Blucher passed his army over the Marne without opposition. Consternation now reigned at Paris, so lately the scene of boasting and bravado. The beaten, dispersed, annihilated army of Silesia as formidable as ever, was now within not three, but two marches of Paris; while an army equal in numbers was advancing from the North to join it, and to which there was nothing to oppose in its march. General Winzengerode had occupied Rheims, and detached a corps, which also occupied Chateau Thierry. General Bulow was ready to join him, and General Kleist was at Legg-sur-Ourque, and other re-enforcements near at hand. "The direction of Blucher's march, (says the bulletin of the allies,) must give rise to great events."* We shall presently see, that it did so. Events of the utmost importance now crowd upon our attention. Manœuvres of the most daring and extraordinary kind, and battles daily fought, most obstinate and bloody, were about to finish the dreadful drama of twenty-two years of carnage and misery.

The rapid and unexpected march of Blucher again towards Paris, was an event for which Bonaparte was by no means prepared. He seems to have been two or three days before he could credit the fact. At length, however, he was compelled to move. He had, at this time, only a choice of difficulties. If he did not follow Blucher, Paris must fall. If he left Schwartzenberg, now again acting on the offensive, to follow Blucher,

* Bulletin of the Grand allied army, Colombe, March 2d.

Paris was also exposed to imminent danger from that quarter. However, the danger from the first, demanded his immediate attention. At midnight on the 27th, he left Troyes with all his guards, and a large body of cavalry, and marched after Blucher, and on the 1st March, reached Ferte sous Jouarre. Upon his advance, the army of Blucher fell back upon Soissons, where it effected its junction with the army under Bulow. Marmont and Mortier again advanced, and effected their junction with Bonaparte. The French garrison in Soissons, consisting of 1,400 men, capitulated on the 3d, to the army of Blucher, and were allowed to retire to Villers Cotterits. For this, the governor was severely censured by Bonaparte, and sent before a Council of Inquiry. Soissons had 20 pieces of cannon, and ought, (says the enemy,) to have defended itself; particularly, as it heard the cannonading of the advancing French army, and "because a battalion of the Vistula quitted the place with tears in their eyes."* Situate as the Governor was, he could not act otherwise. On the 5th, Bonaparte, with an immense force, endeavoured to make himself master of the place, but without success. Ten thousand Russian infantry of the corps of General Count Langeron, under the orders of General Rudzivich, defended the place. It was only surrounded by a broken wall and ditch, passable in many parts. The remainder of the army of Blucher was on the opposite side of the Aisne. The attack began soon after day break. The enemy gained possession of the greater part of the suburbs, and made two desperate attacks upon the town itself, with all the troops of Marmont and Mortier. In each he was repulsed with great slaughter. As he still retained the greater part of the suburbs, he unroofed the houses, and from these kept up a continual fire upon the troops on the walls of the town, until night put an end to the combat. In another part of the suburbs, the Russian infantry continued to maintain themselves, and the combatants during the night were only divided by a few houses from each other. The Russian loss was 1,000 killed and wounded; but the loss of the enemy was much greater,

* Bonaparte's dispatch, March 9th, 1814.

as his troops were more exposed.* On the morning of the 6th, the enemy desisted from his attacks upon the place and retired.

Foiled in his attempt upon Soissons, Bonaparte called up his army to his right, and marching in that direction on the forenoon of the 6th, he passed his army across the Aisne at Bery au Bac, and, with a strong force, menaced the left of Blucher's army at Craone. Blucher penetrated his intentions, and directed General Winzengerode, with 10,000 cavalry, to march by way of Chavigny and Presle, and to throw himself in the line of the enemy's communications across the road from Corbeny to Laon. The corps of Generals Kliest, Sacken, and D'York, were ordered to incline towards the infantry of General Winzengerode, which sustained the extremity of the position near the villages of St. Martins and Craone. General Bulow, with 20,000 men, was directed to march and occupy the strong and important position of Laon. At two in the afternoon of the 6th, under cover of the wood of Cortiny, the enemy's force advanced against Blucher's left, with large bodies of skirmishers, but was repulsed,† though the enemy, with his wonted disregard of truth, asserts that he carried the heights.‡ These operations, however, were only the prelude to a more general and sanguinary affair, on the 7th, at Craone. Blucher, who was aware of the enemy's intentions of attacking his left, directed the corps of Generals Kliest and D'York to pass the river Delette, in the direction of Presle and Leuilly, to sustain the movement of the cavalry under Winzengerode, and, together with Bulow's force, to attack the enemy's right, should he push forward against the point occupied by the infantry of Winzengerode, at the point of Craone. General Baron Sacken was ordered to support the latter, and to endeavour to turn the enemy's left, should he attack on the other side. If pressed by superior forces, he was directed to fall back on Laon, and at the same time to withdraw the garrison of Soissons. About eleven o'clock in the

* Lowe's report, March 11th. † Do. do. do.

‡ Bonaparte's dispatch, March 9th.

forenoon of the 7th, the enemy, with 60,000 men, attacked the position occupied by Winzengerode's infantry, and, at the same moment, Marshal Blucher marched to the point where he supposed the cavalry would be formed, in order to direct the operations in that quarter against the right of the enemy. Unfortunately, however, the cavalry, from various difficulties during the preceding night, had not been able to advance beyond Presle, with the exception of the advanced guard, with which it was impossible for the Marshal to undertake, with effect, the important operations which he had in view. The position at Craone, therefore, was exposed to the undivided fury of the enemy, who, under a cannonade truly tremendous, made every effort to dislodge the allies from their position. But it was maintained with a spirit and determination above all praise, by Count Strogonoff, who commanded the cavalry in the absence of Winzengerode, and by Woronsoff, who commanded the infantry. The attacks, however, of the enemy were so incessant, while, at the same time, the force under his command was so superior to those immediately opposing him, that it gave him an opportunity of threatening, and, indeed, endeavouring to turn the position both on the right and left sides thereof, so that General Baron Sacken was under the necessity of abandoning the position, and commencing his retreat upon Laon. This retreat was executed in the most admirable order, so that fourteen pieces of artillery, which had been dismounted, were carried off by the allies. The enemy merely says that they were pursued four leagues along that space, exposed to the fire of eighty pieces of cannon,* but fairly acknowledges, that the cavalry could not get up to attack them, while he rates the number of cannon which the allies opposed to him at 60 pieces. The battle of Craone was both obstinate and bloody; and, but for the accident already mentioned, might have been most disastrous to the enemy. The loss of the allies was 2000 killed and wounded. The son of Count Strogonoff, a Lieutenant-General, was killed. Three other Russian Generals were wounded. Count

* Bonaparte's dispatch, March 9th, 1814.

Woronsoff had five officers of his personal staff wounded. The enemy had four generals, viz. Victor, Grouchy, La Salle, and Charpentier, wounded; and, from the admirable manner in which the Russian artillery was served, his loss must have been very great.* He acknowledges it was 800 killed and wounded, while he estimates the loss of the allies from 5 to 6000 men.† But, as he acknowledged that the position which they held was very favourable, there can be no doubt but that his loss was equal if not greater than theirs.

The whole army of Blucher was concentrated at Laon, and amounted to 90,000 men, whose valour had been tried in many a bloody field. Since it entered France it had never obtained one moment's repose. For "42 days past, (said Colonel Lowe) this army, which appears to have been peculiarly the object of the enemy's disquietude and attacks, has been marching or fighting; for, *exclusive* of the general actions, only two days have elapsed, in which the advance or rear of it has not been seriously engaged."‡ But its labours were not yet finished. It was, indeed, the particular object of the enemy's dread, and who saw no safety for himself but in its destruction. In this, also, he must lose no time. Therefore he made the desperate attack which he did at Craone, upon its left, in order to defeat and turn it—cut it off from any communication with St. Priest, and its supplies advancing from the Eastward, and also with the grand army, under Schwartzenberg; and by defeating it, under these circumstances, to force it back upon the Netherlands, if not, to surround and destroy it altogether; when Schwartzenberg would only have remained to occupy his attention. In this he was foiled at Craone, but he was determined to make a still more desperate and general effort at Laon.

After the battle of Craone, the enemy continued to follow the allied army to its strong position at Laon. On the 8th, there was much severe skirmishing between the advance of

* Lowe's report, March 11th, 1814.

† Bonaparte's dispatch, March 9th, 1814.

‡ Lowe's report, March 11th, 1814.

the French and the rear of the allied army. The village of Clacy was attacked seven times by the allies, who were, according to the enemy's accounts, each time repulsed. The Duke of Ragusa took possession of the "village of Althies, and was successful, says the enemy, throughout the day. At half-past six he took up a position. At seven, the allies made a dash of cavalry, one league in the rear, where the Duke of Reggio had a park of reserve. The Duke of Ragusa proceeded thither *quickly*, but the enemy had *time* to carry off fifteen pieces of cannon. A great part of the *personnel* was saved."* Even this was a very good day's work, by the admission of the enemy himself.

The next day, however, was destined to behold a complete trial of strength between the collected army of Bonaparte, and the united force of Blucher. Notwithstanding the losses which it had sustained, the army of Bonaparte, on this day, amounted to 80,000 men,† besides some detachments, not in the battle. Blucher's force was 90,000. Both commanders famous for their talents—both armies brave from experience, and the principles which directed their conduct. The stake for which they were contending was of the first importance, and the combat, therefore, was most likely to be severe. Before day-break, on the 9th, Bonaparte, at the head of all this formidable force, attacked the strong position of Laon. His chief efforts were directed against Blucher's left. Under cover of a thick fog, the enemy succeeded in penetrating on the centre and right of the allied army to the villages of Ardon and Semilly, which may be considered as the suburbs of Laon. The fire of the musquetry reached to the walls of the town, and continued, without intermission, until about eleven o'clock, when the fog began to clear away. The force and positions of both armies were now distinctly seen. General Bulow, with the centre of the allied army, occupied Laon, and the remainder of the army was stationed on the plain below, to the right and left of the town. The cavalry was in reserve in the rear. The enemy was immediately driven from the

* Bonaparte's dispatch, March 12th, 1814.

† Prince Saxe Wiemar's official letter.

village of Semilly, and the cavalry from the rear were ordered forward to turn the enemy's left flank. Here the battle was obstinately contested throughout the day, without any further success than dislodging the enemy from the villages which he had occupied during the time the fog continued in the morning; and, notwithstanding the efforts of Count Woronsoff, he could not overcome the vast force which the enemy had in this quarter. Part of Bulow's force was directed to advance and drive the enemy from the village of Ardon, from which, after a brisk fire for half an hour, he compelled them to retreat. It was on the left, however, that the enemy made his principal effort. About two o'clock in the afternoon, he was observed advancing, with a strong force, on the road leading from Rheims, and became immediately engaged with the corps of D'York and Kliest, stationed in that quarter. He took the village of Althies, and continued to press forward. The Marshal, who had foreseen this important movement, directed Sacken, with his corps, to re-enforce those under Kliest and D'York, and the whole to act on the offensive. These generals, says Blucher, "fulfilled this object with their usual ability."* It was here that the battle became most terrible and decisive. The enemy "advanced with a confidence from which he must have arrogated to himself every success,"† and from a formidable battery, of at least forty or fifty pieces of artillery, opened a most tremendous fire upon the allied army. The combat, for several hours, was obstinate and bloody. Advancing at the *pas de charge*, the enemy encountered the corps under the command of Prince William of Prussia. He was immediately overthrown, and, towards nightfall, his retreat became a disordered flight. He was pursued on the road to Corbeny; seventy pieces of cannon‡, a number of

* Blucher's dispatch to Prince Saxe Wiemar.

† Lowe's dispatch, March 10th, 1814.

‡ Blucher's dispatch to Prince Saxe Wiemar. Colonel Lowe states the number of prisoners to have been from 5 to 6000; second dispatch, March 11th; and Lieut. Col. Cooke, on the 13th, states, that the Cossacks, under Chernicheff, had taken on that day 800 men, and 10 guns.

baggage waggons, and a *great* number of prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. On the right and the centre, the enemy still maintained himself in great force. The country in that part is intersected with villages and small woods, which were favourable for his operations. The whole of the 10th was occupied in severe engagements in that quarter. A wood, near the village of Clacy, was taken and retaken four or five different times; and, finally, remained with the allies. The enemy again attacked the village of Semilly, but without success. Part of General Bulow's force threw itself upon the road; and, supported by the fire of the troops on each flank, at last compelled the enemy to retire from this part of the field also, in disorder, and with loss. During the night the fire of his *bivouacques* were apparent along an extended line; but in the morning it was found he was gone, and the allied troops immediately followed him towards Chavignon, on the road to Soissons.

Thus ended the severe and memorable battle of Laon, where during "two days of successive attacks, the enemy experienced nothing but defeat and discomfiture," and "the efforts of all his force were broken against and recoiled from the bulwark, which the fine position of Laon afforded."* It was in fact the death blow to Bonaparte's power. It was now evident, that one of the armies of the allies at least, could encounter with success, whatever force he could bring against it. From that moment, desperate measures and desperate counsels were followed by him as the only remaining chance of extricating himself from his perilous situation. Yet his pride and his vanity still led him to anticipate the total destruction of his numerous enemies; and because the allies did not at this moment make the use of their superiority, which they afterwards did, he fondly imagined that it was because they durst not. The loss on both sides, in the battle of Laon, from the great number engaged, and from the length and obstinacy of the action, must have been severe; but no official dispatch has ever taken any notice of its amount. If, however, we are to estimate it by the battle of

* Colonel Lowe's dispatch, March 11th.

Craone, 12,000 men,* including prisoners, is not too many to state as the loss of the enemy; and 5 or 6000 killed and wounded on the side of the allies. But I have no certain data to go upon in order to ascertain this point. The enemy takes no notice whatever of these two dreadful days; and in order that the reader may be able to form a more correct idea of the little regard that is to be paid to the enemy's account of battles, when these were unfavourable, I shall here add all that he said concerning that of Laon. " The Emperor's head-quarters were, on the 9th and 10th, at Chavignon. His Majesty judging that it was *impossible* to attack the heights of Laon, fixed his head-quarters, on the 11th, at Soissons."† The people in Paris must certainly have thought it wonderful, how their Emperor found it *impossible* to attack the heights of Laon, occupied only by the " wreck" of that army which he had beaten, dispersed, and annihilated, at Montmirail, Chateau Thierry, and Craone. Such a system of delusion was never established by any government, nor countenanced by any people. " Frenchmen," said Blucher, " you are deceived by lying accounts of advantages, of which it is pretended that the French troops have obtained. In order to judge of the events of the war, you have only to inquire of the inhabitants of Laon, concerning what happened on the 9th and 10th of this month, on which days the French army, commanded by the Emperor Napoleon in person, was totally defeated under the walls of that town: ask them if they did not see the army fly before our victorious troops, if they have not seen the trophies of our victory, consisting of 50 pieces of cannon, of numerous caissons, and some thousands of prisoners? And it was besides, only *a part of the army intrusted to my command*, which gained this decisive victory, while another part made themselves masters of St. Quintin, where they took 45 pieces of brass cannon."‡ The conduct of the supporters of Bonaparte at this moment was truly ridiculous. They consol-

* Colonel Cook says, after they retreated, " that the road is covered with their killed and wounded."—Dispatch, March 12th.

† Bonaparte's dispatch, March 12th, 1814.

‡ Blucher's address, Laon, March 15th.

ed themselves with the idea that the enemy's artillery, placed on the heights nearest Paris, would "not reach one tenth of the diameter of the town, that is to the most populous quarters,"* and that before six houses could be burnt, an enemy would expend as much ammunition as would be necessary for a campaign. "Count Platoff (said they) boasts that he will enter and quit Paris at full gallop, with his Cossacks, after having set fire to 500 parts of the city, without losing 10 men—but it would be easy to barricade the streets, and to present at every point an efficacious resistance. It would be only necessary to shut the barriers on the enemy's troops, (had their army entered) in order to cause their extermination to the last man."† This was one way of catching a victorious army.

The French government and their supporters tried every method which they could, at this moment, to rouse the people of France against the allies, by depicting their conduct in the most odious colours, and by publishing that their objects were of the most vengeful description. That excesses were committed by the troops there can be no doubt. It would have been extraordinary indeed if it had been otherwise; but never were there such a body of men assembled together in which more attention was paid to discipline, and more earnest endeavours not to offend the feelings of the people of France, or to respect the laws of humanity. The greatest part of the excesses said by the enemy to have been committed by the allies, and particularly the Cossacks, it is well known were committed by the enemy himself; and no severe measures were resorted to against the inhabitants, till the instigations of their government led them to destroy the soldiers of the allied armies, wherever they found them separated from their corps. "Every Frenchman," said their government, "of whatever age or sex, ought to glory in resisting and making a *barbarian bite the dust.* Stratagem—open force—every thing is permitted against the enemy who brings us misery and slavery. *The tocsin of death must sound wherever he appears.*"‡ Why then was the inhabitants of Moscow shot?—by what law were they punished? France was too long

* French papers, March 12th. † Do. do. do.

‡ Address to the French.—Moniteur, January 10th, 1814.

in acting upon the principle here laid down, and "do unto her as she hath done unto you," was justice on the part of Europe. It was not till the above order was acted upon that the allied Generals had recourse to severe measures. Then, indeed, the allied soldiers let loose the dogs of war against those who courted and who provoked such measures. "Excesses," said Blucher, "have been committed by our soldiers: this proceeded from a sentiment of revenge which they cherished, because several of their comrades had been murdered by the inhabitants. I have, however, repressed them. I have had the guilty punished, even with death; but reflect that there is no more certain means to prevent the excesses of the soldiery, than to remain quietly in your houses; not to shut your doors, which are then of necessity forced open; and, above all, not to keep up any communication with our enemies, or to take up arms against us. *I have not punished*, as I might have done, the cruelties committed by some towns and villages against couriers and single soldiers of the allied army, hoping that my proclamation would call them back to their duty. But I inform you, that, from this day, stronger measures shall be adopted; and that the towns and villages whose inhabitants shall dare to take up arms against our troops, or oppose our military operations, shall be burnt, *painful as it will be to me*, to be compelled in this manner to punish the innocent with the guilty."*

Against this line of conduct, France had no right to remonstrate or to complain. It had been her own conduct, for 20 years, to every nation in Europe, and without either *pity or regret*. I might fill a volume with their malignant proclamations on this head, but let the following suffice. "If the blood of a *single* Frenchman had been shed, I was determined to erect on the ruins of Pavia, a column, with this inscription, *Here was the city of Pavia*. I ordered the municipality to be shot, and seized 200 hostages, whom I have sent to France."† "Any who treat us as enemies to them, we will be terrible as the fire from heaven; we will burn the houses and lay waste

* Blucher's proclamation, Laon, March 13th, 1814.

† Bonaparte's dispatch, Peschierra, June 1st, 1796.

the territories of villages which shall take part in a war in which they have no concern."* Every inhabitant convicted of having fired at a Frenchman, shall be shot, and his house set on fire. Every village which shall take up arms shall be burnt."† These decrees were put in execution, without mercy; and could France expect that her own odious principles were not to be turned against herself? Could she who alone was guilty expect to escape? Impossible!

The soldiers of the allied army, said the enemy, had the utter destruction of the French nation in view. We have already noticed some of their expressions, indicating that wish; but which in reality carried nothing extraordinary or unexpected in them. It was what the French nation deserved: at least the soldiers of the allied army could not be expected, in such moments, and after such provocations, to draw any distinction. Nor could the feelings of unqualified resentment and threats of vengeance be expected to be confined to the minds of the soldiers alone. All ranks of men in Europe had equally suffered from French atrocities. During the time that the French held Chateau Thierry, said the Moniteur, *an officer of extreme elegance and politeness of manners*, was observed, by his host, to carry "under his waistcoat a small bag of blue satin, suspended by a silken ribbon. *There was a heart* embroidered in the middle of the bag, and beneath it a Russian inscription." The officer acknowledged that it was a "*present which his mistress had made him before his departure*," and that the reason why the heart was not "*accompanied with a flame*," was, as expressed in the "Russian motto, *that the heart should receive its flame only in Paris*."‡ These things were considered by many as forgeries on the part of the enemy; but, I confess I see no reason to doubt their general accuracy; and do think, that with regard to this last, that his ingenuity might have produced forgeries more likely to suit his purpose. There is nothing at all incredible in the rela-

* Bonaparte's proclamation to the Tyrolese, June 14th, 1796.

† Augereau's do. June, 1796.

‡ Moniteur, Paris, March 16th, 1814.

tion; and there had been but too good grounds given for calling forth from millions in Europe such unmitigated anger. To burn Paris, some houseless inhabitant of Moscow might, with justice, have carried the flaming torch. To cover her with ashes, and her inhabitants with misery,—some wife, or some sister, some lover like Paulowna,* *nay, the*

* There is good reason to suppose, from the description previously given, that the officer alluded to was the destined husband of the once happy Paulowna. The story of this unfortunate young lady is of such an afflicting, and, at the same time, affecting nature, that the reader will pardon me for trespassing upon his time in relating it at length as recorded by Lebaume, an eye-witness to what he relates.

In the midst of those tragic scenes of pillage, violence, and destruction, which occupied the time of the abandoned French soldiers in Moscow, their cupidity was particularly directed to the sepulchres of the Czars in the church of St. Michael, which was reported to contain great riches. They entered that solemn abode—they searched in vain for wealth—they found none. They were about to retire, when, said M. Lebaume, they "at length perceived, at the end of a dark gallery, a lamp, the half-extinguished light of which fell on a small altar. They immediately proceeded towards it, and the first object which presented itself to their notice, was a young female elegantly dressed, and in the attitude of devotion. At the noise of the soldiers the unhappy girl screamed violently, and fell into a swoon. In this situation, she was carried before one of our generals.

"As long as I have life I shall retain the impression which the appearance of that young lady, pale, and almost dying, produced on my mind. Her countenance, in which grief and despair were equally legible, was irresistibly interesting. As her recollection returned, she seemed to deprecate the care which was employed in recalling her to life. While we gazed on her lovely form, every bosom was inspired with pity, and we were all anxious to become acquainted with her history. The general, in particular, *but from different motives*, seemed eager to hear it; and sending most of those who were present away, he begged her to relate to him her misfortune.

"Of what use," said she, "would it be to mention to you a house which will soon be annihilated? Suffice it that the name of my father is celebrated in the history of our empire, and that he is now serving with distinction in the army, which is gloriously fighting in the cause of our country. My name is *Paulowna*. On the day preceding your entrance into Moscow, I was to be united to one of the young warriors, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Mojaisk. *But amidst the nuptial solemnities*, my father was informed that the French were at the gates of the city, and, suspending our marriage, and taking my husband with him, they hastened to join the army. Early on the following morning, being with my afflicted family, we heard the roar of the cannon; and the noise evidently approaching nearer, we no longer doubted that we must quit Moscow. In the midst of this dreadful tumult, I fled with my relations; but when we arrived near the Kremlin, an immense crowd met us, and rushing hastily by, parted me from my

beautiful but ill fated Paulowna herself, whose inviolable asylum had been reduced to ashes, and whose spotless honour had been violated by the Gallic banditti, might, with justice, have bequeathed to her distracted lover, a present like that here mentioned, engraved with tears—embroidered in anguish—and surrounded with the dreadful words "*flames and vengeance.*" And if he had executed his commission to the utmost letter of it, where is the feeling of the human bosom which could with justice have blamed him? What right had France to expect any thing else? Yet, notwithstanding all these terrific pictures, France, comparatively speaking, remained heedless to the calls of her Government. Her people could not possibly but recollect, that the measures which it had pursued had justly

mother and sisters. I endeavoured, in vain, to recal them by my cries. The noise of arms, and the cries of an infuriated populace, overpowered my feeble voice, and, in an instant, I was rendered truly miserable. The French, meanwhile, penetrated into the town, and, driving all before them, advanced towards the Kremlin. To find a shelter against their excesses, I, with many others, ran into the citadel, which was considered a place of security. As I could not mix with the combatants, I retired to the church St. Michael, seeking refuge among the graves of the Czars. Kneeling near their sepulchre, I invoked the manes of those illustrious founders of our country, when, on a sudden, some *wicked soldiers* broke in upon my retreat, and *dragged me from an inviolable and sacred asylum.*"

When the unhappy girl had finished her history she shed a torrent of tears; and, throwing herself at the General's feet, implored him to respect her virtue, and restore her to her relations. *He was more interested by her beauty than by her tears; but, pretending to pity her misfortunes, he pledged himself to relieve them.* He offered her his house as a protection; and, to retain her there, he promised to use his utmost endeavours to discover her father and her destined husband. But, as I knew the *disposition* of the man, I clearly perceived that his apparent generosity was only a snare to deceive the innocent Paulowna. There wanted nothing more to complete the horrors of that day, *when he resolved to outrage virtue, and to seduce innocence, and we afterwards found that neither noble blood, nor the candour of youth, nor even the tears of beauty, were respected.*" Why is the name of this villain not given to the world, that, if he has escaped being food for the "*dogs and the crows*" in Russia, he might be shunned as a pestilence, or be compelled to herd with those brutes, of whose feelings he so largely partakes. These things are not related by one who would exaggerate, but by one who, in the true character of his nation, considered the Russian campaign unjust merely because it was unsuccessful. Yet such scenes were but a small part, indeed, of those horrors which Gallic barbarity inflicted upon the unhappy inhabitants of Moscow, and which will be noticed in another place.

called forth the severest retribution; and there can be no doubt but that the indignation of Europe was, at this moment, called forth to its highest pitch. But the French people were also aware that it was the robberies and cruelties of the French soldiers themselves which desolated France. The following document is a convincing proof of this; and though these things did not appear in the French papers at the time, still they were not the less true:—

"The Emperor expresses his displeasure with the army, on account of the excesses to which it has *abandoned itself*—these excesses which are always blameable, become more criminal when they are committed on our own territory. The commanders of the different corps and the generals are warned, that they are responsible for these excesses. *The inhabitants every where fly, and the army which ought to defend the country has become its scourge.* The troops belonging to the artillery and baggage are described as most culpable. The commanders of these corps ought especially to take proper measures to prevent a repetition of these disorders."* After this, who can listen to serious complaints against the conduct of the allied armies.

From the fatal fields of Laon, where Bonaparte had been so completely foiled in his grand object and desperate attack, he drew off his forces, and, still persisting in his object of separating Blucher's army from that of Schwartzenberg, he marched in the direction of Rheims. General St. Priest, who had also with him the corps of General Jagou, had obtained possession of that town, on the 12th, where he took 3000 prisoners; and their force amounting, according to the accounts of the enemy, to 16,000 men, though it was probably more, occupied the place, and kept up the communication between the army of Blucher and the main army. The enemy turned all his force against this place; and, on the 13th, after an obstinate engagement, in which General St. Priest was killed,

* Order of the day by Bonaparte, dated Nogent, February 8th, 1814.—See M. Giraud's campaign, 1814.

while gallantly leading on his men, the enemy made himself master of the place. The enemy was repeatedly repulsed in his attempts, but his immense superiority of force enabled him to succeed, though with considerable loss. He estimated the loss of the Russians and Prussians at 5000 in prisoners alone; 22 pieces of cannon, and 100 baggage waggons; while his own loss was only 100 men.* But Captain Harris states positively that the total loss of the allies did not exceed 2000 men, and 7 pieces of cannon, and adds, that the loss of the enemy, from the obstinate defence made, "could not but be great."† The allied forces abandoned Rheims, and marched upon Laon, where they joined the army under Blucher. The death of General St. Priest gave Bonaparte an opportunity, which he eagerly seized, to make it appear as if there had been something miraculous in it. "The same battery of cannon which had killed General Moreau before Dresden, (said he) mortally wounded General St. Priest, who had come at the head of the Tartars of the desart, to ravage our beautiful country."‡ That battery of cannon certainly never passed the bridge of Leipsic. The ignorant corporal settled that point in a satisfactory manner. The conduct of General St. Priest, says he, "was worthy of a *turncoat*. In all times turncoats have been the most cruel enemies of their country."§ Certainly the Emperor of France and King of Italy was a living witness that this was sometimes the case. Bonaparte, at this time, applied the maxim to a wrong person. Forgetting his disasters at Laon, and exulting in his success at Rheims, he embraced the opportunity to launch out into a statement of the perilous situation in which the allies stood, with all the strong fortresses in their rear, and the inhabitants in the different provinces determinedly hostile to them. "The plan of the enemy's campaign, (said he,) appears to have been a kind of general *hourra* dash upon Paris."‖ No doubt it was so. It

* Bonaparte's dispatch, March 14th, 1814.
† Captain Harris' dispatch, March 14th, 1814.
‡ Bonaparte's dispatch, March 14th, 1814.
§ Do. do. do. 12th.
‖ Do. do. do. do.

was the vengeful *hourra* of angry millions, whose uplifted arms were determined to reach the seat of all their misery. It was here the appalling watchword of assembled nations, whose jarring interests were, in this object, cordially united.—Who, though with different manners, and speaking different languages, were here animated with a feeling which all understood—whose object was noble—whose indignation was just. Such *hourra dashes* were not to be treated lightly. They had scared Napoleon from Moscow to the banks of the Seine, and were now, upon a larger scale, to frighten him to a stranger place.

While Bonaparte was occupied North of the Marne, Schwartzenberg was again on the advance to Paris, along the Seine. The Prince of Wurtemburg overthrew the corps of Macdonald, opposed to him; took possession of Bar Sur Seine on the 28th February, and advanced upon Le Maison Blanche on the 2d of March. The main body of the army followed Oudinot, along the road to Troyes, from which place the Prince Marshal was determined to dislodge them. Accordingly, after a well concerted attack, in which the enemy was driven from all his positions, with the loss of 10 pieces of cannon, 54 officers, and 3000 men,* prisoners; the allied army entered the place, from which, in order to save it from destruction, the enemy were allowed only half an hour to evacuate it. No sooner had he done so than the allies commenced the pursuit. The Prince of Wurtemburg carried the position of Le Maison Blanche, and pushed his cavalry upon the road to Sens. Schwartzenberg, who directed every operation himself, and was always with the foremost in advance, along with Wittgenstein and Wrede, followed the enemy closely, made several charges upon his rear, in which a number of prisoners were taken; drove him across the Seine at Nogent, where the enemy destroyed the bridges, and set fire to the town, in order to retard the advance of the allied army. In order to keep up the communication with Blucher, and to learn what he was about, Platoff, with 8000 Cossacks, was detached to follow the rear of Bona-

* Lord Burghersh's dispatch, Troyes, March 4th.

parte's army, upon the Marne, and to harrass it. He took the town of Arcis Sur Aube, with the French garrison in it, and then advanced upon Sezanne, and Montmirail. The advance of the allied army threw bridges over the Seine at Pont Sur Seine, crossed that stream, and advanced upon Provins, where the Duke of Tarentum had united his troops. Another division also advanced upon Nangis. Paris was again threatened on this side with as great danger as before. But at this time (the 16th) Prince Schwartzenberg received the intelligence of the defeat of St. Priest, and the occupation of Rheims, which cut off his communication with Blucher's army, and left him in a state of uncertainty with regard to its operations. He very prudently suspended his advance till he should ascertain the situation of affairs in that quarter. Schwartzenberg was here blamed for want for activity, nay, of lukewarmness in the cause. These charges were unfounded and unjust. It was easy, indeed, to say, why did he not push on to Paris. Schwartzenberg was in the middle of a country completely laid waste, intersected with numerous rivers, on which all the bridges had been broken down. All his supplies for his numerous army were to come from his rear; at least he neither could, nor was it prudent he should depend upon any other. These could not be moved so rapidly as sanguine minds imagined, where every road was cut up. The fate of Napoleon in Russia was before their eyes, and they would have been mad to have acted in a similar manner. Aware that Bonaparte would probably endeavour to throw himself in his rear, Prince Schwartzenberg was determined to withdraw the army in advance, and march upon Chalons, to co-operate with Marshal Blucher. He accordingly recalled the army across the Seine; and, abandoning Troyes a second time, he marched upon Arcis Sur Aube. Scarcely had Schwartzenberg adopted this plan, when it was learnt that Bonaparte had left Rheims on the 16th, with the greater part of his forces, and taken possession of Fere Champenoise and Sezanne. Mortier was left at Rheims to observe the movements of Blucher. Ney was directed to march upon Chalons Sur Marne, which place he entered on the 16th. Bonaparte, with his principal force, passed the Aube on the

19th, at Plancy; and, on the same day, the Seine at Mery, endeavouring, by a desperate push, to cut off part of the allied army. He failed in his object. They had already retreated and concentrated at Arcis Sur Aube, which place they abandoned, and took up an advantageous position before it. The enemy assembled his forces in the place, and its neighbourhood, with the intention of attacking the allied army, which was ready to give him battle. Dreading, however, the strength of the position which they held, and uncertain what measures Blucher might be taking in his rear, he suddenly altered his plan; and, leaving a strong rear guard in Arcis Sur Aube, he marched off with the rest of his army in the direction of Vitry. The rear guard of the French army was immediately attacked by Wittgenstein; and, after an obstinate action, which began at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th, the enemy's force were compelled to abandon Arcis, in which they sustained a loss of at least 3000 men, killed and wounded. All the account which Bonaparte gave of this serious affair was, that "His Majesty the Emperor arrived at Arcis Sur Aube on the 20th, in the morning."* Why he left it was a subject not worth his while to disclose. Learning the direction which Bonaparte had taken, Blucher immediately put his army in motion from Laon. Two pontoon bridges having been thrown across the Aisne, the whole army passed that river on the morning of the 19th, the Prussians taking the road to Fismes, and the Russians to Rheims, and on the evening of the same day again occupied that city; Mortier retiring before them in the direction of Epernay, and keeping up his communication with the force under Marmont, more to the Westward. From Rheims, the army under Blucher pushed forward without any delay, in the direction of Chalons, in which situation we must leave them for a short time, to bring forward the operations in other quarters.

The negotiations at Chatillon, which had lingered for some time, and excited the fears of Europe, were at last broken off on the 18th March, owing to the insincere dispositions and yet

* Bonaparte's dispatch, March 20th, 1814.

untamed arrogance of the enemy: what the conditions of these negotiations were, we are not exactly informed; but it is said, with the appearance of truth, that the chief conditions on which the allies would make peace with Bonaparte, as the head of the French nation, were, that France should be reduced within her ancient limits; that she should pay about 62 millions sterling, the amount of war contributions levied by her on the different governments of the continent; and that she should surrender, for a number of years, six of the principal fortresses* on her frontiers, as a guarantee for the payment of that sum, and for her future good behaviour. To these conditions, humiliating indeed to French vanity, but just with regard to French ambition, Bonaparte not only refused to accede, but insisted upon retaining possession of Antwerp; of keeping the line of the Rhine as the boundary; that Beauharnois should remain King of Italy; and also claimed indemnities for the territories and crowns which his brothers and other dependents had lost. To such conditions it was impossible that the powers of Europe could accede; and Bonaparte durst not make peace upon the conditions offered to him. He knew that France, stript of her glory, and chained down by the other powers of Europe with double vigilance, on his account, would instantly turn her vengeance against him, and drive him from a throne to which he had no just right. By the advice of, and with all his followers, who trembled at the recollection of their crimes and ill gotten wealth, he was, therefore, resolved to persevere. He still fondly hoped for a change of fortune, and trusted to his fate and destiny, which his flatterers had so often persuaded him was "to reign and conquer;" and that "victory belonged to him—war to his age."† His ambition had now placed him in a situation where he could neither advance nor retreat in safety, and in which peace was as dangerous to him as war. But while he had resolved upon his future conduct, the allies had also determined what theirs must be, and Europe, in arms, supported their resolutions. "The negotiations at Chatillon, (said Blucher) when they are

* Strasburg, Metz, Valenciennes, Lille, Perpignan and Bayonne.

† Conservative Senate, December 13th, 1810.

published, will convince you that it is your sovereign alone who, in spite of what he says to you, continually throws fresh obstacles in the way,"—but "all the nations of Europe combat for one end. The event cannot be doubtful."* These did so. We have already noticed the conduct of the French government, with regard to the armistice, and will find it equally odious and disgraceful with regard to the negotiations at Chatillon. From the moment that the French minister of Foreign affairs appeared at the outposts of the allied army, which had crossed the Rhine, "all the proceedings of the French government had no other object than to mislead public opinion, to blind the French people, and to throw on the allies the odium of all the miseries attendant on invasion. Some partial advantages accompanied the first motions of an army collected under the walls of Paris—the last hope of the nation—the remainder of a million of warriors.—*Immediately the negotiations at Chatillon assumed another appearance.* The French plenipotentiary remained without instructions, and *went away,* instead of answering the representations of the allied courts." Their plenipotentiaries gave in a preliminary treaty, the ground work of the restoration of Europe, and such as had but "a few days before been presented by the French government itself, at a moment, doubtless, when it conceived its existence in danger. Fourteen days elapsed without any answer being returned by the French government." The allies then insisted upon fixing a day for an answer, leaving the French minister at liberty to offer a *contre projet.* "The 10th of March was fixed by the mutual consent of both parties. This term being arrived, the French minister *produced nothing but pieces, the discussion of which, far from advancing the proposed object,* would only have caused fruitless negotiation." A delay of a few days longer was then granted, at the desire of the French minister, when, lo, "on the 15th March, he at last delivered a *contre projet,* which left no doubt that the sufferings of France had not yet changed the views of its government; *which, receding from what it had itself proposed,* demanded in a new *projet* that nations which

* Blucher's proclamation to the French nation, March 12th, 1814.

were quite foreign to France, which by a domination of *many* ages could not be amalgamated with the French nation, should now remain a part of it. By continuing the negotiations under such circumstances, the allies would have neglected what they owe to themselves; they would from that moment have deviated from the glorious goal they had before them, their efforts would have been turned solely against their own people. Peace alone can heal the wounds which a spirit of universal dominion, unexampled in history, has produced. *This peace shall be the peace of Europe, no other can be accepted.*"* "Frenchmen! (said Schwartzenberg,) you are not to consider us culpable for the calamities you suffer, but the government under which you have so unfortunately lived for so many years. Peace alone can remove the allied armies from the French territory. That we may controul it, re-enforcements are arriving from all quarters. New battalions cover the roads from Germany, Belgium, Spain, and Italy. The result is certain. The allies will make no peace, except upon conditions which shall insure to their kingdoms, AND TO FRANCE HERSELF, a state of durable repose."† Under these circumstances and feelings were the negotiations at Chatillon broken off, to the joy and satisfaction of Europe.

On the side of the Netherlands, detachments of the troops under the Prince of Saxe Wiemar penetrated into Artois and Picardy, and took several places and many prisoners. Amongst these, Colonel Baron Von Giesmar was the most successful. On the 21st February, he took Doulons; and, after repeated skirmishes, drove the enemy back upon Arras, and took many prisoners—set at liberty some English and Spanish prisoners, and captured a considerable quantity of specie, ammunition, and prisoners. Soon after this, General Maison having assembled a considerable force in French Flanders, endeavoured to throw himself in the rear of Bulow's army, and cut off his communications with the Netherlands, from whence he derived his supplies. For a moment, he seized upon Ghent, but the Crown Prince, who remained at Leige, a central posi-

* Declaration of the allied sovereigns at the rupture of the negotiations at Chatillon.

† Schwartzenberg's proclamations, March 10th and 15th.

tion, from whence he could send re-enforcements and detachments, with equal facility, and perhaps to watch over this important point, quickly sent re-enforcements to that quarter, which soon compelled Maison to abandon Ghent, and retire within the French territory. The Crown Prince, while he remained at Liege, was not idle. He pressed forward the different divisions of his army, in whatever quarter the pressure was greatest. The allies who were in France wanted troops—they were not deficient in Generals; and his presence at Leige, or organizing and directing the forces upon the proper points, as these were menaced, was, in reality, more useful than his presence in the field of battle could have been; and which was sufficient to account for his remaining at Liege, without attributing any sinister motives to him, as was done. The allies also, by his absence from the last scene of this important drama, had the undivided honour of humbling France, without the assistance of French talent.

On the night of the 8th March, the British besieging army, under the command of General Sir Thomas Graham, before the strong and important fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, attempted to take that place by storm. The troops advanced in four columns to the attack: the first column consisting of 1000 men, of the brigade of guards, under Colonel Lord Proby; the second, 1200 men, under the command of Lieut. Col. Morrice, 69th foot; the third column, 650 men, under the command of Lieut. Col. Henry, 21st foot; and the fourth column, 1100 men, under the command of Brigadier-Generals Gore and Carleton. After the most desperate efforts, and the most gallant conduct, two of the columns established themselves upon the ramparts of the place; but the others were completely unsuccessful, and driven back with prodigious loss. Brigadier-General Gore, and Lieut. Col. the Hon. George Carleton, were killed, and Major-General Skerrit wounded. In short, above two-thirds of the whole of the force employed were killed, wounded, or taken, but the prisoners were afterwards exchanged. Nothing could exceed the bravery of the British troops; but, by some means or other, the governor had become acquainted with their design to attack

the fortress; and was, therefore, completely prepared for them. It was also stated, though not officially, that General Graham had been offered some assistance from the inhabitants of the place; which was the reason that he attempted to attack one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, with such a small force, and in the manner he did; but that this offer of assistance was made merely to lead the troops to certain destruction. The importance of the place was no doubt great, and its conquest of the utmost consequence; but, the failure of the attempt must be generally lamented, from the number of brave men who perished in it; and though it tended to shew the undaunted bravery of the British officers and soldiers, it was fame dearly bought. The failure of the attack was severely felt by the gallant general who commanded the army: "Though it is impossible not to feel (said he) the disappointment of our failure in this attack, I can only think at present, with the deepest regret, of the loss of so many of my gallant comrades."*

In the South-East of France, matters were beginning to assume a more serious aspect. Re-enforced from the army of Suchet, from the interior, and also from Italy, Augereau had assembled a very formidable force near Lyons. With these he pressed forward against Count Bubna, whose force was scattered over a wide extent of country. He compelled the Austrian force to retire before him, advanced to Lons le Saunier, and also threatened Geneva. Numerous petty engagements took place in that quarter, attended with a considerable loss of lives, but without any important advantage to either side. At length the arrival of the Prince of Hesse Homburgh, with a force from the Rhine, through Franche Compte, and also of General Bianchi, from the main army, who descended the Saone, with 15,000 men,† upon Macon, obliged Augereau to relinquish his object against the rear of the allies, as also his intention against Geneva; and to turn his attention to the defence of Lyons. On the 11th March, near Macon, a severe engagement took place between General Bianchi, and

* General Graham's dispatch, 10th March, 1814.

† Augereau's dispatch, March 12th.

the force under Augereau, who attacked the former. After an obstinate contest, the enemy gave way; leaving two pieces of cannon, and 500 prisoners, in the power of the Austrians, besides a great number killed and wounded. Prince Hesse Homburgh joined General Bianchi on the 14th, and their united forces crossed the Saone, and directed their march upon Villa Franche; and General Buhna, re-enforced by another Austrian corps, advanced by way of Nantua against Lyons, on that side.

In Italy, affairs were equally unpropitious to the enemy. The Viceroy continued to defend himself in that formidable country; but the advance of the Neapolitan troops, under Murat, who, in conjunction with the Austrians, had, on the 8th March, attacked, at Reggio, a division of 4000 men, under General Serverolli, and completely routed it, with great loss, and also captured the town, compelled the Viceroy to abandon the north side of the Po, and retreat towards Genoa, in order to secure his communication with France, as the road by Chamberri was already shut against him.

Such was the situation of affairs in all quarters, when the negotiations at Chatillon were broken off; and, not the smallest prospect remained of sheathing the sword, till either one party or the other was completely vanquished—till Bonaparte was overthrown, or France refused to second his pretensions. A dreadful crisis was evidently approaching, and that decisive moment so anxiously expected and so ardently desired by a distracted world, could no longer be delayed. The hours of French tyranny were numbered;

> ——————— "the strife—the strife,
> Was henceforth for Napoleon's throne or life."

Never was the public mind in Europe wound up to such an agonizing pitch of expectation; and, unless the Demon of discord issue from Elba, never can it be so again. Every soul in Europe was interested—every individual had a deep and solemn feeling in the issue of this tremendous conflict. The ordinary occupations of human life were forgotten or disre-

garded; and no wonder these were so, when the issue of the impending contest was to decide, for ages, whether these were afterwards to be a pleasure or a burden to man. No sooner were the negotiations at an end, than Prince Schwartzenberg addressed the brave army, under his command, in one of these proclamations which will stand the admiration of posterity; which come home to the bosoms of the present generation of men, and which awakened their courage to a sense of their wrongs:—"Soldiers!" said he, "the negotiations at Chatillon are broken off. Neither your victories, *nor the destruction of whole armies*, nor the calamities inseparable from war—nothing, in short, could inspire the French government with sentiments of moderation and equity. At this moment you occupy the *half* of the French Empire; nevertheless, *the hope of conquest* still guides the determinations of its government. It is not satisfied with securing to France her independence, her liberty, and repose; but she wishes to preserve, by the nature and extent of the limits of its empire, its fatal influence over the different states of Europe, and the means of *disturbing, at its pleasure*, the general tranquillity. Soldiers! you will not lay down your arms, till you have secured to nations that independence which they must regard as the most valuable of all blessings. Conquerors at Culm, Leipsic, Hanau, and Brienne, it is upon you that all eyes are fixed. The fate of Europe is in your hands. *We approach the closing scene;* yet a few moments, and *the world will owe to you its safety.*"* The closing scene, indeed, approached;—but how shall I describe it? or where shall I find language to express the glorious and ever-memorable occurrences!

Blucher, as has been already noticed, broke up from Laon; and, detaching General Bulow with a strong force to Soissons, and Generals de York and Kliest in the direction of Epernay and Montmirail, to observe Mortier, he marched forward to Chalons Sur Marne; in place Ney immediately abandoned, and retreated to the Southward, where he joined Macdonald, and both directed their

* Schwartzenberg's proclamation to his army, March 27th, 1814.

march upon Vitry Sur Marne, in order to form a junction with Bonaparte. Vitry was occupied by 4000 Prussians, when Ney summoned it to surrender, threatening to put the whole garrison to the sword, if they refused. The Commandant, however, a Prussian Colonel, whose name is not mentioned, resolutely refused; in consequence of which they were obliged to pass the Marne, by bridges constructed near Frignicourt. Prince Schwartzenberg, with the main army, broke up from Arcis, on the 23d, and followed the army of Bonaparte. A severe skirmish took place with the enemy's rear-guard at Sommepuis, and the Russian advanced guard composed of the Russian guards under General Count Angerowski. The enemy had 1500 prisoners taken from him, and 20 pieces of cannon, besides a number killed and wounded. The enemy immediately began to move from all their positions, directing themselves upon Vitry. General Wrede, who endeavoured to intercept their march, was unable to do so; but the Prince of Wurtemburg followed them, and did them considerable injury. The advance of General Winzengerode, with 10,000 cavalry belonging to the army of Blucher, now opened a communication with the army of Silesia, which was ascertained to be close at hand; and, in the attack at Sommepuis, a French courier, with letters from Bonaparte to Marmont and Mortier, directing them to march and join him, and also letters to the Empress, disclosing his future plan of operations, fell into the hands of the allies. He had thrown himself in the rear of the army of Schwartzenberg, and was marching, by St. Dizier, upon Chaumont and Langres. In this desperate step, he seems to have imitated the conduct of the allies at Leipsic; but he was very differently situated. Their communications were still open with the Netherlands, and immense re-enforcements were marching, from all quarters, to cross the Rhine. There were three objects which Bonaparte, perhaps, had in view, when he made this fatal movement: the first was, that by doing so he conceived that he would alarm Schwartzenberg for his communication with the Rhine, and induce him to march backwards to secure it; while, at the same time, by interposing his force in this man-

ner, between Schwartzenberg and Blucher, he would either retard the junction of their armies, or prevent that from being effected but by the most circuitous route, and the greatest distance possible, thereby relieving the capital of any danger of attack. This was the most likely object which he had in view, while, at the time, opportunities might offer to enable him to attack, with advantage, and in detail, the allied armies. —The second was, that of changing his ground, and leaving the allies in the heart of France, to march upon the fortresses on the Rhine, and compel them to change their whole plan of operations;—And the 3d was to throw himself upon Schwartzenberg's rear, and, marching to the South, join Augereau, and then return upon the line of communication between the allied army and the Rhine, while his communication was open with the army in Italy. But he could hardly promise himself much advantage from this plan, as Augereau had been already obliged to relinquish Lyons, and Beauharnois was unable to maintain himself against the formidable force opposed to him in Italy, while the victorious career of Lord Wellington in the South West rendered all hopes of further assistance from either Soult or Suchet vain and hopeless.

Whatever were his intentions or views, they were most completely frustrated, and most conspicuously blasted. Acquainted with the object of these extraordinary movements made by the enemy, Prince Schwartzenberg saw a glorious opportunity before him. His resolution was taken in a moment—his intentions put in immediate execution. He joined his army to that under the command of Blucher, and, with 200,000 men, of the bravest troops in the world, he marched directly upon Paris. This unexpected and daring movement decided the fortune of Bonaparte. On the 23d, the army began its movement, accompanied by their Majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. Winzengerode was detached with 10,000 cavalry and 40 pieces of cannon, to observe Bonaparte's motions; and, at the same time, the Prince Marshal formed a strong corps on the Bar Sur Aube line, which he placed under the command of General Ducca, with orders to protect the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria, his supplies,

&c. with directions to carry these, if necessary, "towards the army of the South, and also, by vigorously pressing forward in his operations towards the capital, to secure his rear, while he pursued his objects in front."* What the strength of this corps was we are not informed; but, when we reflect that Bonaparte, with an army of at least 100,000 strong, was to the Eastward of it, we may rest satisfied that it could not be small. Macdonald and Ney having, as has been already mentioned, passed the Marne on the 24th, had joined Bonaparte and augmented his army. An error of considerable importance has crept into the accounts of these events at this moment, and at this point, which is, that it is generally stated that the whole force which Bonaparte had with him, when he threw himself upon the rear of the allies, was only 60,000 men. This error arose from carelessness in transcribing part of an official dispatch from a Brussels paper of the 29th March. That dispatch says, the force which Bonaparte had with him, when he passed the Marne at St. Dizier, was 60,000 men. Now, this was perfectly correct. This was the force which he had on the 21st, at the battle of Arcis Sur Aube, and with which he marched off in the direction of St. Dizier. But neither Macdonald's nor Ney's corps were with him at the battle of Arcis Sur Aube; they were, at that moment, flying from Chalons before Blucher; and Lord Burghersh, in his dispatch of March 26th, informs us, that, on the morning of the 23d, when advancing upon Vitry, they found Ney and Macdonald's corps defiling in their front to join Bonaparte, who was to the Eastward of them, and at St. Dizier. In fact, it appears that these corps crossed the Marne in the neighbourhood of Vitry, at the time Bonaparte was at St. Dizier, twenty miles from them. To his force, therefore, their corps must be added, which would make the army which he attempted to throw in the rear of the allies, at least 100,000 men, as has been already noticed. It was Ney's not Bonaparte's force which summoned Vitry in the angry manner aftermentioned.

* Sir C. Stewart's dispatch.

Having arranged these necessary detachments, the combined army began their march in three columns for Fere Champenoise. All the cavalry formed the advance, and were to push forward to Sezanne, while Blucher took the direct road from Chalons to Montmirail, by Etoges. The ray of sunshine which seemed to shed its influence upon the affairs of the enemy, when he undertook his movement in the rear of the allies, which made the world suppose that he was either stronger than he was, or that they were weaker than they were generally supposed to be, quickly vanished; and the sun of Austerlitz cast a languid glance from amidst his wintry storms, and sunk in darkness for ever. The situation of Bonaparte was such, that even if he had not made the movements which he did, "he would have found himself in a similar position to that at Leipsic, and the result would, no doubt, been of the same nature."* Continuing its movements, the grand army fell in with the advance of Marmont's and Mortier's army, who were retiring before Blucher on the road to Vitry, in order to join Bonaparte. Their advance was within a short distance of Vitry before they were aware of their perilous situation. Their surprise and consternation may be more readily conceived than described, at finding in their front the whole of Schwartzenberg's army, in full communication with that of Blucher, now advancing to the westward, and at the same time on their flank the corps of D'York and Kliest. The French army commenced a rapid retreat, followed by the cavalry of the 4th and 6th corps of the allied army. These attacked in the most spirited manner, first, the enemy's cuirassiers, and then his masses of infantry, killed and wounded a great number, and made many prisoners. Generals D'York and Kliest pressed upon the other side, at Ferte Guacher, where they took 1,5[illegible] prisoners. But the most serious affair took place in the ad[illegible]ce [illegible] Fere Champenoise. A corps of the French army, consisting principally of the national guards, had left Paris with a large convoy of ammunition, and 100,000 rations of bread, for the army under the command of Bonaparte. They were marching securely along, when they

* Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, March 26th, 1814.

met the cavalry of Blucher's army. They were immediately attacked and driven towards Fere Champenoise, at the moment when the main army was quitting that place. Prince Schwartzenberg immediately recalled part of the cavalry, which were in pursuit of Marmont and Mortier, and directed it against this unfortunate French force. The Emperor of Russia himself directed the advance of the Russian guns. This body of the enemy was surrounded, charged, and attacked on all sides; yet, though in the midst of such overwhelming numbers, they refused to yield. They formed themselves into a square, and continued to move forward, loading and firing as they marched. At last a battery of Russian artillery being opened against them, and the cavalry making repeated and dreadful charges upon them, the remainder of this gallant body, consisting of the Generals of division Ames and Pathod, five Brigadiers, and 5000 men, with 12 pieces of cannon, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Their defence was noble, and their conduct excited the applause and regard of their enemies. The loss of the enemy on this day was very severe. It has been stated at 10,000 men; but from Sir C. Stewart's dispatches it is evident that it was more, for he expressly said, that "it may be fairly estimated that this part of Bonaparte's army has been so roughly handled to have lost *one third of its efficiency, in point of numbers, and nearly all the artillery* belonging to it."* Now, as Marmont and Mortier had certainly 30,000 men, at the very least, remaining at the battle before Paris,† it is obvious that their forces here, including Ames' and Pathod's division, must have been fully 45,000 men, of which number they lost one third, or 15,000 men. In this engagement, Colonel Rapatel, formerly aid-de-camp to General Moreau, was killed; and Colonel Neil Campbell was severely wounded by a Cos-

* Sir C. Stewart's dispatches, March 26th and 27th.—These state the number of cannon taken at 80 pieces; but Lord Cathcart in his dispatch of March 31st, states the number of cannon taken to have been 100 pieces, and that the prisoners amounted to 9000.

† Marmont, after the capitulation, entered the allied lines with his corps, then 12,000 strong.

sack, who, in the battle, from his dress, mistook him for a French officer.

Marmont and Mortier continued their flight before the torrent which rolled against them, and pressed them in flanks and rear. General Kaiseroff's and Sinavin's partizan corps were left to observe the country between Arcis and Troyes, and between the Aube and the Seine rivers. Winzengerode followed the rear of Bonaparte's army, who, about the 26th or 27th, began to perceive the fatal error he had committed; and was struck with consternation at the account of the whole allied army being in march to his capital. He turned back in all haste, and the last official notice which we had of his operations was, that, on the 27th, he had defeated Winzengerode at St. Dizier, and caused him a loss of 2000 men and several pieces of cannon. From thence he directed his march by Brienne and Troyes, with 60,000 men* of his guards, the flower of his army, to come to the assistance of his unfortunate capital, which, in an evil hour, he had abandoned to a daring and powerful enemy. But he came too late.

Continuing their advance, the allied army, on the 28th and 29th, passed the Marne, at different places. The enemy opposed but a feeble resistance at Triport and other places, which was attended with no important consequences. Between La Ferte Jouarre and Meaux, about 10,000 national guards, mixed with some old soldiers, attempted to make a stand before the army of Silesia. They were overthrown in an instant, by General Horne, who, at the head of some squadrons, attacked them, pierced into a mass of infantry, and with his own hand took the French General, prisoner. On the evening of the 28th, a more serious affair took place at Claye, between the force under D'York and the enemy's rear, which, being posted on some advantageous ground, occasioned a loss of some hundreds to the allies; but the enemy, nevertheless, were driven back at all points. The French, who destroyed all the bridges in order to retard the advance of the allies, also blew up a very extensive magazine at Meaux, without giving the inhabitants the smallest

* The remainder followed as quickly as possible.

notice of their intentions. The consequence of which was, that the town was almost destroyed. Leaving the corps of Generals Sacken and Wrede in observation at Meaux, the rest of the allied army continued its advance upon Paris, constantly skirmishing with the enemy, who was invariably driven from or compelled to abandon every position in advance of the place. The advance of the allied army had been of the most rapid and unexpected kind. Foremost still in these arduous and decisive operations was the venerable Blucher—he was now approaching the summit of all his hopes—the reward of all his toils and sufferings. "When I detail, (said Sir C. Stewart) that Marshal Blucher's army was at Fismes on the 24th, and fighting at La Ferte Guacher on the 26th, making a march of 26 leagues, it will be evident that no physical exertions can exceed those that the present unexampled crisis brings into action."* The consternation that now reigned at Paris was great, and in proportion to the state of ignorance in which they had been kept. The independence of Holland, even to this day, was unknown to them.† The recal of its legitimate sovereign was an event of a nature which might prove contagious if discovered. They were "kept, (said Sir C. Stewart) in an ignorance, by the arts of falsehood and deceit, incredible for an enlightened people, and incomprehensible to the reflecting part of mankind."‡ But that veil of delusion was now torn asunder; and, the sight of the Russian eagle, hovering near the heights of Montmartre, shewed, in colours which could not be mistaken, the consequences of the bloody field of Borodino, and the *lateral movement* from Moscow. No subterfuge or disguise could any longer conceal the truth. The sacred territory was not only violated, but the enemy, in indignant and overwhelming numbers, was at the gates of the capital. All the horrors which the servile press of the despotic government had been so long and so assiduously conjuring up to irritate the minds of the people in France, by depicting in the most dreadful colours the atrocity and barbar-

* Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, March 27th, 1814.

† Lord Cathcart's dispatch, March 31st, 1814.

‡ Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, April 1st, 1814.

ity of the allied troops, and their determination to lay Paris in ashes, now rose full in the view of its inhabitants. Those among them who had applauded and stimulated that odious ambition, which had laid Europe waste, could not but feel terror, when they saw the troops of those nations which had suffered so severely from their mischievous councils and unprincipled views, ready to return the bitter chalice of retribution into their hands, in wrath and indignation. Paris, so long the centre of oppression—the receptacle of the plunder of Europe, could not but tremble when she reflected upon that wanton and wicked conduct of hers, which had raised up Europe, as one man, against her—which had brought the Andalusian from his mountain, and the Cossack from his stream, and placed their brave and indignant battalions on the banks of the Seine, and before the heights of Montmartre. Still preparations were made to resist and to defend the place. The Empress and young King of Rome fled to Rambouillet. Ditches were cut. Cannon planted. The national guards were at their post, and mixed with the regular troops. Joseph assumed the direction of affairs in this emergency, and issued a crying proclamation for the people of Paris to come forward and defend every thing that was dear to them. The force assembled in Paris was very considerable. Marmont and Mortier's corps could not be fewer than 30,000 men. Part of General Gerard's corps, and 8000 other regular troops, amounting to perhaps 20,000 men, formed the garrison, and 30,000 national guards were in the place; making, altogether, a force of about 80,000 men, with 150 pieces of artillery.*

* Paris, March 28th.—Joseph reviewed to-day, in the Courts of the Thuileries, 20,000 national guards, and 1500 other troops, including 1500 artillery and 2000 superb cavalry. On the same day, Sir C. Stewart informs us that 10,000 national guards were amongst the troops which opposed the passage of the allies across the Marne, between La Ferté sous Jonarre and Meaux, at least 25 miles from Paris. The King of Rome also assisted at the above review, from the windows of his apartments!! The Empress also remained in the grand balcony.—All would not do---it was now too late.

And of the same date the same papers informed us, "that a great number of troops of all descriptions continued to arrive at Paris. Detachments of conscripts succeed

The long expected day at last dawned, when "*Europe in arms*"* beheld the proud turrets of Paris within the reach of their cannon. The sons of London, of Moscow, of Berlin, of Vienna, of Stockholm, and of Munich, were mustered in formidable array, eager for the command which was to direct them to scale her bulwarks, and to take her glory from her. Early on the morning of the 30th, the enemy's force, under Joseph Bonaparte, aided by Marmont and Mortier, took up a position to cover Paris, in front of the allied army. Their right held the heights of Fontenoy, Romanville, and Belleville, and their left upon the commanding and important heights of Montmartre. Their centre was on the canal of L'Ourque, and protected by several strong redoubts. These heights are very strong, and command Paris and all the surrounding country. The ground between them was covered with villages and country seats. The ground, also, in front of their positions was, in many places so deep† as to be impassable for horses, and added considerably to the strength of their defences. These, which in ordinary circumstances, would have been important bulwarks, were feeble barriers, indeed, against the heroes of Borodino, of Leipsic, and of Brienne. The 6th corps of the allied army, under General Reiffski, were to attack the heights of Romanville and Belleville. The 4th corps, under the command of the Prince Royal of Wurtemburgh, supported the former on the left, and was directed on the heights of Rosney, and on Charenton. The 3d corps, and the cavalry were placed *en echellon*, in reserve near Neuilly. The glorious army of Silesia was to attack, on the North-East quarter, the heights of Montmartre, St. Denis, and the village of Vallette and Pantin. This was the portion of the great work which was allotted unto them. The manner they were to accomplish it was left to their leader. He had a way of his own which required no direction from any other person to

each other *incessantly*. All the roads to Paris are covered with them."---Journal de Paris, &c. &c. Generals Coupons and Orman were also in the city with regular troops.

* Schwartzenberg's proclamation before Paris, March 29th.

† Cathcart's dispatch, Paris, March 31st.

guide it aright. The object once before him he knew how to gain it. "*Marshal Blucher made his own disposition for his attack.*"* Paris was before them—the sword of Frederick, and his triumphal car, were there deposited—they wanted possession of it and of them—that was a direction quite sufficient for Blucher.

Before letting slip the dogs of war, with that characteristic humanity and magnanimity peculiar to the allied monarchs, and the gallant commander of this brave host, they, on the 29th,† sent a flag of truce deprecating resistance, and calling upon them to abandon the standards of a government, in the very existence of whose power there was an insurmountable barrier to peace.‡ The flag of truce which bore this message was *refused admittance*, and compelled to return. Nothing, therefore, remained but an appeal to arms. Early on the morning of the 30th the order was given to attack the enemy's positions at all points. It was cheerfully and faithfully obeyed. The awful cannon which "*thundered upon, and made chasms in the French masses*" at Borodino—the destructive guns that choked the fatal Berezina with heaps of dead—and the terrible artillery which swept away armies around the walls of Leipsic, now filled the minds of the people of Paris with terror and dismay. It was at this moment that truth burst upon their senses in a voice of thunder, and convinced them of the true nature of a "*lateral movement*" from Moscow, and how much farther from Petersburgh Smolensk was than that city. The sight was as appalling as it was sudden. Prince Eugene of Wurtemburg's division, belonging to the 6th corps, began the attack against the heights of Romanville. The defence, at this point, was obstinate. The allied troops were, for a long period, exposed to a terrible and well-directed fire from the enemy's artillery. Supported by the grenadiers, however, Prince Eugene's column carried the place, the enemy retiring from the heights of Romanville to those of Belleville immediately behind them. The heights of Belleville were next assail-

* Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, March 30th. 1814.

† Cathcart's dispatch, March 31st.

‡ Schwartzenberg's proclamation before Paris, March 29th.

ed and carried in the most gallant manner by the Prussian guards, who took 43 pieces of cannon, and many prisoners. Before the Silesian army, however, the resistance was still more obstinate. By some accident they did not reach their destination so soon as was expected; but they quickly made amends for the delay. Generals D'York and Kleist debouched by St. Denis upon Abbeville, and here and at Pantin the combat was most severe. Prince William of Prussia, with his brigade, here greatly distinguished themselves. The enemy's cavalry attempted to charge, but were met and driven back by the Brandenburgh and black hussar regiments. The village of Pantin was, at length, carried at the point of the bayonet, after an obstinate defence. The corps of General D'York was kept in check, during a great part of the day, by a strong redoubt, in the centre of the enemy's position; but their right flank being gained by the possession of the heights of Belleville, and their loss in other parts of the field being complete, this point was also carried. The division of Count Woronzow also carried the village of La Villatte, where he took 12 pieces of cannon, and pushed on to the very barriers of the town. The heights of Montmartre alone remained, and the Count Langeron was ready to storm it, having already carried the crest of the hill. Paris was now at the feet of the allied Sovereigns. Any further resistance would only have involved her in utter ruin. Marmont saw that all was lost. Joseph had already fled. The constituted authorities were confounded. Consternation reigned amongst the population of the place. Marmont alone had the prudence of mind to arrest the uplifted arm of the mighty conqueror. He dispatched a flag of truce about four o'clock; it met Count Woronzow, ready to force the barriers—a second longer, and this messenger might have perished in the general confusion, and Paris have been reduced to a heap of ruins. His appearance arrested the progress of the victors. He was carried to the head-quarters of the allied Sovereigns. Marmont, by him, there implored an armistice for two hours; agreed to abandon every thing without the barriers of Paris; and solicited an armistice, in order to open a communication for con-

cluding a capitulation for the city. "His Imperial Majesty, the King of Prussia, and Prince Schwartzenberg, with that humanity which must excite applause, while it calls for the admiration of Europe,"* listened with pleasure to the proposal. Count Nesselrode was immediately dispatched to Marmont, and, after negotiating an armistice to last for four hours, it was agreed that the garrison should evacuate the place on the following morning; and that all firing should cease in half an hour, provided none of the allied troops entered the city that night. The allies were put in possession of every place without the barriers, and *bivouacked*, during the ensuing night, *within pistol shot* of the town.

It was late in the evening before these negotiations were begun, and perhaps sunset before they were finished. What a moment of agony for the inhabitants of Paris! Who can describe the sensations which must, at this moment, have agitated their bosoms. The shades of night were closing upon them—the cannon of the victorious army thundered in their ears—it approached nearer and nearer. Their numerous watchfires cast a tremendous glare from the surrounding heights. Grim war appeared to them in all its terrors. The shrieks of the wounded pierced through their streets—the groans of the dying alarmed their ears. The last time they were acquainted with these things, was, when Citizen Bonaparte mowed down a few thousands of them by grape-shot, to preserve the Republic *one and indivisible*. The countenances of those who were to defend them were now covered with sorrow and dismay. Paris yet stood. But whether her proud turrets should see the morning—none could tell. And, had Bonaparte or Suchet,† Davoust or Ney, commanded the army left

* Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, March 30th.

† The contrast between the conduct of the allies, at this moment, and that of the blood-thirsty myrmidons of France, on different occasions, but particularly to the unfortunate city of Tarragona, was, indeed, most striking. The enemy had refused even to admit or to speak to the flag of truce sent to demand submission, before the attack on Paris. In strict justice they might have acted the same part to that now sent by Marmont. They might have sent him back without any answer, and proceeded in their career. They might have done, and with more reason, what Suchet did

against them, they never would. Their language to their followers would have been that of Hector at the Grecian fleet:

> Haste, bring the flames, *the toil of ten long years*
> *Is finished*, and the day desir'd appears,
> This happy day with acclamation greet,
> Bright with destruction."*

Then, on the place where Paris once stood, might have been wrote,—" this ancient citadel, which dates from the foundation of the monarchy, *has been*."† The fate of Tarragona and Moscow now presented themselves before their eyes in all their horrors—and, while France was thus " *struck to the core*,"‡ Paris exclaimed, I am undone—I have deserved my dreadful fate.

The loss on both sides, on this eventful day, was very great; but no accurate accounts have been published of it. The enemy lost 70 pieces of cannon, 3 standards,§ and " *a large number of prisoners*,"‖ and their killed and wounded were

" I fear much, if the garrison wait for the assault in their *last* hold, I shall be forced to set a terrible example, and intimidate for ever Catalonia and Spain *by the destruction of a whole city*."—Suchet's dispatch before Tarragona, June 26th, 1811. And when the allies had here completed their work of destruction, they might have concluded in the same flippant manner that he did: " the terrible example which *I foresaw* has taken place, and will, for a long time, be recollected in Spain."—Suchet's dispatch, Tarragona, June 29th, 1811. The total destruction of this city, the massacre of its defenceless inhabitants, and its brave garrison, will long be recollected by the world, to the eternal disgrace of the French nation, and their Marshal, Suchet. Had the heroes who stormed Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo acted so to the French garrison, what a Gallic howl of horror would have been raised against them? When even had they done so, their conduct would have been perfectly just; and had Paris now been served as Tarragona was, though humanity must have regretted, justice must have sanctioned the deed.

* Pope's Homer Book 15th, verses 870, &c.

† " This ancient citadel which dates from the foundation of the monarchy—this palace of the Czars—*has been*." Twenty-sixth French bulletin, 1812.

‡ " While Russia is thus struck to the core." Paris papers upon the fall of Moscow, Sept. 1812.

§ Cathcart.

‖ Sir C. Stewart, and government bulletin.

very considerable;"* but the real loss we are left to guess at. "When I receive (said Sir C. Stewart) Colonel Lowe's report, as well as Colonel Cooke's, I shall not fail to dispatch again, to put you in possession of all further information in my power, of this interesting and wonderful day."† These dispatches, if sent, were never published, which is a great loss; as these, no doubt, contained valuable information of the events and losses on this wonderful day. But, if we suppose that Marmont's and Mortier's corps were 30,000 men, and of equal force, viz. 15,000; and as Marmont, after the capitulation of Paris, entered the allied lines with his corps, amounting then to 12,000 men, he must have lost 3000; and, if we suppose that the other regular corps suffered in proportion, it would make the loss about 10,000 men, besides what the national guards lost. Private accounts have estimated the total loss, on the part of the enemy, in these operations, at 20,000; but that is certainly too many. On the side of the allies, the loss was also considerable; but neither is it any where accurately stated."‡ But their blood sealed the bond which secured the repose of Europe. Their fall "*accomplished the downfal of despotism, and reared the standard of renovated Europe, under a just equilibrium, and the dominion of its legitimate Sovereigns.*"‖ Their memory will live in the recollection of grateful millions—while the cause in which they fell shall continue to interest the world. And, when the heroes who survived this "*wonderful day,*" are restored to their native land, settled in peaceful occupations amongst their families and friends; when this is the case, then will the nations of Europe, from the Rhine to the Wolga—those on the shores of Britain and on the mountains of the North, attend with rapture, while each of their brave defenders, recalling to his mind the days of his former glory, will, before their eyes,

"Shoulder the crutch, and shew how fields were won,"

* Cathcart. † Sir C. Stewart's dispatch. March 30th.

‡ "Our loss has been something considerable." Sir C. Stewart's dispatch, March 30th. ‖ Sir C. Stewart's dispatch.

and, while they, with enthusiasm, relate, in strains of animation, which none else can feel, "I was at that great battle under the walls of Paris,"* which overturned the throne of tyranny, and which scattered, like chaff before the wind, the oppressors of mankind.

After a night spent in agony and suspense, the morning dawned which brought joy and gladness to the inhabitants of Paris. At four in the morning, deputies from the city arrived at the head-quarters of the allied Sovereigns. These carried the accounts of peace and security to their fellow-citizens. At seven in the morning the French troops quietly evacuated the city, and it was then generally known that the allied army was immediately to enter the place. About eleven in the forenoon, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, with all their staff and retinues,—the Prince Schwartzenberg, with all his staff,—all the Princes of the army at the head of their troops, preceded by the Cossacks of the guard, passed through the Fauxbourg St. Martin, and entered Paris. The crowd which, in the suburbs, was very great, increased as they went along, till at last it became almost impossible to move. The windows of the houses were crowded with persons of every description—acclamations rent the air from the surrounding multitude—"*long live our liberators*,"—"*Vive le Roi*,"—"*down with the tyrant*,"†—gladdened the hearts of thousands; but whether it was the effusions of real joy, or those of French policy was very doubtful. Parisian tongues will cry any thing: *Vive la Republic*, *Vive l' Empereur*, *Vive le Roi*, Robespierre, Marat, Bonaparte, or Louis; and if the Emperor had come driving a Cossack, or the Cossack himself, clad in a military uniform, had appeared leading their Emperor in a string, they would have saluted either with equal enthusiasm. The utmost order and discipline reigned throughout the allied army. With a sprig of laurel in their hats as the token of victory, each had, at the same time, a white scarf tied round his arm as the emblem of forgiveness and peace.

* "That posterity may say of you—he was at that great battle under the walls of Moscow." Eighteenth bulletin, Grand Army, Sept. 10th, 1812.

† Sir C. Stewart.

Humbled as the inhabitants of Paris must have been to behold such an army marching in triumph through their capital; they must have been still more humbled in their own thoughts, when they contrasted the modest and peaceable demeanour of these troops to the domineering, arrogant, and mischievous dispositions of their own, displayed in every country in Continental Europe. Instead of taking possession of the palace of their conquered adversary, the allied Sovereigns contented themselves with taking up their abode in the private houses of people of rank. The army was quartered in the outside of the town, and was again preparing to march to finish this important contest, when an event, as extraordinary as unexpected, shewed them that they had done so, and saved any further effusion of blood.

While these things were going on in Paris, Bonaparte was advancing with the utmost speed to remedy his fatal error. But he was too late. When he reached Fontainbleau with about 50 or 60,000 men, he learned that Paris was in the hands of his enemies. He halted; and, from that moment, he seemed aware of the fate which awaited him. All his boasted greatness of mind—all his resolution, which the world believed had so often sought danger in the cannon's mouth, fled in a moment. Conscious of the abuse of his power, and his former good fortune, and aware of the fickle nature of the people over which he ruled, he seemed to anticipate his immediate downfall from that throne, which, as he had made it the dread, so, unfortunately for himself, he had also rendered it the scourge of the world. From Fontainbleau he dispatched Ney, Macdonald, and Caulincourt, with full powers, to the Emperor of Russia, to defend his dynasty.* What a falling off was here, with both Ney and his Master. He who was to "finish the contest on the confines of Asia"—he who had chained Russia in the chain of fate, to drag her at his chariot wheels· he who was to "*drive* back the Emperor of Tartars to his *frightful climate*," was now compelled to go on his knees to that Sovereign—to send his Generals with "full

* Ney's letter to Talleyrand, April 5th, 1814.

powers to the Emperor of Russia," not to the Senate of France, to solicit or command them; but to his enemy, the Emperor of Russia, who he well knew had them all in his power—to the Emperor of Russia to beg—not his crown—no! no! that, he knew, was in vain—but to supplicate him in favour of his wife and son, that they might be permitted to occupy that throne which he knew he must now resign. At the time this message was sent, none of the parties had any idea of the recal of the Bourbons, at least Bonaparte and his followers had not; therefore, his humiliation and theirs was most striking and complete. The world saw the French Sovereign, who had made Europe tremble, fall down on his knees before his conquerors, and, in the most abject and humiliating manner, petition them, not for his crown, but his life. Surely this must have been gall and wormwood to Bonaparte and his followers: and after this who is it that can yet say that France was not conquered, when her Emperor, before he knew or had any idea that a change of dynasty was going to take place, supplicated mercy from "Europe in arms," whom France and he had so justly provoked. How different was the conduct of Bonaparte, at this moment, to that of the gallant chief whom, at his leaving Paris in January, he endeavoured to imitate. He wished to copy Hector in tenderness, but he wanted every part of the composition of the character of that Trojan hero, in what would have made his name live with admiration to posterity—he durst not follow Hector's example, and say, with firmness,

> "Death and black fate approach, 'tis I must bleed.
> ——————— then welcome fate,
> 'Tis true I perish, yet I perish great,
> Yet in a mighty deed I shall expire,
> Let future ages hear it and admire."*

No! he did not leave this consolation nor this support to his former panegyrists and admirers. He left them to support his claims to greatness and to bravery, in the best manner they could. That was henceforth to be their business, not his.

* Pope's Homer, Iliad, Book 22d, verses 382, 385—388.

He turned his thoughts to the prosperity of his family, but he turned them too late. That trick failing, he thought the maxim of Hudibras, if not the bravest, was at least the best,

> "He who fights, and runs away,
> Lives to fight another day."

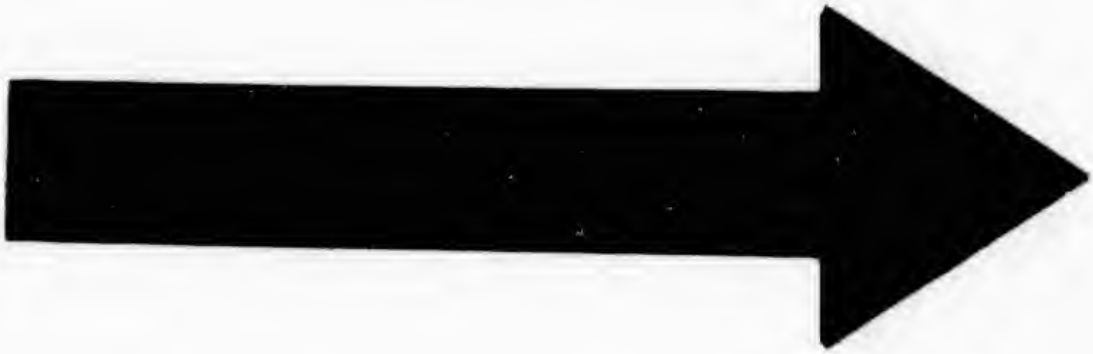
This negotiation, however, in favour of his wife and his son, came to nought. Soon after the arrival of the above-named Generals at Paris, they found that this dynasty could no longer be defended. "An *unforeseen* event, (said Ney) broke off the negotiations, *which seemed, at first, to promise a favourable termination.*"* This was the resolution to restore the Bourbons. Bonaparte wished to resign in favour of his wife and son, calculating,† no doubt, upon the influence of Austria in favour of this proposal. But, in the meantime, the Senate had assembled, with Talleyrand at their head; and, on the 22d, passed a decree, declaring the dynasty of Bonaparte at an end; declaring he had forfeited his right to the crown—absolving the people of France from their oath of allegiance to him, and calling upon them no longer to obey him. This was succeeded by the defection of several of his Marshals and former friends, who were eager to offer their services to the provisional government. Ney was dispatched with this unwelcome intelligence to the fallen Emperor, who saw himself in a few days deserted by all those whom he had accounted his steady friends; and whom he had raised to wealth and honours at the expense of bleeding Europe. Ney soon gave him to understand that he was no longer his friend—that it was impossible that his son and his wife could succeed to his throne; and that, in fact, a full and complete abdication of all the rights of himself and family to the thrones of France and Italy, was what he now wanted of him. This Bonaparte signed, it is said, with great reluctance, and not till Ney had threatened to take his life; but for this latter part of the matter, the authority is either very

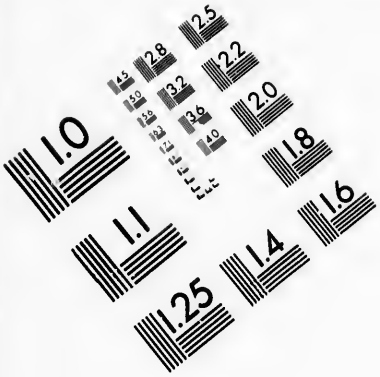
* Ney's letter to Talleyrand, April 5th, 1814.

† Lucotte's address to his army, Corbeil, April 5th, 3 P. M.—"The Emperor Napoleon demands that the Prince his son, and her Majesty the Empress Regent may succeed him," &c.

doubtful, or clothed with French duplicity. However, Ney having obtained this important deed, left Bonaparte a prisoner, under the charge of that army which had but the day before cheerfully obeyed him; and hastened back to Paris, where he laid it before the Senate, who immediately proclaimed Louis XVIII. King of France and Navarre; and sent a deputation to Britain, where that unfortunate Prince and his family had taken refuge from the persecutions of their revolutionary antagonists. The deposed Emperor had the liberty allowed him of choosing his future place of residence. He pitched upon Elba, a small island off the coast of Tuscany, which was confirmed to him in full sovereignty, and a pension of 6,000,000 francs, £240,000 sterling, was settled upon him and his family, to be paid by France. To this narrow abode this extraordinary man was shortly after conveyed, accompanied by a guard of his old friends the Cossacks, and commissioners from the different allied powers. He embarked at Frejus, in the South of France, the spot where he landed when he returned from Egypt; and, in an English frigate (he refused to go in a French one) he was conveyed to his new kingdom, where he remains the wonder, the scorn, and still the fear of the world.

Time may shew, that the banishment of this man to Elba is humanity misplaced. From the general temper and disposition of the French nation, there is too much reason to fear, that this is the case; and, that rather than live at peace, they may turn their attention to find a military leader who will conduct them again to their dearest work—blood and plunder. Whenever that is the case, they will, no doubt, turn their attention to him, in preference to any other, as most likely to accomplish their views, and to gratify their wishes. But, allowing this to become the case—allowing that the bayonet should yet dictate to the French nation a military government, and support ambition upon an usurped throne, will that throne and that military banditti be able to lord it over Europe again? Never. France may wish to continue a military people, and to return to their former system, of making "*war support war;*" and, boasting, that in plundering nations they find "*very pleasant employ-*





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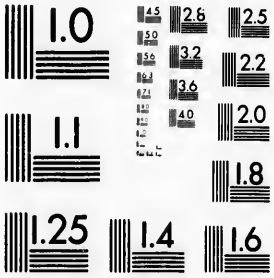

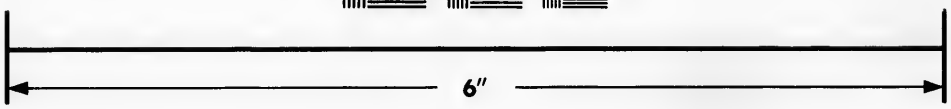

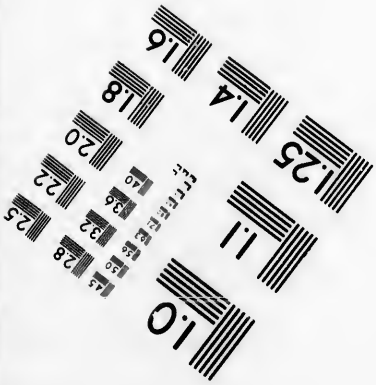

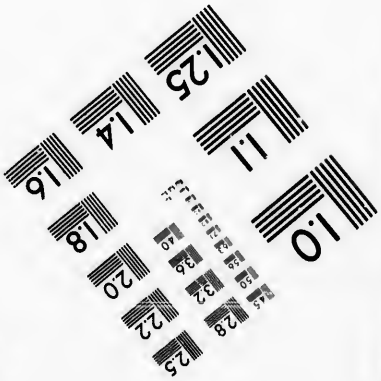

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ment;"* but she must recollect that she has made Europe a military people, whose united energies can beat her to the ground; and whose mercy, abused, will, more readily than France or her adherents imagine, call forth that indignation which may leave sad memorials of its justice, and of its strength. The allied sovereigns have, indeed, it is much to be feared, committed a great mistake in sending this man to Elba; but them and the Bourbons have committed a still greater error, in not stripping his criminal adherents of all that ill gotten gain, which, may yet be turned to his assistance, in order to controul France, and to menace the liberties of Europe. Property has, in every country, conferred, and will always confer power on the possessor; and I am much afraid, that too much of this power, derived from the most unjustifiable means, yet remains in France, either for her repose, or for the repose of Europe. (A Davoust or a Vandamme for instance.) The law—the safety of nations, demanded retribution from them; nor should any power on earth ever protect the murderer. If 3 or 400,000 villains, who had obtained their wealth and their power by butchering their superiors, had been driven from France, and the property restored to its lawful owners, Europe would have had 400,000 most dangerous enemies less, and Louis XVIII. an equal number of loyal subjects, who had both the will and the means to assist him and save the country. Another grievous error in all of them was, not to procure the abolition of the odious conscription laws in France. So long as this dangerous weapon remains in the hands of an arbitrary government, be the ruler what he may, so long is it dangerous to the repose of the world. It is a measure calculated only for war and aggression; and, as such, the voice of nations have a right to demand its repeal. It may be called interference in the internal affairs of a state. Be it so—what more injustice is there in destroying the weapon than in destroying him who uses it—or is there any greater injustice in forbidding the traffic in slaves, who are

* "During my stay at this place (*Mons*) I have found *some very pleasant employment*," Laurent's letter, Convention, July 12th, 1794. The pleasant employment was, extorting money and levying contributions.

led in the chain of military despotism, to cut the throats of their neighbours, than in forbidding the traffic in slaves for cultivating sugar in the West Indies; the one is as *voluntary* as the other, and the latter certainly less injurious to mankind than the former. There was a time when nations considered that they had a right to compel a neighbour to abandon any work which had the appearance of being intended for aggression, when no corresponding movement was making by them, and why should it not be so now? The conscription laws in France have proved the lever of Archimedes, they have moved and overturned the world—may these do so no more.

While these important events were taking place, the situation of the Empress was truly pitiable. Her and her son were, at least, guiltless. Compelled to fly from Paris, she hastened to Rambouillet, where she spent several days in the most dreadful state of suspense and agony. The news of the deposition of her husband could not but add to her fears; and the fate of her illustrious aunt must have filled her mind with alarm. She saw herself hurled from a throne, by a people who hated her father's house, and whose misfortunes and humiliations from their unprincipled ambition, had alone compelled him to consent to her being placed upon it. But a powerful arm protected her. Her conduct in France had been such, that she had no enemies, at least none that durst at that moment shew themselves to do her any injury. Her father, who had now joined the rest of the victorious sovereigns, in the humbled capital of his most vindictive foes, immediately set out to visit his unfortunate daughter. After that interview she left France and went home to Vienna, where she was treated with all manner of respect; and where she had the sovereignty of the Duchies of Parma and Guastalla, in Italy, conferred upon her and her son.

It has been alledged that a secret understanding subsisted between the allies and some of the leading characters in Paris, in order to bring about a change in the government of France. That an immense number in France were favourable to the cause of their legitimate sovereign, and which the mad conduct of Bonaparte was causing daily to gain ground, there cannot

admit of a doubt. All the previous proclamations and acts of the French government, though couched in the most cautious language, clearly shewed that this was the case. That there is also a mystery hangs over some of the proceedings in Paris, favouring that supposition already mentioned, there can be no doubt; but still the whole at present rests only upon general rumour and conjecture, and the truth or falsehood of which, time can only reveal. Of the secret springs which occasioned such a complete revolution in the public opinion in France, we are unquestionably at this moment unacquainted with. The destructive ambition of Bonaparte and his government gave general offence to the peaceable minded of all classes. The jacobins and revolutionists detested him for abandoning their cause; and if they were only certain of being able to retain their ill gotten gain, they would, no doubt, have preferred any other government to his. Amongst these the Bourbon party gained daily new proselytes and fresh strength. Such was the internal situation of France, when "Europe in arms" advanced, with a determined step and irresistible force, to put down that horrible system of oppression and ambition which sprung from the principles of that revolution; the most dreadful that ever scourged mankind, or afflicted the earth.

The downfall of P[illegible] and the overthrow of the power and dynasty of Bonaparte, spread, with the rapidity of lightning, in all directions. In every country, but one,* it was hailed with the most unfeigned joy, as the bright dawn of a long day of peace on earth, and good will among men. Joy and gladness beamed on every countenance; and mankind looked forward to the future with confidence and satisfaction. The conduct of the allied sovereigns, their generals, and brave troops, was the theme of universal praise and admiration; and never, surely, did any set of men more merit or better deserve it. Messengers were dispatched from Paris, in every direction, with the welcome intelligence, and, if possible, to stop the further effusion of human blood. These, however, in some places, came too late. The change that had taken place in Paris was so

* America.—Here it was wormwood and gall.

wonderful and unexpected, that, to those removed from the scene, it seemed altogether incredible; and, at all events, while Bonaparte remained at the head of an army, they conceived, might be uncertain in its results. Hence the messengers from the provisional government to the armies in the South were detained on the road, for some days, by the prefects of the towns at a distance from Paris, till second messengers, with more decisive and explicit dispatches, arrived. This delay was the cause of another dreadful battle and glorious victory, achieved by the British arms in the South of France.

Soult, having in vain endeavoured to arrest the progress of the British army, either by attempting to alarm its communications, or otherwise, fell back to the Eastward, in order to effect a junction with Suchet, who was advancing with the remainder of his army to his assistance. He, therefore, crossed the Garonne, and took up a strong and very favourable position in front of the venerable city of Thoulouse. Owing to the heavy rains, and the melting of the snows upon the Pyrenees, where the principal branches of the Garonne take their rise, that powerful stream had been swelled to such a degree, that it was impossible to construct a bridge over its rapid current, till the 8th of April. On that day the Spanish troops and Portuguese artillery, under the immediate orders of Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre, and the head-quarters, crossed that river. The 18th hussars, in advance, and under the command of Colonel Vivian, fell in with a body of the enemy's cavalry, which they charged and overthrew, taking 100 prisoners. Colonel Vivian was dangerously wounded. The city of Thoulouse is surrounded on three sides by the Garonne, and the famous canal of Languedoc. The town stands on the right, and a suburb on the left bank of the river, which the enemy had fortified with field works, in the front of the ancient wall, forming a good *tete-du-pont*. They had also formed a *tete-du-pont* at each of the bridges, which was likewise defended in some places by the fire of musquetry, and in all by the fire of artillery from the old wall of the town. Beyond the canal, and between it and the small river Ers, is a height which extends as far as Montaudrau, and over which pass the roads to the can-

al and the town, from the Eastward. In addition to the tete-du-pont on the canal, the enemy had fortified this height with fine redoubts, connected by lines of entrenchments, and by extraordinary diligence had made every preparation for defence. They had likewise broken down all the bridges over the Elster, within the reach of their opponents, by which the right of their position could be approached. The roads from the Ariege to Thonlouse were impracticable for artillery and cavalry, and nearly so for infantry, and no alternative remained but to attack the enemy in his present position. In order to shorten the communication with General Hill's corps, and the Spanish troops which had passed the river, the pontoon bridge was moved higher up, which operation took up the greater part of the day on the 9th. The attack was accordingly deferred till the following morning.

The position held by the enemy, and defended by a numerous army, was, evidently, an enterprize of great magnitude to wrest from them. On the morning of the 10th, the attack took place in the following order. Marshal Sir W. Beresford, from the right of the Ers, was to cross that river with the 4th and 6th divisions, at the bridge of Croix de Orade, to gain possession of Monblanc, and to march up the left of the Ers and turn the enemy's right. Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre, with the Spanish troops under his command, supported by the British cavalry, was to attack in front. Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton was to follow the Marshal's movements, with Major-General Lord Edward Somerset's brigade of hussars; and Colonel Vivian's brigade, under the command of Colonel Arentschild, was to observe the movements of the enemy's cavalry on both banks of the Ers, beyond the left. The 3d and light divisions, under the command of Sir Thomas Picton and Major-General Charles Baron Alten, and the brigade of German cavalry, were to observe the enemy on the lower part of the canal, and to draw their attention to that quarter by threatening the tetes-du-pont; while General Hill was to do the same on the suburb to the left of the Garonne.

Such were the positions and duties allotted to the different

portions of the allied army at the battle of Thoulouse. Marshal Beresford began the attack. He crossed the Ers and carried Monblane. He then moved up the Ers, over difficult ground, parallel to the enemy's fortified position; and having turned it, formed his troops in lines to attack them. General Freyre marched with his troops to attack the enemy's front. His division moved forward in a steady manner, under a galling fire, while himself and all his staff were at their head, and were quickly lodged in some banks immediately under the enemy's entrenchments. The enemy, however, repulsed the right of General Freyre's line round the left flank. At the same time they turned the right of the allies by both sides of the high road, and compelled the whole corps to retire. The light division which was on the right immediately came up, when the whole rallied again, and renewed the attack. The Spanish officers and troops acted with the greatest intrepidity. Marshal Beresford, with the 4th division, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole, and the 6th division, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton, attacked and carried the heights on the enemy's right, and the redoubt which covered and protected that flank. The enemy, however, still occupied the other four redoubts on the same heights, the entrenchments, and fortified houses. From every one of these, however, he was quickly driven. General Freyre's division having renewed the attack, and Marshal Beresford having got up his artillery, which the badness of the roads had retarded in their progress, attacked and carried with the 6th division and General Pack's brigade, the heights, with the two redoubts, entrenchments, and fortified houses, on the enemy's centre. The enemy now made a desperate effort from the canal to regain these redoubts, but was repulsed with great loss. The 6th division continuing its movement along the ridge of the height, and the Spanish division continuing a corresponding movement in front, the enemy was also driven from the two redoubts, the entrenchments, and fortified houses on the left; and thus the whole range of heights remained in the power of the allies. The loss here was severe; and the brave 6th division particularly suffered. While these operations were going

on in this quarter, General Hill drove the enemy from the exterior line of their works, in the suburb on the left of the Garrone, within the ancient wall. General Picton, at the same time, drove the enemy, on his side, within the tete-du-pont on the bridge of the canal nearest to the Garonne; but, in endeavouring to make themselves masters of it, they were repulsed with considerable loss. The army being thus established on three sides of the city, the light cavalry was immediately detached to cut off the only remaining road which the enemy had to escape by; but Soult, aware of his danger, abandoned Thoulouse, and retreated during the night. The allied army entered the place next day, where they found 1600 prisoners, and large quantities of stores of all descriptions, and some cannon, besides one piece which was taken on the field of battle.

The loss of the enemy was severe, but is not accurately stated. Taupin, General of division, was killed; Generals Harispe, Baraut, and St. Hilaire, were wounded and taken; Generals Bervier and Gasquet, the Colonel of the 10th infantry of the line, and Morlincourt, commanding a battalion of artillery, were also wounded. It is obvious, from the preceding account of the destruction amongst the superior officers, that the loss of the enemy must have been severe indeed. In no general action in the Peninsula had they ever sustained such a loss of general officers; and it may be fairly presumed that the loss in every part of the army was proportionate to the loss amongst them. The loss on the side of the allies was also very considerable; of the Spanish corps General Espeletta and several of the officers of the staff, were wounded. General Mendizabel, who was in the battle as a volunteer, was also wounded, but refused to quit the field. The regiment de Tirad de Cantabria kept its position under the enemy's entrenchments, till Lord Wellington ordered them to retire. Lieut. Col. Coghlan of the 61st, a brave officer, was killed. General Pack was wounded, but remained on the field; and Colonel Douglas of the 8th Portuguese regiment, lost a leg. Major-General Brisbane was wounded, and Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes of the 45th, a gallant and deserving officer, was killed in the last attack made by the troops under the command of Ge-

neral Picton. The whole allied army did its duty on this important day, and received the thanks and applause of the brave General who commanded them. The loss of the allies on this day was, viz. British, 312 killed, 1795 wounded, and 17 missing; Portuguese, 78 killed, and 529 wounded; Spanish, 205 killed, 1722 wounded, and 1 missing;—making altogether a loss of 4641 killed and wounded, and 18 prisoners, on this glorious day. The loss on the side of the enemy was certainly much more considerable; and, besides the number taken prisoners, must have exceeded 7000 men.

In the Gironde Rear-Admiral Penrose had succeeded in capturing the forts which command the entrance of that river; and, to prevent their falling into our hands, the enemy destroyed the Regulus, a 74 gun ship, and 3 brigs. Lieutenant General the Earl of Dalhousie, who was at Bourdeaux with a force watching the movements of the enemy in that quarter, crossed the Garonne at the time that Admiral Penrose had taken and destroyed the forts on that river, and opened a free communication by it. He pushed the enemy's force, under General L'Huillier, before him across the Dordagne, which stream he then crossed near St. Andre, on the 4th, in order to attack the fort of Blaye. His Lordship found General L'Huillier and General Des Barreaux posted near Etauliers. He determined to attack them immediately, but they retired, leaving in his hands 300 prisoners. From this time no further operations took place in this quarter. Early on the morning of the 14th, the garrison of Bayonne made a sortie against the besieging force, under the command of Gen. Sir John Hope. The enemy came out with a strong force, and, owing to the darkness of the night, succeeded for some time in dislodging the picquets and advanced divisions of the British army with considerable loss; but at last the bravery of the British troops drove the enemy back at all points, and re-occupied all the ground which they had lost. In this sortie Gen. Sir John Hope was wounded and taken prisoner. Upon the first alarm he endeavoured to bring up troops to relieve the picquets in advance; but during the darkness and confusion he came unexpectedly upon a party of the enemy. His horse was shot dead,

and, in his fall, rolled over him, when he was immediately made prisoner by the enemy. Major-General Hay was killed, and many gallant officers were also killed and wounded. The total loss in this unfortunate affair was, viz. British, 142 killed; 436 wounded; and 233 prisoners, or missing; Portuguese, 8 killed, 21 wounded, and 3 missing, making altogether 838.

In Italy, Murat continued to press the French army very closely. On the 12th, he forced the Taro; on the 13th he drove them back to the Nuna. From this position the French army was also forced. The Neapolitan army then threw a bridge over the Secca, at the passage of which they were warmly opposed, and both sides suffered a considerable loss. The enemy was, however, forced to give way, and the Neapolitan army advanced to the important town of Placenza. In the meantime, a strong British armament, which had been fitted out at Sicily, under the command of Lord William Bentinck, the naval department under the command of Sir Josiah Rowley of the America of 74 guns, had taken possession of Sezzia; and, learning that the important city of Genoa had only a garrison of 2000 men, they sailed for that place. Upon their arrival, however, they found that the enemy's garrison had been re-enforced, and that it then amounted to 6000 men. Nevertheless, as it was of the utmost importance to obtain possession of this city, which would have cut off effectually the retreat of the Viceroy's army, it was determined to attack the place. "The enemy's position, (said Lord William Bentinck,) from the impassable nature of the country, was very strong."* The attack took place on the 17th; the enemy was driven, after an obstinate resistance, from all his strong positions, and, preparations being made to storm the fortifications, the French garrison capitulated, and, on the morning of the 21st, gave up the place to the allied forces. The garrison had liberty to retire into France; the accounts of the first important occurrences at Paris having reached Genoa at this time. In the place was found 269 brass and 23 iron guns; 46,000 shot; 12,000 shells, and a great quantity of all kinds of military stores. In the

* Lord William Bentinck's dispatch, Genoa, April 20th, 1814.

harbour was found one 74 gun ship ready for launching, one also in the frame; and four brigs of 18, 16, and 14 guns, fit for sea. The total loss of the British land and sea forces, in these operations, was 222 killed and wounded.

The capture of Genoa, and the battle of Thoulouse, closed the dreadful drama of carnage, wo, and misery, which had desolated and distracted Europe for the 22 preceding years. From that moment Peace spread her wings over the European Continent; but, whether the restless spirit of the French nation will allow it to remain, time alone can determine; and deeds, not words, must convince. Great Britain, who had so nobly maintained the cause of nations and her own independence, had the honour of concluding this tremendous struggle, by adding another glorious wreath to her military fame. On the evening of the 12th, Colonel Cooke and Colonel St. Simon, arrived at the head-quarters of the Marquis Wellington at Thoulouse, and communicated to him the amazing occurrences which had taken place in Paris. The French officer, agreeable to the orders from the Provisional Government, immediately proceeded to the head-quarters of Soult, but so unexpected were the events, and so extraordinary did they appear to him, that he could not give credit to them. He wanted, therefore, to conclude an armistice for the cessation of hostilities, till he should ascertain the real situation of affairs. But Frenchmen had violated their word so often, that no person would now trust them, and Lord Wellington would not accede to the proposal. On the 16th, however, another messenger arrived from Paris, with information that satisfied Soult, that, as far as man could see, it was all over with his former Master. He immediately, in conjunction with Suchet, sent in his adhesion to the "*new order of things*," and concluded a convention with the British General, by which all hostilities ceased. The hosts which, the day before, sought each other's destruction, now mingled together in leagues of peace. Suchet having, previous to this, withdrawn all his force from Catalonia, the allied army which there opposed him, under the command of Lieutenant General W. Clinton, was broken up and marched to a different destination. Though

"circumstances had not permitted those troops to have so brilliant a share in the operations of the war as their brother officers and soldiers on the other side of the Peninsula, *yet they were not less usefully employed.*"* They checked the career of Suchet. They neutralized all his veteran force, and rendered of no avail all his most skilful manœuvres and endeavours to throw the smallest weight into the scale against the grand operations going forward on the west side of the Peninsula, or from being of the smallest use in recovering, in any degree, the fortune of his comrades, or the cause of his country, in that quarter. Their services, therefore, were of the utmost importance; and though they were lost, for the moment, amidst the stupendous blaze of glory which crowned the efforts of the allied arms in every other quarter, still they were not the less useful nor the less beneficial to mankind. They also did their duty. Wellington has said so, which is praise sufficient. Soon after this the Marquis of Wellington left the army which he had so gloriously conducted—with which he had earned such unfading laurels, and by whose exertions, joined to his own, he had rendered such important services to mankind. He gave up the command to General Hill, and set out for Paris, where he was received with the warmest emotions of gratitude and respect, by all the Princes and heroes of Europe at this time assembled in that place. He justly deserved it. To his skill and judgment they, in a great measure, owed their deliverance. He taught them how to persevere and how to conquer; and the lines of Torres Vedras, "*bristled with artillery*,† proved the foundation stone of the independence of Europe. By his grateful country he was further rewarded. His Sovereign raised him to the highest rank in the British peerage, under the title of the Duke of Wellington. Upon his arrival in England he was welcomed with unfeigned joy. Thirteen times he received the thanks and rewards of the British Legislature; and when, after all his fatigues and dangers, he went to the House of Commons

* Marquis Wellington's dispatch, Thoulouse, April 19th, 1814.

† Moniteur, December, 1810.

to receive the thanks of that august Body, the moment he made his appearance, every member, anim ted with the same impulse of admiration, gratitude, and respect, rose from their seats, to welcome amongst them this ornament to their country—this deliverer of Europe. The object was worthy—the tribute great:

> "Envy itself was dumb, in wonder lost;
> And Factions strive who shall applaud him most."*

All but one man, who never had a vote to give, nor applause to bestow, when the honour and glory of his brave countrymen called for it.

Before proceeding further, let us bring into a connected point of view the

LOSSES OF THE FRENCH ARMY, DURING 1814.

Army under Bonaparte, with all re-enforcements, ...		279,000
LOST.		
Till passing the Aisne, at Craon, ...	61,000	
From do. till the capture of Paris, ...	55,946	
		116,946
		† 162,054

DETACHED ARMIES.

Army and garrisons in Italy, ...	89,000
Lost till conclusion of Peace, ...	16,050
Remain, ...	72,950

* Addison's Blenheim.

† This force includes the national guards that were with the army, and at Paris. What number was troops of the line, and what national guards, I cannot determine. Thirty thousand national guards were in Paris. It also includes the garrison of that city.

Troops, or national guards in garrisons, ...		262,000
Lost till conclusion of Peace, ...		78,950
Remain, ...		* 183,040
Davoust's army, ...		38,000
Lost till conclusion of Peace, ...	8,142	
Remainder of the Danes, which abandoned him, ...	11,600	
		19,742
Remain, ...		† 18,258
Netherlands and Holland, ...		20,000
Lost till conclusion of Peace, ...		8,260
Remain, ...		11,740
Augereau at Lyons, ...		40,000
Lost till conclusion of Peace, ...		6,700
Remain, ...		33,300
Army under Soult, and in Bayonne, ...		90,000
Lost till battle of Thoulouse, ...		21,432
Remain, ...		‡ 68,568

* An immense number of this force was cut off by sickness. What that number was I cannot determine. It was very great; at least one-fourth of the whole.

† Sixth Russian bulletin, before Hamburgh, February 17th, 1814, says Davoust's force was then decreased to 20,000 men.

‡ Demi-official accounts state that the number of men which deserted from Soult's army, from the beginning to the end of this campaign, amounted to 6,000. There is no doubt that it was very great, and falls to be deducted from the number here stated as remaining, and which with the garrison of Bayonne, &c. &c. would not leave above 50,000 for the field.

TOTAL REMAINS

AT OVERTHROW OF BONAPARTE.

Main army, and national guards of Paris, ...	162,054
Italy, and garrisons there, ...	72,950
In garrisons of Germany, &c. deduct. Bayonne,	173,040
Davoust, at Hamburgh, ...	18,258
In Flanders, ...	11,740
Augereau, ...	33,300
Soult, and in Bayonne, ...	68,568
Suchet, ...	20,000
	559,910
Deduct on account of sickness and fatigue, ...	* 20,000
	539,910
Lost by sickness, or sick in garrisons, ...	† 45,610
	‡ 494,300

* This number must have been great, from the dreadful fatigues undergone by raw troops, and falls to be deducted from the main army. From the shortness of the campaign none of the wounded could rejoin.

† In Hamburgh the number of sick exceeded 10,000. The state of the garrisons was dreadful. The loss I cannot accurately ascertain; but it could be little less than what is here stated.

‡ Which gives about 273,000 men of national guards, and other troops in the field, including those in garrisons in Italy.

FRENCH OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1814.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.
Moniteur, January 20th to that date,			2,100	230
Do. army in Holland at Breda,			(a)	
Bonaparte's dispatch, Feb 3d, Brienne,	3,000		(b) 6,000	
Carry over,	3,000		8,100	230

(a) Said to be great, but not enumerated.

(b) "Our loss from 2 to 3,000, that of the enemy, at least, double."

I have thus, but with a feeble hand, indeed, in comparison to the magnitude of the events which I have had to relate, conducted the reader not only through the proudest career of human glory; but through the most awful scene of human carnage and misery which this world ever saw, or perhaps ever can see. On the one hand, I have led him from the glorious banks of the Moskwa, to the equally memorable banks of the Seine; where we have seen "*Europe in arms*" hurl Gallic ambition from his blood-stained throne; and on the same spot rear her renovated standard under the banners of her legitimate princes, while she confined to Elba's narrow room, him whom the world seemed too little to contain. There the wonder and the scorn of the world lives; him who made it tremble. Stripped of the

FRENCH OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1814.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch,	Killed, and Wound	Prison.	Killed, and Wound	Prison.
	French Loss.		Allied Loss.	
Brought forward,	3,000		8,100	230
Bonaparte's dispatch, Feb. 7th, Brienne,			100	160
Do. do. Feb. 12th & 14th,	1,600		(a) 10,500	18,200
Do. do. Feb. 17th,			3,300	2,000
Italy, Viceroy, Goito, Feb. 9th,	2,500		5,000	2,500
Bonaparte's dispatch, Feb. 19th,	400		(b) 5,000	10,200
Do. do. Feb. 21st,	1,000		1,220	140
Do. do. Feb. 24th and 27th,			1,500	3,000
Do. do. March 5th,				4,000
Do. do. March 8th and 9th,	800		(c) 5,500	2,500
Do. do. March 12th and 14th,	100	(d) 500		5,000
Do. do. March 27th,			(e)	2,000
Sortie, Antwerp,				600
Caldiero, &c. November 21st,	500		1,500	900
Augereau, Lyons, Feb. 21st,			(f)	200
Total,	9,900	500	41,720	52,030

(*a*) Besides the killed and wounded of Blucher, on the 14th, great.

(*b*) Besides killed and wounded at Nangis, on the 17th, where 6,000 men were taken.

(*c*) In this dispatch it is stated 12,000, but it includes the former.

(*d*) Besides killed and wounded, great.

(*e*) Besides killed and wounded, in defeat of Winzengerode, the last dispatch he wrote.

(*f*) And many killed and wounded.

power which terrified, and shorn of the glory which dazzled mankind, every individual in Europe takes up the inimitable strains of Isaiah, and exclaims, " How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning: how art thou cast down to the ground which did trouble the nations."* On the other hand, if not with the concise energy of the historian, I have, at least, endeavoured, with the feelings of a Briton, to carry the reader from the glorious lines of Torres Vedras, to the noble banks of the Garonne, through all those proud scenes of triumph and glory which attended the British arms; and have

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ALLIED OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1814.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Killed and Wound	Prison.	Killed and Wound	Prison.
	Allied Loss.		French Loss.	
Garrison of Zamocse,			1,700	2,300
Do. of Modlin,			2,300	(a) 4,800
Do. of Stettin, 351 cannons,			1,367	7,633
Botzen, December 7th,				(b) 2,000
Garrison of Fredericsort,				(c)
Do. of Gluckstadt,				3,000
Do. of Landscroon,				400
At Coblentz, by St. Priest,				
Sacken at crossing the Rhine,			300	1,200
Battle of Breda, January 7th,	614		(d) 1,200	800
Hamburgh, January 20th,			(e) 900	800
Blucher's 12th bulletin, Jan. 9th,			(f)	1,508
Leghorn, 14th Dec. 1813, Gazette,	15		150	300
Bois Le Duc, Garrison of,				900
Carry over,	629		7,917	25,641

(a) These were the numbers according to the original force, and what surrendered.

(b) " Within the last two days 2,000 have deserted to us."

(c) 101 pieces of cannon.

(d) Some accounts make it 3,000. Prussian official more—*say* 1,000.

(e) And several killed, wounded, and taken in other actions.

(f) Besides several hundred prisoners at Sarguimine, and several hundred more at Tweebruggen. To 25th he had taken 3,000 prisoners, (add 1,500). Sir C. Stew-

shewn with pleasure and with pride, that, instead of the Leopards* being driven into the sea at Lisbon, and the French eagles planted on her walls, that these proud eagles fled in terror and consternation beyond the Pyrenees; and, that on the venerable ramparts of Thoulouse, the British leopards tore their pride and their plumage to pieces. I have shewn, that instead

* See Bonaparte's threat in a speech to his Legislature, and also his boasting in the Moniteur, "*Before one year is elapsed*, the English, *whatever efforts they may make*, will be driven out of the Peninsula, and the *Imperial eagle* will fly upon the fortresses *of Lisbon*.—Moniteur, October 11th, 1809.

ALLIED OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1814.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Allied Loss. Killed and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.	French Loss. Killed and Wound	French Loss. Prison.
Brought forward,	629		7,917	25,641
Dantzic, Garrison of,			(a) 9,600	18,360
Wittenberg, do.			(b) 2,000	2,000
Torgau, do.			(c) 4,000	6,000
Kustrin, do.			(d)	9,000
At Mayden,			412	
Arnheim, Garrison of,	300		(e) 4,000	
Lord Burghersh, Jan. 14th and 18th,	210		70 (f)	1,262
Do. Feb. 1st. 2d, 4th, Brienne, &c.	6,000		10,000 (g)	4,000
Breda, Crown Prince's bulletin,				600
C. Prince's bulletin, Dec 12, & 16, 1813.	800		1,200	1,590
Sundry small affairs in Holland,	210		40	260
14th bulletin, Silesian army, Jan. 21st.			(h)	400
Carry forward,	8,149		39,239	68,913

(a) Eighteen thousand three hundred and sixty surrendered, reduced one-half by sickness; but I still keep the original force at 30,000

(b) 2,000 surrendered—it was 4,000 strong, besides re-enforcements, uncertain.

(c) Garrison at least 10,000—half destroyed by sickness.

(d) Force at first—loss unknown.

(e) 28th bulletin of the Crown Prince, December 6th, taken by storm, some hundreds prisoners

(f) Besides a considerable number in two days not enumerated, *say* 400 and many killed and wounded, *say* 300. *together*, 700 more.

(g) The killed and wounded in all the actions could hardly be less; to these add in Macdonald's defeat at Vitry, *some hundreds*.

(h) And released many Spanish prisoners.

of those appalling menaces of a rancorous and remorseless foe having been carried into effect, against our native land, that, when not one half, but when "*all France was clad in mourning*,"* a peal of thunder from the cannon of Wellington put an end to this second Punic war;† and without trampling upon

* "Every family is in mourning—all France is in tears." *Address of the Provisional Government, Paris, April 16th*, 1814.

† "When England shall be exhausted; when she shall have at last, felt the evils which for 20 years she hath with so much cruelty poured upon the continent; when *half* her families shall be in mourning, then shall a *peal of thunder* put an end to the affairs of the Peninsula, the destinies of her armies, and avenge Europe and Asia by finishing this second Punic war." Bonaparte's speech to the Legislative body, June 16th, 1811.

ALLIED OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1814.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch,	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.
Brought forward,	8,149		39,239	68,913
Official report, Langres, Jan. 26th,	1,000		(*a*) 2,000	294
3d and 4th bulletins, army, Hamburgh,	400		(*b*) 800	800
Blucher's army Montmirail, &c.	14,000		(*c*) 14,000	
Winzengerode, Soissons,			(*d*) 1,500	3,000
Lord Burghersh, Feb. 13th, Sens, &c.				
Lowe's report, Blucher, Feb. 21, 28,	220		(*e*) 400	
Lord Burghersh, Feb 21, to March 1,	2,000		(*f*) 3,000	800
Official report, Grand army, Feb. 22d,	1,000		1,500	(*g*) 1,000
Carry forward,	26,769		62,439	74,807

(*a*) Loss of the allies not so great. French loss of the old guard.

(*b*) And in previous actions many killed and wounded.

(*c*) This was Blucher's total loss from best authorities. The French must have been much more, particularly on the 14th, when Lowe states it must have been double—but say equal

(*d*) Killed and wounded considerable—stormed. Private accounts state the total at 10,000. Soissons, Feb. 2d, "10,000 national guards here" Paris papers.

(*e*) Enemy's loss considerably more than that of the allies.

(*f*) Besides several other actions. Prisoners, from the Austrian report.

(*g*) Besides killed and wounded in other attacks, and three attacks on Troyes, repelled by next report.

humanity, avenged the countless wrongs of Europe in the land which had occasioned them all.

A cessation of hostilities with all the powers of Europe was without delay concluded by the Provisional Government of France, and soon after a treaty of peace was concluded with every one of them. On the part of Great Britain, this important event was arranged by Lord Castlereagh; who, after the rupture of the negotiations at Chatillon, had remained at the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria, from whence he directed his footsteps to Paris, after the overthrow of that power, with whom all negotiations was fruitless. The treaty, now concluded, was become a more easy and pleasing task than his Lord-

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ALLIED OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1814.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Killed and Wound	Prison.	Killed and Wound	Prison.
	Allied Loss.		French Loss.	
Brought forward,	26,769		62,439	74,807
Actions from 16th to 21st February on the Seine.	10,000(a)	12,000	10,000	
Lord Burghersh, March 4th,			(b)	3,000
Austrian official report,			(c)	600
Colonel Giesmer to Prince Saxe Wiemar, Feb. 26th,			(d) 290	120
Lowe's report, battle of Craonne and Soissons,	3,200		(e) 5,000	
Do. do. of Laon,	5,000		(f) 7,000	6,000
Prince Saxe Wiemar, Netherlands,	800		2,000	
Carry forward,	45,769	12,000	86,729	84,827

(a) No returns by the allies. Therefore I must let the French remain uncontradicted. The French loss in killed and wounded must have been equal to that of the allies, whatever it was. Bonaparte, no doubt, exaggerated the number of prisoners.

(b) Besides killed and wounded, great; and also many in another action with Wrede.

(c) And many killed and wounded.

(d) And many others killed, about 60.

(e) "The enemy's loss much more severe than ours," as he was the assailant, under particularly unfavourable circumstances, at both places.

(f) Killed and wounded very great—actions most obstinate and sanguinary. The loss is certainly here not over-estimated.

ship had perhaps ever anticipated. It placed his country upon the proudest pinnacle of glory, fame, and security, that ever any nation had been; and his Lordship was, most deservedly, now made the honoured instrument of crowning with a peace, which gave general satisfaction to mankind, the toils and labours of his native land, through all this arduous, dangerous, and protracted struggle. Upon his return to Britain, after this glorious conclusion of his important mission, his Lordship met Parliament in a proud situation indeed. On his entrance into the House of Commons, that august assembly, whose firmness and whose wisdom had saved the world, rose from their seats, as a mark of respect, and greeted his Lordship with un-

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ALLIED OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1814.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Killed and Wound	Prison.	Killed and Wound	Prison.
	Allied Loss.		French Loss.	
Brought forward,	45,769	12,000	86,729	84,827
Rheims, March 12th,				(a) 3,000
Do. do 14th.	2,000 (b)		1,500	
Bianchi at Macon, March 11th,	900		(c) 1,500	1,000
Actions near Geneva, March 6, 7, &c.			1,200	
Arcis Sur Aube, March 21st, &c.	2,000		(d) 3,000	
From the junction of the armies to the passage of the Marne,			(e) 4,000	10,000
Battle of Paris,	7,000		(f) 7,000	6,000
Carry forward,	57,669	12,000	104,929	104,827

(a) Besides killed and wounded, uncertain, but considerable, *say* 1,000.

(b) 2,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; enemy's loss great, at least 1,500.

(c) In two actions at this place, and many prisoners taken amongst the Alps.

(d) Action very sanguinary. Country covered with his dead. His loss was 7,000; that of the allies must have been 2,000.

(e) Official bulletin of the British government from dispatches from General Graham, stated the prisoners at the time alluded to at 10,000, Lord Cathcart, 9,000; Marmont and Oudinot lost 8,508 men from Vitry to Champenoise. Ame's division was 5,000 prisoners, besides killed and wounded, which would give 14,000 in all as here stated.

(f) No returns were made out. The action was obstinate and bloody; and, if we are to estimate by the number of cannon taken, it could not be less. The loss of the allies in killed and wounded perhaps equalled that of the enemy. Some ac-

divided cheers of approbation and applause. This was acting as Britons should.

A deputation, in form, having arrived from the Provisional Government of France, inviting Louis XVIII. to assume the reins of government, and ascend the throne of his ancestors, that monarch left Britain amidst the most enthusiastic applauses of all classes of people. He embarked at Dover, and, landing at Calais, proceeded by easy journies to Paris, accompanied by his niece, the Duchess D'Angouleme. Every where they were received with acclamation and respect. They entered Paris in triumph, every thing having been arranged for the purpose by Monsieur, who had been for some time in France,

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ALLIED OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1814.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Allied Loss. Killed, and Wound	Allied Loss. Prison.	French Loss. Killed, and Wound	French Loss. Prison.
Brought forward,	57,669	12,000	104,929	104,827
Various actions in Italy,			(a) 4,000	2,000
Garrison of Befort,				
Additional, as per notes,			4,260	
Danes who abandoned him,				11,600
Citadel of Trieste,	45		358	450
6th bulletin, Hamburgh,	34		500	393
7th do. do	20		(b)	549
Garrison of Ragusa, 164 cannon, &c.			(c)	
Genoa,			(d)	
Castle of Wurtzburgh,				3,000
Carry forward,	57,828	12,000	114,049	128,819

counts stated the French loss at 20,000 men: the environs of Paris, it was said, were covered with thousands of slain, and many corpses were lying around it sixteen days after the battle. The loss is certainly here underrated. Sir C. Stewart says the loss of the allies was very considerable.

(a) There are no accurate returns of all the actions in Italy, but they were many and severe; and from November 9th, could not be less, if not many more than is here stated. A few returns from Murat are a considerable part of the number.

(b) Besides killed and wounded.

(c) Uncertain, nowhere stated the number.

(d) Including what were killed and wounded. The British loss was 222, theirs must have been as many.

endeavouring to rouse the people to declare for their legitimate sovereign. In Paris the King was apparently welcomed with joy; and there he found all the principal sovereigns and warriors of Europe, ready to congratulate him upon his change of fortune. A long and dismal period of wo had passed over the

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ALLIED OFFICIAL RETURNS, 1814.

Battle, Place, or Dispatch.	Killed and Wound	Prison.	Killed and Wound	Prison.
	Allied Loss.		French Loss.	
Brought forward,	57,828	12,000	114,049	128,819
Austrian official report, March 22d,			(*a*) 1,277	1,723
Murat's actions, 6th March,				800
			115,324	131,342

BRITISH IN SPAIN, &c. 1814.

	British.	Total Allied Loss.	French Loss.	
Wellington, from 1st to 4th March,	1,931	2,954 (*b*)	10,000	
Bergen-op-Zoom,	2,000	2,000	1,000	
Attack on Mexem,	150	150	150	180
Wellington, from 4th to 22d March,				
Wellington, March 25th,	5		(*c*) 30	72
Do. from 2d March to 8th April,	44	54	(*d*) 44	
Battle of Thoulouse,	2,207	4,761	(*e*) 7,400	1,600
Sortie at Bayonne,	578	838	(*f*) 600	
Dalhousie, near Bourdeaux,				300
Genoa,	222		(*g*)	
	7,137	(*h*)10,757	19,224	2,152

(*a*) Dutch papers contain Bianchi's bulletin of an action on the 15th, supposed the same, it cost Augereau about 3,000 men. 1,500 were prisoners, and the Dutch papers give 203 prisoners more taken at the port of Domo d'Ossola. Austrian official bulletin referred to, states that the details were not arrived.

(*b*) French loss very great. "Country covered with their dead." Desertion estimated at 16,000, from Orthes to Thoulouse. A great number prisoners; one cavalry regiment took 2,000. Dead estimated at 3,000.

(*c*) And many killed.

(*d*) The enemy's loss must at least have been equal.

(*e*) French loss very great, not stated in the official dispatches. Private accounts state it at 9,000.

(*f*) Demi-official accounts state the enemy's loss at 600.

(*g*) Included in loss in Italy.

(*h*) In this number is included 367 British prisoners. Many of the returns of

head of his unhappy country, since that diabolical phrenzy, characterized as "*the noblest effort of human wisdom*," had driven him, and at the same time every principle that was honourable and good, from his native land. In France he, no doubt, had yet many enemies, but more certainly from fear than from choice. But these, unless joined by that corrupted military banditti, again let loose from the different prisons where European bravery had placed them, can scarcely endanger his throne; and those scourges of human nature, produced and fostered by the French revolution, whose proper elements are war and destruction, now beat to the ground by Europe in arms, will, without a sudden movement by the discontented military, sink by degrees into insignificance, till they disappear from a world which they have rendered miserable, and who now views every one of them with unqualified contempt and indignation. This, however, will not be the business of a day, neither is it an event to be accomplished without vigilance and caution. The present race of men in France have been trained up in a dreadful school. Amongst them the science of crime was taught as an honourable, and as the chief pursuit. These principles cannot be eradicated in a day—they must be watched, and the smallest movement met with the decided reprobation, and crushed by the undivided energy of Europe. The deliri-

the allies i the heart of France are wanting, and I have no means of stating their real loss, but it must have been considerable, and could not be less than 15 or 20,000 men more than is stated in the preceding account. The following curious document will serve to give the reader some idea of the amazing force of the allies which crossed the Rhine. From the 21st December, 1813, till the 30th April, 1814, the town of Basle, where the allied army first crossed that river, lodged

725	Officers.
1,728	Generals.
240	Ministers.
4,780	Surgeons.
2,575	Secretaries.
1,044	Counsellors.
3,733	Women.
56,891	Domestics.
519,064	Soldiers.
Total, 588,780	

tum of Liberty and Equality is now, indeed, passed away. The surviving votaries of that dreadful school will be the foremost to check any internal commotion that might endanger or deprive them of their ill gotten gain. But these passions have only changed their name; and, under another garb, are, if possible, more dangerous to Europe. The dream of military glory, foreign conquest, and universal dominion, yet lives, and will long live and be cherished in the minds of millions of Frenchmen; so much so, that the terrible disasters of the last three years, which has humbled their vanity and wounded their pride, will rather spur them on in their iniquitous designs than keep them from such a course. The government of France has, therefore, an arduous task to perform; and it must be the wish of every one, that it may succeed in curbing these dreadful passions, and directing them to more honourable and advantageous pursuits. But if, unfortunately, the government should, against its will, be borne away with this dreadful torrent of ambition and mischief; or if in an evil hour they listen to those pernicious counsels which shall induce them willingly again to commence the unprincipled career of aggression against Europe; or if that banditti should succeed in restoring a government similar to that overthrown by Europe; let them beware how they call forth her energies and indignation again. France has taught Europe, by dreadful necessity, the secret of her own strength. She has not forgotten, and never can forget, what the hordes of France has made her endure: and France may rest assured, that she will not only be narrowly watched, but that any act of aggression, on her part, would call forth, once more, the undivided energies of Europe; and however obstinate the struggle may be, place their triumphant banners again on the heights of Montmartre. Let them attend to the voice of their sovereign—he has been taught in the school of affliction—he has had an useful lesson, and an awful example set before him. It cannot be his wish nor his interest to make war his trade; and under his counsels France may long enjoy peace, and Europe repose.

It has been attempted, in a strain of triumph, to shew that the conduct of the allies, in their last struggle with France, was

totally different in its principles from the first coalition formed against her at the commencement of the revolution. Assertions are easy made, but facts in this case contradict them; and these arguments come with an ill grace, indeed, from those who constantly asserted the impossibility of the restoration of the Bourbons, of the total indifference of the French nation with regard to them, and who deprecated that event as one of the greatest calamities which could ever occur to France or to Europe. But wherein were the principles of the first and the last coalition different? The first had in view the overthrow of that government, and principles which threatened ruin to the social edifice of Europe, and which, for want of an united opposition, accomplished it. The allies knew that the French government was not the French nation, but an infernal and unprincipled banditti, who trampled upon France, and called out her immense energies and resources to further their own diabolical views. It was to deliver France from this banditti, from the odious principles publicly professed and openly followed by them, that those more immediately interested rose to rescue themselves from destruction; and which they could only do by restoring to France her legitimate government. The object was distorted and misrepresented by faction into a thousand different shapes, at the moment, to raise a hue and cry against the object of the allies in 1792, and in 1794; and, by doing so, to befriend the cause of a set of madmen, robbers, and murderers. It was denied and ridiculed, that the French Convention, by their principles and their strength, intended to revolutionize and subjugate Europe. It was denied, even in the face of open declarations, that such was their avowed object. The Convention again and again declared that they would assist every one, who, professing their principles and following their footsteps, would rise in arms against the government of their country. And ought not Europe to have put down such a government, and swept it from amongst men? One of the principle actors of this infernal drama, when wearied with its consequences and elevated by its principles, upbraids the allied sovereigns for directing their proclamations not to Kings like themselves, but to the people;

not against the French nation, but against its government; "against a man who deserved the gratitude of all Kings, because he had checked the progress of that volcano, the object of which was, to destroy them all."* It was this the allies wanted to put down in 1793; it was neither the dismemberment nor partition of France, nor compelling her to accept a government of their choosing, as was wickedly and erroneously stated at the time. "But, Sir, (said Mr Pitt,) there are some gentlemen in the House who seem to consider it already certain, that the *ultimate* success to which I am looking is unattainable. They suppose us only contending for the restoration of the French Monarch, which they believe to be impracticable, and deny to be desirable to this country. We have been asked in the course of this debate, Do you think you can impose monarchy upon France against the will of the nation? I never thought it; I never hoped it; I *never wished it*. I have thought, *I have wished*, I have hoped that the time might come when the *effect of the arms of the allies might so far overpower the military force which keeps France in bondage, as to give vent and scope to the thoughts and actions of its inhabitants.*"† Such, in truth, was the object of the first coalition against France and French principles; just in its nature, and absolutely necessary to secure the repose and independence of Europe. "I have combated," said the Emperor of Austria, "for twenty years, those principles which have laid waste the world."‡ He certainly knew what he had been contending for; and could not, at this moment have been disguising what his former object was, when he was again sacrificing his daughter to establish and to accomplish the objects of his former efforts. It may be, or is true, that many, if not all of the Continental nations, relinquished, from necessity or self-interest, their object in their contests with France, subsequent to 1793; it may be, and perhaps is true, that even at crossing the Rhine, the allies were following a similar plan. But what

* Count Fontane's report, December 23d, 1813.

† Mr. Pitt's speech, House of Commons, February 3d, 1800.

‡ Answer to the address of the French Senate, Paris, April 19th, 1814.

does all this prove? Why, that after twenty years of misery and wo, they found, even at Chatillon, that they were completely wrong, and that they must overthrow the then reigning Government of France, for their own safety, and leave France at liberty to choose another. And did they not do this? Scarcely had they entered Paris when they openly proclaimed this as their object. "*The Sovereigns proclaim, in consequence, that they will no more treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, nor with any of his family.*"* If this was not putting down the Government of France, I do not know what can be called so. And farther, "they respect the integrity of ancient France, as it existed under its legitimate Kings: they may even do more. They will recognize and guarantee the constitution which France shall adopt."† It was the Emperor of Russia, also, who banished the head of the French government; it was he who commanded and allowed Bonaparte to choose a place for his retreat.‡ "The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe; the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy," &c.§ It can scarcely, therefore, be said, that it was not the allied Sovereigns who overthrew the Government of France—who compelled them to choose another, and who, in plain language, pointed out their wish who that other Sovereign should be. But had the French nation still supported Napoleon, what was the consequence? "We will no longer treat with him, nor with any of his family;" and if he is to be your Sovereign, either we, or he and you together, must fall. The principles of the first coalition could not be stronger than these. The former was to overthrow and to sweep away that Revolutionary Hydra which had overturned the throne of France, and to re-establish that throne, either under its legitimate owner, or in his place a more social government. In the latter the allies were compelled

* Emperor Alexander's letter to the French Senate, Paris, March 31st. 3 P. M. 1814.

† Do. do. do.

‡ Paris, April 6th, *Journal des debats.*

§ Act of Abdication, Fountainbleau, April, 1814. day when done omitted.

to adopt the same course; and had Europe acted the wise part she should have done, she would, as one man, have persevered, in 1793, till she had accomplished this purpose. The work would not have been so difficult as was imagined. It wanted only unanimity and perseverance to accomplish it. A very large portion of the population of France were then decidedly in favour of the Bourbons. A very large majority would have preferred their Government to any other; and the greatest fault which the allies committed was, that they did not decidedly and more openly league themselves with the brave inhabitants of La Vendee, instead of leaving the troops belonging to every garrison which they took, by the terms of capitulation, at liberty, the moment they surrendered, to turn their arms against these loyal people. Had the allies, at that moment, shewn the same unanimity and resolution which they at last found it absolutely necessary to adhere to, there can be little doubt, but that, with the formidable aid of the loyalists in La Vendee and other places, that they would have scattered that nest of demons, whose principles deluged France with blood; and who, when tired of that amongst themselves, turned their fury and their principles loose, under another name, to ruin and enslave Europe. Had a Schwartzenberg, a Blucher, or a Wellington then directed the operations of the allied armies, what misery and wo might France and the rest of Europe have been preserved from!

The merit, therefore, of overthrowing Bonaparte, and his horrid system of tyranny and ambition, and restoring the Bourbons, does not belong to those principles which for ever advocated the cause of the former; and branded the latter as the most arbitrary and worthless of mankind. It does not belong to that class of men who for ever described his power as invincible, and his enemies as madmen. Yet I know not if the exile of Elba, can altogether acquit them of lending, though unintentionally no doubt, a helping hand to his overthrow; and wandering on the shores of his little kingdom, reflecting upon what he was, what he *expected* to be, and what he is become; "*upon what the Muscovites were, what they expected to be, and*

what they are become;"* when contemplating from afar, the possessions which were once his, and the world which he commanded, but from which he is there cut off, he may frequently recollect with sorrow and with shame, the counsels which led him, or rather, which misled him in his dreadful career. Do but continue the war for another year, and Great Britain, already reduced to beggary, must fall on her knees and implore your mercy. His flatterers echoed those pleasing deceptions; he listened to them with rapture—he buoyed up France from year to year, with such fallacious hopes. We all recollect, the present generation cannot forget, who it was that gave him these sensible counsels, who it was that advised him to *scatter his forces* over the barbarous empire of the Czars,† as the only remaining obstacle, and one which he

* Moniteur, Oct. 18th, 1812, after the fall of Moscow.

† "Considering *how little* that power has shewn itself capable of effecting for the salvation of Europe, we acknowledge that *we should view with great composure any change* which might lay the foundation of future improvement, and *scatter the French forces* over the *dominion of the Czars,*" *Edin. Review*, No 28.

In Vol. XVI. page 254, &c. the same Review thus states its opinion of Russia, "But the proofs which later events have adduced of the *barbarism* of Russia, and its unfitness to support a great and useful part in affairs, were in truth not wanting to convince us on this point. We return him (Dr. Clarke) our thanks for the boldness with which he has spoken out on this subject—for daring to call things by their *right names*—for opposing the feelings, originating in gross ignorance, we believe, which prompt the people in this country still to hanker after Russian alliances—*for denouncing that nation as perfectly barbarous.* We have seen what the nobles are, and what the people. We may easily conjecture, then, what is to be expected from a court so constituted, sending forth such troops"—and then proceed to state, that even if Russia was governed by a foreigner, who was as "*active as Bonaparte,*" &c. still it would be impossible for such a Russian Monarch to sustain an *exalted character*, amongst such a people. "In a word, we shall in vain expect to meet with any such a *Monster* in politics as a European monarch of the eighteenth century, sustaining that character at the head of an empire, peopled by Calmucks, or, at best, by the villeins of the dark ages, and feudal lords." Bonaparte was exactly of the same opinion, "Doubtless (said the 25th Bulletin, Schoenbrun, Nov 25th, 1805,) it will be the last time that an European Government will call in such *fatal succours;* (Cossacks) were it possible they could again try the experiment, an insurrection of their own people must be the certain consequence. A hundred years hence, it will not be in the power of any Prince to introduce Russians into his states."—The Reviewer and Bonaparte, have both been grievously mistaken in their present calculations; what an hundred years may produce is un-

could easily surmount, to accomplish the subjugation of Great Britain. He took the hint, he mustered his army, he "proceeded to an *immense distance*, to hurl the Imperial thunder, wherever British or denationalized flags shall attempt to land"*—he marched to Russia—his forces were *scattered* widely over the empire of the Czars; he found those counsels, and those advisers, whose brilliant light was to guide him in triumph to the Wolga, and to the Thames, were the *ignis fatuus*, which led him from the right path—which lighted him to Elba. There, in sorrow and in anguish, and taught "*to call things by their right names*," or in other words, that his former wisdom was folly; power, oppression; and conduct, madness; does he gnash his teeth with rage, and curse in the bitterness of his heart, the *talents* of those malicious counsellors, whose advice urged him on to ruin.

To embarrass and distract the measures of their own government, and every state in alliance with them, these men gave those counsels, which the enemy eagerly followed, and which proved the means of his overthrow; and whether their endeavours, proceeding from the same motives, and by means of similar mischievous advices, shall succeed in procuring his recal, time must determine. But certainly, if abuse, suspicion, and animosity, against all the adherents of this country, poured out against them for no just cause at all; or rather for this reason, because they are not sufficiently lenient to the staunch adherents of French ambition; and if a desire to dictate to other nations, in things in which we have no concern; if these things can be of any service to him, by disuniting by jealousies that coalition, which beat him to the ground, and thereby inducing him and his numerous friends to make an attempt to retrieve his fortune, and establish French tyranny and usurpation, upon their former splendid throne; these *patriotic* counsellors, take every measure to bring round such an event. It is impossible to reflect without sorrow and without shame, upon the op-

certain; but without the spirit of prophecy, it may safely be inferred, that it will not produce another Bonaparte in Europe—nor more domineering critics in Scotland.

* Conservative Senate, March 20th, 1812.

probrious epithets, which Mr. Whitbread, and others of that school, are daily lavishing upon the sovereigns in alliance with this country, founded wholly upon the rumours of designing enemies, and in the face of official information. It would appear that the indignation of these people are only directed against friends. When Napoleon stood in all his glory—when crime after crime was openly and boastingly committed over Europe, did ever one expression of indignation, or censure, escape their lips. No—speak of him with reverence; him, the powerful, the useful, the wise and the good;* make peace with him by all means, and upon the best terms you can, for to oppose him is madness. Against those who are in alliance with their native land, however, a different course must be pursued. Against those to whom Europe owes so much, to whom she may yet owe more, every species of accusation and opprobrium is directed without measure; and certainly, if the demon of mischief should ever again issue from the island of Elba, as they have paved the way in some measure for it, so they would rejoice at his coming; and with their usual audacity, which reverses the reasoning powers and generous efforts of man, they would ascribe that event to the pernicious counsels of their opponents, which in reality only belonged to their own. When will Britain become so united and wise, as learn to respect a sincere friend, more than the bitterest, most inveterate, most unjust, and odious of all enemies. When will that spirit of

* "He must say, however unfashionable such an opinion might be, that he thought no sovereign in Europe better deserved his throne than he (Bonaparte) did. *(Hear!* and *murmurs)* He would say, that no man in ancient or in modern times, who came to a throne by a revolution, deserves his throne better. No conqueror, he would say, better deserved the power he had gained, and he believed no conqueror had to answer for fewer acts of enormity, in proportion to the extent of his conquests *(hear!)*. He had certainly been the greatest conqueror that had ever appeared; and therefore, from the superior extent of his conquests, he might have committed more of those outrages that are attached to the very idea of conquest; but he had exercised less *vengeance on private individuals*, than any other of the great conquerors we have read of."!! *Mr. Hutchison's Speech, House of Commons, July* 21*st*, 1812. The member for Cork, mistook the place where this speech should have been delivered. It would have suited the Legislative Body, or the Conservative Senate at Paris; but it was disgraceful to a British House of Commons.

party be banished from among her children, which for the sake of turning out a minister, or "*three white sticks*," would pursue or aid measures calculated to wind the chains of Gallic despotism round our necks, and place the feet of Europe in the fetters forged by French tyranny. It is most lamentable and unaccountable, how this spirit is raised, and gloried in. It can proceed from no good motive. Weakness or wickedness gives it birth. How often has it directed our attention to behold with reverence, and to follow with satisfaction, the consummate wisdom of our profligate foe? How often has it called our attention to admire the *justice, humanity, and address* of France, to whose aspiring power and genius, all Europe was recommended to bend, and informed that it was impossible to resist? But where is the virtue in the French nation, since 1789, that deserves our imitation, or the conduct that can claim our regard? Will they name it, or shew us in what it consists. Where is the morality they have cultivated, the religion they have cherished, the law they have respected, or the good they have done. On what barren spot have they raised cultivation, on what field where one blade of grass formerly grew, has two been produced by their industry or encouragement thereto? Where is the city which they built amidst the desart—the social abode of man, that has been raised by them in the barren wild. Let their admirers lay the map of Europe before them, and point out the spot where one iota of this has been done? On the contrary, let them mark out on what spot French tyranny, injustice and baseness, has not left the most lamentable marks of their presence; and from the Rhine to the Wolga, where is the honest individual whom they could bring forward, who does not in agony and indignation curse the Gallic name? But it is not the loss of their property in many instances, which is most to be regretted. Industry may gain more. But the morals of a nation once destroyed, the minds of millions once corrupted, and their inward peace destroyed, these no industry can re-purchase, no wealth can restore. It is the damnable principles of irreligion, immorality and vice, in every thing that concerns social, civil, or religious life, which Frenchmen have introduced into every country in

Europe, that is the most grievous loss to the inhabitants, and to the world. These, if they had not been checked, and if they are not yet narrowly watched, will make mankind in many places as bad as themselves; and it was really most lamentable, to hear how the most abandoned, immoral and unjust actions of the French government, were in this country held up as fit objects of admiration and imitation, from the skill with which these were executed. Merit and justice were coupled with, and ascribed to success, though it proceeded from principles totally opposite. The conduct of Frenchmen was not so extraordinary, in committing the mad actions which they did, as the conduct of those men was, particularly those in this country, who strenuously admired and applauded their proceedings, and advocated their cause. Their vain and imaginary attempts for liberty, shewed that they neither understood it, were fit for it, nor could enjoy it; and after unparalleled horrors, all their efforts ended in a military despotism, the most severe which ever scourged a nation, or tortured the earth. If these things had been confined to themselves, there would have been the less matter; but, unfortunately, their delirious and unprincipled ideas spread their baneful influence into every land, and distracted and desolated the world. It is impossible to reflect upon what the conduct of France has been, and not with regard to our common nature, to feel sorrow and shame; and as members of independent nations, in whose minds, morality and justice still hold a place, not to remember the whole with an indignation which no terms of language can express. Wherever they came, every thing that was good and virtuous fled before them. Wherever their hordes approached, honour and honesty; peace, industry, comfort and prosperity, left the earth. Misery, crimes, beggary and depravity, accompanied the Gallic eagles; and the darts of unutterable anguish were planted, not only without pity, but with exultation in the bosoms of millions. Throughout Europe, every town, every spot, exhibited the most melancholy marks of mourning and misery. Families were deprived of their parents, and left destitute and forlorn; and many females, nay, even mothers, once in affluent circumstances, and of unblemished reputation, were to be

found wandering about, without a home, and seeking by the wages of prostitution, to obtain the money to purchase that scanty meal, which was for the moment to preserve themselves and their offspring from perishing for want. Oh Britain! happy Britain! can there be one within thy borders so abandoned—one mind within thy territories so contaminated, as to advocate, praise, and admire the Despot, or the nation, whose conduct occasioned horrors and sorrows like these. If there are, banish them from thy bosom; or, in the hour of thy adversity, they will sting thee to the heart. In France herself, during the early stages of the revolution, horrors were perpetrated, which no language can describe. Their deeds, amongst themselves, stand unequalled in the annals of atrocity; and their conduct to their neighbours will be handed down from sire to son, with the deepest sensations of indignation. Like the destruction of their armies in Russia, it can never be forgotten—it can never be effaced.

The ambition of Bonaparte, joined with the desire of universal dominion, so prevalent in the minds of Frenchmen, were the causes of the ruin of both. To accomplish this, they sacrificed, without the smallest scruple, every principle of honour and justice; and when the terrible sword of vengeance hung over their heads, suspended by a single hair, they still clung to that gay delusion. They cooped up 100,000 men in garrisons over Germany and Poland—they placed 100,000 more to maintain their conquests in Italy, even when Paris was threatened to be laid in ashes—in Holland, the Netherlands, along the Rhine, and in Spain, at least 100,000 more, were placed in a similar state. Had he withdrawn all these at early periods, when he had it in his power, he would have had a more formidable force on the Elbe than what he had—he would, with equal losses in Germany, have had 300,000 veteran troops more to defend France, behind the "*iron barriers*" of the Rhine and of the Alps. But France still fondly hoped to retrieve her disasters, and to advance again into, and to domineer over all these places. Bonaparte cherished the idea, as in its success alone consisted his safety. For, had he withdrawn the garrisons and armies from all these places, a more than equal number of

troops would have been brought against him; and compelled to fight on the territory of old France, now invaded in every direction, that country seeing herself every where stripped of all her conquests, purchased with so much blood, treasure, and honour, she would have ceased to look upon him, either with respect or fear, and soon turned her vengeance against him. His arbitrary and lawless conduct, was daily stripping him of his popularity, and gaining the Bourbons friends; though the blaze of foreign conquest and mighty victories, took up the attention of the nation, and diverted them for the moment; but that once fled, every stay of Bonaparte's power was gone. This he was well aware of, and was therefore obliged to persevere. Conquest alone could save him, that was the wish of all the army, and of a large portion of the French nation. It was from this spirit, arose, and on which I am afraid, yet hangs, the danger to Europe, under whatever *Sovereign* France may be placed. By continuing the war, Bonaparte had a chance, though a small one, of retrieving his affairs; by concluding a humiliating peace, he had nothing but certain destruction. Hence his mad conduct at Chatillon. His ambition, and the wild passions of France, had elevated him, to a station and situation in life, where he had no choice, but either to be all or nothing. France under his sway, bound down to a humiliating peace, as was the determination of the allies to do, and compelled to refund the immense contributions levied by her Ruler, in other countries, would never have submitted to such conditions on his account. To get rid of these galling conditions, she dethroned her Emperor, and would dethrone fifty, one after the other, to escape the same punishment, or to try to retrieve such disgrace.

But wild, destructive, and absurd as were the daring schemes of Bonaparte, we are not to suppose that these were the creatures of his own imagination only. This was by no means the case. A large and very great majority of all ranks and classes of men in France, were as eager to follow him in all his ambitious and destructive projects as he was to command them. Nurtured in the school of crime, thousands, and hundreds of thousands in France, were fit for no other occupation. The destruction of their species, in any shape, was to them mere diversion; and

human misery never cost their bosoms a pang, nor their eyes a tear. Their horrible conduct, over Europe, will leave to the latest times an eternal stain upon their national character, and which all the glitter of French triumphs will not cover, nor the current of the Rhone wash away. How dead to every feeling of humanity these myriads must have been, which have so long scourged Europe, we may gather from their conduct to their own comrades who fell in battle, or were rendered useless by sickness and disease. All these, but particularly the former, were abandoned on the field of battle where they fell; there left to perish for want, and to be torn to pieces by the birds of prey, before even the vital spark was extinguished. We have not only the authority of Mons. Labaume, to say that this was the case with all that fell at Borodino, but we have much higher and more solemn authority to say, that this was the conduct of their mighty Emperor in general. This conduct is one, and amongst the first charges, that the Provisional Government brings against him; and for which, they declare him to have forfeited his right to the crown of France. Their words are, "*By the abandonment of the wounded, without dressing, without assistance, and without subsistence.*"* It is impossible that any Frenchman, and still less the government of France, would make such a charge, unless it was true; and what a picture does it afford of him, his officers, and his followers. Where, I will ask, is the army, or the officer who would support such a system as this, unless they were as bad as the chief whom they obeyed; and can we wonder at the tragic scenes which have taken place in Europe, from destroyers like these? There was a time when the French soldier and his officer dared to disobey the commands of their diabolical government, which directed them to give no quarter to a British or a Hanoverian soldier. A few years, however, in the revolutionary school, soon made them despise such compunctious feelings of nature; and made them ready to obey, whatever the most bloody of their leaders directed them. And with every nation against whom they durst, they exercised the most wanton and savage cruelty. Such, in

* Address of the Provisional Government, April, 1814.

particular, was their conduct in Spain and Portugal. The unhappy Spaniards, who would not acknowledge Joseph, were butchered without mercy; and the families of all who opposed him, exterminated. This was the case with the family of D. Juan Martin, better known under the name of the Empecinado; who from that moment covering his body with pitch, in imitation of the sackcloth and ashes of the ancients, and, drawing his sword in anguish, he vowed he would never sheath it while a Frenchman remained alive in Spain. Against him for his indefatigable exertions, though still conducted consonant to the laws of war and humanity, the French had a most deadly animosity. Eight of his most faithful followers, on one occasion, were found *nailed* to trees amongst the Guadarrama mountains. The Empecinado caused an equal number of Frenchmen to be put in their place, which checked this barbarous conduct. Soult, also, placed an eternal blot on his memory, by his conduct. In May, 1810, he issued a decree in Andalusia, stating, that as there was no other army in Spain, but that under the sway of Joseph, that, therefore, all other military persons, of every description, in the provinces, should be considered as robbers and murderers; and all taken with arms in their hands should be instantly shot, and their bodies exposed along the high ways. In consequence of this, the little town of La Motta del Cuervo was entered by a party of 90 horse and 400 infantry, who, dispersing the Guerilla party of D. Francisco Sanches, pillaged and destroyed the place; and even the very church, to which the females had fled for security, was broken open, and made a scene of obscenity and death too horrible to describe. In consequence of this barbarous decree having been acted upon, the Regency decreed, that every Spaniard in these times was a soldier, and that for every one murdered under this decree made by Soult, three Frenchmen should be hanged; three for every house which the enemy should wantonly destroy; and three for every Spaniard that should be burnt in them. Soult himself, was declared to have placed himself, by his decree, without the protection of the law of nations; and if taken under this retaliatory decree, was to be treated as a robber. These measures served to check the public perpetration of such

crimes; but still sufficient remained to harrow up the feelings of the soul, and to make Europe, for ages, remember the name of French revolutionists with horror and indignation.

When the danger began to menace his throne, Bonaparte had recourse to one of those Machiavelian plans which tended to sow dissensions amongst his adversaries. He released Ferdinand and sent him back to his kingdom, after having, on the 11th December, concluded a treaty of peace with him, by which he guaranteed to him the Spanish throne and the Spanish territories, as they were before the war. What deep humiliation and disgrace—what a confession of baseness and iniquity does this act, compulsory as it was, convey? France agreed to relinquish the Spanish fortresses she then held, providing Britain was made to renounce those in her possession. From the subsequent distracted conduct of the weak Ferdinand, it was obvious what the intentions of Bonaparte were, and that he was well acquainted with the fool he had to deal with. This device came too late. The Cortes hesitated to receive Ferdinand, for some time; and before his French counsels could do any harm, the deviser of them was hurled from his throne, and banished to Elba; while, at no distant day, his worthy scholar, Ferdinand, may, perhaps, be sent to a worse place. The base reward which that stupid sovereign has ordered to those who so manfully defended his cause, and whose exertions, at last, alone set him at liberty, but heightens the admiration of the world at their conduct; shews more clearly the difficulties which they had to encounter, and can neither altar nor take away the merit of their conduct, nor that of those who assisted them, in combating this torrent of French iniquity, though they have done it all for an ungrateful master.

It could hardly have been supposed that there would, at the conclusion of this dreadful drama, exist an individual in Europe, much less in Great Britain, who could either be so weak so blind, or so wicked, as not to rejoice, with all his heart, at the glorious termination of this contest. Yet, to the shame of human nature, and to the disgrace of my country, there are such in it. The Baronet again steps forward to public view, having hid his head during that blaze of glory which reared

the standard of renovated Europe, under her legitimate sovereigns, and for effecting this, brands his country and her allies as the oppressors of mankind. He calls upon his constituents and followers to arise and oppose *all* the measures of the present government of the country, "*before the nation is plunged into fresh wars against human liberty, and before the system of dragooning, introduced during the last, is irremoveably established.*"* I defy the annals of revolutionary France to produce one thing so desperately false, so deliberately wicked, or more dangerous in its intentions. If we see a pestilence we fly from it—we take measures to guard against it, and, in time, seek for medicine and skill to extirpate the baneful disorder: and has the awful experience of the last 24 years not shown us that there are opinions and doctrines, which, spreading among mankind, are more fatal to them than fevers, more destructive to our species than pestilence itself. I defy any one to say that the above passage does not stand at the head of such a dangerous list. Do not let us say, treat it with contempt; its malignity and ignorance will counteract the poison it contains; and that there can be no man of common judgment but will view its author with scorn and contempt. No doubt such will: but it is not to these it is addressed: and if the brainless visions of Joanna Southcott gained her numerous followers, will the Baronet get none, in a place where 10,000 outcasts have not where to lay their heads but by mischief? and where many more would join any one who would shew them a plan of plunder by which they could achieve wealth? It was by such doctrines and such assertions, addressed to the mob of France, by both fools and knaves, that the demons of St. Antoine, and the poissardes of Paris, made the legislature of France tremble, dictated the bloody proceedings of that disgraceful period, and cemented with blood, the broad foundation of that gigantic fabric which poured destruction forth upon Europe. Let the invitation be followed out, and we should see the mob of Westminster, or the refuse of Billingsgate, dictating to the British Legislature. If the Baronet

* Sir Francis Burdett's letter, Malmsbury Manor, December 28th, 1814.

"Is ravish'd with the whistling of a name,
to be
Like Cromwell, damn'd to everlasing fame;"

that is no reason why the safety, the property, and the repose of others are to be endangered by his doctrines or his principles. The Baronet may talk about the *cat o' nine tails*, which, at every stroke, draws blood from the backs of our soldiers.* It draws it only from the backs of the guilty; but his doctrines if followed out, his requests, if acted upon, would draw tears of blood from the eyes of innocent millions: and the conduct of the Baronet at this moment, is a living witness, that, notwithstanding the conclusion is seen of the most dreadful scene of human misery which ever occurred amongst mankind, still there are individuals who have learned neither wisdom nor common reflection from it; and that there are amongst mankind individuals whom it is possible and necessary to *correct*, but altogether impossible to *convince*.

The belief of invincibility, arising from her great and condensed population, induced France, till the last moment, to treat all the liberal offers of the allies with scorn, and to conceive that these originated from a consciousness, on their side, of her unconquerable strength. This had been promulgated so often, listened to with such attention, and spread abroad with such address and avidity, that France was not the only nation who was led astray by this belief. Undoubtedly, France is strong and powerful. The united efforts of any one of the other strong powers in Europe, or even of two, or perhaps of three of them, would be insufficient to subjugate her, though they might vanquish her; but to suppose that all Europe, while animated with the spirit that she was, while she was united heart and hand for one object, the liberty and safety of each nation, and of every individual, could not vanquish France, is as wild an idea as ever entered the mind of French ambition or French vanity. The streams of indignation, which had their sources, on one quarter, from the limits of Siberia; on another, from the Thames and the Shannon; on a third, from the pillars of Hercules; and on a fourth, from the summits of Vesuvius, increasing in

* Burdett's letter, December 28th, 1814.

majesty and grandeur as they rolled along to the banks of the Seine, would, while armed in a just cause, have swept France from border to border, and have overcome all resistance. France may, and no doubt does, think differently; but let her beware how she cherishes an idea which may, one day, induce her to pursue a course, which, however unfortunate it may be to Europe, in depriving her, once more, of every thing but despair and vengeance, would also, most assuredly, call down on the devoted head of France, the indignation of heaven and earth; and when the recal of her legitimate sovereign would not save her.

Let France also remember, that there is a power, superior to human might, who watches over and controls not only the affairs of man, but of the universe—a Power which can neither be vanquished, nor deceived, nor err; whose smile can communicate strength to the weak, as his frown can take it away from the strong; and who can, in a moment, "arm the creation to take vengeance on his enemies." Too long had France defied—too long had she forgotten the Supreme ruler of the universe: and, when her strength was blasted by his breath, and when she was punished by his Almighty arm, in a manner no nation ever before her was, she still refused to see the quarter from whence her discomfiture came. The weapons of His indignation were, therefore, called forth from every land, and "many Kings were raised up from the coasts of the earth;" and while He put it into their hearts to fulfil His will—while He guided their councils, and strengthened their arms to punish His and their enemies, He also moved their bosoms by His Spirit to direct them in their noble and generous conduct, to put to shame and silence—to clothe with deeper humiliation the nation of France, in the eyes of all Europe, by the mercy and forgiveness which was shewn unto them, by hands from which they deserved none, and by the allies following a line of conduct, under every provocation, so totally different from the conduct of France, even where she had no just cause of quarrel against them, and had received no provocation from them at all.

Succeeding ages will hardly credit, that there could exist at this moment, another individual in Britain, besides the one al-

ready mentioned, who did not feel pride at the honour which his country has obtained, or who was not convinced of the security which she has acquired by her exertions and perseverance. Yet, such there are, who feeling, if they *can* feel the contrary, yet have the audacity to step forward and tell us, that we have accomplished nothing. Those cold calculating politicians, the business of whose lives was to find fault with the rulers of their country—to abuse and ridicule every one in alliance with her, and to praise every act and deed of their country's foe, however wanton, wicked, or unjust, as the skilful deed of a prudent and foreseeing government—those men whose bosoms never felt a glow of patriotic ardour when Nelson conquered at Trafalgar, nor felt satisfied when the councils and arms of their country were victorious and successful—those men now come forward and tell us, that all our exertions have not only been of no use, but that these have in reality tended but to plunge mankind into the state of darkness and oppression, from which the brilliant light, and glorious days of liberty and equality had set them free. These men tell us, that all our exertions and resources have been misapplied; and that they have only succeeded in restoring the inquisition in the south of Europe; and of putting down one system of aggrandisement and oppression in the centre thereof, in order to raise up another more odious and extensive in another quarter. By such miserable declamations do they attempt to drown that general voice of exultation, so justly called forth by our great exertions; and turn aside the feelings of men from the glorious deeds so lately achieved in Europe. But granting that what they advance were true, what does that make in their favour? Can the restoration of the inquisition in Spain, or the impolitic, nay, call them odious measures, pursued by the blind, bigotted, staunch Catholic government of Ferdinand, alter or lessen the glory which Spain has acquired, in resisting as she did, the infamous, atrocious, dastardly and wicked invasion and usurpation of France in that country? Can any aggrandizing pursuits of Russia, under Alexander, even if she entertained such views, tarnish or do away the firm, manly and patriotic stand, which her government and people made against

the most formidable and lawless power which ever scourged mankind; and the success of whose noble exertions, covered with shame the tyrant and his admirers, and destroyed for ever all the gloomy prophecies, wishes, sneers and hopes of those men who now unreasonably asperse them? No, certainly; the folly of Ferdinand can no more lessen the guilt of Bonaparte, than the previous or future conduct of Alexander, or that of any other sovereign in Europe, can tarnish the glory and the fame they have acquired in the late contest. There, the conduct of every one stands alone, and must be judged accordingly. It is in man to err; but the question here is, were they right in this instance. None can say they were not. No future conduct of theirs can alter the justness of their cause in this instance; nor the glory of their efforts in the contest which placed Europe in arms upon the heights of Montmartre. With the internal government of Spain we have nothing to do, so long as the measures there pursued, have no tendency to injure us or our allies; and, none cried out more bitterly, than those men who upbraid us for suffering these things to be done in Spain, when we attempted to check the internal measures of a government, whose deeds were more dreadful than the inquisition; and whose avowed object was our destruction, and the overthrow of social order.

Equally extraordinary is the feelings now called forth amongst the class of men already alluded to, with regard to the old governments and constitutions of several nations in Europe, now very likely to undergo a change.—How odious and unjust in the allies! How clever and beneficial in Bonaparte.* It is really ludicrous to hear these men, in conjunction with their French friends, advocating the cause, and weeping over the impending fate of the old governments of some countries in

* "It would be as chimerical to expect a mutiny amongst the vassal states of France, who are the most impatient of his yoke, as amongst the *inhabitants of Bourdeaux*, or the conscripts of 1808 and 1809. The changes effected by the French invasion, have been *favourable to the individual happiness of the inhabitants of Germany.*" *Edin. Review*, No. 28. Good comes out of evil, in defiance of the wrath of men; but no thanks to French actions or intentions for what wisdom Germany, or any other country, has learned.

Europe; they, who for 20 years have been telling us how happy these people were to be delivered from their old governments, and how little their people cared for them; now tell us how odious and unjust it is, not to restore what the people formerly had such a deadly hatred against, and compared to which, French tyranny was mercy. But it suits French interests, now to preserve these, as it did formerly to cut them down; therefore, by all means preserve them, least France should be prevented at some future day from doing mischief. Such is the cry raised in favour of Denmark, Saxony, part of Italy, and Genoa. Of the two first of these, we have already considered, how much kindness they merit from Europe; and a short retrospect will tend to enable us to appreciate the merits of the others. And what claim has Genoa upon the allied Sovereigns of Europe? Genoa! whose profligate government cost the French Republic, in 1793, above 54,000,000 francs in bribes; (St. Just's Report, 1794,) Genoa! who was amongst the very first to receive the military banditti of France as friends and deliverers, and in conjunction with them, overthrew the constitution of their country, and reduced it to a province of France; Genoa! who, to the last moment, remained faithful to French interests, and to the tyrant's cause, even after his fall; Genoa! who, when she beheld every country, not covered with immense French armies, rising against them, still clung to their cause, and endeavoured to assist them in withstanding the efforts of Europe in arms. The same may be said of all the Northern parts of Italy; under Napoleon they were quiet and gentle, they tried with him, to conquer and divide Europe; and why should not Europe, to prevent a recurrence of such evils, without enslaving, conquer and divide them. So too is the cry about Belgium, encouraged by French intrigue. All the discontented of every state; those men who gained their fortunes in the revolutionary school, now tremble when they recollect the means by which they gained these; and, therefore, cry loudly out how happy they were under the government of France, and how eager they are to return to it again. In every country, France has numerous adherents of this description, and of this description alone; who rail at the acts of all other governments, but whom no government should

regard. Europe in arms, has put them down—they merited it; and must be made to submit to such regulations as will ensure the future repose and safety of Europe. These men may cry out injustice—let them do so. It is not their wishes and ideas that Europe is to consult, but the wishes and repose of mankind. It is certainly not a little strange, to hear France, and the enemies of the allied Sovereigns, in the mighty contest, proclaiming so loudly, the crying injustice of the continental Sovereigns, for seeking, from their determined enemies, a compensation for the damages and dreadful losses, which they have sustained; France too, the cause of all the misery and mischief; France, who has come out of the contest, which her ambition alone created, stronger than before the Revolution, augmented by the incorporation with her territories of 700,000 people from Belgium. Disinterested advocates, no doubt, against the system of aggrandizement, which they hold up to the scorn and the indignation of the world!

If there is one thing more than another to be regretted in the conclusion of the late dreadful struggle, it is the easy manner in which those, whose ambition and wickedness caused it, and their firm friends and supporters, escaped from the hand of justice. It was absolutely necessary to make an example of some of them, in order to deter others from following the same course. For this purpose, the most guilty should have been selected, and except France herself, Genoa, Saxony and Denmark, are certainly entitled to that rank! They may complain at the consequences of their own folly—let them. It is fit they should do so. The path of glory and honour, was traced before them in a conspicuous and remarkable manner. They chose with their eyes open, that which led to a different result. In it let them remain a warning to future ages, as they brood over the consequences of their own perverse disposition and unworthy conduct.

It has been asserted, with an assiduity that should have been attended with truth, that the allied powers have violated every promise which they made to Europe. What secret promises they may have made, I know not; but I will venture to assert, without the fear of contradiction, that with regard to

their public promises, they have not violated one of them: and that if they are blameable in any thing that concerns these, it is for their having, in several instances, adhered too strictly to the letter of them, when they had no occasion to do so. But let facts speak for themselves. The first proclamation issued by Kutusoff, in the name of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia,* expressly declared that they would assist Germany to recover her independence with all their might; but that they would not allow the "*wicked*" any longer to triumph or escape with impunity. The Rhenish Confederation, that badge of German slavery "*must be dissolved;*" and was it not just that it should be so? To those who resisted them in their praise-worthy career, they promised no forgiveness, but openly and fearlessly declared, that those unworthy Germans who took up arms against the armies who came to deliver them from French influence, should, "in the most distant provinces of the Russian Empire, bewail their ever having drawn their swords against the liberties of their country."† Every subsequent proclamation and promise, held out forgiveness to those who forsook the cause of tyranny; and punishment to those who did not. There is not one that they have violated—none, but as far as is yet known, they have fulfilled. The famous declaration from Frankfort, has been attempted to be twisted into a connexion with German affairs, as a pledge, that these were to be restored to their former state. The declaration speaks a different language. The allies pledge themselves, never to lay down their arms, till "*by a wise partition of strength, the political state of Europe is re-established anew.*" But that document, applied particularly to France, and in what manner is it violated? It is on the contrary, fulfilled to the very letter of it, with a punctuality and scrupulousness, which the rupture of the negociations at Chatillon left them no reason to adhere to, and which they may yet have cause to repent.‡ That the allies should restore Europe to the same state in which she stood before the French revolution, is monstrous and absurd. It were

* See page 311. † Wittgenstein, see page 310.

‡ See Proclamation, page 509.

only to leave room for the exertion of that influence, not yet laid to sleep, which overturned to its foundations, the moral and political fabric of Europe. What is not the least extraordinary feature of these extraordinary times is, that those men call out for the adoption of a different line of conduct than the allies very properly wish to pursue; who are continually, and in conjunction with France herself, telling us how strong she is again become, and how little she has suffered by the late conflict. This of all others, is the strongest reason for being on their guard against her designs, and for preventing, if possible, her influence, and her power from obtaining a footing in any nation in Europe. When experience, not promises, has taught mankind, that France has relinquished her favourite plan of foreign conquest and universal dominion, then, and not till then, may Alexander see Poland, erected into an independent kingdom; but none can suppose Russia so blind and so stupid as to do that, which would lay the road to Moscow open to French ambition, and pave the way for French ascendency over Europe—such a proceeding at this moment would be dangerous to Russia, and to Europe, and would be attended with no benefit to Poland herself; who has for many years been the blind instrument of unprincipled tyranny, for rivetting his galling chains on her own neck and the neck of Europe. When Poland was deprived of her independence, she was like every other nation in her rank, which has been so, incapable of enjoying or maintaining it; and there is little doubt but her population must become different to what it has long been, and yet is, before any change can be advantageous to her, or useful to Europe. France will, no doubt, eagerly proclaim how dangerous the increased power of Russia is, to the safety of Europe. She will do this, in order to create jealousy and divisions amongst the European powers; in order, that she may recover, amidst these divisions, that fatal ascendency which she has fortunately lost, and which, while Europe remains united, she never can regain. But let Europe beware how she attends to such counsels. Russia may protect; but will not injure Europe. France has the power and the will to do the latter; but no inclination to do the former. So long as the Sound and the Dardanelles can be sealed

up by a British fleet; so long will the power of Russia, however great, cease to become either the scourge or the terror of Europe. With France, however, it is very different. Her influence is of a more pernicious and dangerous kind, and one which cannot be so easily checked.

Before concluding this subject, it may not be uninteresting to pause for a moment, and consider the character of the great military leaders, whose skill and whose courage has conducted the armies of Europe to such glorious results. Wittgenstein, Platoff, Bagrathion, Beningsen, Winzengerode, Tormasoff, and Langeron, on the part of Russia; Blucher, Kliest, and Bulow, on the part of Prussia; Colleredo, Klenau, Lichtenstein, and others, on the part of Austria; Wrede, from Bavaria; Graham, Hill, Picton, Cotton, Cole, Leith, &c. &c. from Great Britain, are names which cannot be forgotten. Above all these, however, stands the names of Wellington, Kutusoff, and Schwartzenberg. Each, stands alone, in the station in which he was placed, supported by the intrinsic merits of their own transcendent abilities, untaught by any one, or unborrowed from any other. No General had ever such formidable means to contend with, and under such discouraging circumstances, as the British General. The nature of the country, where the contest was carried on, rendered it impossible for the enemy to concentrate all his force against his prudent opponent; but, on the other hand, that formidable force poured forth fresh re-enforcements without ceasing, which, like the Hydra's heads, seemed to encrease from defeat. The wisdom of Wellington, and his firmness, opposed with success, and, finally, vanquished his foes. To him the glory is, undisputably due, of having taught Europe how to overcome French power. Kutusoff, however, stood in a still more prominent situation. With forces and resources under his command, superior to those under the British General, yet still proportionately inferior to his enemy, he had, in an open country, to contend against the collected strength of his gigantic foe, flushed with victory, unacquainted with disaster, and confident of success. Kutusoff met him unappalled. His courage and his skill swept from the face of the earth, those hosts which had made Europe

tremble. His conduct, after the battle of Borodino, was a masterpiece of military tactics. It struck his opponent with consternation; and shewed the world, in this instance, as well as the other events of that memorable campaign, that the brave Russian was a champion worthy to be employed to break the arm of the giant. But the severity of the season shared, with him, the glory of the enemy's overthrow. Schwartzenberg, however, had no such auxiliaries. The whole united strength of the enemy, mad from discomfiture, and furious from his perilous situation, in equal numbers, in an equal climate, and commanding more favourable positions, were brought against him. He contended against armies of greater magnitude than Europe had ever seen—against skill that was still supposed inconquerable. He planned and directed operations of greater importance, and upon a more extended scale, than had ever before been attempted on the fields of war. He, in a few words, conducted half the continent of Europe to independence and glory, at Leipsic—he, without a single error, led "Europe in arms," to the heights of Montmartre; and, on the walls of Paris, reared the standard of renovated Europe. Though seconded by talents of the first order—though each of the others might have done what he did, still, without detracting from the merits and abilities of any of those heroes, to whom Europe owes so much, he, as the commander-in-chief in these mighty and greatly successful operations, is entitled to rank at the head of the greatest Generals of the age. In the animated language of Lord Burghersh, "In this concluding scene of the most memorable æra which history records, it is impossible, my Lord, I should resist a feeling of public duty, prompted also by a sense of gratitude and affection, in calling your attention to the able and distinguished manner in which Prince Schwartzenberg has conducted the operations of this campaign. Exclusively of the talent which he has marked, when in the field of battle, *to the successes which have ever attended his career*, the world will still look with almost increased admiration to the conduct he has pursued since his entry into Paris. Where conciliation, where every kind feeling of the heart was required, to change a system of carnage and desolation to the protection of a people, but

of late a most bitter enemy, the character of Prince Schwartzenberg secured to him success. From his great and exalted situation, from the virtues which adorn his character, the Emperor of Russia has been best able to appreciate the merits of Prince Schwartzenberg. In token of the esteem he bears him, and in estimation of his great services, he has decorated him with the grand order of St. Andrew, and has presented it in diamonds."*

Agreeable to an Article in the Treaty of Paris, a Congress, consisting of Ministers from all the powers of Europe, in presence of its principle sovereigns, assembled at Vienna. On the part of Great Britain, Lord Castlereagh was again selected to manage this important business. This assembly commenced its sittings on the 1st Nov. 1814, and when the present sheets were put to the press, the final results of its deliberations were not known. All that has yet transpired of its proceedings, in an authentic shape is, that the dominions of Austria are to extend to the Po, in Italy; and that Venice, and the Illyrian states are united to her territories; while she renounces all claim to the Netherlands, which important country is united to Holland, both governed by one sovereign, under the title of sovereign of the Netherlands. Genoa is united to Piedmont, under the dominion of the King of Sardinia. The Duchy of Warsaw continues an independent state; but under what authority, is not ascertained. Prussia cedes some part of her Polish territories to that Duchy, and receives a large indemnification, as also augmentation of territory, by the Provinces on the West Bank of the Rhine, and the greater part of the kingdom of Saxony. Nothing is known, with certainty, of the proceedings, relative to the other German States; except that Hamburgh, and the other Hanse Towns, remain free and independent, and that Hanover is to be erected into a Kingdom.†

* Burghersh's dispatch, Paris, April 7th, 1814.

† Should the deliberations of this august assembly close, and be laid before the Public, before the remainder of this work is published, these will be added in an Appendix; wherein will also be given the Treaty of Paris, which will shew the conquests which Great Britain has retained or restored.

I shall now draw to a conclusion with this subject, by bringing into a short compass the total loss of the French armies for 1812, 1813, and 1814.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF FRENCH LOSSES,

FOR 1812, 1813, AND 1814.

		Desertions.	*Dead or Wound.*	*Prison.*
Russia, ...	1812.		333,500	221,000
Spain,.....	do.	7,000	84,000	33,000
Germany and Italy,....	1813.	73,000	266,986	248,114
Spain,.....	do.	2,000	70,000	18,000
France and Italy,.....	1814.	*11,600	115,316	116,742
South of do.....	do.	16,000	15,432	6,000
Sickness in the field or in garrisons,.....			65,000	
		109,600	950,284	645,856
Making a Grand Total, of			1,750,690	

In looking over the above abstract, the reader will, no doubt, be astonished at the amazing numbers, and be ready to conceive the whole as a fiction. But when he traces the whole with the same patience and attention which I have done, he will be satisfied that I have not stated any thing without good grounds for so doing. Fortunately I have not one authority only, but *many*, and those too of the very highest rank, who were, and must have been well acquainted with every particular to refer to, in order to confirm what I here advance. Speaking to the French *regular* army and *of* the French regular army *alone*, the Provisional Government of France state, in pointed terms, " you were lately a *million* of men—*nearly all have perished.*"† In their public declaration, after the nego-

* I have not included the Neapolitan troops, as I did not include them in the force at first.

† Paris, April 2d, 1814.

tiations at Chatillon, the allied sovereigns, at the head of "Europe in arms," spoke in more pointed terms. Alluding to the commencement of the campaign of 1814, the "army (said they) assembled under the walls of Paris, was the *remainder of a million of warriors*, who, either fallen on the field of battle, or *left on the way* from Lisbon to Moscow, have been sacrificed."* To these I have to add the following, first, the Marquis de Chabanes in his address to the people of France, alluding to the campaigns of 1812 and 1813, said, "Four hundred thousand Frenchmen are prisoners—five hundred thousand of *your sons are killed*, or perished for want, between the Berezina and the Rhine," Secondly, the Crown Prince, who says, "Bonaparte, in *two* campaigns, witnessed the death of 600,000 of his followers."† And, 3dly, that most accurate of all calculators, Blucher, in his address to the inhabitants of Nancy, states, "*in two campaigns, upwards of six hundred thousand Frenchmen have disappeared from the face of the earth.*"‡ I conceive it unnecessary to quote any further authority, and which must all be inferior to these. On examining the above tables, formed from the journals which I have kept, the reader will find, that, to the end of 1813, the numbers of the dead and wounded were 758,486, the prisoners 516,114, and the defections 82,000, exclusive of the Austrians remaining at the end of the Russian campaign. This exceeds Blucher's estimation of the killed and wounded (even if he included Spain) by 158,000 men. But the reader must bear in mind, that in the above numbers is included not only the loss of France, but also that of the Swiss, Italians, Illyrians, Austrians in 1812, the whole Confederation of the Rhine, Holland, and the country along the shores of the German ocean from it to the Elbe, Prussia, the Duchy of Warsaw and Poland, all engaged on the side of France in 1812, and again in 1813, with the exception of Prussia and Austria, whose place was, however supplied by Denmark. The force which these powers supplied for the campaign of 1812, exceeded 350,000 men, scarcely one of whom returned from

* Official declaration.

† November 30th, 1813.

‡ January 20th, 1814.

Russia; and their numbers were again replaced in 1813, with the exception of part of Poland, and all Prussia. But least the reader should imagine I am exaggerating this number, I shall recount a few of them. Poland, and the Duchy of Warsaw, 138,000, Prussia 20,000, Austria 30,000, and the Rhenish Confederation, by treaty, about 140,000, besides Italy, &c. Every one of those powers not only furnished their quotas, but were obliged to keep them up, by re-enforcements, as Austria and Prussia did; and in his official declaration against France, the King of Bavaria informed us that he not only furnished his quota of 30,000 men, at the beginning of the Russian campaign, but that these were joined, in Russia, during the month of October, by 8,000 more, not one of whom returned, "*the whole were destroyed.*"* No doubt all the Rhenish Confederation, and the other powers, sent a similar proportion, and every one of them again renewed their quotas in 1813. From these the numbers lost, by the sword or the cold, &c. would, at least, amount to, if not exceed, 158,000, the difference between Blucher's address and the present tables. France, including the territories incorporated with her, had, in the beginning of 1812, a standing force of 1,200,000 men.† From that period till the 1st of January, 1814, she called out by extraordinary conscriptions, in France with her annexations alone, 1,280,000 men, to fight in her cause; and from all other countries under her control or influence, at least, 700,000 more. So that the above tables of her losses are borne out by the testimony of both friends and foes, and are more likely within than beyond the real number. What a horrible scene of misery and destruction!

* Official declaration against France, Munich, October 17th, 1813.

† According to the Moniteur, December 31st, 1812, there were then in the interior of France 400,000 men: 300,000 were in Spain at the beginning of the year; above 300,000 Frenchmen had marched to and were lost in Russia; about 100,000 more were in December in garrisons in or marching through Prussia, in the same direction, besides all the French troops in Dantzic, Hamburgh, Holland, the North of Germany, Swisserland, and Italy. Grenier's corps alone amounted to 30,000 men. The French army, therefore, as it stood at the beginning of 1812, added to what was afterwards called out by France and her allies, till the beginning of 1814, amounted to 3,180,000 men, besides all the national guards employed in the campaign of 1814.

—in bringing it round, how many tender feelings must have been racked and torn! and in how many different languages must man have "put up prayers against *the success of his own children!*"* while these children, in expiring agony, cursed, with the bitterest curses, "that ambition which was the cause of their destruction."† Where is the bosom who can view it without pity—the mind that can contemplate it without horror and indignation? To such, if any such there be, the marble rocks and iron mines of Elba are too good an habitation.

Yet with an effrontery and want of feeling, which must call forth the undivided reprobation of Europe, the surviving votaries of that dreadful school, dare to come forward, and publicly bewail their fate, and because they are prevented from following their mischievous projects, call for the commiseration of Europe. The results, says Carnot, of our failure, are "regrets—prejudices against all kinds of perfection—the discouragement of multitudes of good men." "You men (continues he,) who wished to be free, have failed, and of course, all the crime will be imputed to you. You are guilty persons, to whom pardon is provisionally offered."‡ On whom should the crime be laid, but on those who deserve it? on whom but those multitudes of good men, of whom Carnot was one, who wished to be free, but who did not understand what freedom was? Yet still, such are the injured and the innocent party! "It is because the enemies of the French name had, by the advantage of numbers, *ten to one*, got possession of the capital without resistance, *that thus, twenty years of victory have become* TWENTY YEARS OF SACRILEGE AND OUTRAGE."§ Unparalleled effrontery! And have not the last 20 years of glory and of victory, on the part of France, been in reality twenty years of SACRILEGE AND OUTRAGE? Judge them by any law, Divine or human, except those laws which emanated from

* "Who, from the Baltic to the Pyrenees, tore children from their parents, to make them the instruments or the victims of his *devouring tyranny, and compelled men fathers to put up prayers against the success of the arms of their own children.*" Address to the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, Paris, April 3d, 1814.

† Petersburgh Gazette, December 11th, 1812.

‡ Carnot's Memorial to Louis XVIII. 1814.

§ Do. do. ib.

the "GODDESS OF REASON," and say if it is not the case. Does Mons. Carnot think, that all mankind have again got the thick red cap of liberty upon their heads, that under it, they should be so far deprived of their rational senses, as not to understand the difference between glory and sacrilege—between victory and outrage? After having chained the devil of this world in Elba, would Mons. Carnot have us, either to recal him, or to call forth his terrible predecessors, Marat, Robespierre, and the Goddess of Reason, and fall down and worship at their bloody shrines? Will Mons. Carnot stand forward and say, that these were good men, who worshipped and obeyed those divinities? Some among them might be so, but the execration of mankind must follow all of them through every succeeding age, as a warning for good men in future, to associate with better companions. But the forsaken capital! Why forsake it? Why not defend it better? Does Mons. Carnot regret that it was not? Let him rest satisfied, that the regrets of Europe are *ten to one* on the same side of the question. But France, says he, is much altered since 1789. Indeed, she is so; but is it for the better, either in her principles, character, or conduct? "The generation is almost entirely renewed; the youth of the present day has been brought up in different principles: *the love of glory above all, has struck deep root: it has become the* MOST DISTINGUISHED ATTRIBUTE *of the national character.*"* This is all too true, and a truth which Europe must never for one moment, for at least half a century to come, lose sight of. It is easy to bestow on any thing, sounding names; but let us for a moment attend to what this French glory is, which now forms the most distinguished attribute in the national character. "We have 800,000 men in arms," said Brissot in 1792, "and we must march them as far as their legs can carry them, or they will return and cut our throats." In other words, if we do not employ these men in cutting the throats of the people of Europe, they will infallibly employ their time in cutting our own. This is the appellation given to this French glory, and this distinguishing attribute of the national character, by a colleague of

* Carnot's memorial to Louis XVIII. 1814.

Carnot's, who with him, assisted in calling this spirit forth. Brissot here distinguished things by their right names. The Convention, the Directory, the Consulate, and the Imperial dignity, all adopted his plan, and followed his advice. Not content with marching French legs to a great distance, they marched them at last to "an immense distance, to hurl the Imperial thunder,"* over the Empire of the Czars. Mons. Carnot knows the result. Europe cannot forget how Frenchmen have been employed for the last 20 years, by such *good men* as Carnot; and France had better not try to force either Napoleon or that conduct again into her recollection. It would certainly call forth another "*hourra dash upon Paris*,"† which may take her remaining glory from her, and cover her with sackcloth and ashes.

It might very readily be supposed, as I have already observed, that there could not remain one individual within the boundary of the British Empire, who does not contemplate her conduct through the late dreadful struggle with praise; regard her perseverance and fortitude with pride; and reflect upon the glorious deeds which she has achieved, and the invincible bravery of her gallant sons, with applause and admiration. Yet there are those, who have adopted a more ignoble course; who boldly declare, that our unparalleled exertions have gained us no one point that is useful; and that our triumphs have added nought to our security or our fame. What motive can urge those who pursue this disgraceful course, he who knows the human heart can only determine; but they must either be dead to the feelings which men have hitherto held in estimation, or unacquainted with every just meaning of honour and truth, who, in the past conduct and in the present situation of Great Britain, do not see, in every thing that concerns her, the reverse of what they advance. If ever right deserved praise, for contending against wrong; justice for opposing injustice; freedom for opposing tyranny—If ever glory, in a just cause was earned on the field of danger, the conduct of Great Bri-

* Conservative Senate, March 10th, 1812.

† Bonaparte's dispatch, March 12th, 1814, see page 603.

tain, and her name, is entitled to hold the foremost place in the page of history, among those nations which have befriended and rendered service to mankind. Yet, it is amongst her own children that the discordant note is introduced into that song of praise, which grateful nations have composed, to celebrate her glory. And is that the reward which the heroes of Aboukir and Trafalgar—of Salamanca and Vittoria, are to receive from the hands of their countrymen; to be told that they have unsheathed their swords in a quarrel, in which we had no interest; in the cause of oppression and dishonour? I blush for my country, when I reflect, that there should be one individual in it who dares to utter such sentiments as these with regard to her brave defenders—who from base or ignorant motives should attempt to lower the character of the living, or throw disgrace on the memory of the mighty dead; on those men, whose ardour and courage, bore her flag, and her fame, untarnished and triumphant, by sea, and by land, through the Torrid zone, and the Polar blast—around whose unsheltered head, the winter snow and summer sun; the rain by day, and the frost by night, have beat with all their strength; while the dangers which they braved, brought to those who defame them, glory, security and peace. Perish the recreant hand, who can thus, from whatever motives, meanly attempt to stab their fame; ill befal the man, who can oppose those counsels, which would heap upon their heads, honours and rewards, and which wish to provide for their future days, plenty and peace. They are precious resources, which we should keep as the apple of our eye, and cherish as our most valuable treasures. We may yet want their services—let comfort, respect, and honour, therefore, be the reward of those heroes, whose manly bosoms through all this dreadful struggle, have proved the impenetrable shield of their native land.—Shall the arm which swept navies from the ocean at Aboukir, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar, ever want a friend? Shall the men who buried French invincibility on the banks of the Tormes; who scattered their hosts like chaff before the wind, on the plains of Vittoria—who planted the glorious banners of their native land, on those " lofty heights,

which survey the fertile vallies"* of our foes, and whose cannon, on the ramparts of Thoulouse, put an end to this second Punic war; shall they in Britain be met with coldness, or treated with neglect—Never!—to them, let the universal voice of the British nation, in grateful strains declare,

> "Oh take for a throne, by your firmness upheld,
> The thanks of a people, your valour has sav'd."

> And, Oh! if again the fierce demon of discord,
> Should Europe with war and destruction deform;
> Our hearts with fresh hopes and reliance will turn,
> To those heroes and pilots who weather'd the storm.

* Soult's proclamation, July 23d, 1815.

CAMPAIGNS

IN

AMERICA,

1812, 1813, AND 1814.

HAVING, according to my plan, finished the Narrative of the military events in Europe, down to the peace of Paris; it is now time to turn our attention to the affairs of the Western world. There we will find a scene of meanness, baseness and rancour, on the part of America against Great Britain; and folly and madness, with regard to herself, not at all inferior to the conduct of France; inferior indeed, in magnitude, but still commensurate to her means and her power.

The prosperity of the British Empire, was beheld with a jealous and envious eye by America. Her humiliation was an anxious wish with Transatlantic politicians; conceiving as they did, that if Britain was humbled, the trade of the world—the trident of Neptune, would fall into their hands. To bring this about, their government pursued every measure, just or unjust, with a steady aim; and were ready to league themselves with any power, who had the same object in view, in order to accomplish their wicked designs. For this purpose, they saw none so likely to answer their views, as the monstrous and overbearing power, and tyranny of Bonaparte. With him, they eagerly formed a close connexion; who, while he despised and contemned them in his heart, yet outwardly courted their

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alliance and assistance, to forward similar designs. Both were in pursuit of the same object; but each as unprincipled as the other, had only his self-interest in view.

In pursuit of her wild and avowed object, the total destruction of Great Britain, France stuck at nothing that could injure the interests of America, or wound her national honour. These things were, however, all quietly submitted to, by the Americans; and it was only, after long forbearance, and when self-preservation, compelled Great Britain to adopt retaliatory measures against her implacable enemy, that whenever these interfered with the interests of America, in a lawful or unlawful pursuit, that the hue and cry was raised against Great Britain, and against Great Britain only. The conduct of France was passed over without a murmur, or winked at, under every provocation; and by doing so, America clearly made herself a party in a war, in which she had indeed no concern, and no real interest—in a war, in which the tyrant she befriended, had openly and solemnly declared, he knew no neutral power, and would acknowledge none, but as it suited his individual interest alone.

The self-interest of America, which, at this moment, directed all her animosity and hatred against Great Britain, was also encouraged by an unprincipled ambition. The increasing prosperity of Canada, was beheld by them with envy and cupidity; not unmixed with alarm, that at some future day, a power might there be established, which would curb and command the United States of America. To obtain possession of this valuable portion of the British Empire, was a favourite object with the American Government; both as increasing their own power, and inflicting a severe blow against, and a deep wound upon the power, prosperity, and resources of the British Empire. This, though not the avowed object, was in reality, the true cause of the war, which was about to take place, between America and Great Britain. They conceived, that no moment could be more favourable for their purpose than that, in which Great Britain was engaged, in the support of Spain and Portugal, against the formidable power of Bonaparte, which, they fondly believed, was invincible, and that it would ultimately

succeed, in crushing the power of Britain. In furtherance of this object, and aware, that, at that moment, Spain had it not in her power to resent or punish it, Mr. Madison took possession of the Floridas, a country, according to him, most interesting to the United States; and took possession of them, for no better reason, than because his doing so, would prevent their falling into any other hands.* Yet, the men who did this, were the loudest and foremost, to load the British character with every thing that was base and unjust, for their attack upon Copenhagen; when, according to their own accusations, it was done precisely for the same reason, which induced America to seize the Floridas; namely, to prevent other powers from doing it, and using the means which she possessed, for our annoyance. Fortunately for the world, the motives which actuated Mr. Madison, are as well known, as the cause of the British expedition to Copenhagen now is; and from which, late events, have torn away the veil with which party spirit, and unprincipled enmity endeavoured, against conviction itself, to cover the cause, or the justness of it. It was then denied, in order to heap odium upon Great Britain, that either France or Russia had any intention of forcing Denmark into a war with Great Britain, in support of the principles laid down in the Treaty of Tilsit. The secret articles of that treaty are now before the world, and have silenced the advocates of falsehood and injustice; and who besides, will surely allow, that he who dictated that treaty, must have known well the objects of it. It was, said Bonaparte, the sole object of that treaty, that Russia and France, should join, to force England to a maritime peace; and that Russia should "*summon, in concert with France, the three* Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm and Lisbon, *to shut their ports against England—to declare war against England, and to insist upon the adoption of the same measures by the various powers of Europe.*"† Can Mr. Madison furnish as sufficient

* Madison's Speech.

† Bassano's letter to Prince Kurakin, Paris, April 25th, 1812. Of course, Denmark was summoned; what answer she gave was obvious—under such circumstances, she could not be neuter—her opposition to Great Britain, shewed the side she took.

a reason for his attack upon, and occupation of the Floridas? or was Great Britain to blame under such circumstances, for saying to Denmark, you are either with me, or against me? an alternative Mr. Madison never once put in the power of Spain, or the Floridas.

Secure on one side, Mr. Madison next turned his ambitious views to another, from whence more profit was to be derived, and more danger was to be apprehended. To furnish a cause for quarrel, in order to commence his unprincipled schemes, every ground of complaint, which French chicanery could devise, and American animosity sanction or produce, was eagerly brought forward against Great Britain. The die was cast—America had taken her resolution, and war was determined on; unless Great Britain submitted to her claims, which was what she could hardly expect, perhaps did not wish, as it would have left her without any pretext at all, for attacking Canada. The ostensible causes of war, on the part of America, were, 1st. The British orders in Council; 2d. The right of Blockade; 3d. That the flag should cover the cargo; 4th. The Impressment of British seamen from American merchant vessels; and last, the right which America set up, of rendering the natives of every other country, subjects of the United States, upon their receiving a certificate, that they were so, thereby, absolving them from all allegiance to the country where they were born, every one of which causes, were alike untenable and unjust.

In 1806, during the ministry of Mr. Fox, Prussia was leagued with France in her nefarious designs against Great Britain; and, at the same time, Napoleon being busily employed in preparing means for her destruction in all the ports in the channel, and in Holland, for which equipments he was receiving every assistance from the North of Germany, the British ministry, very properly, laid the whole coast, from the Elbe to Brest, under a state of blockade. This was a measure none could deny the justice of; and Great Britain possessed the full power to render her determination effectual. War, however, soon after took place between France and Prussia; the latter was overthrown; and as the power of the former increased, so the animosi-

ty and hatred of Bonaparte kept pace with it; and from Berlin, in November, that same year, he issued a decree, declaring "the whole British isles, and their dependencies, in a state of blockade," though he had not a single ship that he durst send to sea to enforce it. It was of no consequence that by this decree he condemned his own arguments, that every port to be blockaded must have an adequate naval force before it. What Napoleon did could not be wrong, and ought not to be questioned. By this decree, every vessel, from whatever port or place she came, that should enter any British port, whatever her cargo might be, became a lawful prize whenever met by any French vessel, or found in any French port. Having finished the Northern war, by the treaty of Tilsit, Bonaparte had leisure to set about the execution of this decree, and which was begun to be enforced. Subsequent to the Berlin decree, and on the 7th January, 1807, Great Britain issued an Order in Council, retaliatory to this decree of Bonaparte, extending the system of blockade, and prohibiting all trade from one port to another, both of which should be in the possession of France and her allies, or with which British ships were not allowed to trade and to enter freely. Against the lawless decree of Bonaparte, already mentioned, and which fell peculiarly heavy upon America, she uttered no complaint, and made no demand for recalling it. Great Britain gave every neutral nation full time to speak their sentiments upon this subject, but all acquiescing without a murmur, she was compelled in her own defence, to issue those powerful decrees, the Orders in Council, which made even Napoleon feel, and which were felt throughout Europe. These laid France, and every port or place which was under her control, under the strictest blockade; and, declaring, that till the Berlin decree was withdrawn, no nation should be allowed to trade with any of these places without her permission, and without having first touched at a British port. Faction endeavoured to attribute to this decree Bonaparte's famous decree from Milan. But only faction and prejudice could thus far outrage truth. The Orders in Council were only issued in London on the 11th November, 1807, and Bonaparte's Milan decree was issued, at that place, on the

23d of the same month, which rendered it impossible for him to have had these Orders in Council before him. The fact was, that, exalted in his own ideas at assuming the title of King of Italy, and burning with shame at the complete frustration of all his views, in conjunction with Russia, against Great Britain, from the destruction of the principal member of the confederacy, in the capture of Copenhagen, and the Danish fleet, Bonaparte, of the above date, issued from Milan a decree, condemning to seizure and confiscation, all vessels, which, after having touched at England, from any motive whatsoever, should enter a French port, and without exception or distinction of commodities or merchandize; and requiring at the same time, and under a severe penalty, of all vessels, a certificate of origin for their cargoes. The Orders in Council, however, maddened his rage to fury, sensible how much they would expose his inability to contend with England, notwithstanding all his might. Accordingly, he no sooner heard of these, than he issued from Milan, on the 17th December, 1807, another decree, declaring every vessel that should touch at a British port, or suffer herself to be searched by a British cruizer, to be *denationalized*, and as having forfeited the protection of its sovereign, and therefore should become a lawful prize; and also, that every vessel, whatever her cargo might be, which should sail from any British port, or place, occupied by their troops, should be placed in the same situation. Against these measures, the origin of the evil, America uttered no complaint to France. In vain French audacity and party animosity endeavoured to assert that all Bonaparte's decrees were only retaliatory of the British orders, when the most common understanding must have been aware that the latter were only retaliatory of the former. These deceitful arguments had their day, but they can deceive no more. Such was the true origin of these important measures, which made so much noise in the world. The aim of France was the ruin of Great Britain, by any means which her ruler could devise; and Great Britain was therefore obliged to put forth all her strength to counteract her.

Against every one of these decrees issued by Bonaparte,

America either made no opposition, or a very feeble one. It was always against Great Britain her anger was directed, while the cause which called forth the exertion of the power of the latter was suffered to remain unmolested. She had recourse to embargo laws, and to non-intercourse bills; but these, it was very obvious, were all levelled against Great Britain, in order to force her into the measures which France and America had in view. But these failed in their object, and only returned on her own head with loss and confusion.

To these, fresh topics of dispute were brought forward by America. Encouraged and abetted by France, she denied the British right of blockade altogether; and insisted that no port should be considered as blockaded, that had not a naval force before it at all times, sufficient to oppose whatever force might attempt to enter it. This Great Britain refused to acknowledge, as her power was confessedly equal to enforce her commands, in defiance of the efforts of France or America; nor could she be expected to yield up to them, or their interest, a right or a station which the winds or the waves might at times, for the moment, deprive her of. But she readily admitted, that, to constitute a blockade, an armed vessel, or vessels, should actually be placed before the port blockaded; a principle which the Berlin decree totally disregarded.

The next was, that the flag should cover the cargo; in other words, that America, or any other power calling themselves neutral, should be at liberty to carry French property in their vessels, without its being liable to be seized by British cruizers. This was very convenient for France, and very profitable for America; the one had no ships she durst send to sea, the other had plenty; by which means France would have enjoyed the advantage of her colonial settlements, foreign possessions, and trade, without any thing to carry it on; and while British merchandize remained liable to all risks of capture, and war expenses, French property would neither be subject to the one nor the other. France asked this, and America seconded her; while, at the same moment, France was seizing, condemning, and burning American property, merely because that property had been

produced by British industry, and to which oppression the American government submitted without a murmur.

The next grievance advanced was, the right claimed by Great Britain to take her own seamen from American merchant ships, wherever she could find them. This is a right Great Britain never can abandon, and one which is necessary to her existence. If she would not consent to the principle that the American flag should carry French property safe and unmolested, it was still more absurd to suppose that she would allow it to screen her own seamen, and make them an instrument to carry it, and to benefit her enemies. Nothing but French impudence and American profligacy could, for a moment, have attempted to bring forward such a proposition as this. From the similarity of manners and language, it might happen that a real American citizen might be thus impressed into a British ship of war; yet it was what no British officer wished, what his government did not want, and what every opportunity was given to counteract and redress: and we know, notwithstanding all the clamour that was raised, and falsehoods that were advanced, on both sides of the water, with regard to this subject, that in no instance was redress ever denied; and that from the states immediately interested in these proceedings, hardly ever an instance took place of an American born citizen being thus imprest, and not one where it was possible to distinguish the one from the other.* On the other hand, it was notorious that the American ships of war were in some degree manned with British seamen. Yet this audacious step was assumed as right on the part of America.

The next and last point in dispute, which is worth noticing, was, the claim made by America of a right to make the subjects of every power citizens of the United States, according to her laws, thereby absolving them from every tie of allegiance to the country which gave them birth. This was a monstrous and absurd doctrine, and equally inimical to the interest of

* See the very able and manly papers on this subject, by the official authorities in the New England states; particularly one from Rockingham, New Hampshire, August 5th, 1812.

every other power that it was to that of Great Britain; but on her, in a particular manner, it fell with the greatest force. Such a doctrine could never be tolerated for a moment, nor listened to by any power who was independent. France eagerly supported America in this claim, because she hoped thereby to injure or endanger the naval superiority of Great Britain; but at the moment when, from policy, she was justifying and abetting America in her odious demands, France was acting in direct contradiction to those principles, by shooting Frenchmen taken in the Spanish armies, who had been compelled to leave France during the revolution, and at the time they were children. Such a demand as this, made by America, could only be made by the government of a country, a great number of the population of which were traitors to and deserters of their country's cause. It belonged to Great Britain to resist such abominable principles, which never were, and never can be sanctioned by any civilized nation.

Such were the ostensible causes urged by America against Great Britain. Of these the Orders in Council bore the most prominent rank, and remained the hobby horse of faction at home, and occasioned the bitterest abuse of enemies abroad; writhing in anguish under their powerful effects, and rendered the more poignant as having been the consequences of their own interested motives and ambitious views. We all know the clamour that was raised against these measures in this country, and the light in which they were held up, as the ruin and degradation of the nation, in her character, trade, and resources, when, in fact, these very measures were the salvation of the whole. These measures were again and again represented as the cause of much greater injury to our trade than the decrees of our enemy, and depicted as the height of human folly and ignorance on the part of the British ministers. The public mind was agitated and irritated to no common degree, which the arch enemy of Britain took care to augment, by publishing that they were the best measures which his enemies could have devised, for his prosperity and their own destruction. The Moniteur aided the cry of faction in Britain with all its might; and while France, and every country in Europe attached to her cause, or subject to

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her control, was fainting under their pressure, and trembling under their power, it was believed that Great Britain alone was suffering by them. At last this veil of delusion was torn asunder. Russia refused any longer to submit to measures brought forward by France, which was bringing misery on her people, and subjecting them to every privation and distress. Then, when the enemy could no longer hide the truth, he spoke a very different language. The Orders in Council of the British Cabinet were then no longer measures of imbecility, and injurious only to themselves. No! "*The system of England was triumphant.* Her Orders in Council *threatened the most important* results; and the tribute which was to furnish the means of supporting the perpetual war which she had declared, *were perceptible upon the seas.*" By virtue of these measures, "*England levied a toll of from 4 to 5 millions upon the continent;*" and their dreadful effects "placed Europe *in so unlooked for a situation*, that the two sovereigns thought proper to come to an understanding, and the interview at Erfurt took place."* And in still stronger language, Bonaparte was forced to confess, that their effects, and the submission to them, was neither more nor less than "*to constitute George III. the sovereign of the world.*" How much idle railing, bitter abuse, and dangerous declamation, did these declarations overturn and do away? and who can doubt that the enemy here spoke what he felt? These confessions were wrung from him in the agony of rage and despair, occasioned by his seeing the counsels and power of his adversaries completely victorious.

To embarass the British government, it was urged by America, by France, and by their friends, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were never put in execution against America. This was shown to be false; but even if it had been true, it could not alter the nature of a decree still in existence, and whose execution against any particular nation, depended on the momentary caprice of the arbitrary Napoleon. Foiled in this attempt, it was urged, that these decrees had long been repealed, with regard to America. The American government and ambassadors so-

* Bassano's letter to Prince Kurakin, Paris, April 25th, 1812.

emnly declared again and again that this was the case, and demanded, in consequence, that the Orders in Council should be rescinded with regard to them. In vain the British government urged any one of the parties concerned, to produce any official document from the French government, shewing that this was the case. None could find it. At last, in May, 1812, the American minister at Paris forwarded to the ambassador of his nation in London, a copy of a decree by Bonaparte, dated April 23d, 1811, purporting that the Berlin and Milan decrees were *conditionally* repealed as far as concerned America, from the 1st of November preceding, (1810,) yet this important document was never heard of nor communicated to the American minister till the end of April, 1812, when it was, no doubt, wrote; and, after all, amounted only to a conditional, not a positive repeal, but merely that they were so, providing America supported the views of France against Great Britain. A more disgraceful proceeding never occupied the time of that government, and its odious counsellors, nor a greater insult to justice, honour, and independence. Yet America submitted to all without a complaint—without a complaint did I say? she hailed the boon as the noblest act of generosity and justice; and took, with secret joy and unfeigned thankfulness, the crumbs from the tyrant's table, which were accounted a dishonour to bestow on his slaves! At the very moment he was fabricating this audacious document, or delivering it to the American minister, with the one hand; he was with the other, telling the Russian minister, that the principles of the Berlin and Milan decrees were "*predominant in the treaty of Tilsit;*"* and his servile Senate was informing him and Europe, that the "*greatest* part of their troops had been called without the French territory, for the defence of the grand interests which are to ensure the preponderance of the Empire, and *maintain the Berlin and Milan decrees, so fatal to England.*"† And much about the same time that the decree was pretended to be dated, he was informing the world, in the

* Bassano's letter to Prince Kurakin, Paris, April 25th, 1812.

† Conservative Senate, March 10th, 1812.

most solemn manner, that "the Berlin and Milan decrees can *neither be changed, modified, nor suspended;* they result from the nature of things, *and will forever remain the fundamental law of France.* England will also be blockaded on paper."*

It is probable that the British government would have paid no attention to the conditional revocation by the French government of the Berlin and Milan decrees, particularly considering the manner in which that revocation was promulgated; but the clamour of party in Britain, on that head, had arisen to such a height, that ministers were under the necessity of yielding up these measures, and these decrees were repealed; sensible as they were that these measures were not the complaints upon the revocation of which America would desist from her intentions of war against this country. Their opponents, however, thought differently; and asserted, that the repeal of these obnoxious measures, as they choosed to term them, not only would, but ought to satisfy America. The event falsified their predictions; and shewed that they were mistaken on this point, as well as on every other that concerned the policy of their country.

America had long wished for, and been preparing for war. She had augmented her military means at the beginning of the year, and was busily employed in her naval departments. As a precautionary measure, she had recourse to an embargo early in the year, in order to keep her merchant vessels at home, to prevent their falling into the hands of the British cruizers; and those men formerly employed in navigating them, were busy in fitting out their ships as privateers, ready to take advantage of the earliest declaration of their government, to issue forth and capture the unsuspecting and unprotected British trading ships. Nothing could divert the attention of the American government from war. Every art was employed to enflame the public mind against Great Britain. Their hopes were high—their language was strong and violent—and their profligate government was about to lead the nation into a war, leagued with a man, and embarked in a cause where even success could not

* Moniteur, March 2d, 1811.

add to their fame nor their security; but which, while it tarnished the former, endangered, if it did not altogether destroy, the latter. The conduct of America at this moment, in whatever point of view we take it, was most wanton and wicked. The most unprincipled resentment guided her councils; the most sordid interest directed her actions; the love of gain led her headlong into a contest, whose issue must entail misery, perhaps ruin upon herself, or upon a nation contending against principles which threatened to overthrow civilized society: at this dreadful moment, America, with her own hand, and with a willing mind, yoked herself in the tyrant's chain. America is a mercantile country, her inhabitants, "who guide her politics," a cold calculating avaricious race, whose only object is gain, however it may be obtained; and before I conclude this subject, I will endeavour to wind up the accounts, and to strike a balance, which will amaze some of her keenest friends, as I am certain its effects at this moment astonish herself. When the rancour of party, when the feelings of interest are laid in the grave, the posterity of Americans will blush for their degenerate sires, who could embark in the unhallowed cause in which they now so readily engaged.

On the 1st of June, a message was sent by the president to Congress, with a list of the grievances against Great Britain, and concluding its declamation by stating, that the Orders in Council were not the only cause of complaint against that country. This message was taken into consideration; and after several days debates, it was decided by a considerable majority, that war should be declared against Great Britain. On the 18th June, accordingly, this important declaration made its appearance; and, it is remarkable, that this document was issued by Mr. Madison upon the very same day that Bonaparte joined his army, on the Pregel, in his advance to Russia, and two days before the appearance of the first bulletin at Gumbinnen.—Both of these potentates were confident of success; and there can be little doubt but that they acted in concert, and that they were acquainted with the intentions of each other.

The American declaration, contained nothing remarkable beyond the causes already enumerated, except the affair of the

Chesapeake, which as it had long previously been settled—reparation given and accepted, had certainly nothing to do with the present dispute; but this was only of a piece with the rest of the conduct of the American Government: indeed, it appeared as if truth was no longer considered as a necessary attendant upon any government, who pursued French politics. The officers of the Chesapeake, in open day, and in the face of British officers, took 4 British deserters from the Leander, on board their ship, and refused to deliver them up, and even denied they had them. The consequence of which was, that the Leander, the moment the Chesapeake left the harbour, took them from her by force. The deserters found were carried to Halifax—tried by a Court Martial, and condemned to death, and executed; and yet, in the face of, and with a perfect knowledge of the fact, that these men were not only British subjects, but British deserters, Mr. Madison issued a proclamation, declaring that these men were American subjects. Great Britain disavowed the act of the officer, who took these men by force, from the American frigate, as application should have been made, in the first place, to the American Government, to direct them to be given up; but in doing so, Great Britain never gave her consent, that the American ships of war, should inveigle away British seamen, and be allowed to retain them in their service; but as this business had long before this time been settled, it shewed that Mr. Madison had need of all the inflammatory substances which he could collect, in order, to make out any thing like a rational reason, for going to war with Great Britain.

The plan of the American Government, was to attack and conquer Canada, which they imagined, would fall an easy prey; and where also, they expected to meet with assistance from the inhabitants. They calculated on this point, in the same manner, that their august ally, the Emperor of France and King of Italy did, with regard to Russia, and with similar success. General Hull was to enter Upper Canada, near Detroit, between Lakes Superior and Erie, and subduing every thing that came in his way, was to march to the eastward, to join the other armies, and proceed to Montreal. General Wadsworth was to enter by the Niagara frontier, and form a junction with

Hull; and General Dearborn was to enter the British territories towards Montreal; and their united forces were then to march down the river, attack and carry Quebec, which they conceived would readily fall into their hands. The plan was bold, and the Americans never for a moment supposed, that any effectual resistance could be made against them.

The British troops in Canada were few, but judiciously placed, under the command of brave officers, at the head of which was General Sir George Prevost; and their efforts were cheerfully seconded by the brave and hardy inhabitants of Canada. Hull marched forward, full of confidence, and thinking only on victory. Napoleon himself, never advanced with more boldness, never surveyed his foes with greater contempt. If he was not with him, his spirit was—" By the authority of my Government, (said he to the Canadians,) I promise you protection, to your persons, property, and rights. You will be *emancipated* from tyranny and oppression, and be restored to the dignified situation of free men. Had I any doubt, of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not. *I come prepared for every contingency.—I have a force which will look down all opposition;* and that force, is but the vanguard of a much greater.—If you take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered, and treated as enemies; and the horrors and calamities of war, will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages let loose, to murder our citizens, and butcher our women and children, this *war will be a war of extermination.* The first stroke of the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal for one *indiscriminate scene of desolation.* No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner; " *instant destruction will be his lot.*"* Napoleon never penned, nor Revolutionary mania never dictated, a more atrocious proclamation than this. While the Indians had a country, were they not to be allowed to defend it, with their warlike weapons, against an enemy who had no business to attack them with his weapons, such as cannon balls, buck shot, and the harmless et cetera, used by

* Hull's Proclamation to the Canadians, Sandwich, July 12th, 1812.

the gentle Americans. Because the Indians were our allies, and our friends, were we not to employ them? were we to be butchered without mercy, if found fighting by their side? If after the battle, these troops transgressed the laws of war, let them be punished as other troops are; but, if they did not, they had a better right to use a tomahawk, in defence of their property and their homes, than the Americans had to use a bayonet, to take the one from them, and to drive them from the other. Such sanguinary threats were, however, quickly arrested in their career. " By what new principle," said the brave General Brock, " are they (the Indians) to be prevented from defending their property? If their warfare, from being different from that of the white people, is more terrific to the enemy, let him retrace his steps—*they seek him not;* and cannot expect to find women and children in an invading army; but they are men, and have equal right with all other men to defend themselves and their property, when invaded; more especially when they find in the enemy's camp, a *ferocious and mortal foe, using the same warfare which the* American commander affects to reproach. This inconsistent and unjustifiable threat, of refusing quarter, for such a cause, as being found in arms with a brother sufferer, in defence of invaded rights, must be exercised, with the certain assurance of retaliation, not only in the limited operations of war in this part of the King's dominions, but in every quarter of the globe," &c. &c.*

The first operation of the campaign, was the capture of the important fortress of Machilimakinac, by Capt. Roberts of the 10th Veteran battalion, and a handful of men, accompanied by some Indians; the place surrendered by capitulation on the 16th July. In it were taken 61 men, and 7 pieces of cannon, with a proportion of stores. In the meantime, General Hull, with 2500 men, commenced his operations, by crossing the river at Detroit, on the 12th July; the 5th regiment of militia and Indians, retreating before this superior force, towards fort Armherstburgh; and at the same time, repelling several attacks of the enemy, with the loss of only 2 British, and 2 Indians,

* Brock's proclamation, Fort George, July 22d, 1812.

while that of the enemy was more severe.* After repeated skirmishes, in which the enemy suffered considerably, the arrival of Sir Isaac Brock, with a re-enforcement, at fort Armherstburgh, quickly decided the fate of the American army. The whole, consisting of 2500 men, surrendered at discretion. Fort Detroit, and 33 pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors. The whole loss of the British, in this important affair, was 3 killed, and 14 wounded; and thus, terminated in disgrace, defeat, and shame, the wanton and wicked attack upon Canada; and all the boasting of General Hull, who shortly after reached Quebec, but as a prisoner.†

The next attempt, on the Niagara side, met with no better success. On the morning of the 13th Oct. before break of day, the enemy landed a considerable force at Queenstown, between Niagara and Fort Erie. The brave General Brock, upon the first alarm, flew to defend that post; and most unfortunately, lost his life, while cheering his men, to defend the place. In him, his country lost a brave and meritorious officer. The place was carried by the Americans; but re-enforcements quickly arriving, the enemy, after an obstinate action, were totally routed, 900 men surrendered prisoners of war, and all the remainder of their army, were either killed or wounded. The commanding officer of the enemy, General Wadsworth, was amongst the prisoners. General Sheaffe assumed the command, after the loss of General Brock; and he gives the greatest praise to the conduct of every one under his command. The British loss was not great, except in the loss of their brave commander, and Col. Macdonald, who was also killed in the first attack. The whole British force engaged, did not amount to the number of prisoners taken from the enemy; whose force, that succeeded in effecting their landing, perhaps exceeded 1400 men.‡ One piece of cannon, and one stand of colours, were also taken from them.

No operations of consequence, were undertaken lower down the Canadian frontier. Upon the arrival of the British revoca-

* Sir George Prevost's dispatch, Aug. 17th, 1812.
† Do. Sept. 1st, and Brock's Aug. 17th.
‡ Sheaffe's dispatch, Oct. 13th,

tion of the Orders in Council, General Prevost and General Dearborn, agreed to an armistice for 30 days; conceiving that the repeal of these measures, would lead to a settlement of all the disputes between the two countries. In this, however, they were mistaken; but the dreadful disasters which had, before the expiry of the armistice, happened to the other two American Generals, completely bound up the hands of Dearborn, and rendered it impossible for him, to effect any thing; or to undertake any operations of consequence during that campaign.

The Americans, however, were more successful, upon an element, where it was imagined, they had no chance of success at all. Their numerous privateers, considerably annoyed the British trade; but all the West India fleets, fortunately escaped the search of Commodore Rogers, who fondly hoped to fall in with them, with his strong frigates, and to have captured many of them, as they were of course, sailing under slender convoys, unsuspecting of this fresh war. After a cruise of many weeks, this mighty commander was forced to return to America, with very little to boast of; having only fallen in with a few trifling merchant vessels, which he took. Immediately upon the declaration of war, he put to sea with three frigates, and fell in with the British frigate Belvidera; who discovered that the Americans were become enemies, only in time to effect her escape from this superior force, which she accomplished, by the superiority of her sailing, and after a running fight of several hours. On the 19th of August, the Guerrier frigate was taken, by the American frigate Constitution, Capt. Hull, after a desperate engagement, in which the Guerrier was reduced to such a complete wreck, as to oblige the enemy to burn her. The American frigate carried 56 guns, 32 and 24 pounders, and had a crew of 476 picked men. The British frigate only 30 guns, and a crew 253 persons, nine of which were boys. Under these disadvantageous circumstances, the brave Captain Dacres was obliged to surrender, after a loss of 78 men killed and wounded. A most unmanly tone of despondency was echoed through the British press, at the unfortunate result of this action, as if it had been a death blow to our naval character; and, as if it had been possible for the British govern-

ment, to prevent an American frigate of superior force, falling in with a British vessel, whose force was inferior. America, besides, it was well known, had a vast number of brave and hardy seamen, even more than France had at the commencement of the Revolution; and on board her ships of war, were many British seamen, deserters from the cause of their country, who, in any engagement would much rather have died fighting, than have been taken; and hence, it was obvious, that any naval combat with American vessels, was to be an arduous undertaking.

These circumstances afforded Mr. Madison a set off against his disasters by land; and accordingly, he dwelt long upon them in his message to Congress, at the meeting of that body, on the 4th November. The Orders in Council had been repealed; but, as might have easily been foreseen, other topics, said to be of greater importance, were quickly substituted in their place. No wish to come to any accommodation, was visible on the part of the government of America, but upon terms, wholly inadmissible by Great Britain; and any pretence for continuing the war against her, was eagerly laid hold of, and maintained by the former government; who, no doubt, fondly imagined, that next year would bring them better success in Canada; particularly, as at that time their illustrious ally, as far as they knew, was making rapid strides into the heart of the Russian empire. In the midst of his base falsehoods, and odious harangues against the British government, the President was forced to let slip a short sentence, which shewed the value of a connexion which he, by his folly, had lost. "The duties," said he to Congress, "on the late unexpected importation of British manufactures, will render the revenue of the ensuing year, more productive than could have been anticipated."* No doubt it would so; and it was all the trade which Mr. Madison now had to raise his revenue from. We shall presently see what this revenue was. Napoleon himself, never addressed a more cutting sentence to any of the oppressed nations under his command; or told them, that the revenue derived from the

* Madison's message, Nov. 4th, 1812.

trade with his enemies, was necessary to support his ambition; nor did that mighty and mischievous potentate, ever outrage truth more in any of his public speeches, than Mr. Madison now did, when he stepped boldly forward, and told Congress, that "they had the inestimable consolation of knowing, that the war in which they were engaged, was a war *neither of ambition nor vain glory.*"* The President, and his ally Bonaparte, had a very bad custom of classing things under a wrong head; and this was only another instance of the errors of that spirit, which led them both astray.

About this time, the British frigate Macedonian of 38 guns, Capt. Carden, was taken, after an obstinate and well contested action, by the American frigate, United States, of 44 guns, Capt. Decatur. This unfortunate occurrence gave the enemy fresh cause for triumph; and though trifling in itself, helped wonderfully to make the American people forget their defeats by land. In point of fact, however, there was no comparison in the force of the two vessels; as the United States, not only carried more guns, and a more numerous crew of picked seamen; but the weight of her metal was almost one half greater than that of the Macedonian; and which latter circumstance has the most decisive effects in naval combats.

The budget, however, with which Mr. Gallatin furnished them, was not of so cheering a description. The revenue for 1813, he calculated at only 12,500,000 dollars; 5,000,000 *of which arose from the duties upon British goods,* which had been shipped from that country when the Orders in Council were repealed, under the idea, that the revocation would occasion a settlement of all differences between the countries. From this source, great as it was, they could expect no more. The expense was at this time estimated at 31,000,000 dollars, besides interest; leaving a deficiency of 20,000,000 to be provided for; while the foreign trade of the country, which ought to have supplied this, was completely and totally cut off.† This was the effect of 4 months hostilities with Britain; besides the loss

* Madison's message, Nov. 4th, 1812.

† Gallatin's report, Dec. 1st, 1812.

of two armies, which was rather more than the value of two frigates, rendered complete wrecks, and a few merchantmen, taken by their numerous privateers; but even which latter was much more than counterbalanced, by the captures from them, by the British cruisers.

On the 10th November, the Americans sent out seven small armed vessels, manned with the crews of one of their frigates, from Sacket's harbour, in order to surprise the town of Kingston, and destroy the British ship, Royal George, lying in that harbour; but, by the skill and courage of Colonel Vincent, the enemy were defeated, and forced to a precipitate flight. The campaign terminated soon after, with an attempt made by a party of Dearborn's army, to penetrate into the British territories from Champlain; but in their advance, having been fired upon from one of the British advanced picquets, they were thrown into such confusion and terror, that they commenced firing upon each other; by which about 50 were killed and wounded, and the rest fled as fast as possible.*

Soon after this, another naval triumph graced the arms of the Americans, and filled them with hope and exultation. The British frigate, Java, mounting 36 guns, and about 400 men, including a number of officers going out to join the ships of war in the East Indies, and having on board General Hislop and suite, in his passage to assume the command in Bombay, fell in with the American, frigate, Constitution, carrying 56 guns, one of the largest of their frigates, off the coast of Brazil, and after a most obstinate and sanguinary action, was compelled to surrender; but not till she was reduced to such a condition that the enemy was obliged to burn her, as she could not be carried into port. Her brave commander, Captain Lambert, fell in the action. These repeated disasters to our navy, sustained from such a foe as America, occasioned great dissatisfaction in the minds of the British nation; who began to think that their navy was either ill directed or beginning to degenerate. But there was, in reality, no cause for such surmises, as the superior size and weight of metal of the American frigates

* Sir George Prevost's dispatch, November 21st, 1812.

gave them a decided superiority over British vessels of a smaller class; and by some fortunate circumstance and good luck, on their part, none of the heavy British ships of war ever had the fortune to fall in with one of them, though every exertion was made to do so.

On the 22d January, 1813, another attempt made by the enemy to invade Canada, was attended with equally disastrous consequences to them as the previous attempts were. General Winchester, with 1000 men, having crossed the river about 26 miles South of Detroit, and occupied Frenchtown, was there attacked by Colonel Proctor, and totally routed. Himself and about 500 men were taken prisoners, and all the rest killed and wounded. The Indians fought bravely, and occasioned the enemy great loss. The British loss was 24 killed and 158 wounded. The Americans said that Winchester undertook this expedition without orders; but, be that as it may, the consequences were most disastrous to him and the force under his command, the total destruction of which completely paralized the efforts of General Harrison, to whose army Winchester belonged.

Defeat had now taught the Americans both wisdom and caution; and they clearly saw that it would be impossible to obtain a secure footing in Canada, unless they had the command of the immense lakes which form the Southern boundaries of that country. They, therefore, turned their attention to this important point, and their contiguity to the scene of action, and the facility with which all materials for ship building could be furnished, soon gave them, if not the complete superiority over the British in that quarter, at least enabled them to contend on something like a more equal footing, and which was of the greatest service to them in all their future operations.

In the meantime, the British fleet under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, spread consternation and alarm throughout all the coasts of America. The mouths of their rivers, and all their principal ports, were blockaded in such a manner, that all their foreign and coasting trade was destroyed; and though privateers, and now and then their ships of war, started out from different ports, which it was more difficult to block-

ade, or when the British ships were forced off the coast by stress of weather; still that was but a poor compensation for the immense loss which America otherwise sustained. No important operations against any part of the American coast were as yet undertaken. The British government wished to try every means to bring the American government to reason, without injuring the property of individuals. For this purpose, Admiral Warren was entrusted with powers to negotiate as well as to fight, and which completely paralized all his operations. The Admiral was blamed for inactivity; but, situated as he was, he could scarcely act otherwise, as while following up one part of his instructions he might by doing so be injuring the other. Succeeding events shewed that this forbearance of the British government was attributed to a different cause; and while the policy which dictated it was humane and generous, still it was wrong and impolitic.

Commodore Chauncey having been appointed to the command of the American ships of war on Lake Ontario, made every exertion to fit out a considerable number of vessels, and which he at length effected. With these, he transported a considerable force, under the command of General Dearborn, to the opposite shore, which landed near York Town, the capital of Upper Canada. General Sheaffe who commanded the British force in this quarter, was obliged to retire before the superior force of the enemy. Upon the approach of the Americans every resistance was made against their superior numbers, and in which they lost a considerable number of men. A powder magazine was blown up, which did great injury to the American army. General Pike, who commanded, was killed, and upwards of 100 men. Several of the British soldiers also perished by it. The town capitulated, and 295 regulars and militia were taken prisoners in it: a considerable quantity of naval stores, and a large ship on the stocks, were destroyed, to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy.* The American General acknowledged a loss of from 150 to 200 men; that of the British was

* Dearborn's dispatch, April 28th, 1813.

62 killed, 77 wounded, and 17 prisoners, in the fall of and in the actions preceding the abandonment of the place.

The bold note of triumph, so eagerly sung by the Americans, of their superiority over our naval heroes, was but of short duration. An opportunity occurred wherein they were met by something like equal numbers; when it was found, that the arm which conquered at Trafalgar, was still most worthy to wield the sceptre of the ocean. On the 1st of June, the Shannon, Captain Broke, was cruizing, singly, off Boston harbour. Captain Lawrence, of the American frigate, Chesapeake, lying in that harbour, conceived it a glorious opportunity to signalize himself before the eyes of his countrymen, by the capture of the British frigate. He put to sea, in confident expectation of success. In two hours he was to return, with his prize, and to partake of a grand entertainment preparing for the occasion. The Chesapeake rated 44 guns, and mounted 49, most of them 24 pounders; and her crew, all picked seamen, were 440 in number. The Shannon, rated 38 guns, and mounted from 41 to 46, not so heavy metal, and a crew of 330 men.* The British ship, however, courted the engagement, notwithstanding her inferiority. The Americans advanced with confidence. The shores were lined with thousands of spectators; the harbour and adjacent coasts covered with boats and small vessels filled with people, eager to hail, with applause, the conqueror of Captain Broke. They had, however, chosen an inauspicious day, on which to realize their proud expectations. It was the 1st of June. At half-past five o'clock, the Chesapeake came abreast of the Shannon, impatiently waiting to receive her. The action began at half pistol shot, with broadside to broadside from each vessel. In 10 minutes, the Chesapeake fell along side the Shannon, whose gallant crew boarded her at the same moment, on her tops and her decks. In five minutes more they swept before them all resistance; and in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action, that flag, which never yet covered dishonour or disgrace, proudly waved over the American stars, in sight of the population of Boston; who, in a

* Croker's statement, House of Commons, July 8th, 1813.

few minutes, saw the Chesapeake, accompanied by the Shannon, shape their course, with a fair breeze, to the harbour of Halifax. Captain Broke was severely wounded; and Captain Laurence of the Chesapeake died of his wounds, and was buried at Halifax with military honours, due to him as a brave man, though unsuccessful. The loss on board the British ship was 31 killed and 57 wounded; that of the American frigate, was about 75 killed and 108 wounded. Captain Broke, as a reward for his services in this brilliant affair, had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him; and his gallant officers were promoted according to their different ranks. Thus was the honour of the British flag fairly maintained, against the voice of despondency, and the rash clamours of party, only heard when they afforded praise and encouragement to our enemies.

The repeated defeats of the American army in Canada, served only to exasperate the American government, and to induce them to make the greater efforts to retrieve these disasters. As Canada was the great object for which they had really gone to war, so the President was well convinced, that any particular success which might attend his arms by sea, against the British navy, or the British trade, would be but a poor compensation to the Americans, for the dreadful losses which they were sustaining; and a weak argument in order to induce them to applaud his conduct, or support his dynasty, unless he had something more captivating and more substantial to offer to their consideration. To accomplish this, greater efforts were accordingly made against Canada; and by the bravery and judicious conduct of their opponents, these were attended with similar consequences as all their former attempts.

On the 3d June, two of the American armed ships in that quarter were detached against the isle Au Noix, where Major Taylor of the 100dth regiment held the temporary command. His force consisted of detachments of the 100dth regiment, and from the Royal artillery, and three gun-boats. After a hard contested action, the Growler and Eagle, American vessels of 11 guns and 50 men each, struck their colours, and were taken possession of by the British, in sight of several other vessels,

and also about 3000 men advancing by land to their assistance. These came too late. The Americans had nine men killed and wounded, and the British loss was only three wounded.*

In Upper Canada, that brave officer, Colonel Proctor, had been taking the necessary measures for attacking the enemy, who had been for some time assiduously employed in collecting troops and stores, to enable him to make another attempt against the British possessions in that quarter. Various unforeseen accidents prevented Colonel Proctor from accomplishing this object, till the enemy were found to be completely prepared to commence offensive operations; when nothing of importance could be undertaken against them, on the part of the British. On the morning of the 5th May, the enemy commenced his operations against the British General. The enemy descended the river near the Miami rapids, with a force of at least 1300 men, aided by a sally from his garrison at that point. The attack was impetuous; and, for a moment, the enemy succeeded in obtaining possession of the British batteries. These were, however, as quickly retaken, and the enemy totally routed; scarcely one of the men who advanced to the attack, with the exception of those belonging to the garrison, escaping death or captivity. The enemy had from 1000 to 1200 men killed or taken, besides many other prisoners, which fell into the hands of the Indians, and of which no regular returns could be obtained. These Indian warriors greatly signalized themselves on this occasion. The British loss was 61 killed and wounded, and 41 missing. The troops under Colonel Proctor, amounted only to 450 regulars and 400 militia, exclusive of Indians.†

On the 29th May, an attack was made upon Sacket's harbour, which ended in the destruction of all the naval stores which the Americans had collected at that point, and which obliged their fleet on Lake Ontario to return into port. In the mean time, Colonel Vincent, with the British force on the Niagara frontier, had been compelled to retire before an over-

* Taylor's dispatch, June 3d, 1813.

† Proctor's dispatch, May 14th, 1813.

whelming force, under Generals Chandler and Winder; after abandoning and dismantling Forts George and Erie, and also Queenstown, he took up a position on the heights above Burlington-bay, on which place the enemy were determined to attack him. The British loss in these operations amounted to 52 killed, and 306 wounded and prisoners. The enemy must have suffered more severely, in his attacks upon the forts, and in effecting his landing. His force, altogether, amounted to at least 10,000 men. A few days after this, part of the American force, under the immediate command of Generals Chandler and Winder, consisting of 3500 infantry and 250 cavalry, with 9 field pieces, advanced from Forty Mile Creek to attack the British force in that quarter, under Colonel Vincent. The advanced posts of the British army, amounting, altogether, to only 1600 men, were driven back on their main body. The enemy encamped, during the night of the 5th, about seven miles from Burlington, in which position he was surprised by Colonel Vincent, with 706 men, a part of the force already mentioned, and completely routed. The enemy fled in consternation. Generals Chandler and Winder, first and second in command, and upwards of 100 officers, were taken prisoners; and three guns and one brass howitzer also fell into the hands of the victors. A considerable number were also killed and wounded. The British loss was 132 killed and 52 missing. In order that the enemy, who was still formidable in numbers, might not ascertain the number of the troops under his command, Colonel Vincent, very prudently, withdrew his men before day light; which, when the enemy found, he returned to his camp on the morning, where he destroyed every thing that remained; after which, he commenced a precipitate retreat to Forty Mile Creek, where he was joined by a re-enforcement of 2000 men, who were advancing from the Niagara frontier. Against this force, the number of men under the command of Colonel Vincent were too few, to enable him to act on the offensive, with any hope of success.* In their retreat, the American army destroyed the greater part of their baggage; and several

* Vincent's dispatch, June 6th, 1813.

yessels with provisions and supplies for them, were destroyed by Sir James Yeo, on Lake Ontario.

Soon after this, the enemy, who was still formidable on the Niagara frontier, detached Colonel Bœstler, with 570 men, to attack a detachment of the British army stationed at Beavers Dams, about nine miles from Queenstown. The American force was attacked from an ambuscade, placed to wait their approach, and the whole were either killed or taken.* These losses, while they crippled and distracted the American armies and their government, were soon repaired, from their vicinity to all their supplies and re-enforcements; while their adversaries had an immense line of frontier to defend, with comparatively small means, and far removed from their native land. The conduct of the British army, officers and men, and also of the inhabitants of Canada, at this period, was most exemplary and praiseworthy. The duty they had to perform was arduous and severe, and the odds against them very great. Still they continued to oppose an iron barrier wherever the enemy of their independence appeared; and covered them with shame and confusion in every attempt which they had hitherto made. The British fleet also continued to keep the whole American coast in a continued state of alarm, frequently landing, and occasioning them a considerable loss both of men and property.

The enemy's army was followed towards the Niagara frontier; and though he continued to occupy the fortresses on that line, his operations were circumscribed to their immediate neighbourhood. On the 12th July, a detachment of British troops, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Bishopp, landed at Black Rock, and attacked and carried the batteries, and destroyed or brought away every thing about the place which belonged to the enemy. The British loss on this occasion was 38 killed and wounded, and 6 missing. The enemy attempted to drive the British troops from the place, but could not succeed, and they afterwards retired from the place unmolested. In order to arrest the progress of re-enforcements constantly advancing to the American army on the Nia-

* Dearborn's dispatch, June 25th, 1813.

gara frontier, General Prevost resolved to make a diversion on Lake Champlain, for which purpose, he detached 800 men, and also the crew of the Wasp, lately arrived from Halifax, under the command of Lieut. Col. J. Murray, and Captain Everard; whose instructions were, to burn and destroy vessels of every description, and property of whatever kind it might be, which belonged to the government. This expedition was attended with the desired success. The blockhouse, arsenal, barrack, and public storehouses at Plattsburgh, were destroyed. At Champlain town, two blockhouses were burnt, and some stores destroyed; and at Burlington, 4 vessels were destroyed, without any opposition from the enemy; whose force in this quarter, besides several armed vessels of considerable force, which were protected by formidable batteries, amounted to about 4000 men.*

By the activity and perseverance of Commodore Chauncey, the Americans had at last succeeded, in obtaining a considerable naval force on Lake Ontario. At this time, it amounted to 16 vessels of all descriptions; carrying 121 guns, and manned with picked crews. That of the British under Sir James Yeo, consisted of 9 vessels of all descriptions, carrying 98 guns. With this superiority of force, however, the enemy could not yet undertake any operations of great importance with security. With the force already mentioned, he left Sacket's harbour, and landed a considerable force at York, where however, they had it not in their power to do much mischief; except liberating the prisoners in the gaol, and carrying with them 3 soldiers guilty of felony. They re-embarked the same evening, and left the place; and next day re-landed, and returned in the same manner. What plunder they obtained, was principally the property of individuals. From York, the squadron steered for the Niagara side of the Lake. On the 11th Sept. the squadron under the command of Sir James Yeo met with them, and endeavoured to bring them to action; this, the enemy avoided, by making the best of their way; and, from the superiority of

* Sir George Prevost's Dispatch, August 8th, and Murray and Everard's Dispatches, August 3d, and 4th.

their sailing, the Wolf was the only vessel of Sir James Yeo's fleet, which could come up with them. He was therefore obliged to give up the pursuit; but succeeded in cutting off and capturing, 2 schooners, of 2 guns and 40 men each; and two of the enemy's largest schooners, the one of 10, and the other of 9 guns, with a crew of 50 men each, upset, from carrying too great a press of sail, and nearly all on board perished.

The capture of the British gun-brig Boxer, by the American ship Enterprize, of nearly an equal force, after a severe engagement, of 45 minutes, which event, took place on the 5th Sept. on the American coast, helped to raise their drooping spirits; and confirm them in their idea, of ultimately vanquishing, even the navy of Great Britain. It was a miserable foundation on which to build their hopes; but it was the only foundation, which they at this moment had.

Few operations, of much importance, took place for some time on the Canadian frontiers. Sir George Prevost, with a force of 2000 men, endeavoured, but in vain, to draw the American force of 4000 men, stationed at Fort George, into the open country. Some skirmishes took place in that quarter, attended with considerable loss of men; but without any important results. On Lake Erie, however, the Americans were more successful. Having there assembled a considerable naval force, consisting of 9 vessels, carrying 54 guns, under the command of Commodore Perry, they succeeded in capturing the whole British force, in that quarter, after a smart action, fought on the 10th Sept. This force consisting of 6 vessels, carrying 60 guns, of a smaller size than the American, 2 brigs and vessels, 2 schooners and a sloop, surrendered to the enemy. The British loss was 11 killed, and 94 wounded. The capture of these vessels, was of great importance to the enemy, as it gave him the complete command of Lake Erie; and a free entrance into the British dominions on the northern coasts, whenever he found it convenient. The American government saw clearly, that without the complete command of the lakes, they could never make any impression, that was to be of any permanent nature upon Canada; and therefore, they turned their attention

to this object, in the most serious manner; and, as we shall presently see, for some time with success.

About this time, Commodore Rodgers returned from a five months cruize in the most northern parts of the Atlantic ocean, on the coasts of the European continent, during which period, his whole exploits consisted in capturing a few straggling merchant vessels, and the Highflyer schooner, a tender, belonging to Sir John Borlase Warren's fleet. This was the last effort, and the utmost prowess of that tremendous hero, who, by the strength of his arm, was to give new maritime laws to the world.

The command of Lake Erie, enabled the Americans, at their pleasure, to land a large force on the opposite coast; which compelled Colonel Proctor to abandon Detroit, and Malden; and retreat to the eastward, which he accomplished, with considerable loss; having been compelled to disperse his army, in different directions; many of whom were taken prisoners, and about 60, including Indians, killed and wounded. These places were immediately taken possession of, by the division of the American army, under General Harrison. On Lake Ontario also, the naval force of the enemy was such, as rendered him able to face Sir James Yeo in that quarter; in consequence of which, some of the British ships with provisions and re-enforcements, from Kingston to the army, at the head of the Lake, fell into the hands of the enemy; amongst which, were the two schooners taken a short time before from Chauncey's squadron. The loss of the vessels, was, however, a trifling evil, compared to the loss of the supplies; these could not be so easily replaced, and could be transported in no other way, but by water. The conduct of Sir Jame Yeo at this time, deserves great praise; without risking the safety of the force under his command, he contrived to do the enemy all possible injury, and gave him much trouble.

The greater part of the British troops having been detached to defend the frontiers of Upper Canada; the Americans collected a considerable force, consisting of 7000 infantry, and 200 cavalry, under the command of General Hampton, accompanied by General Izard, and endeavoured to force their way to

Montreal, from their position on Chateauguay River. At Montreal, the American Generals had calculated, that they would unite their forces from every quarter, and march directly upon Quebec; in which, they were to finish the campaign; and the possession of which, they conceived, would extirpate the British name from the continent of America. To fulfill their part of this grand design, Generals Hampton and Izard advanced, with the force already mentioned. Scarcely, however, had they passed the frontiers, when they were met by a handful of men, amounting to 300, the advance of the small British force in that quarter. This determined band not only maintained their post, but, after a severe action in which the enemy suffered great loss, compelled him to retreat, covered with "*disgrace and defeat.*"* The loss of the American army was very considerable, not only from the fire of the British troops, but of their own; for several of their detached parties in the woods fired upon each other. The British loss was only 31 killed and wounded, and 4 missing.†

Amongst the other odious principles, advanced by the American government, and stated by them as reasons for embarking in this war, one was, that they should possess the privilege of naturalizing, by their acts, the subjects of other States; and by this make them as much subjects of America as those born in that country, and thereby entitled to the same privileges, and liable to perform the same duties. Monstrous as this proposition was, and diametrically opposite to every law, custom, or usage, that had been allowed, or acted upon by any nation in any age, still it was acted upon by the Americans. Although this was equally inimical to the interests of every other country, it fell particularly hard upon Great Britain, from the similarity of language and manners between her population and those of the United States, to which there was a constant emigration of the factious, turbulent, and discontented, at all times the most bitter and inveterate enemies of the state which gave them birth. These the American government called

* Prevost's dispatch, Oct. 30th, 1813.

† Do. do. do.

out in their ranks, armed, and sent them forth to conquer their brethren, and to overthrow the power of their native land. That such men, if taken, deserved death, no person but an American would have denied. Amongst the prisoners taken by the British, were found many of these; 23 of which were recognised as such, and acknowledged themselves to be British born subjects. These were arrested, and sent to England to be tried as traitors to their native land. The American government immediately placed an equal number of British soldiers in close confinement; declaring that their lives should answer for those of the traitors to their country arrested and sent to England. This audacious proceeding called forth from the British government the most peremptory orders, to their officers employed in Canada, to imprison double the number of American officers and non-commissioned officers;* and to inflict the punishment of death upon them, should the American government dare to touch the lives of the British soldiers, whom they had committed to prison. This firm and decided step, however, was not yet sufficient to arrest the career of the American government in their unjustifiable conduct.

Every attempt was also made by them to blacken the British character. The most desperate and unblushing falschoods were industriously circulated, with regard to the British officers and men, both in the army and navy. Bonaparte, while he detested Britain and the British character, yet treated both with some degree of respect; but his more ignorant and unprincipled friends, on the other side of the Atlantic, while they exceeded him in the first, afforded him an example in the second. The fidelity of the Canadians, also called forth their rancour; and every species of wanton outrage and destruction, against both their persons and their properties, were carried into effect, wherever the American arms extended. This odious system called forth the indignation of the British government; and the most peremptory orders were given to the British squadrons off the American coast, to carry on the war with unmitigated severity, and increased rigour, against all the inhabitants of the United States.

* Official orders, by Prevost, Montreal, Oct. 27th, 1813.

While Generals Hampton and Izard were attempting to enter the British territories by Chateauguay River, General Wilkinson, with 10,000 men, embarked at Sacket's harbour in about 300 vessels of all descriptions; and sailing down the St. Lawrence, on the 3d Nov. he advanced to Grenadier Island. Having passed Prescot on the 7th, without any material loss, on the 8th he landed 5000 men at Fort Iroquois, 15 miles from the former place. Here he was joined by 300 dragoons from Hamilton, and this united force took the direction of Cornwall. As soon as these movements were known, the 49th and 89th regiments, and a detachment from the garrison of Prescot, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Pearson, the whole amounting to 800 men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Morrison, and assisted by a division of gun-boats, under the direction of Captain Mulcaster of the Royal Navy, marched in search of the enemy. On the 10th, they met him near Crystler's farm, 20 miles above Cornwall, where he was defeated; and the British troops that night occupied the ground where this partial engagement took place. The enemy, who were commanded by General Boyd, perceiving the dangerous situation in which his rashness had placed him, began his retreat, on the 11th, followed by Colonel Morrison and his handful of men, who annoyed him greatly. In order to rid himself of such a troublesome opponent, the American General made a grand effort; and concentrating his army, immediately advanced against the British force with close columns of infantry, supported by artillery. Lieut. Col. Morrison took up a good position; and with his small, but determined band, awaited the attack of the enemy. The engagement began about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and soon became general. The attacks of the enemy were incessant and severe, threatening and attempting to turn both wings of the British force; but in every attempt he was most gallantly repulsed, and at last beaten and pursued from the field of battle, with the loss of 700 men killed and wounded, and 100 prisoners,* with one 6 pounder taken from him. On the 13th, he embarked

* Prevost's dispatch, Nov. 15th, 1813.

his remaining force, with the utmost precipitation, and crossed over to St. Regis, from whence he proceeded to Salmon River. The British loss in this brilliant affair, amounted to 22 killed, 147 wounded, and 12 missing.* The enemy returned into the country around Plattsburgh, where he took up his winter quarters, along with his beaten brethren, Hampton and Izard. A considerable number of American officers of rank were killed and wounded. The result of this action left Canada free from any serious alarm during the approaching winter. The enemy, under General M'Clure, abandoned Fort George, at Niagara, which was immediately taken possession of by the British forces. The enemy, in imitation of his mighty allies in Europe, and even exceeding them in audacity, intended to plunder the adjacent country, and carry off the loyal inhabitants; but the rapid advance of the British force under Col. Murray, compelled him to seek his safety in a precipitate flight; previous to which, they had, in the most wanton manner, and at that inclement season of the year, reduced the whole of the beautiful village of Newark, containing 159 houses, to ashes.† At the same time they compelled above 400 women and children to be mournful spectators of the destruction of their all. Similar to this was his conduct in other places, which was quickly retaliated by orders of the British General.

The American government, persisting in their unjust conduct of protecting as American citizens, British born subjects taken in arms against their country, had ordered 46 British officers to be put in close confinement, in retaliation for the same number placed in the same situation by order of the British Government, as has been already noticed. This conduct of the American government compelled the British General to place an equal number of American officers in close confinement, to await the fate of those British subjects, so rashly and unjustifiably imprisoned by the Americans.‡

The campaign in America, was now at an end for the sea-

* General orders, by Baynes, Nov. 15th, 1813.
† Do. do. Montreal, Dec. 12th, 1813.
‡ Bayne's general order, Quebec, Dec. 21st, 1813.

ion. Two years had elapsed, and every effort of the American government, in pursuit of their favourite object, the conquest of Canada, had been completely frustrated. I say completely, because the trifling advantages which they had gained about Detroit could by no means be looked upon as a permanent advantage. The whole of this had been performed by a handful of British troops, under every disadvantage. The conduct of these brave men, deserves greatest applause and gratitude, from their fellow subjects. These actions, though lost amidst the stupendous occurrences which were daily taking place in Europe, were not the less honourable and useful to their country. They preserved a most valuable, and at the same time most vulnerable, portion of the British empire from the lawless rage of a rancorous enemy, who detest our name and our nation, although the latter gave them birth. The conduct of all the British troops, officers and men, were not surpassed by any of their fellow-countrymen in any other quarter of the globe.

Upon the meeting of Congress, Madison indeed dwelt with triumph upon the brilliant success with which the American arms had been crowned by sea and land during the campaign; with what justice any rational observer may soon determine. Except his success at sea, merely of a partial and isolated nature, and that on Lake Erie, of what had the American President to boast? Every where else he was baffled and defeated with shame and disgrace. His trade was ruined, his expenses great and increasing, for no just object, and in an unhallowed cause. He, however, thought otherwise, and wanted to persuade the American people into the same belief as himself. According to him, war was absolutely necessary to increase the prosperity and greatness of the United States; and, so far from being an evil, was attended with increasing good.* "Such is

* This was precisely the language of the demons who hatched the French Revolution. Brissot, in 1792, told the Convention, "that war was a real benefit to the nation, and that the only evil they had to dread was the not having war."---All the children of the same school, down to Mr. Madison, thought then, and think still in a similar manner.

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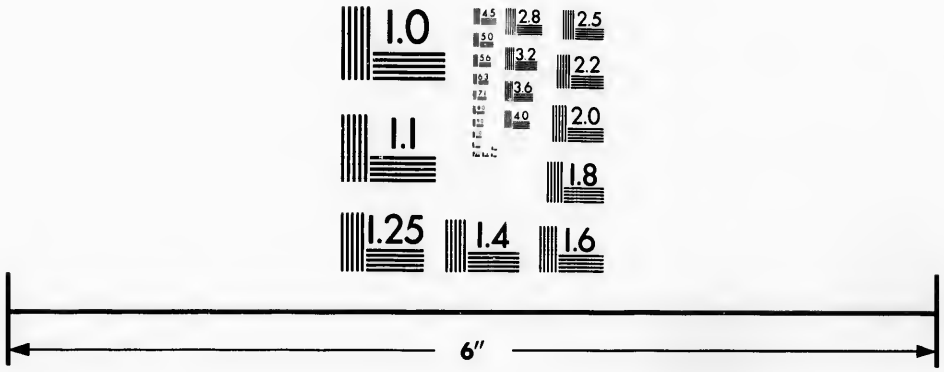

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the favoured situation (said he) of the United States; that the calamities of the contest, into which they have been compelled to enter, are mitigated by improvements, and advantages, *of which the contest itself is the source.*"* While mankind in general who professed to follow freedom as the greatest good, and peace as the greatest blessing; considered the increase of military measures, as an evil which could hardly be borne, even under the greatest necessity; Mr. Madison considered the pursuit and dissemination of these principles in America, as the greatest blessing. "By diffusing through the mass of the nation, the elements of military discipline and instruction, *by augmenting and distributing warlike preparations applicable to future use,*† a greater respect for our rights, and a longer duration of our future peace, are promised, than could be expected, without these proofs of the national character and resources." This was precisely the doctrine of Napoleon, diffuse, said he, military principles and preparations, through the minds of the mass of the population, over which I rule, and if not *applicable* for the present, they will be for *future* use. I will thereby become an Emperor, and Europe my slave—"In fine," said Mr. Madison, "the war with all its vicissitudes, is illustrating the capacity and the destiny of the United States, to be a great, a flourishing, and a powerful nation; and we may humbly repose our trust in the smiles of Heaven in so righteous a cause."‡ Peace had hitherto been accounted the only road, to lead a nation to true greatness and prosperity. The French Revolution and French principles had inculcated a different lesson. Success had apparently attended their objects, in order to render their discomfiture more signal—the retribution more fatal on their heads.

The American army having suffered much from disease and desertion, in the place where they had been forced to take up their winter quarters, were compelled, about the middle of February, to abandon their position in advance, after having

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* Madison's message, December 7th, 1813.
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burned and destroyed their blockhouses and barracks, which had been constructed at a great expense. The whole retreated to Plattsburgh, where General Wilkinson established his head-quarters. There the enemy remained till the opening of the Spring again called him forth to action, with fresh forces and greater means. His first attempt was against the British force stationed in advance on the Rechelieu river. On the morning of the 30th March, 1814, the outposts of the communication leading from Odell Town to Burtonville and La Colle Mill, were attacked by the enemy under General Wilkinson. The picquets fell back upon the main body, disputing the ground as the enemy advanced, who directed his force against the post of La Colle. After an obstinate engagement, the enemy were repulsed with severe loss, and was compelled to retreat by the road to Odell Town. The British troops engaged were the 13th regiment, a company of Canadian fencibles, and a company of voltigeurs, the whole under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Williams and Major Hancock, aided by some gun-boats under the direction of Captain Pring and Lieutenant Creswick of the Royal navy. The British loss was 11 killed, 46 wounded, and 4 missing. On the side of the enemy the loss was much more severe.

On the 4th May, Sir James Yeo sailed from Kingston with the fleet under his command, and on the 5th he appeared off Oswego, which he immediately commenced the bombardment of. After being repulsed, he at last succeeded in landing a number of troops, when the place surrendered. The barracks and all the public property in the place were destroyed, and several vessels were scuttled and sunk. Having performed this important service, the British abandoned the place and re-embarked. The Americans acknowledged a loss of 54 men, killed and wounded, and calculated the loss on shore at 40,000 dollars. On the ocean, success, for some time, equally balanced, at last settled in favour of Great Britain. The Epervier sloop, after a severe engagement, was captured by the American ship, Peacock; and the American sloop, Frolick, by the British ship, Orpheus. The American ship, Argus, of 20 guns, was taken in the St. George's channel, by the British

sloop of war, Pelican, J. F. Maples, after an obstinate action, in which the American vessel was carried by boarding. The Essex American frigate, commanded by Captain Porter, had been detached to cruise in the South Pacific Ocean, along the West coast of South America. There she did much mischief among the British trading ships in that part of the world, which, since the peace with Spain, had not been accustomed to meet any enemy in that distant quarter. The Essex had finished her cruise, and was preparing to return to the United States, richly laden with the plunder she had preserved from the vessels she had destroyed. On the 28th May, the British frigate, Phœbe, Captain Hillyar, and Cherub sloop of war, which had been detached in search of her, at last found her out in the bay of Valparaiso in Chili. The Essex endeavoured to escape, but could not effect it.—After a desperate action of two hours and a half, she was compelled to strike her colours to the British ships, having sustained a loss of 150 men killed and wounded. On the part of the British, only 15 were killed and wounded. The Essex was a frigate of the largest class, carrying 46 guns, and her capture was a matter of great importance to the commercial interests of Britain.

Sir Alexander Cochrane, in the Tonant of 84 guns, had by this time been appointed the successor of Sir John Borlase Warren, in the command of the British naval force off the coast of America. This brave officer had only one duty to attend to; namely, to fight the enemies of his country. The number of vessels under his command were very considerable, and he made the most vigorous preparations to use them with effect. One of his first acts after his arrival at Bermuda was, to issue a proclamation, laying the whole coast of America, from the mouth of the Mississippi to the borders of Nova Scotia, under the strictest blockade. The British ships of war surrounded their coasts, occupied the mouths of their principal rivers and bays, so that nothing could pass except a number of desperate adventurers in privateers, who eluded the vigilance of the British ships during the night, or in thick weather. The utmost alarm and anxiety prevailed along the whole American coast; and at nu-

merous points active operations were making to resist any serious attempt which the British had in view.

It was at this moment that the appaling intelligence from Europe reached them, of the occupation of Paris by the allies, and the complete overthrow of their mighty ally, whose machiavelian policy had led them into this dreadful and unprofitable struggle. The accounts of the former event reached them first, which, though not very agreeable intelligence, yet they bore with the best grace possible; consoling themselves with the pleasing idea, that though Bonaparte had lost his capital still it was not his Empire; and that his talents and resources would, nevertheless, soon vanquish all his opponents, and annihilate all the armies which had invaded France. So the American government calculated to the last moment, till the restoration of the Bourbons, and the dethronement of their august ally, tore the veil of folly and confidence from their eyes, and shewed them dangers which had never once entered into their calculations. They saw themselves exposed to the whole energies of Great Britain, to whom Europe owed so much, that America could scarcely expect one voice could be raised in their behalf, to intercede for them, with a power, who, when she stood the last prop of sinking Europe, they had basely and unjustly leagued themselves against to destroy. But, still, Madison had too much pride to yield or confess his error. He endeavoured, with all his might, to call forth the energies of the American people to meet the force which, he was well aware, would soon be put in motion against him. Every effort was, therefore, to be made to obtain a firm footing in Canada, before the arrival of any considerable re-enforcements to the British army.

No sooner had the treaty of Paris sealed the repose of Europe, than the British ministers took instant measures to transport 20,000 men of the Marquis of Wellington's army, from the Garonne to Canada. Transports and ships of war were dispatched to Bourdeaux with the greatest speed, to take the troops on board and to proceed to America. But, notwithstanding every exertion, it was obvious, that before their arrival at the scene of action, and before the supplies and every

requisite necessary for such an army were organized and established in the interior parts of Canada, that the season would be too far advanced for them to do much harm to the Americans during that campaign. Without adverting to this circumstance, the public expectations were raised to a great height, that America would now meet the punishment she so richly deserved.

The American government, however, endeavoured to anticipate the British in their operations in that quarter. Peremptory orders were sent to their Generals to make themselves masters of Canada if possible. Accordingly, on Sunday the 3d July, a very large American force crossed the river at the ferry opposite Black Rock, and drove in the picquets of the garrison of Fort Erie. The enemy took up a strong position, with his right resting on the river Niagara. Major General Rial, who commanded the British troops in this quarter, having with him the 100dth regiment, the light companies of the Royal Scots and the King's regiment, in all, 1500 regulars, with 300 Indians and some Canadian militia, determined to attack the enemy in the position he had taken. The attack took place on the evening of the 5th; and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the British army, they were compelled to retreat with considerable loss. The enemy's force was, perhaps, triple theirs, and consisted of 6000 men, with a formidable train of artillery. The British army made good its retreat to Chippawa, where it was joined by re-enforcements from York. This retreat was conducted in excellent order, and without the loss of any prisoners, except such of the wounded as could not be removed. The loss of the British amounted to 495 men killed and wounded. Lieutenant Colonel the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lieutenant Colonel Gordon, and Captain Holland, were among the wounded.* The loss of the Americans was also severe. Previous to this action, Fort Erie surrendered by capitulation to the enemy on the 3d, with a garrison of 150 men.

In the meantime, an expedition fitted out at Bermuda, landed and took possession of Moose island, and other islands in

* Rial's dispatch, July 6th, 1814.

the bay of Passamaquoddy, in the North West side of the bay of Fundy. The naval part of this expedition was under the command of Sir Thomas Hardy of the Ramillies of 74 guns, and the military under Lieutenant General Sherbrooke, and consisted of the 102d regiment and a detachment of the Royal artillery. The enemy were completely unprepared to meet this attack, and the garrison, consisting of 86 men, capitulated without resistance. Moose island is about four miles long, and contains 1500 inhabitants. The militia were 250. It was a dreadful nest for privateers, which annoyed the British trade severely on the entrance of the St. Laurence.

General Rial, continuing to be pressed by the American army under General Brown, much superior in numbers, fell back from Chippawa to the position of Lundy's foot, near the falls of Niagara. Here General Drummond, with re-enforcements, joined him. The enemy made no attempt against his position till the 25th July. On that day he attacked the British forces. The contest was obstinate and sanguinary; but at length British bravery prevailed. The enemy were defeated with the loss of 1500 men, and were pursued by General Drummond to Fort Erie. The enemy's force with which he attacked, amounted to 5000 men; while on the side of the British, the force, at the commencement of the action, was only 1600; and after its commencement re-enforced to 2800, of all descriptions. The loss, on the part of the British, was 84 killed, 559 wounded, 193 missing, and 42 prisoners. General Rial was wounded and taken prisoner, by a party of the enemy's cavalry, which had obtained a momentary possession of the road.—On the side of the Americans, Generals Brown and Scot were among the wounded. The Americans made the most desperate attempts to carry the British lines, but were ultimately completely worsted. They acknowledge that their loss was great, and that it amounted to 572 killed and 119 missing. "Of so determined a nature," said General Drummond, "were these attacks directed against our guns, that our artillerymen were bayonetted in the act of loading; and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of ours."* From

* Drummond's dispatch, July 27th, 1812.

the darkness of the night, and the closeness with which the guns were engaged, of two pieces taken from the Americans one was actually exchanged by our troops, by which means the enemy obtained one of the British guns instead of his own.*

The Americans took refuge in Fort Erie, and under cover of that place. Thither General Drummond followed them. On the night of the 11th August, two of the enemy's armed schooners were taken in the most gallant style, under the guns of the fort, by a party of seamen and marines, under the command of Captain Dobb's of the Royal navy. In consequence of this success a general attack took place against the enemy's forts and entrenchments, on the 15th. The attack was made in the most determined manner. The Americans defended themselves with great obstinacy. British valour, however, surmounted every obstacle; the entrenchments were taken, and the guns turned against the barrack block house, the only remaining refuge which the enemy had; and the place was upon the point of being carried, when an accidental explosion took place in one of the batteries in possession of the British troops, which did great mischief among the assailants. A great number of valuable officers and men lost their lives at this moment. The remainder were thrown into confusion, and became intimidated. Night increased the horrors of the scene. The enemy took advantage of the consternation which this fatal accident had spread among them, and returning to the combat, succeeded in driving back the British troops, who suffered a severe loss. Fifty-seven were killed, 309 wounded, and 39 missing, a great many of whom were afterwards ascertained to have been killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was also considerable, but not particularly stated. Amongst the British officers, who fell on this unfortunate occasion, were Colonel Scot, and Lieutenant Colonel Drummond, nephew to the General. The Americans boasted loudly of this affair, where, if they earned fame, the British army suffered no dishonour.

Their triumph was, however, of short duration; and the de-

* Drummond's dispatch, July 27th, 1814.

feat which the British army had sustained at Erie, was amply compensated for, by decisive success in another quarter. A considerable number of troops having arrived at Bermuda, under the command of that brave officer, General Ross; Admiral Cochrane proceeded with the fleet under his command, and this force, to the coast of America. There he joined Admiral Cockburn in the Chesapeake; and, with their united force, forming a formidable squadron, a plan was laid to capture the American capital. For this purpose, the fleet, with the land forces on board, proceeded up the Chesapeake, and entered the Patuxent. The Americans had no force which could oppose this naval armament. The fleet, therefore, proceeded without opposition, having previously detached a squadron to alarm the south-west shores of the Chesapeake, and to distract the attention of the enemy. The surprise and alarm of the American government, at the approach of this armament against the seat of their power, may be more easily conceived than described. Troops were assembled, in all haste, round the environs of the capital; and every preparation, that the shortness of the time would allow, was made to resist the British. In the mean time, the armament advanced. On the 19th, the troops were landed at Benedict, on the Patuxent; and began their march to the American capital. On the 21st, they reached Nottingham, and on the 22d Marlborough. Admiral Cockburn, with the tenders and boats of the fleet, proceeded up the river, in order to destroy the American flotilla there stationed, under the command of Commodore Barney. The marines were landed, and, under the command of Captain Robbyns, directed to attack on the land side, in order to withdraw the enemy's attention from the force advancing against him up the river. No sooner, however, had the British vessels made their appearance, than Commodore Barney set fire to the whole flotilla, which consisted of 17 vessels; and which, with the exception of one, were all consumed. The Commodore's ship, was a large armed vessel, and the others gun-boats, with two guns each, of 18 and 32 pounders, with a crew of 40 men to the boats, carrying 18 pounders; and 60 to those carrying 32 pounders. Above this flotilla, and under its protection, lay 13 merchant schooners,

some of which not being worth bringing away, were burnt, and the remainder brought off, with a great quantity of tobacco, which was found in the adjacent towns. This severe loss, sustained by the enemy, was accomplished without any loss whatever, on the part of the British.

On the 23d, the army proceeded towards Washington, and bivouacked on the night of the 23d. At day-light, on the 24th, the troops again commenced their march; and, at Bladensburg, first came in sight of the enemy. His force was from 8 to 9000 men, posted "on ground he had chosen, as best adapted for him to defend, where he had time to erect batteries, and concert all his measures."* Fatigued as the British army was, from its previous harassing marches, it did not hesitate a moment to attack the enemy. Washington lay before them, the prize of their success. The attack was impetuous and irresistible. The enemy was driven from his guns. His first line fell back upon the second, which was attacked by the bayonet, put to flight, and completely routed; all his artillery, amounting to 10 pieces, fell into the hands of the conquerors; but the rapidity of his flight, and intimate knowledge of the country, prevented many prisoners from falling into the hands of the British. The enemy's force was commanded by Gen. Winder, and was composed of troops, drawn from Baltimore, and Pensylvania. The advance of the British army, consisting of 1500 men, was only engaged, and decided the fate of Washington. The loss on the part of the victors, was 64 killed, and 185 wounded. The General having given the army two hours to rest, again proceeded towards Washington; where all was confusion, consternation, and alarm. Madison, who had been a spectator of the action, where his troops were defeated, fled, with all the members of government from that city, which his folly and ambition, had laid open to destruction. It was dark before the British troops reached the place. Upon entering the town, they were attacked by a brisk fire of musquetry from the Capitol, and two other houses. These were instantly stormed, and set on fire. The town then submitted. Previous to his

* Cockburn's dispatch, August 27th, 1814.

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* Cochrane, Cockbu
September 2d, 1814.

flight, the enemy had set fire to the navy dock-yard containing a vast quantity of naval stores, about 20,000 stand of arms; a frigate of the first class, ready for launching, a sloop of war, lying off it, and the fort which protected it. He also destroyed the two bridges over the eastern branch of the river, apprehending the attack from that quarter. The British army commenced the destruction of all the other public buildings, and public property in the place. The President's palace, the treasury, the war-office, two rope-yards of great extent and value; an immense quantity of ammunition and ordnance stores, and about 200 pieces of artillery of various calibre, were totally destroyed. In short, not a particle of public property of any description, escaped destruction. The British army, having completed the object which they had in view, re-embarked at their leisure, without the smallest molestation, and proceeded on another destination; having, previously to their abandoning the Patuxent, taken both Alexandria and Fort Washington; the one situated above, and the other below the capital; in which places, they also, either destroyed, or carried off, every kind of public property, or what was afloat in the river. The number of vessels taken, amounted to 71.* The loss sustained by the Americans at Washington, was estimated at 5,000,000 dollars.

The squadron which had been detached up the Chesapeake, under the command of Sir Peter Parker, of the Menelaus, in order to distract the attention of the enemy, and call it off from the main point of attack, had been successful in different attacks against the enemy. Advancing, however, too far, he was led on the night of the 30th, to attack a division of the enemy, encamped at Bellair, which proved much stronger than he had supposed it to be. Nevertheless, the small force under his command, succeeded in defeating the enemy; but while in the act of animating his men, and leading them to the attack, this brave officer was mortally wounded, and died in a short time afterwards. The British force, then under the command of Henry Crease, acting commander of the Menelaus, retreated from the

* Cochrane, Cockburn, and Ross's dispatches, August 22d, 27th, 30th, and September 2d, 1814.

field of battle, from which they had pursued the enemy, and carrying off their wounded, re-embarked in safety, and without molestation. Their loss was 31 killed and wounded.* The enemy's force was four times more numerous than that of the British.

The capture of Washington, and destruction of all the public buildings, and property in the place, was a severe blow to American prosperity, and a cutting rebuke to their vanity. To call off the public attention and indignation, from his disgrace and humiliation, Madison, and his adherents, loaded the character of the British troops employed in this brilliant expedition, with every species of reproach, and accused them of every species of crime and atrocity. It was asserted, that every kind of private property, was plundered and destroyed; and, that during the time they were in possession of the city, that they committed every crime, which could disgrace the man or the soldier. Although his own countrymen, who were eye-witnesses, to what he indeed, had not the courage to face, gave the lie to such assertions and foul calumnies; and declared, that the conduct of the British troops, was most honourable and humane; and, that all the outrages against private persons and property, which had been committed, were perpetrated by the American rabble of Washington themselves; still the President continued, solemnly, publicly, and officially, to assert the contrary. The conduct, of the warriors of Britain, was depicted as equal to that of barbarians of the rudest age; and their destruction of the public buildings, and works of Art, at Washington, was described, as placing them upon a level with a Genseric and Attila. Even if these accounts had been true, as they were not, it was not a little curious, to hear the outcry these men raised against such proceedings; who, in their very cause of going to war, and in all their public pursuits, declared, that they wanted to assimilate the war on the ocean, to that on the land; and that in the future both should be carried on upon the same principles. Yet, these men, thought it no crime to burn, sink, and destroy the works of Art on the ocean, and

* Crease's dispatch to Admiral Cochrane, September 1st, 1814.

these two, when they were not public property, as the effects destroyed at Washington were, but private property in every shape. The Americans, however, were not singular in their exclamations and abuse, against Britain, for this conduct pursued at Washington. The same strain was eagerly adopted, by the just, humane, and honest people of Paris; who could scarcely find words sufficient to express their horror and detestation of such conduct! The deeds of Caligula were mild—the acts of Genseric, the conduct of Attila, the atrocities of Robspierre, were just and humane, compared to the conduct of the British at Washington. Nothing had ever been done, to compare to it, except the deeds of their foreseeing Emperor Bonaparte, when he was in Russia and other places.* These lads of Paris, must have bad memories, or they cannot but remember, that France set worse men loose on Europe, than even the Imperial Napoleon. It is not, that I wish to defend the character of my country, by stating that the conduct of her former inveterate foes, was more disgraceful than hers. The conduct of Britain at Washington, requires no defence; it was perfectly just, merciful and humane; but it calls forth the deepest indignation, to see the press of Paris, so distort facts, in order to reduce our national character, to a level with their own, in the ways of wickedness. In vain will they attempt to lay all their conduct

* "Thus, then, the war is prosecuted in the New World, with the same character of fury, as for so long a period, spread desolation over the Old. Was it intended to furnish *him* with an excuse, who was justly charged with trampling under foot all those principles, by imitating his *barbarous* example," &c. &c. *Journal des Debats.* October 2d, 1814.

"How could a nation eminently civilized, conduct itself at Washington, with as much barbarity as the old banditti of Attila and Genseric? Is not this act of atrocious vengeance a crime against all humanity? Robespierre, and the wretched Sans Colottes, and Revolutionary Vandals, who devastated France in 1793, are devoted to the execration of ages. These men were produced by the fury of the Revolution. But that from the bosom of one of the most enlightened nations of the world, there should go forth, a military chief, who, without any of those violent passions that disturb the understanding, should have imitated the fury of the most savage hordes, and made war, not upon his enemies, but upon columns of temples, public edifices, and palaces; that he should have devastated, for the pleasure of devastating; who can contemplate all this, without grief and indignation." *Journal de Paris,* October 6th, 1814.

and their crimes, to the exile of Elba. Bad as he was, there were many thousands no better in France; and he has told us, that there were many much worse. Let them turn to the 26th Bulletin, and see what advice his Marshals and army gave him when in Russia; namely, to burn the remainder of Moscow, and lay waste all the country, within 20 leagues of Moscow; which contained 9000 castles, 4000 country houses, and 2000 villages. This savage advice, *even he rejected.** A century hence, Frenchmen, when adhering to truth, may advocate the cause of humanity; at present, it must proceed from a perverted intellect, vicious minds, and polluted lips.

From the Patuxent, and the ruined American capital, the victorious British forces took their way to Baltimore. This city is a place of great trade; situated on the south-west side of that great inlet of the Atlantic Ocean, called the Chesapeake, and 168 miles from the ocean, and 40 from Washington. It is the centre of democracy in America; where lawless brutal mobs set the law at defiance, and murder those who differ from them in political opinions; (if these favour the land of their forefathers, and oppose French interests;) and a place where the sacred person of an Ambassador, is treated with indignity and scorn, as was the case with the British Ambassador, Mr. Jackson. Against Britain, they have the most deadly hatred, which their interest, which is almost their only pursuit, cannot soften, nor gain, which is their idol, subdue. Against this turbulent nest, of every base and unworthy passion, the British army and

* " It was proposed to the Emperor, to burn the rest of the town, to serve the Russians as they deserve, and to extend the measure round Moscow. There are 2000 villages, and as many country-houses. *It was proposed to form four columns, of 2000 men each: and to set fire to every thing for 20 leagues round the city.* This will teach the Russians, said they, to make war in a regular manner If they burn one village, one house; we must reply, by burning one hundred. *The Emperor refused these proposals,* which would have so much aggravated the miseries of war—of 9000 proprietors, whose castles would have been burnt; 100 are perhaps, the followers of the Marat of Russia, (Rostopchin) but 8900 are good men." The Emperor, therefore, contented himself, with destroying the military establishments, &c. 26th Bulletin, Borowsk, October 23d, 1812.

Will the Journal de Paris, and his brother des Debats, say, what tender-hearted Frenchmen gave Napoleon such advice? Are they all gone to Elba with him?

navy, which had humbled Washington, now bent their strength. On the 12th Sept. the British army landed, about 13 miles from the city, and immediately commenced their march towards it, while the fleet bore up to attack the place from the Bay. The enemy had entrenched a narrow peninsula on the road, by which the British had to advance, but which he quickly abandoned upon their approach. About two miles beyond this fort, the army first became engaged with the enemy. The country, as they advanced, became closely wooded, which enabled the American riflemen to conceal themselves, and keep up a galling, and a destructive fire, upon the British troops, as they advanced. It was at this moment, that the brave and lamented General Ross, received a wound in the breast, which soon deprived him of life. He called the second in command, and gave him directions, concerning the advance of the army; and "*only survived to recommend a young and unprovided family, to the protection of his King and Country.* Thus fell, at an early age, one of the brightest ornaments of his profession."* Peace to his ashes. The name of Ross, will live in the brightest page of British history, and a grateful country can never forget the "*unprovided family*," of one of her bravest sons, who fell in defence of her best rights. After the fall of General Ross, the command of the army was assumed by Colonel Brook, who continued to press forward. About 5 miles from Baltimore, he came up with the American army, consisting of 6000 infantry, some hundreds of cavalry, with 6 pieces of cannon, posted under cover of a wood. The British force, only amounted to 4000 men. Preparations were immediately made to attack the enemy. Every thing being arranged, the signal was given for the attack. It was obeyed with alacrity. The troops rushed forward with irresistible impetuosity. In less than 15 minutes, the enemy's force was completely overthrown, and fled in consternation; leaving in the hands of the victors, 2 pieces of cannon, 400 prisoners, and a loss of 600 killed and wounded. The loss on the part of the British, was 39 killed, and 251 wounded. The day being far advanced, the British

* Brook's Dispatch, Sept. 17th, 1814.

troops halted, and slept on the field of battle. Early on the morning of the 13th, they continued their route to Baltimore, and at 10 o'clock, occupied a favourable position, within a mile and a half of the city. The enemy were making every preparation to defend the place. He had assembled a force of, at least, 15,000 men, with a large train of artillery, and the principal part of these occupied Chinkapin Hill, which completely commands the place, and which was also the strongest part of their line. Notwithstanding the vast disparity of force, Col. Brook made arrangements to attack the place on the following night, confident that he would succeed; but, towards the evening, he received a communication from Admiral Cochrane, who was off the place with the fleet, that, in consequence of a great number of vessels, being sunk in the mouth of the harbour, the fleet could not approach near enough, to do the town any injury, nor render him any assistance; Colonel Brook, very wisely, determined to give up the idea of attacking a place, which, though he was confident he could have carried, with the force under his command; yet, it would have been impossible for him, to maintain the same, without the assistance of the navy. He, accordingly, withdrew the army, on the 14th, and re-embarked at his leisure, without the smallest molestation from the enemy. Thus was Baltimore rescued from the grasp of the British army. But it did not escape without a severe loss. Several public buildings were burnt by the enemy. A valuable rope-work, shared the same fate. The inhabitants were forced to remove their property, at a great expense and loss; and lastly, the mischief done to the harbour, in which 20 vessels had been sunk, must have been most injurious, and very great. Still it is to be regretted, that this place, one of the strongest supporters of the war against Britain, should have escaped feeling the strength of her arm.

While these operations were going on in the Chesapeake, Rear Admiral Griffith, with the squadron under his command, accompanied by Sir John Sherbrooke and the land forces under his direction, proceeded to the Penobscot river, where the Adams, American frigate, had taken refuge at Hampden, 30 miles up the river, and where she had landed all her artillery

for her protection. Upon the approach of the British force, the American officer commanding at the fort of Castine, which is situated upon a peninsula of the eastern side of the Penobscot, offered some resistance; but quickly perceiving that it could be of no use, he blew up the magazine and escaped up the river, carrying with him two brass field-pieces, which were, however, afterwards found and captured. The town of Belfast was occupied as a point of support; and Captain Barrie, with a force of 600 picked men, was detached to Hampden in order to destroy the Adams frigate in her place of refuge. This he completely accomplished in the face of the enemy's force, amounting to 1400 men. The enemy was driven from all his defences, with the loss of 40 killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners, with all his cannon. The frigate, mounting 26 guns, the enemy burnt to prevent her falling into the hands of the British. Seventeen pieces of cannon were brought away, and 34 destroyed. Two ships, one brig, and six schooners were brought away; and three ships, one brig, three schooners, and one sloop, were destroyed, besides the Adams frigate. The British loss on this occasion was seven killed and wounded.* A detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Pilkington was at the same time sent against Machias, which was quickly taken possession of. In it were found 26 pieces of cannon, and a quantity of stores.† By these operations, the whole coast from the Passamaquoddy river to the Penobscot, extending about 80 miles in length, were in the possession of the British.

Various other actions and attacks, by the British squadrons, took place along the American coast, which was kept in constant terror and alarm from one end to the other. All of these, however, were minor operations to those I have recorded, and are not very interesting. The season of the year was now approaching when it was necessary for the British ships to retire to the southward, and where they were actively employed, for some time, in preparing for more important operations. Still, however, a sufficient force was left on every part of the coast

* Sherbrooke's dispatch, September 18th, &c.—Gazette, October 8th, 1814.
† Pilkington's dispatch, September 14th, 1814.

to render any attempt of the enemy to put to sea, or to carry on any trade, either coasting or foreign, extremely hazardous.

The American government shewing no wish to retract its wanton and barbarous custom of burning and destroying the houses and properties of the defenceless inhabitants of Canada, who had come under their control, notwithstanding the retaliatory measures adopted by the British officers, it was determined to extend these measures of severity along the coast, wherever the British navy could effect it. To prevent this distressing measure, Admiral Cochrane wrote to the American government, expressing his regret at the necessity of such a measure, and expressing a hope that their orders would be such as would prevent the adoption of such a plan.* In the answer of Mr. Munro, for his government, he, so far from acknowledging that the Americans had done wrong, boldly justified their proceedings, and charged the British as the authors of these barbarous modes of warfare. Amongst the extraordinary evils which arose out of that system of delirium which seized the human mind, connected with, or instructed in those principles which occasioned and fostered the French revolution, and all its lamentable consequences, none was more remarkable than the audacity with which its votaries substituted falsehoods for truths, and openly denied facts that were as clear as noon-day; exculpating themselves, and charging their adversaries with their crimes. Such was the present attempt of Mr. Munro in the defence of his government. He publicly, solemnly, and officially, denied facts which he knew to be true, and advanced circumstances, as truth, which he knew, and the world knew, to be false.

The re-enforcements from the South of France had arrived in considerable numbers, and augmented the British force at Quebec to a formidable army. Preparations were therefore made to act on the offensive, and invade the territories of the United States, in the direction of Lake Champlain and Platts-

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* Cochrane's letter, August 18th, 1814.

† Munro's letter, September 6th, 1814.

burgh. For this purpose, the army, from 8 to 10,000 strong, commenced its march, under the immediate command of Sir George Prevost. Trusting to the co-operation of the naval force on Lake Champlain, all the supplies were forwarded by water, as indeed it is impossible to transport these by any other means in a country covered with woods, and destitute of roads of any description. The naval force on the Lake Champlain was nearly equal; consisting of one frigate, one brig, and two sloops, on each side. The American vessels were, however, manned with hands long accustomed to the navigation of the Lake; whereas, the British crews, at least a great part of them, had only newly joined the vessels, and were strangers to each other, and to the officers who commanded them. The American vessels were commanded by Commodore Macdonough; the British by Commodore Downie. The land forces, on the part of the Americans, were commanded by General Macomb. What their strength was is not accurately known. It was considerable; though the enemy attempted to say that it was only 1500 regulars, and 2500 militia. The British army crossed the American frontier on the 2d September, and advanced to Plattsburgh, after surmounting every difficulty which the enemy had thrown in their way, by felling trees, blocking up and cutting up the roads, and removing the bridges. On the 6th, they entered Plattsburgh, and immediately commenced the siege of Fort Moreau, which the enemy had strongly fortified, and where his principal force was. On the 11th, it was determined to attack the fort by land, while the British naval force attacked the enemy's flotilla before the place. The moment the British vessels made their appearance, the land forces, under the command of Major General Robinson, were to advance with scaling ladders and force the ford of the Saranac, and endeavour to escalade the enemy's works. Scarcely had the troops gained the heights on which the enemy's works were situated, and under a severe fire from them, when an unfortunate and disastrous affair rendered any further attempt, on their part, of no use. The British fleet was led into action, in the most gallant manner by Commodore Downie. The action began at eight o'clock, and was contested on both

sides with the utmost obstinacy and bravery for two hours, when it unfortunately terminated in the capture of the whole British squadron, except the gun-boats, which made their escape.—For some time after the engagement began, the advantage was decidedly in favour of the British. The fire from some of the American vessels began to slacken, when the Confiance, which bore the flag of the British Commodore, having, unfortunately, had two anchors shot away early in the action, and not being able, with the only remaining one, to bring her starboard broadside to bear on the enemy, as he had been able to change his, and having also had her gallant commander killed, and a great number of her crew wounded, from the desperate fire of the enemy's vessels, which were principally directed against her,* she was compelled to strike her colours; and, soon after, the remainder of the squadron was compelled to follow her example. It was at this unfortunate moment, when the troops were ready to storm the enemy's batteries, that they heard the shout of victory from their foes, and saw the British squadron in possession of the enemy. To have attempted the fort after this, would have been an useless waste of life.† On the fleet, the army depended for supplies. Its destruction deprived them of these; and although there is no doubt that the forts would have been taken, it must have been done at a considerable expense of life, and these must have been abandoned immediately after. It was of no use to say that the British force was much superior to that of the enemy. The greater the army, the more imminent the danger. Thus situated, the commander-in-chief adopted the more prudent plan to raise the siege of the place, withdraw the army, and return into Canada. This he did without loss or molestation from the enemy; though, like their former ally, Bonaparte, the Americans conceived this too good an opportunity for raising their own fame to let it slip, though that should be done at the expense of truth. They accordingly made loud boasts of the stores and cannon taken, of the prisoners and sick which fell into their power, as if an army

* Captain Pring's dispatch, September 14th, 1814.

† Sir George Prevost dispatch, September 11th, 1814.

in three days march, and six days of active employment, in which scarcely a gun was fired, could have had many of the latter, and the British commander denies any of the former. Some deserters fled to the enemy; but these were chiefly from the foreign troops in the British service, who were anxious, perhaps, to take up their abode in the *only land of liberty*. The loss of the British in the naval engagement was 129 killed and wounded, and "that of the enemy amounted to something more than the same number."* The loss of the army under Sir George Prevost amounted to 37 killed, 150 wounded, and 55 missing; a very different number indeed from what the American accounts proclaimed to the world.†

The public mind, which had been most sanguine in their expectations from this expedition, was proportionally disappointed at its unfortunate result. Deeply, however, as its failure was to be lamented, as affording the enemy cause of boast and triumph, still that unmanly tone of despondence and accusation put forth on the occasion, was unworthy the character of Britons; our enemies had fought bravely, and they had beat us, but without disgrace or dishonour, on an element which rendered any effort by land, though successful, of no real advantage; and to have risked the safety of the army, so situated, would have been folly in the extreme. That brave officer, Sir James Yeo, indeed said, but said in a moment of irritation, that there was no necessity for this naval attack till the enemies batteries had been taken.‡ But Captain Pring, who assumed the command after the death of Commodore Downie, and who seems to be a brave officer, was of a different opinion; and the opinion of one who was upon the spot, was certainly better than that of a person who was some hundreds of miles distant, and who felt for the disasters which had befallen the arms of his country. But there was nothing extraordinary in all that happened—nothing that deserved the unqualified censure and unmanly abuse that was poured forth with an unsparing hand,

* Captain Pring's dispatch, September 12th, 1814.

† Sir George Prevost's dispatch, September 11th, 1814.

‡ Sir James Yeo's dispatch, Kingston, September 24th, 1814.

against a brave and meritorious officer, by the thoughtless and unwary. No man deserves better of his country than Sir George Prevost, and the whole army under his command; and few have rendered more essential services to their country than him, and those under his command have done, during the arduous struggle in America, against fearful odds, and under every disadvantage; and it is equally reprehensible and unjust thus to condemn a gallant officer, because he has been for the moment unsuccessful. Equally injurious and ridiculous were the attempts made by party spirit to throw the blame of these defeats upon the government of the country, for not forwarding supplies *in time* to Canada. The season, in truth, was too far advanced before those re-enforcements reached Canada, which could enable the British commanders in that quarter to make any permanent impression upon America for that year, or which could enable them to act upon the offensive to any extent. But to whom could blame attach for this? If the men who, after having conquered at Thoulouse on the 10th of April, and seen all Europe pacified, were landed in Quebec in August, it was a celerity which demanded praise, not censure; and yet after all they were too late to arrange their plans, to transport their stores and supplies to the confines of Lake Ontario, to undertake, during that year, an offensive campaign in a country like America. Events which they could neither foresee nor prevent, obliged the British army to retreat from Plattsburgh; but it was unaccompanied with dishonour or disgrace. It gave the enemy a momentary triumph, but it was a triumph he could not pursue; and which, it was obvious, that a short time would be sufficient to wrest from him. The war too, had assumed a different character. It was not America invading Canada, but Canada invading America; and a failure in any plan carried on for the latter purpose, was attended with very different consequences to what it would have been in the former case. Upon the whole, the disasters at Plattsburgh, though to be lamented, were not of a nature to call forth that tone of despondency and accusation which they did. They were not irremediable, as a short time shewed; nor was our

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commanders, or the government, to blame in the manner in which that was attempted to be affixed on each.

While these events took place at Plattsburgh, a severe affair took place at Fort Erie. General Drummond had advanced and laid siege to that place. Considerable progress had been made in the siege, and batteries constructed, which would soon have rendered the British effect masters of the place. Aware of this, the American commander determined to make a sortie in order to effect their destruction. On the 17th September, this event took place. The enemy advanced with an overwhelming force. For the moment he was successful, at the point where there was only de Watteville's regiment to oppose him. He obtained possession of some of the batteries and entrenchments; but the troops having been promptly re-enforced, the enemy were quickly driven back from all the batteries and entrenchments which he had succeeded in taking, and that, too, before he had been able to do any considerable damage to them. The Royal Scots, 89th, 82d, and 6th regiments signalized themselves on this occasion. The enemy left a considerable number of his wounded in the hands of the British. The loss on the part of the latter amounted to 115 killed, 180 wounded, and 322 missing,* most of whom were very probably wounded.

Commodore Chauncey, however, having obtained the superiority on Lake Ontario, and thus cutting off the re-enforcements and supplies from the British General, and also threatening to land a force in his rear, General Drummond was forced to retreat to Queenstown in order to secure his communication, and obtain supplies for his army. The enemy's superiority was, however, of short duration. By the great exertions and activity of Sir James Yeo, a ship called the St. Laurence, mounting 102 guns, was launched and equipped, which immediately gave him the decided superiority on Lake Ontario. Chauncey was forced to take refuge in Sacket's harbour. Supplies of all descriptions were forwarded to the army under General Drummond, his sick and wounded brought away, and large re-en-

* Drummond's and D'Watteville's dispatches, September 19th, 1814.

forcements sent to him, which enabled him, once more, to resume the offensive. Sir James Yeo was also preparing to land a force at the head of the Lake, in the rear of the American army under General Izard, which so alarmed them that they abandoned the Niagara frontier, retreated with precipitation, and destroyed the stores and ammunition, after having blown up and destroyed as much of the fortifications of Fort Erie as time would admit. All this part of Canada was thus once more cleared of the enemy. The naval force of both parties on Lake Ontario was now become considerable;* and, it was evident, that those who could maintain the superiority of the Lakes, would command the fortune of the Northern parts of America. It was a novel and surprising sight to see two powerful fleets contending for the dominion of the watery element, in those vast inland seas, near 1000 miles from the ocean, and around whose shores, some centuries ago, solitude, in her wildest forms held her abode; but now cultivated, and peopled by multitudes of civilized men, where, but a short time before, there strayed

> Nought but the rattle-snake, or beast of prey,
> Or a few savage men as fierce as they.

The campaign may now be considered as concluded in the Northern parts of America. Some operations of minor consequence took place in other places, particularly on the Lake Huron, where the British succeeded in capturing the small naval force belonging to the Americans in that quarter, which secured the fort and territory of Michilimackinac from any

* The following was the strength at this date:

American.		*British.*	
Superior,	58 guns.	St. Laurence,	102 guns
Mohawk,	45 do.	Prince Regent,	58 do.
Pike,	26 do.	Charlotte,	46 do.
Madison,	24 do.	Montreal,	22 do.
Jefferson,	18 do.	Niagara,	32 do.
Jones,	18 do.	Two brigs at Niagara,	32 do.
Silph,	18 do.		
	207 guns.		292 guns.

attempt of the enemy. On Lake Erie, however, the enemy still retained the superiority, but which was of minor importance to that on Lake Ontario. Some trifling actions had taken place at sea, between small vessels of the respective countries, but none worth recording. A third campaign had now passed away, in which the Americans had not only made no impression on Canada, but the superiority of Lake Ontario had been decidedly wrested from them; and armies of such magnitude were assembled in Lower Canada, as, it was evident would, upon the return of spring, carry the British arms into the heart of the American States, where discontents against the measures of government were so great as to threaten a separation of the Union, an event which, though it has not yet taken place, will, however, take place at no distant period. Her coasts were blockaded, and kept in a continual state of alarm; and a formidable expedition was preparing at Bermuda, intended against New Orleans and her Southern States. Her trade was annihilated, and her finances at a low ebb; and every thing wore a gloomy aspect, when an event took place which rescued her from that ruin with which her government was threatened, and from that chastisement they would soon have got, and which they so rich'y deserved. This was no other than the signature of a treaty of peace, which took place on the 20th December, at Ghent, by the British and American commissioners, there assembled for that purpose.

Soon after the breaking out of the war, the American government, in order to embroil Britain with the northern powers, offered to enter into negotiations of peace, under the mediation of the Emperor of Russia. It was too plain by whose advice, this had been proposed, to escape the notice, either of Britain or Russia, of its real object and intent. Alexander, at that moment, had too important concerns to attend to, on his own part, to trouble his head with America; and was suffering too severely, from the arms and the principles, with which America had thought proper to ally herself, to enter into any discussion on her account, which would be prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain; and accordingly, he was not sorry to find Great Britain, cut short all intermission on this point;

by declaring explicitly, that she would not refer her disputes with America, to the mediation of any one; and at the same time, stating her willingness, at any time or place, to enter into negotiations with America, in order to settle the dispute between them on honourable terms. The nefarious designs of America, prompted no doubt, by the advice of France, being thus defeated, she was left no alternative, but either to continue the war, under all the odium, of not wishing to negotiate at all, or, to adopt the proposition of the British government. This was at length acceded to; and Ghent was chosen as the place, where the negotiators were to meet, to arrange the matters in dispute, between the two countries. Messrs. Clay, Gallatin, Bayard, Russel, and Adams, were appointed the negotiators on the part of America; and Lord Gambier, Colbourn, and William Adams, on the part of Great Britain. After various delays, arising from the wonderful turn which European affairs took, and which the American Commissioners, were instructed to watch, and walk by, these Gentlemen met; and, after conferences which lasted for 6 months, they, at last agreed to a treaty of Peace, which was signed at Ghent, on the day already mentioned; ratified by the Prince Regent a few days after, and immediately forwarded to America, for the ratification of the President, till which period, hostilities were to continue the same as before.

In this treaty, America abandoned, and gave up every demand and principle, for which she had gone to war. Indeed, these fell with Bonaparte, and went to Elba with him; where there is room, for some of his adherents. America besides, lost some of her most valuable privileges, which she previously enjoyed, viz. her trade with the British possessions in the East, and the fisheries on Newfoundland. Still, it is a treaty, much more favourable than she deserved. It has been characterized as dishonourable to Great Britain; in what manner it is so, it is impossible, for those who assert this, to explain. Although every person, who has the feelings of a Briton, must regret, that America has not been punished more severely, for her infamous conduct, and lament that she has got off so easy; still, we have maintained, and obtained every object, for which we

entered into the contest; and whether, when we obtained this, it was worth our while to continue an expensive war, merely to punish America, is a great question, and more difficult to determine. America, however, has been more severely punished, than she is willing to allow. She has gained no one point for which she went to war, and has been forced to relinquish advantages which she possessed before. A century will scarcely repair, or get the better of her last three years of folly; and the little naval glory which she has gained, has been purchased at a price, which even Napoleon himself, in the plenitude of his power, and from the purses of others, could not afford to pay.

Before the termination of this contest, two events of considerable importance took place. The British arms were victorious at sea, and the American arms by land. The President frigate, the finest vessel they had, commanded by Commodore Decatur, the bravest officer in their service, was dispatched upon a cruise, against the British trade in the East Indies. Almost immediately after she left port, she was discovered by the squadron under the command of Admiral Hotham. The chase was long and arduous, and the superiority of the enemy's sailing, enabled him to shoot far a-head of the British ships, only the Endymion frigate, Capt. Hope, being able to come up with him. About sunset, a desperate action commenced, between these vessels, yard-arm, and yard-arm, which lasted for 2 hours; when the President was so dreadfully cut up, that she could not get away, and the Endymion lay by to repair the damage in her sails and rigging. When ready to renew the engagement again, about 11 o'clock at night, the Pomone frigate, another of the squadron came up, and after firing a few shot, the President hailed to say, she had struck already. At this time, she had 6 feet water in her hold, and had lost about 100 of her crew. The merit of this gallant action belonged exclusively to the Endymion; a vessel of inferior force, both of men and guns; and shewed, that where the force was any thing at all near equal, the British sailor was unequalled on the ocean. The Endymion had 25 killed and wounded. The general regret was, that the President had not been commanded by that

cowardly braggadocio, Rodgers, in place of the brave Decatur.

The other event was of a different description. A strong expedition had been fitted out, with the intention of attacking New Orleans, situated on the mouth of the great river Mississippi, and the key of that river, and of half the continent of North America. The force, both naval and military, was very considerable; the former commanded by Admiral Cochrane, and the latter by General Keane. Leaving Bermuda, this force proceeded to Jamaica, where it was joined by other forces, when the whole, amounting to 10,000 men, proceeded to their destination. They reached it, without any accident; and debarking about 60 miles from the city, proceeded in their operations to attack the place. After several sharp affairs, the enemy were driven into the works of the place, which, however, were very strong, and much strengthened, from the notice the enemy had of the intention of the British. The garrison amounted to 14,000 men; many of them picked troops, commanded by Gen. Jackson. About this period, Lieut. Gen. the Hon. Edward Pakenham arrived, and assumed the command of the army. It was determined to storm the place. For this purpose, the troops moved forward to the attack, on the 7th January. The attack was desperate, and the defence obstinate. Both parties fought with uncommon courage—hand to hand, and bayonet to bayonet. Part of the army succeeded in carrying the positions on the left bank of the Mississipi, which is here 800 yards broad. The principal part of the attack, however, failed. The troops had borne down all opposition, and were ready to enter the place, when their gallant general was mortally wounded, while advancing in the front, cheering and leading on his men. At the same time, Gen. Gibbs, second in command, and Gen. Keane were borne off the field wounded. The troops became panic struck, and were obliged to give way; and Gen. Lambert, on whom the command devolved, not deeming it prudent to advance with the reserve, or persevere in his operations against the place, drew off the army, without any attempt from the enemy to molest them, and afterwards re-embarked the whole, except about 80 wounded, which could not be re-

moved, carrying with him, at the same time, all his artillery and stores, of every description. The loss of the British army, in this unfortunate operation, was very great, and amounted to 2500 killed and wounded; amongst the former was their gallant commander, who had served with so much honour in the Peninsula, and also General Gibbs, who died of his wounds. The loss on the part of the Americans was also very considerable; and they durst not leave their works, to molest the British army in its retreat. The expedition proceeded to the Havannah, to prepare for operations on some other part of the coast.* Though the British army was here foiled in its object, certainly of great importance, it lost none of its honour. Some operations on a smaller scale, were undertaken, on the coast of Georgia, by Admiral Cockburn: probably meant as a diversion, in order to distract the attention of the enemy, and in which the British arms were successful. This consisted in the capture of St. Mary's, with considerable booty, but which operations were of an inferior nature to the other. The Americans had cause to rejoice at the issue of the expedition; yet, it seemed to have caused no hesitation, on the part of the President, in the ratification of the Treaty; which was done without any delay on his part. This important document received his sanction on the 17th February, at eleven o'clock at night, and was welcomed with unfeigned joy and satisfaction in every part of America.

I shall now bring this subject to a close, by considering what the United States of America have gained or lost in this contest, On this part of the subject I may fairly class the whole under the latter head. America in this contest, has injured her national character. She leagued herself with the most unprincipled despot that ever scourged the earth, and in a cause, ruinous to the liberties of mankind. Party rancour, and interested animosity, may

* While these pages were in the press, the accounts reached Britain, that Admiral Cochrane and General Lambert, with the expedition, had gone against and captured Fort Boyer and the town of Mobile. The fort surrendered by capitulation on the 11th February, and without any resistance. The garrison, consisting of 700 men, surrendered prisoners of war, but were to be exchanged as soon as possible, This event, in all probability, closes the contest with America.

buoy her up with the idea for the present moment, that she is in the right. Succeeding generations will pass a different judgment on her conduct. Do not let her imagine that time will lessen the stains, or obliterate these deeds from the records of history. It never can. While the memory of Napoleon lives, Madison can never be forgotten. The former he served with a willing mind. Like Denmark and Saxony, with his own hand he put Napoleon's bridle in his jaws, and yoked himself to his tremendous car. He chose with pride and satisfaction his station; and, in that station, let him remain the laughing stock of the present, and the scorn of future ages.

The Americans are a calculating and thinking people, when gain is to be derived from it. Of this master passion, however, they seem to have been deprived for the last 6 years, or else it has been put to sleep by a dose, *a la Napoleon.* Their adventure has reached the port. Their speculation has been brought to market; let them turn to their Journal, if they have kept one; wind up their accounts, and balance their books, and see what is the amount of their gain or their loss. Upon closing their concern, with the firm of Napoleon & Co. they will find to their cost, that the lumber and provision trade, characterized by the Edinburgh Review, as of a "*vulgar sort,*" is, after all, the most profitable, and the most honourable. What has America gained in the contest? Has she gained territory or concession from her adversary, either in the objects which she made the cause of dispute, or in any other? No certainly. She captured three British frigates, of inferior force. The British captured three of hers in return. She captured some smaller ships of war, Great Britain took more from her. She captured about 900 British merchant ships, three-fourths of which she was either compelled to destroy, or they were again retaken from her grasp. Great Britain captured 1400 sail of her merchant ships, besides a vast number of privateers. 4000 British seamen were prisoners in America; 20,000 American seamen were prisoners in Britain. The British lost 10,000 men in battle; the Americans lost 54,000, killed, or dead, in consequence of wounds and fatigue. America

lost, the whole of her foreign trade, for several years, by embargo's, non-intercourse bills, and by war. Her shipping were unemployed, as were all connected with, and dependent upon it. Her privateers, that did mischief to her adversaries, did her no good, as to prevent recaptures, these were compelled to destroy their prizes. Besides, it is a sure sign of the poverty, and disorganization of the interior of the house, when the inmates of it, betake themselves in a body, as the American seamen did, to the high-way, as the only resource by which they can live, in the plunder of defenceless and unsuspecting persons. Her national debt, America has more than doubled, and cut off the resources with which it should be paid. She has burdened herself with taxes, where before she had, comparatively speaking, none. Let us put into short tables, a statement of all these matters, and see how the account will stand.

The loss of America in men during this contest, stands as under, viz.

		Regulars.	*Militia.*	*Total.*
Deaths in	1812,	13,476	977	14,453
Do.	1813,	16,400	990	17,390
Do.	1814,	18,015	870	18,885
		47,871	2,837	*50,728

And, if we add 3000 more, to the above number, on account of those who may die in 1815, from their wounds and fatigues, we do not over-rate it; which makes about 54,000 men sacrificed for no purpose whatever—during the same period 22,110 voluntarily deserted their standards, and the total number of prisoners exceeded 30,000 men.

America, according to the official reports of her government, employed 1,443,453 tons of shipping in 1805. This tonnage continued to increase; and at the commencement of the non-intercourse, and embargo laws, may be fairly taken, at 1,500,000 tons. The whole profits, arising from the employment of this,

* This account is taken from the American Journals lately received.

she has lost, for fully 4 years. I say the whole, for the little she employed scarcely deserves notice; and, was employed at a risk, which could yield no advantage. Her exports, from October 1st, 1805, till September 30th, 1806; amounted to 101,536,962 dollars, besides freight and charges; 60,283,236 dollars of which were for foreign produce. Her imports, on an average of 3 years, ending 1804, were £15,400,000 sterling; but, as these years were lower than the following, these may be taken at £16,400,000 sterling, or about 75,000,000 dollars, besides freight and charges. The whole profits arising from this vast trade were lost; at least, it is not exaggerating to state, that two-thirds of it were so. Indeed, about one half of all her trade was with Great Britain and her dependencies. The following returns from the Custom-house Books of New-York, and the various calculations thereon, which it is obvious, are tolerably correct, are furnished by the Americans themselves. The returns are for 1806, and this calculation, will afford us a pretty correct data, on which to estimate the whole loss.

For 1806, employed in New-York.	*Dollars.*
263,227 tons shipping, at 60 dollars, per ton...	15,798,620
At 200 tons each, gives 1,316 ships, and 12 men to each, is 15,792 seamen, at 24 dollars, per month.....	4,598,960
Finding provisions for do. at 30 cents, per day...	1,729,078
Yearly average, freight, allowing 1800 barrels, to 200 tons, (exclusive of foreign charges) per ship, 12,800 dollars.....	16,844,100
Persons employed in commerce, or living on shore, viz. merchants, clerks, cartmen, mechanics, and labourers employed in, and about the above, say 17,108, at 1 dollar, 50 cents, per day, for 12 months.....	7,698,000
Wharfage, allowing one-third of the ships in port	144,175
Carried forward.....	46,812,933
Storage, calculating, one-half their cargoes in	

	Dollars.
Brought forward.....	46,812,933
store, and allowing the whole to be 2,368,400 barrs.....	752,624
	47,565,557*

To these items many more may be added, such as the profits and commissions upon the exports and imports; the employment of people, cutting down and transporting their timber from the interior to the sea-ports. According to official returns for 1806, the commerce of New-York is, as near as possible, one-eighth of the trade of the United States. Supposing therefore, that the profits and commissions to the merchant, upon the exports and imports, were 10 per cent. clear of other charges, the loss of America would stand thus, calculating by New-York, viz.

	Dollars.
Interest of money, sunk in ships.....	789,650
Wages of seamen, thrown out of employment, suppose half the number.....	2,299,480
Freight on exports and imports.....	16,844,100
Clerks, cartmen, mechanics, and labourers wages	7,698,000
Wharfage and storage.....	896,799
Loss to Commerce, New-York.....	28,528,029
Multiply by 8 for the whole.....	8
Carried forward.....	228,224,232

* The following is a striking contrast of the decay of their commerce in that of New-York.

In 1806 employed.		In 1813 employed.	
During August,.....	20,302 tons.	During August.....	687 tons.
Do. September.....	23,555 do.	Do. September	471 do.
Do. October.....	26,437 do.	Do. October	827 do.
	70,264		1985
Loss of tonnage.....	68,279		

New-York Paper, Nov. 15th, 1813.

	Dollars.
Brought forward	228,224,232
Add 10 per cent. on exports and imports	18,000,000
Annual loss to the nation	246,824,232
For 4 years, multiply by	4
	987,296,928

Destruction of property by war on land	8,000,000
Balance against her, in captures at sea*	16,000,000
Captures under the Berlin and Milan decrees, &c.	30,000,000
Do. by British, under Orders in Council, see President's message, Nov. 1st, 1814, 1000 sail, suppose worth 20,000 dollars, each ship and cargo	20,000,000
Difference between Peace and War expenditure, added to their debt, or thrown away for no purpose	200,000,000
Interest of new debt, created to pay, say 60,000,000 dollars, at 5 per cent. only for five years	15,000,000
Carried forward	289,000,000

* America captured from Great Britain, about 900 sail of merchant vessels, of all descriptions; but perhaps three-fifths of these were either destroyed by them as soon as captured, or retaken by the British cruizers; and consequently, but a trifling gain to America. For every Register of a British ship, which the American captors brought to their government, they were allowed £1,000 sterling. Hence they took the registers from all their prizes, and which in 900 vessels, would amount to £900,000, and the prizes which they may have got into port, at perhaps double that sum. According to the documents laid before the House of Commons, Feb. 15th, 1815, the Americans had taken from Great Britain, viz. three ships of 38 guns, 6 ships of 16 guns, two of 12, two of 10, and three of 4 guns—containing 2015 men and boys. Great Britain had taken from America, 42 national ships and 228 private ships of war---containing 2360 guns, and 11,260 men. Merchant vessels, 1407; and the total number of American seamen captured or detained, amounted to 20,961. All these prizes were brought safe into British ports, and many of them were very valuable; but suppose the total number of 1677 including the ships of war, were only worth £4000 sterling, at an average of ship and cargo, the whole would amount to £6,700,000 sterling lost by America, or £3,700,000 (16,650,000 dollars,) of a balance against her.

	Dollars.
Brought forward.....	289,000,000
Suppose three-fourths of her commerce, as above, to have been totally lost, if in reality not more	740,472,696
Total loss.....	929,472,696

Amounting to the vast sum of £.209,000,000 sterling, of total loss to the population of America, being £.150, or 675 dollars, for each male person in it, from the age of 16 to 60 years. To this also may be added, the vast depreciation of every article of their produce, and the very great increase in price, of every article they consumed. But the above is certainly, a tolerable tribute, to have paid for the friendship of Napoleon, in the short space of 4 years; and fully equal, to what any nation in Europe had done, that were blessed with his hostility, or cursed with his friendship. It is more than half the sum which has been paid, by every inhabitant of Britain, during the last 22 years, in defence of their liberty, independance, and property, even allowing, that they had had no advantages to counterbalance their outlay—no internal manufactures—no foreign commerce at all.

That America could have avoided this loss, and also the infamy attached to her character, for leaguing herself with a tyrant, in an unjust cause, no one can doubt. If America had resisted the lawless proceedings of France, with firmness, that power, notwithstanding all her inveterate hostility against Britain, was too wise, to make America her foe; but, at the same time, she was too politic, and unprincipled, not to lead America into the contest, in which she was herself engaged, providing America, had the inclination to do so. But, if the conduct of France had been such, as to have occasioned war, between her and America; would the loss to America, have been what it is? and, while she had the friendship and assistance of Great Britain, how much injury could France have done to her? A war with France, would at one time, have also occasioned a war with Spain; when America would then have had it in her power, to have seized with honour, those territories she has since seized, with dishonour. Great Britain, did not

wish war with America. She gave her no just cause, nor provocation, to occasion it. But, if America submitted, without a murmur to the arbitrary and unprecedented conduct of France, which was directed, at the expense of every state, with unrelenting severity, and with intended fatal aim, against the prosperity and independence of Great Britain; then, had Great Britain an unquestionable right, to make France feel through the distress and loss of those, who openly abetted, or secretly connived at her diabolical views. Notwithstanding the railings of disappointed faction; the meanest capacity, must have been able to see, that the latter was the conduct of America. It was France, not Great Britain, who was the real aggressor. Against her, American vengeance should have been directed. But no, she chose a more ignoble and unjustifiable course. She has reaped, and will continue to reap, her just reward. America may imagine, that she is to obtain the same advantageous employment and rank, in the commercial world, which she previously possessed. She will find herself mistaken. The trade that she carried on for other nations, these nations, will carry on themselves; and she will find every one of them, not only as tenacious of their colonial commerce, but even more so than Great Britain is. The immense profit that the United States made, in the carrying trade, which fed their pride, and made them wanton, is gone for ever. Till America restores the measures, and the exile of Elba, to the throne of France, that can never return to her; nor would he, if he was there seated, again pursue the measures, which gave her, and her alone, these advantages.

It has been attempted to be said, that the peace with America, is dishonourable to Great Britain, and what is very remarkable, this is proclaimed most loudly by those who were the very foremost to tell us, we could not exist, without the friendship of America; and who called upon us to make any sacrifice, rather than go to war with her. By these men, we are told not only that the peace is dishonourable; but that the war has been conducted, on the part of Great Britain, with disgrace. In what manner the war was conducted without honour, I am at a loss to conceive. When without the means of

acting upon the offensive, in a contest forced upon us, we successfully repelled every attempt made against a valuable part of our dominions, by foes four times our numbers. When the contest changed, and we assumed the offensive, and that, be it remembered, without a complete collection or concentration of our strength; was it because the events of war, which are at all times uncertain, were in some instances unfavourable to our views, that, therefore, the war was conducted with disgrace? Certainly not. But it is said our naval fame was tarnished, and that the affairs of that department were conducted without energy and without skill. Was the capture of a few detached ships of war, of inferior force, sufficient ground to assume this as the fact? No, surely. No force could have prevented the American frigates from putting to sea. Singly, they might escape; and it was because they adopted this plan that they so often, and so fortunately, escaped. The smallness of their force was, in this case their security. Had they put to sea in squadrons at a time, they would have been more easily observed, and more readily found, than when cruising singly; and, under the former circumstances, they would more likely have been fallen in with by the British squadrons, than in the latter. Doubtless, their privateers annoyed our extensive trade. But it could hardly be otherwise. The American seamen were very numerous, brave, active, and particularly well acquainted with our coasts; but the mischief done by them was, in reality, less than from their numbers, activity, and the nature of their vessels, built solely for this predatory warfare, might have been expected. France began a similar system at the commencement of the revolution, the consequences of which were, that, in a few years, all her best seamen were in British prisons. These were taken by degrees by British cruisers, and her navy sunk into insignificance. So too, in a short time, would it have been with America. British prisons were filling fast with her best seamen, which would soon have crippled her anxious endeavours and exertions to obtain a navy. With regard to the treaty of peace, in what part of it is dishonour attached to the interests or to the fame of Great Britain? We have preserved every thing we contended for—we have yielded up

no point, for which we went to war; while America has yielded up every one, and been foiled in her hopes of conquest at our expense. What would we have had more? It is true America has escaped too well—so has many others, whose conduct was of the same stamp as hers has been; but policy seemed to forbid, that the war should be continued, purely for the purpose of inflicting chastisement on such characters.

But I have shewn that America has not escaped so easily as many are apt to imagine. A century will hardly repair the consequences of four years of folly: and when Mr. Madison is laid in his grave, his works will not go after him. No! they will remain and paralize the efforts of America, when she may have occasion to exert herself in a just cause; they will divide the strength, and separate the States of America. The foundation of the buildings are already laid, and no human efforts can retard their completion. We have been often endeavoured to be frightened in the late contest, by telling us what an unconquerable hatred and inveterate animosity we were confirming in the minds of a people, who are destined to outnumber every European nation; who would propagate it to their children, and that we were securing the vengeance of 80,000,000 of people, at some future day to be exerted against our offspring. This is one of those bug-bears, with which party attempts to frighten fools. Can the writers, who teach this, believe, that when the territory now claimed or possessed by the United States contains 80,000,000 of inhabitants, that these will remain under one government, and that that government will be governed by Mr. Madison? Nay, more, will they attempt to say, that by the time that the population amounts to one eighth of this number, that these states will remain as they are? When their population amounts to 80,000,000 there may be eight kingdoms in America; and, at any rate, there will then be many separate States, and, as in Europe, too many conflicting interests, passions, and pursuits, for Europe, but particularly for Great Britain, to have much to fear from American hatred, or to dread from American anger.

America, or rather the United States, has attempted to con-

quer Canada. They have failed. They will, no doubt, attempt it at some future day, but with similar success. The geographical position of the Canadas point them out as a powerful and independent country, which may one day, and perhaps at no distant date, spread the terror of their arms, to the banks of Potomac and the turrets of Washington. From the North, no power ever can arise, that can give a sovereign, seated on a throne at Quebec, any uneasiness; from the West he is safe for ages; on the East he is guarded by the ocean; on the South, nature herself has placed barriers of the most formidable kind, in the noble Lakes, which form the boundary of that interesting country. Canada is the Russia of North America; like her she is destined to increase in prosperity, in greatness, and in glory; and a power will there arise whose population may reach to 80,000,000 of people, and who may yet remain undivided, because their interests, their manners and pursuits, will be the same; while no part of the territories South of them can collect a population to that amount whose character can be the same. The St. Laurence will, one day, be to Quebec, what the Thames now is to London; and the Canadas be to North America, what Russia is at present to Europe.

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

"*La Revolution en fournit de funestes preuvres aux generations futures:* ELLE FUT PREPAREE PAR UNE FOULE D' ECRITS *purement philosophiques.*"

"THE REVOLUTION FURNISHED DREADFUL PROOFS TO FUTURE GENERATIONS. *It was prepared by a crowd of writings* PURELY PHILOSOPHIC."* *Carnot's Memorial to Louis XVIII. Paris,* 1814.

HAVING, according to my plan, finished the narrative of the military events of the three last important years, I shall now proceed to relate, and that in as short a compass as possible, a few of the causes which brought round the French Revolution; and the consequences of it, which have occasioned not only the bloody scenes I have recorded, but many others of a similar nature. "Who is there among us," said the government of France, "that can be ignorant of the fate that threatens him, if they (the allies) should accomplish their designs? *Are not all the French liable to a joint responsibility for all the*

* There is no doubt but this was its true origin. Nations would do well to remember this dreadful truth. We shall shortly see the French meaning of the word Philosophic.

vents which, during these last 20 years, have followed each other in such rapid succession."* It is too true, that the majority of them are so. And is it little they have to answer for? Let us attend to a short sketch and feeble outline of the conduct, for which justice yet holds them accountable. But I enter upon the appalling and disgusting subject with fear and dread. It is a picture wherein no trace of beauty is found within its range. A subject where no movement of principle, honour, or glory enlivens the prospect, or encourages the mind to proceed. In considering it, we behold, with terror, the wreck of human nature, the ruins of social order, morality, and religion together, overturned by human folly, and scattered by a phrenzy, as destructive in its progress and melancholy in its consequences as the torrid Tornado is to the beauties of nature, or as the earthquake, which shakes the Andes to their foundations, and covers realms with ruin. It is, in short, a subject which the heart aches to think on, and the pen trembles to record.

And "what has France gained by this quantity of bloodshed? *A whole generation of mankind*, and all her youth, from 20 to 30 years of age, have been devoured by the sword of war."† Such is the fatal work of unprincipled ambition. The calculation here made, and the picture here drawn, is done by the hand of a master. A short examination, however, of its parts, will shew us that the colouring does not exceed the truth.

The whole population of Europe is about 160 millions. The births, annually, are as 1 to 26. This gives 6,153,000 as their annual amount. Half of this number die under 17 years of age, leaving 3,075,500; one fifth of the last number die from 17 to 40 years of age, leaving at that period of life 2,463,767, one half of which are females. By the subsequent enumeration, therefore, it will appear, that, of mankind, from 17 to 40 years of age, not one generation but *five* generations of men

* Address to the French nation, Paris, December 22th, 1813.

† Blucher's address to the inhabitants of Nancy, January 20th, 1814. The gallant General here only alludes to the two last campaigns.

have been swept away, or rendered useless to themselves or society, in the wars arising from French atheism, ambition, and madness.

Were I to annex, without preface or observation, the waste and destruction amongst the human species, during the last 28 years, it would appear so incredible, that the reader might be induced to treat the whole as a fiction, or to believe the statements as the production of a disordered imagination. To obviate such objections, and to remove such suspicions, it may, therefore, be proper to review, more in detail, the horrid list of carnage and crimes which sprang from France, and which has desolated Europe. The terrible events of these latter times increasing in magnitude and interest with the passing moment, has, no doubt, called off the attention and blunted the recollection of mankind, in general, concerning equally terrible and more atrocious scenes which occurred at different periods since 1790. To recount or recal them to our view is a painful task; nevertheless, it may be of service, from our present secure abode, to look back and survey that awful precipice, and the hideous evils from which, notwithstanding all her sufferings, this happy country has escaped. It may also be useful to the *still* discontented amongst us—to those who, always prophecying evil, are yet the first to shrink from or rejoice at its consequences—to those palliators of guilt and admirers of infamy, that, whether disguised under the gloomy figure of a *Sans Culotte*, with the coarse *red cap* of Liberty, or the glittering fold of the Imperial purple, the object of their adoration, is still the same—is "ONE AND INDIVISIBLE."

Before I commence this catalogue of blood and horror, it may be necessary to state how well prepared the public mind, in France, was for such enormities. The character of a Frenchman, said their countryman, Voltaire, is composed of the tyger and the monkey, viz. levity, mischief, and ferocity. Like the latter animal, their very sport has mischief in it, and something offensive to what is good. Like the former, their mischief delights in havoc and blood. Had Voltaire lived till 1793, he would have witnessed, in the most striking manner, the truth of his observation, as well as experienced its fatal effects; and

also the melancholy consequences of his own athiestical opinions. Yes, from the schools of Rousseau, D'Alembert, and Voltaire, mixed with those ideas of freedom which their navy and army imbibed in America, sprang those principles, the fatal effects of which overturned all social order, which has 'made the world a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof.' Various circumstances conspired to bring on this catastrophe; but the grand origin of all this mischief can only be found in the total contempt for and neglect of religion, so prevalent in France. Other causes, civil or political, no doubt, assisted to promote the revolution; but all were inferior to this one, the operation of which let loose all the savage passions of man without restraint or control. Had this not been the case, a despotic government might have been overturned, and rational freedom established in its place, without banishing justice from a nation, and humanity from the breast of man. Political phrenzy has its limits, and soon works its own cure, if no other powerful impulse drives it on. But let man once be brought to despise religious principles, and treat all religion as a fable, and from that moment morality will raise her voice in vain. The former principle laughed at, and this latter once destroyed, every thing that is generous or praiseworthy in the human character is gone; and man becomes from that moment fit for every thing that is evil, and incapable of performing any thing but what is disgraceful and unjust. As the want of these principles loosens the ties of family love and kindness, so their destruction also breaks asunder all social ties between nations; and produces, externally and internally, the most hideous changes in their political situation. Amongst nations, a long period of tranquillity may produce sloth, and refinement in manners may degenerate to frivolity and effeminacy, which generally paves the way for the establishment of a despotic government, where one aspiring hand may control the state, or where those that wield the sword may sell an Empire, raise up one head and dethrone another, as suits their caprice, as was the case amongst the Romans in the decline of their power. Yet still, in the midst of such political convulsions, the body of the people may remain, comparatively speaking, uninjured and undisturbed. Justice

may still remain on earth, and law and religion may even be found amongst a nation so situated. But not so could this be the case in France, where the mind of the nation at large was wholly vitiated—where every virtuous principle had long been checked and laughed at amongst all ranks of men; and where every thing that could be the smallest restraint upon their lawless passions, and their profligate desires, had long been held up to public scorn and ridicule, treated as fables and accounted beneath the dignity of a man who wished to be *free* to attend to. Evil, in France, thus became not the pursuit of the few, but the boast of the many. That ill fated nation had thus long been rapidly advancing in a course of wickedness and irreligion, which was fast undermining the pillars of social order. The votaries of this dreadful school cloaked their pernicious designs and diabolical views, under the specious name of philosophy, and the enticing name of liberty. Man does not become wholly corrupt at once, "on step by step he goes;" but that moment was now at hand when the votaries of those irreligious principles, so industriously circulated in France, conceived it no longer necessary to veil their designs, but appeared in the most public and determined manner to avow and to practise them.

Such were the materials which the open terrorists, and secret anarchists, had to work with in France, and which they were fast preparing to call into action. Besides the almost total dereliction of principle, moral and religious, which had taken place in that country; other causes, as has been already hinted at, but of inferior magnitude, aided the career of mischief and iniquity. The wants of the state were great. The taxes bore heavily upon a people, unaccustomed to laborious exercises, and unacquainted with close habits of industry. Yet, these were inferior to the wants of the public. The ill advised, and mischievous assistance lent by France, to the rebellious colonies of Britain, without any provocation whatever, on the part of Great Britain; had cost France 1500 millions, and burdened her with an enormous debt, which she neither had, nor could procure the means to pay. The situation of her finances were now become such, that no skill nor industry could restore them

to a flourishing state, amongst a people, whose impatient and volatile temper, would not allow them to submit with patience, to the remedies which were necessary, and which could still have been found to cure this evil. The debt, indeed, only amounted to about 170 millions, sterling. Yet, France could not, and would not submit to pay it. The Jacobins, a name mankind will long pronounce with dread; took this occasion to inflame the mind of the public, already diseased, by laying the whole blame of the public wants and distress, to the profuse and profligate expenditure of their sovereign, and his favourites. This dangerous band, was secretly abetted, by those who wished to exalt their own power, at the expense of the sovereign; and by others, who wished to change the constitution of France, from a despotic, to a limited monarchy. Each of these latter parties, conceived, that the former party was a tool which they could use as far as suited their purpose, and afterwards control as was found convenient. They were in the sequel, most dreadfully mistaken. That the assistance lent to America, and which cost France so dear, was not bestowed under any just reason is well known; but that was more the fault of the councils, or rather of the ambition of the nation, than of the sovereign of France. No sovereign was ever less inclined to harass his people, or to squander away their property, than Louis XVI. was. This, however, was disbelieved by the ignorant multitude, and an opposite opinion was eagerly inculcated by those who misled them, who called forth, and encouraged those fierce passions, which, once set in motion, they neither knew how to control nor allay. The convocation of the States General, gave these men an opportunity of assembling together, from all parts of France, at Paris. The more daring, turbulent and factious, of course, were the first to be returned from several of the departments; and by degrees they were thus enabled to form a formidable body, of *kindred souls*, in the Legislature, alternately courted, by each of the other parties, but secretly plotting, and determined upon the destruction of them all. Their numbers continued to increase, and their creatures, the refuse of the departments, were insensibly collected at Paris; where, in a short time, they succeeded in overawing the sove-

reign, and the Legislature—in destroying the former, and trampling upon the latter. The King willing and anxious to do any thing to make his people happy, was, at this critical moment, surrounded with both weak and wicked ministers and counsellors. These deceived him on purpose. He hesitated, when he should have stood firm. He pardoned, when he should have punished. He thus, discouraged his friends, and encouraged his enemies, till matters came to that pitch, that every action of his, or concession made by him, only added to the insults, publicly offered to him, and augmented the insolence and violence of his enemies. The Constitution that was made to-day, was violated by these visionaries and madmen, to-morrow—"another, and another, still succeeds," and each more than the other, tended to show the reflecting part of mankind, that France knew not what Liberty was—that she was incapable of enjoying it—and, that in the mouths which, at this moment, so loudly proclaimed it, it was only a cloak for the most terrible system of violence, fraud, anarchy, destruction, and slavery, that ever scourged the earth. Numerous abuses, certainly, existed in the Government and Constitution of France, but these, a mild and beneficent monarch was anxious to remove; and had he been aided by men of talents, and of incorruptible integrity, he would, no doubt, have succeeded; and France and Europe, have been saved a world of misery, and oceans of blood. Amongst the more notorious names, which accelerated this fatal catastrophe in France, was the infamous Duke de Orleans; who plotted the death of his sovereign and relation, in order, that he might be raised to the throne. He accordingly, made use of his immense fortune, to bribe the banditti of Paris, and to collect others of a similar character from the departments, in order, by them to overawe the deliberations of the Legislature; this he succeeded in accomplishing; but the consequences of which, contrary to his expectations, brought him, and most justly, to the guillotine. But he was not the only individual who had the same object in view, though his station and ties to the reigning family, clothed his conduct and character with deeper atrocity and guilt. Each of the other factious demagogues, and flaming patriots of the

day, pursued a similar course. The true source of their patriotism, like that of many others, was their own personal ambition, and lust of power. Each hoped to dupe his associates, to overcome his enemies, and to raise himself to the supreme government of the State. Accordingly, all their harangues and declamations about Liberty, and the rights of the people, were only so many snares, laid to catch the unwary, and to make the people aid in forging chains for their own necks. Orleans, Brissot, Marat, Berrere, Danton, Robspierre, Reubell, Barras and Bonaparte; all followed the same plan, and had the same object in view, but the latter only was completely successful. Every one of these men, courted the people, in order to enslave them. Yet, under every one of these men, and under what France impudently called the full blaze of Liberty and Equality, the French people were the greatest slaves ever known upon earth. They had no liberty to do any thing, but what was bad—not even the liberty of venting a sigh, or dropping a tear to the memory of the nearest and dearest friends or relations, that were murdered by the demons of terror and confusion. Every man, indeed, was equal—*in crime.* Constitutions sprung up like mushrooms. Every person had his innovation, under the name of improvement. All became philosophers; that is, in their own conceits, all wise, and all powerful. Each conceived himself, capable of organizing, or new modelling the affairs of this nether world; and firmly believed, that there was no other. Each conceived his power and his wisdom equal to correct and extirpate, what was wrong in human nature. Evil was thus, to be rooted up, and forever banished from the world. But, alas! it was finite hands, corrupted minds, and cruel hearts, that attempted this great work; and which, whenever man attempts it, will always be productive of greater evils, than those which are intended to be removed. In this instance, these wild theories and experiments, were productive of more misery and wo, than ever had before been hatched by human wickedness, or brought round by human folly.

If you want a revolution, said the unprincipled and wicked Mirabeau, you must begin by destroying religion. They took his advice; and the world mourns its direful consequences. To

this moment we are contending with fear and sorrow against its baneful influence. It is well known that the promoters of the French revolution were men who disregarded or denied all religion; and no sooner had they acquired political power, than they enacted a law, under the terror of the guillotine, to abolish it altogether. The Christian æra was obliterated from the annals of the nation; the name of the Sabbath was erased from the days of the week; and the edge of the guillotine took the life of those who refused to follow their usual occupations upon that day, formerly set apart for the worship of their Creator. The teachers of religion, with the most horrid mockery, abjured its tenets. In derision of the Christian religion, *Death* was declared to be an eternal sleep. "The dying," said a member of the Convention, to that assembly, "are thus no longer frightened." Nor did their impiety and blasphemy stop here. An ass was dressed in pontifical robes, and paraded through their principal cities; while the Bishop of Moulins, in ridicule of his former office, officiated with a pike and the red cap of liberty, instead of a crown and mitre. Pursuing their career of madness, Marat, that disgrace to his species, was exalted above the Redeemer of the world; "Jesus Christ was a prophet—Marat a god; the one defended kings—the other destroyed them."* Nor was this all, for while the hall of the Convention rang with applauses, a common *strumpet*, gaily dressed, was seated beside the President of their National Council, where she received from him the "*fraternal kiss*," and amidst the acclamations of "no more altars—no more priests—no other god but the god of nature,"†

* Club of Cordeliers, July 27th, 1793.

† Convention, December 3d, 1793. Madame Desmoulins was one of those who personated this goddess—she was afterwards guillotined. In 1794, the wife of Mormora also acted the same part. The following contributions were transmitted by *Florent Givet*, from Lisle, to build a temple to Reason, viz.

20 inhabitants, each,	1,000 livres.	20,000 livres.	
38 do. do.	2,500 do.	77,000 do.	
12 do. do.	4,000 do.	48,000 do.	
A female Citizen,	6,000 do.	6,000 do.	
Two others,	8.000 do.	16,000 do.	
One,	10,000	10,000 do.	
One,	15,000 do.	15,000 do.	
	Total,	192,000	

was she there adored by all as the "*Goddess of Reason.*" The madness of Macedonia's Madman was reason compared unto this. It was better for his followers to worship him as the son of a god, than to believe in none at all. Human laws are feeble barriers indeed, when the mind of man is stripped of the idea of a Supreme Being, and of an hereafter. This has been so strikingly and so sadly exemplified in France, that I cannot refrain from noticing more at length the extent to which it reached amongst her distracted children, by which obstinacy itself may be convinced that the subsequent woes and miseries of Europe were the consequences of this fatal course. Amidst the general corruption of manners in France, extending, on the one hand, to the lowest depths of superstition, and on the other, to the highest pitch of contempt, a set of philosophers and metaphysicians sprang up, who, abandoning revelation and the idea of a Deity, endeavoured to raise a building without a foundation on which to build, and inculcated doctrines of their own corrupted, ignorant, and bewildered imaginations, which were, however, so congenial to the evil nature of man, that, in a soil but too industriously prepared and well adapted for the culture of such seeds, these spread with a fearful rapidity, and in a short time their strength overthrew and destroyed every thing, civil and sacred—good and virtuous—superstition and religion—the altar and the throne.

From this polluted and baneful source alone, are we to search for the chief cause and principal impulse of the French Revolution, so different and so unlike any other that had ever preceded it in the history of man. Revolutions of various and extensive kinds have taken place in the affairs of nations in ancient and modern times. One government has been overthrown and another raised. One religion proclaimed and another proscribed; but in no age has there been an instance where all religion was abolished by the ruling power. France was destined to form a terrible example in this respect. Amongst the multitude of particulars which offer themselves to our reflection, in confirmation of what I here state, I select the following, both as the most authentic and striking, and as shewing fully the frivolity, thoughtlessness, and impiety of the French

people, and the abandoned and profligate views of their odious government. To connect this subject, and to prevent the interruption of the narrative of other events at a subsequent period, I shall bring down these references on this head, till the assumption of the Imperial title by Bonaparte in 1804.

The year 1793 was particularly remarkable for the practice of the principles I have alluded to, and of which, take the following authentic instances. "A deputation to the Convention, demanded that instruction should be compulsory; and one of the children who accompanied the deputation, requested, that instead of preaching to them in the name of *the self styled God, (disapprobation and indignation)* they might be instructed in the principles of equality and the rights of man, and of the constitution."* If such were the principles of the children, what must those of the parents have been? and though murmurs of indignation and disapprobation were heard in the Convention at this horrid request, yet, in the short space of two months, we find all this body decreeing obedience to these principles. "Andrew Dunand, a priest deputy, from the department of Mayence, deposited on the altars of philosophy and equality his quality of priest: may the religion of slaves, said he, be soon appreciated at its true value by all the *Sans Culottes.* As to me, I see in the Roman and constitutional church nothing else but a King, nobility, and slaves. I will have nothing left that belongs to the church, not even my name given me at my baptism, by which it was endeavoured to make either a rogue or a fool of me. My name shall in future be, *Tell Dunand.*"† The council applauded him—his letter of priesthood was decreed to be burnt by two children; and it was ordered that his letters, containing his religious principles, should be printed, and posted up in the streets. The Convention also, "upon a complaint that certain merchants refused to open their shops on the day heretofore called Sunday, the Council *resolved* that they shall be ordered to keep them open *on pain of being considered as suspected persons;*" and, at the same sitting, Amot "*denounced*

* Convention, August 25th, 1793.

† Do. October 18th, 1793.

those who would not keep their shops open on that day formerly called Sunday."* The object of the infernal banditti thus clearly began to develope itself. To render the population of France fit tools for their nefarious designs, they conceived it necessary to eradicate from their eyes, as well as their thoughts, every thing which could recal any idea of religion. In the Convention, "Gobet, archbishop of Paris, the rector, Vangirard, and several other priests, with a *protestant* minister, a member of the Convention, Julien of Thoulouse, abjured the religion of Christ—*(applauses, and the fraternal kiss.)* A priest from Melun stated, that there is no true religion but that of Nature, and that all the mummery with which they have been hitherto amused is only old wives fables—*applauses.*† In a deputation from the Commune of Sens to the Convention, the spokesman said, "Human victims will no longer be slaughtered in the name of any imaginary god. The gods of a Republican are nature, liberty, and equality—*applauses.*‡ "The sole figure of the Almighty," said Couthon, "is in the picture of nature." "The citizens," said Goutuvier, "are every where uncatholicising to republicanise themselves," *(se decatholisent peur se republicaniser.)*§

Melancholy and disgraceful to human nature as this conduct appears, it was, however, comparatively speaking, only the prelude to higher flights of madness and impiety. The history of any other nation, civilized or savage, affords no instance equal to the conduct of the French people, in the action I am now to relate, not from doubtful authority, but from the recorded acts and deeds of their government. In the Convention, "the section of the *Sans Culottes*, declared at the bar, that they would no longer have priests among them; and that they required the total suppression of salaries paid to the ministers of religious worship." "The petition was followed by a numerous procession, who filed off in the hall, accompanied by national music. Surrounded by them, appeared a young woman of the finest figure, arrayed in the robes of liberty, and seated in a chair ornament-

* Convention, October 25th, 1792. † Convention, November 7th, 1793.
‡ Do. November 9th, 1793. || Do. Nov. 19th, Dec. 3d, 1793.

ed with leaves in festoons; she was placed opposite the President, and Chaumette said, *fanaticism* has abandoned the place of truth; squint eyed it could not bear the brilliant light. The people of Paris have taken possession of the temple which they have regenerated; the Gothic arches which, till this day, have resounded with *lies*, now echo with the accents of truth—you see we have not taken for our festivals inanimate idols, it is a *Chef de Ouvre* of nature whom we have arrayed in the habit of liberty; its sacred form has *inflamed* all hearts. The public has but one cry. 'No more altars, no more priests, no other God but the God of nature.' We their magistrates—we accompany them from the temple of truth, to the temple of the laws; to celebrate a new liberty, and to request that the *cidevant church of Notre Dame be changed into a temple, consecrated to reason and truth.*"

"This proposal being converted into a motion, *was immediately decreed;* and the Convention afterwards decided that the people of Paris on this day, continued to deserve well of their country."

"The Goddess then seated herself by the side of the President, who gave her a *fraternal kiss.** The secretaries presented themselves to *share* the same place; *every one was eager to sacrifice to the new divinity, whom so many salutations* DID NOT IN THE LEAST DISCONCERT." "During the ceremony, the orphans of the country, pupils of Leonard Bourdon (one of the members) *sang a hymn to reason*, composed by citizen Moline. The national music, played Gosset's hymn to Liberty. *The Convention then mixed with the people, to celebrate the feast of Reason in her new temple.*"† Accordingly, a grand festival was held in the church of Notre

* On the 4th June preceding this, the President gave the *fraternal kiss* to an old Negress, aged 114 years, and the mother of 11 children. The Paris Journals which at this time turned all ceremonies alike into ridicule, said, that after *kissing* the old negress, it was observed that the President *wiped his mouth*, but that he did not find it necessary to do so after kissing the Goddess of Reason Their ages were indeed different, 14 and 114 was great odds—a century renders great alterations in such salutations necessary.

† Convention, November 10th, 1793.

name in honour of this new Deity. "In the middle of this church was erected a mount, and on it a very plain temple, the facade of which bore the following inscription:—*a la Philosophie*: before the gate of this temple were placed the busts of the most celebrated philosophers. The torch of truth was in the summit of the mount, upon the altar of *Reason*, spreading light. *The Convention, and all the constituted authorities, assisted at the ceremony.*"

"Two rows of young girls, dressed in white, each wearing a crown of oak leaves, crossed before the altar of Reason, at the sound of Republican music; each of the girls inclined before the torch, and ascended the summit of the mount. Liberty then came out of the temple of Philosophy, towards a throne made of turf, to receive the homage of the Republicans of both sexes, who sung an hymn in her praise, extending their arms at the same time towards her. Liberty ascended afterwards to return to the temple; and in re-entering it, she turned about, casting a look of benevolence upon her friends: when she got in, every one expressed with enthusiasm, the *sensations which the Goddess excited in them*, by songs of joy, and they swore never to cease to be faithful to her.*

Never! no, never was human nature reduced to such a degrading condition as this. Was there no way, that they could celebrate their freedom, if such they would call it, but by denying and deriding the Creator of Heaven and Earth? It is scarcely possible to determine, upon considering such scenes as this, whether the actors deserves most our contempt, our pity, or our indignation. Were it not that such melancholy consequences resulted to France, and to all Europe, from these delirious proceedings, we might be tempted to laugh at such conduct, the same as we would at a parcel of jugglers on the stage, trying to pervert, or an assembly of monkeys, endeavouring to imitate the actions of reasonable beings. But such lamentable proceedings demand to be treated with different weapons than the pen of satire; and to be contemplated with feelings different from laughter and ridi-

* Paris, Nov. 12th, Convention, Nov. 11th, 1793.

cule. These principles, and this conduct have made Europe weep tears of blood, and wrung the hearts of millions with the bitterest agony. It is impossible, even at this moment, for any mind, capable of feeling and reflection, to look back to this alarming period, and not to feel terror, when he thinks upon the dangers, degradation, and misery, which his native country has escaped. How near were we of being placed in a similar situation? How near were we of beholding the sacred dome of St. Paul's, or that place which contains the ashes of our "mighty dead," converted into a temple to the Goddess of Reason; as also of hearing the sacred walls of the venerable Cathedral of the place where I now write, echoing with national music and hymns to Reason, instead of hymns to our God!

While these mad proceedings were going on in that grand centre of iniquity, Paris, the mania spread to the Provinces, and banished every thing that was sacred from France. At Lyons, "all the constituted authorities, the Revolutionary Tribunal, the troops of the line, &c. &c. repair[illegible] with an ass to the Town-House. There this animal was decked with the *Stole*, and all the other sacerdotal ornaments, which the Count de Maubourg had made a present of to the Cathedral. On his head was put the beautiful mitre of the Bishop Lemourette; on his back were tied the holy vessels; and to his tail the mass-book. He was decorated with inscriptions, '*Reste de Fanatisme*,' (Remains of Fanaticism). Thus equipped, the ass was led in procession through the whole town, preceded by the department, and a detachment of horse, and followed by a band of music and some infantry. By his side, marched two *Sans Culottes*, holding a *calix* (sacred cup) out of which the animal drank now and then; and two other *Sans Culottes* perfumed him with frankincense. The municipality, the tribunals, the clubists, and women clad in white, closed the procession. Having arrived at the place *de Bellecour*, they piled up church pictures, books of devotion, *Bibles*, mass-books, and such church ornaments, as would fetch no money, when exposed to sale, and *burnt the ass*, books, &c. &c. under the most horrid shouts of

"*Vive les Sans Culottes*, &c."* Continuing their madness in every part, but particularly in Paris, the section of *Unité* filed off through the hall, and renounced the Christian religion. Their orator said, "It is astonishing, that for 18 centuries, men should have considered as Divine, a religion, celebrated only by the evils it has occasioned to mankind, and by the crimes it has caused to be committed."† There still remained, however, individuals, who mourned at these dreadful proceedings. Therefore, Chaumette caused it to be decreed, 1st. "That all the churches and temples, of different religious worship, which are known to be in Paris, shall be instantly shut up. 2d. That every person requiring the opening of a church or temple, shall be put under arrest, as a *suspected* person."‡ Next day, citizen Morron, a Presbyterian clergyman in Paris, presented himself in the Convention, and "deposited on the table of the Commons, 4 silver cups, which were used in the administration of the Lord's Supper, adding, "They served our worship, but prejudice, and sometimes reason, reproached us with the extreme folly of using them."§ A few days after this, Chaumette complained, that "all sentiments of religion were not yet destroyed; and said, sentiments of religion caused counter-revolutionary movements."‖ Nor was this system confined to Paris. It extended over France. "When Maignet and I left Lyons," said Couthon, "we obtained a complete victory over fanaticism. All the churches were stripped of their riches, which promoted the luxury of their priests, and the delusion of the people. The idols of stone were broken, those of wood burnt; and the people now believe that the most precious altars that can be raised to the Divinity is in the heart of a virtuous republican."¶ In the municipality of Paris, "a letter was read, amid the applause of the galleries, written by Collombeau, who mentions that at Nancy every kind of religious

* Lyons, Nov. 10th, 1793. Letter from an eye-witness, dated Lausanne, Nov. 24th, 1793.

† Convention Nov. 21st, 1793. ‡ Municipality of Paris, Nov. 24th, 1793.

§ Convention, Nov 25th, 1793. ‖ Nov, 28th, 1793.

¶ Convention, Dec. 11th, 1793.

worship is abolished, and every object which could recal religion to the imagination was destroyed; and that all the churches were shut." And at this sitting a civic festival was instituted at the end of every month, the one to "Respect to old men," and the other to "Respect to pregnant women, the hope of their country."

As religion was the object of their peculiar hatred, so the teachers of it were marked out, as the most devoted objects of their vengeance. Every effort was made to induce them to deny the religion they had formerly taught, and in many instances with too much success. At the celebration of the feast of Reason, *Gobet*, Archbishop of Paris, received 100,000 livres to renounce Christianity, which he did; and with a hammer in his hand, he went before the procession, and demolished the image of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, which were in the church of Notre Dame. The apostacy of such men was announced in the most public and joyful manner. A Representative from the army of the South thus writes the Convention: "I send you the letters of priesthood of a citizen who has just married a female citizen, poor in specie, but rich in virtues and patriotism. Instead of giving souls to God, he will give bodies to the Republic. *Amen!* (Insertion in the Bulletin.†)" More however, refused to abandon their principles; and the majority who were of this class, were persecuted without mercy. They were butchered wherever found—hunted like wild beasts, and drowned in hundreds together, without either accusation or trial. The following, from a multitude of examples, may serve to give the Reader an idea of the situation of these unfortunate men. Andrew Dunant thus writes the Convention. "To destroy *fanaticism* (the republican name for religion) I order all priests, who celebrate festivals on Sundays, to be arrested. I make crucifixes, as well as crosses, disappear; and I shall include in my proscription—all those *black animals*, called priests—I am setting out for Beauvau, which I shall put upon *soup meagre*, before I *administer physic* to it. The Republic, or death!—citi-

* Municipality of Paris, Dec. 30th, 1793.
† Convention, Jan, 15th, 1794.

zens, colleagues, a new capture of infamous bigots: some refractory priests *lived amidst heaps of hay* in the ci-devant *Abbaye du Guard*, their long beards seemed to announce how inveterate Aristocracy is: *these three black brutes*, ex-monks, were discovered in their concealment, and the three monsters are gone to a dungeon to await their trial, &c."* The animosity here was equally directed against the person as against the profession and the principles. Indeed, it was a common saying amongst these madmen and athiests, that Christianity was only another name for Royalism; and that, if it was not rooted out, that it would bring round a counter-revolution.

Such are a few authentic instances of the determined hostility of the French Republican Government against Religion, and their anxious care to endeavour, by every possible means, to eradicate every principle of it from the human mind. It is very true, that part of the system to which they directed their hostility was a species of the grossest ignorance and superstition, disgraceful to man, and degrading to our nature. But then, all shared the same fate. They made no distinction; and it was not because that was a disgraceful superstition, but because it went under the name of Religion, that their vengeance was directed against it. Some parts of the superstition which they relate, shews the lamentable state of ignorance into which the minds of the lower classes of France were plunged; and how easy it was to make such men the tools of rogues and fools, at a time when the political power of their governors set them free from all obedience to what they had formerly lived in fear of. I might extend this part of the subject to a great length, by quotations in support of this; but the following I consider as sufficient for my purpose. "We could have brought you," said Couthon, "three waggon loads of brevets, of Charlatanism, formerly called letters of priesthood; but we preferred making an *auto de fe* of them. I could also have brought many millions arising from the plate of the churches, but I would only take charge of some crosses of St. Louis, a holy mute of the Pope, and a small relic that wrought great miracles. This relic

* Convention, Oct. 24th. 1793.

was said to contain part of the *blood of Jesus Christ.* It made the lame to walk, the deaf to hear, and the blind to see. By it barren women, who committed themselves to the priests in whose custody it was, became fruitful; and it had the power of punishing the profane hand that dared to touch it. I ordered it to be brought to me; but it neither withered my arm, nor cured me of the palsy, with which I have long been afflicted. I resolved to examine its contents. I sent for a skilful chemist, who analyzed them; and the precious blood which enriched a whole community, was found to be *Terebinthine gum, diluted with spirit of wine.* I lay the relic on the table, and move that my account of it be inserted in the Bulletin, for the information of the country people, *(Ordered).*"* In another account to the Convention, Bourbette, and Thureau, &c. write from Mons, that they had sent a number of relics taken from the Royalists, amongst which were the following, viz. 6th, a piece of the robe of the Holy Virgin. 7th, a piece of the frock of the infant. 11th, two vials of the milk of the most Holy Virgin, *(much laughter)*.†

It is scarcely possible to determine whether we are most shocked at the abominable imposition here related, or at the contempt and ridicule with which these children of Jacobinism treated every thing that had any reference to what was sacred. This sad example, however, is sufficient to show how anxiously and strictly a well regulated and watchful government should watch over the religious establishments of the country, lest

* Convention, Dec. 4th, 1793.

† Convention, Dec. 15th, 1793. If any thing were wanting to shew the levity and changeable disposition of the French nation, the following grave relation, as convinced of the truth of what they formerly so much ridiculed, is a striking instance, and shews how miserably the public mind was neglected, and how little it had benefited by either their freedom or experience. "On the 17th inst." said the Journal de Paris, "was celebrated at Verona, the beatification of Sister Veronique Guilleane, late superior of the Convent of Capuchins, of St. Claire. The miracles performed by the female Saint, are, according to the legend of the faithful, very numerous, and amount to upwards of 300. Lately, the wife of a wine merchant, whose favourite saint she had always been, experienced the effects of her prayers and presents, by being delivered at once of three strong and healthy boys, after a marriage of 18 years, during which she never before had a child. The husband

these degenerate into ignorance and superstition, and of course become hotbeds of corruption and vice.

While the whole energy of the leading men in France was exerted with the most unrelenting perseverance, and merciless power, to tear up religion by the roots, throughout that unfortunate country, morality was at the same time systematically undermined and destroyed. To such a length did this system proceed, that the Jacobin Club, in 1793, and which then ruled France, proposed, "that to prevent the soil of the Republic from being polluted, all the wives and daughters of emigrants and Royalists shall be *obliged* to marry, or *cohabit* with such *Sans Cullotes* as may *condescend* to pay them their addresses."* When Laplance and Fouche of Nantes were accused, part of the accusation against them was, that "they founded Republican morals upon the dissolution of all morals. Laplance publicly invited the girls to get children, and told them that the Republic wanted citizens." Multitudes of females at this time were as abandoned as the other sex. They forgot every female feeling, and with these every female virtue. They adopted the Red cap of Liberty as part of their dress, and compelled the more modest of their sex to wear it; they appeared in bands in the Convention, whose deliberations they controled, and directed to the most atrocious purposes. At length even the profligate Convention became ashamed of their conduct, and wearied with their patriotism. On the 20th Nov. 1793, a deputation of these Amazonian red caps appeared in the Hall of the Convention, but for what purpose they did not choose to

in gratitude, has presented the saint with a rich diamond cross, and there is not a wife or a husband in that part of Italy, who desires the sterility of their beds to cease, who does not address prayers, and offer sacrifices to her shrine. It is said, that three convents, possessing for a long time saints famous for the same qualities, intend to bring suits at Rome, against the number of the paradise, as an intruder, or interloper, their Convents being entirely deserted by customers." Journal de Paris, Aug. 22d, 1804.

* This system was revived by Bonaparte, who enacted a law, forbidding all females of property to marry any one but a soldier in his service, and none to marry without his consent.—Jacobinism only changes names, as suits its convenience, but its principles are the same, and directed to the same mischievous and demoralizing pursuits.

declare. They were commanded to retire, but this they only did at their own pleasure. Chaumette endeavoured to point out how much they had mistaken their sphere, and concluded his speech with the following sagacious observation, "*If nature had willed that women should be men, nature would have given women beards.*" Therefore, as they were without beards, they could not be men, and were not entitled to Republican privileges. In the same sitting, Chaumette complained "that *the women of the town were becoming devotees*—and that they continued to honour Jesus Christ," &c. "Fouche of Nantes,* improved upon the atrocities of his predecessor Laplance. Chaumette and him concerted the dreadful project of depraving the public, by destroying all the principles of morality and religion. A professor was named by the latter to instruct the children. He abolished all forms of religious worship, demolished the churches, and caused the following inscription to be displayed in the burying places,

"Death is only an eternal sleep."†

One system of folly sprung up after another, till infidelity and atheism itself became wearied with following their footsteps. Even the burial of the dead was *republicanised.* The Council of the Commons of Paris determined that a civil Commissioner, *wearing a red cap*, should precede all burials. On the 26th November, 1793, "the section of *Quinze Vingt*, in Paris, requested of the Convention that an altar might be erected, on which a perpetual fire should be kept up by young virgins." Each fool had thus his particular system; each more impious, delirious, and ruinous than the other. These pernicious doctrines already mentioned took a deep root, grew to an alarming height, and spread their baneful branches round the land. The public mind was completely tainted with every thing that was bad; and the ideas of the rising generation were totally alienated from every thing that was honourable or good, thereby

* Now Duke of Otranto.

† Convention, Aug. 8th, 9th. 1793.

cherishing and collecting a dreadful fund of misery and wo for Europe. Of the alarming height to which this national depravity had arisen in 1793, the following is a remarkable and melancholy instance in the sentiments of the leading Jacobinical Journal of that period. It is such a compound of cruelty, mischief, depravity, and folly, as was perhaps never produced amongst mankind in any other age or country. "*Ca Ira!—Ca Ira!* Go to it again, my lads!—the humbug Kings are once more in the suds—one hundred thousand of their trencher scrapers are drowned in the Rhine—*vive la Republique!* the reign of Louis XVII. is at an end.—The Loire runs *wine* (blood) from Noirmoutier to Nantes: and the *Sans Culottes* drink every man his gallon a-day—*Diable*—J** let the churches be turned into *** and the Virgin give way to Venus—let there be no more bowing the neck but to the holy Mother, guillotine—damnation to the aristocracy of thinking—*vive la Bagatelle.*"* The mind recoils with sorrow and shame at the contemplation of such scenes of wickedness and deliberate depravity. It may be said, that it is unfair and unjust to judge of the character of a nation, from the individual sentiments of a corrupted journalist. No doubt it would be so were these opinions confined to himself; but what shall we say for the nation who could tolerate such sentiments, and such language, in any public paper? would we not very justly conceive, that both her justice, her morality, and religion, were at the very lowest ebb. But, in this instance, we must bear in mind that it was not an obscure and insignificant Journalist who penned this, but the official organ of that Jacobinical party which then governed France, and terrified Europe. That Journal, for which, after the massacres at Lyons, Collot de Herbois, wrote to the Convention, saying, "Send me the Journal of Pere Duchesne to *enlighten* the people;" and were the London Gazette to adopt such a style, or recommend such proceedings, we might fairly conclude, that the government, whose organ it is, was actuated by principles similar to those which governed France at this moment. France, indeed, at the time of which I speak, had

* Journal Le Pere Duchesne, 1793.

more the appearance of an hospital of bedlamites broke loose from their confinement, than a nation of reasonable beings.

The consequences that resulted from this delirious and horrible conduct, remained after the phrenzy which produced them was gone. Its bitter effects France felt through all her borders; and unhappy Europe was also destined to feel its direful effects. France, while she was acting thus, was suffering every internal misery which the barbarous passions of man, when unrestrained by any fear of punishment either here or hereafter, could devise or inflict. Wearied, at last, with robbery and murder, these banditti, like all other lawless hordes, betook themselves to every species of immorality and debauchery. They sent forth the fiercer passions to scourge and destroy their neighbours, and continued to exercise amongst themselves all that was low, beastly, and disgraceful. Speaking of the manners of Paris, in 1795, the Journal de Paris proceeds: "Pomp, dinners, debauchery, and a rage for gaming have become the prevailing passions of every individual; and in this universal phrenzy the most sacred ties are broken without shame, the vilest bonds are openly formed. Marriage becomes an object of speculation—divorce a branch of forestalling—and women a mercantile commodity. The tender names of father and child; of brother and sister, can no longer move the soul which previous interest has hardened—these banditti have no longer a country."* The consequences of this odious system of depravity brought upon France what such a course has ever brought, and always will bring, upon every country. Famine, sickness, and the sword, took up their abodes in every dwelling, and in every family. The situation of Paris, said the *Courier Universelle*, (long after Robespierre's massacres were past) is dreadful. "*Two ounces of bread, daily, for each person—low murmurs heard in every corner.* Bodies constantly thrown into the river—inexpressible grief pervading every quarter, &c."†

Of the length to which immorality had arrived in France, during the illumination of liberty and equality, the following is

* Journal de Paris, November 5d, 1795.

† Courier Universelle, May 16th, 1795.

a remarkable instance. In the sitting of the Council of 500, December 25th, 1796, "a citizen who had married, successively, two sisters, and lost them both, (whether by death or otherwise is not stated,) desired to know whether he might not marry his mother-in-law? The request was disposed of by the order of the day; and consequently the petitioner directed to follow the suggestions of his own depraved mind." It is almost unnecessary to observe, that such an individual could know nothing of religion; nor could his be the only case of the kind, when he brought it forward, without shame, into the highest branch of legislation, where it was heard without indignation.

Worn down with internal anarchy, and domestic bloodshed, France sunk into a state of stupor, as far as regarded herself, and became the easy tool of every desperate adventurer. Yet, while the arm of tyranny crushed amongst themselves that factious spirit which had produced such direful scenes, and directed, in one collected mass, its fury to other objects; this, by no means, rendered any benefit to the cause of virtue and religion. France may justly be said to have remained without a God, though her government ventured, now and then, to speak of religion. During the year 1802, a deputation of the Missionary Society from London, stated, that in Paris, "it required a search, among the booksellers, of four days to find a single copy of the Bible: we fear (said they) this is the awful situation of the greater part of France." Still later, their own Journals afford a more deplorable picture of the total neglect of religion, which was practised by that thoughtless people. Contemplating the picture with delight, the Editor of the Journal Le Citoyen Francois thus proceeds. "The *dansomania* of both sexes seems rather to increase than decrease, with the *warm* weather. *Sixty balls* were advertised for *last Sunday;* and for to-morrow, *sixty-six* are announced. Any person walking in the Elysian fields, or on the Boulevards, may be convinced that these *temples of pleasure are not without worshippers. Besides* these, in our walks last Sunday, we counted no less than *twenty-two gardens not advertised*, where there was *fiddling and dancing.* Indeed this pleasure is *tempting*, because it is very cheap. For a bottle of beer,

which cost 6 *sous*, (3d.) and 2 *sous*, (1d.) to the fiddler, *a husband and wife, with their children, may amuse themselves from three o'clock in the afternoon to eleven o'clock at night.* As this exercise both *diverts* the mind and *strengthens* the body, and Sunday is the only day in the week which the most numerous classes of people can dispose of *without injury* to themselves or the State, *Government encourages as much as possible these innocent amusements on that day.* In the garden of Chaumievre, on the *Boulevard neuf*, we observed in the *same* quadrilles, last Sunday, *four generations*, the great grandsire dancing with his great grandaughter, and the great grand-mama with her great grandson. *It was a satisfaction impossible to express*, to see persons of so distant ages, all enjoying the same pleasure for the present, *not remembering past misfortunes, nor apprehending future ones.* The grave seemed equally distant from the girl of 10, and from her great grand-mama of 70; and from the boy who had not seen three lustres, and from the great grandsire reaching nearly fourscore. In another quadrille danced four lovers with their mistresses. There again was nothing observed but an emulation who should best enjoy the present moment. *Not an idea of the* PAST, OR TIME TO COME, *clouded their thoughts;* in a few words, they were perfectly happy. Let those tormented by avarice or ambition frequent these places on a Sunday, they will be cured of their vile passions, if they are not incurable."*

In reading the above, the effusions of one who saw, felt, and enjoyed, what he describes, it is difficult to say whither we should consider it "*more in pity than in anger.*" There is a time for every thing, for laughter, and for sorrow—for levity and for reflection; but the Sabbath, certainly, never was intended for a people to spend in fiddling and dancing. Would not the people in Paris have been as well employed in "*improving*" as in *diverting* their minds on that day? and if they had spent it in reflecting upon the past, and thinking upon the future, it might have been no worse for themselves, and would have been better for their neighbours. But the diversion was cheap,

* Journal le Citoyen, François, August 2d, 1804.

and therefore tempting? This only shews how easily a Frenchman is tempted, how cheap it is to make a slave of him. Even the *Brewer** himself, at this rate, might have become an Emperor. That the government encouraged this *innocent* diversion there can be no doubt, and that they paid for it there can be as little; for the reader will observe, that this mode of spending the Sabbath, was *encouraged* by the government, when it was forging chains for the necks of its subjects; as it was during that year, and very soon after, that Bonaparte was made Emperor; and when he was preparing the materials from this thoughtless, irreligious, fiddling fraternity, which, like the volcano, was to spread its destructive lava over the fairest part of the habitable globe. This diversion was very cheap! Was it? The prime cost indeed was not a great deal, but the charges occasioned by its consequences have been enormous. It has cost France since that period, 15 milliards of money,† (£670,000,000 sterling,) upwards of 2,000,000 of lives, and Europe nearly as much more; and it at last brought her indignant sons from the East and the West, from the North and from the South, and through carnage and death, planted their vengeful cannon against, and their victorious standards upon, the same *Boulevards* of Paris. Such at this period were the people of Paris—such was the conduct of their government, both which stands upon record as an example which ought not to be forgotten, as it shews the true origin of the miseries of Europe, and demonstrates beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the government who can once bring its subjects to that state where "*four generations of males and females in the same quadrille, where the husband and the wife, with their children*, all without either remembering the past or thinking on the future, spend the Sabbath, from three in the afternoon till eleven o'clock at night, in "*fiddling and dancing*," will find no difficulty in set-

* Santerre. At the rate of 1d. to the fiddler for two persons, £830 would keep 400,000 persons, or all Paris, above five years of age, that could wag a foot, dancing; £1,600 would set all London on foot; in France, therefore, it costs less to be made an Emperor, than in England, in some instances, to be a member of Parliament.]

† Chataubriand's calculation and address, as regards the money; the lives from a calculation of my own.

ting them to rob the pockets and cut the throats of their neighbours during the rest of the week.

But with one extract further I shall conclude this subject. The same Journals informs us, that in 1806 their manners were not mended. "Our beloved Paris has recently improved in an extraordinary degree in *external* morality, without, however, losing the smallest portion of its *internal* depravity. There is no violation of morals, as long as the children have not *polluted* the paternal habitation. It is quite sufficient, if it be not obvious to the public eye, whether the young progeny are legitimate or illegitimate, and if they do not come into the world before the face of their parents."

"The most important duty is not to refrain from sin, but to conceal it. In the church it has now become to such a pass, that *a certain coquetry is thought meritorious* in the sight of God; but the Almighty appears to have conferred the delicate gift of dressing in a very fascinating, at the same time yet decent manner, to but few elect. *The priests make use of them as a kind of angels; when these angels distribute the consecrated bread, and at the same time hold out the box of Christian benevolence, the blessing of Heaven never fails to accompany it; the looks of the fair suitor penetrate the heart, and then to the purse of the profligate sinner.*"*

Such was the lamentable situation of religion and morals in France at this period. That they are not improven in either the one or the other, all their public conduct, to the latest period we are acquainted with, clearly shews. Those who have lately visited them in the walks of private life, bring back such accounts as shew how improbable it is that such a nation will return to the paths of justice and truth in peace or quietness. Nor is it those who, it may be said, are prejudiced against them that afford us this information. It is from their staunch friends and admirers, who could see nothing but justice and wisdom in their conduct, and only happiness, security, and peace, under the enlightened and mild reign of Napoleon. The following is one authority, from many of the same kind.

* Paris, September 6th, 1806.

Mr. Birkbeck, who travelled through a considerable part of France during the autumn of 1814, and whom the Edinburgh Review calls "an independent thinker, a shrewd observer, and an experienced farmer," gives us the following account: "Sunday, (says he,) is but slightly observed in this part of France (50 miles South of Paris) at any season; very slightly indeed in time of harvest. Some go to church for about an hour; but, before and after, no great marks of Sabbath are perceptible;" and, continues he, "*it is* PLEASANT TO PERCEIVE *how little hold the Church has upon the minds of the people; surely it can never recover its influence.*"* In this picture there is evidently no exaggeration; it is indeed certain that it is but too faithfully lineated in all its parts.

In this manner did France continue to root out or to sport with every thing sacred. In a society so constituted, and held together by such feeble ties as this society was, crimes that degrade human nature must have been dreadfully frequent. Accordingly we find that these were so. A few of those in the early part of the revolution we shall presently have occasion to review; of the latter periods it may be sufficient to observe, that, according to the report of the Prefect of Police to the Grand Judge, the following was the situation of Paris for the year, ending Sept. 22d, 1803, viz. 490 men and 167 women committed suicide; 81 men and 69 women were murdered, of these 55 men and 52 women were foreigners; 644 divorces; 155 murderers executed; 1,210 persons condemned to the gallies, chains, &c.; 1,626 persons to hard labour, and 64 marked with hot irons; 12,076 public women † were registered; 1,552 kept

* It appears, that the moment the "*Child and Champion of Jacobinism*" returned to them again, that they hailed his approach as a deliverance from the burdens of a religious life. "All the merchants, (said the Moniteur) rejoice that they are no longer *obliged to shut their shops on Sunday*. Trade will no longer be shackled; and the workman, who has no other day than this to make his little purchases, will no longer be obliged to *sacrifice a part of his time* devoted to labour, for this purpose."—Moniteur, Paris, March 23d, 1815 In 1793, it required the terrors of the guillotine to compel the merchants to do what, without compulsion, they rejoice to perform in 1815. Giddy, thoughtless, people. In vain will Europe look for safety or repose, while such sentiments direct the proceedings of France.

† The French Government, who drew money from every source, levied large

mistresses were noted down by the police; and 380 public brothels licensed by the Prefect. Amongst the criminals executed were 7 fathers for poisoning their children; 10 husbands for murdering their wives; 6 wives that had murdered their husbands; and, 15 children who had poisoned or otherwise destroyed their parents. Dreadful as this catalogue is, it is small in comparison to those of the years which preceded it; but so odious and atrocious were these lists, that even the profligate authorities to whom they were addressed endeavoured to prevent their reaching the eyes of the public. It is only necessary further to observe on the previous head, that this list was made up in a city whose population was then but half the number of the present population of London!!

No wonder that a nation like this should commit, internally and externally, every crime of the deepest dye, moral or political. They had no tie to bind them to each other, except the bonds of a domineering ambition and unreflecting vanity—none that could knit them in the bonds of real friendship with other nations. War and violence were the proper elements for such unprincipled beings; and it was only when driven back at the point of the sword that they could be compelled to abandon their odious pursuits. Few, after contemplating the preceding picture, which I conceive it unnecessary to lengthen as I might easily have done, can be astonished at the tragical scenes I am about to relate. A nation reduced to the situation I have described, certainly, without exaggeration, and governed as they were by men with "OPINIONS DARK AS EREBUS," were fit for any evil purpose. As they lost their religious principles they lost the feelings of humanity. The latter advanced as the former were driven back; and scenes of blood and misery overspread that unfortunate country, such as were altogether unheard of, or unknown, till then, amongst mankind.

That spirit of discontent and hatred against the government, fanned by factious demagogues and profligate and desperate ad-

sums from these wretched creatures. Fouche made them pay from 5s. to 10 guineas each, monthly, according to their rank, beauty, or fashion; and the police officers extorted vast sums from them for their own use, and that of their master.

venturers—that spirit of evil and *mystery of iniquity* so long cherished and so widely spread in France, at length began to make its appearance. The bounds of this work prevents me from entering at great length into the details of this period of blood, and I must therefore confine myself to a concise narrative of the most remarkable of these events. As early as 1791, this Jacobinical spirit began this work of destruction. At Avignon they first shewed what they meant by Liberty. The massacre at that place first taught Europe what the champions of Jacobinism aimed at. The following official account of that melancholy business is taken from the report made to the Legislative body. "The Jacobins plunged themselves into the prisons of the palace, and there massacred them in cold blood. Sons were murdered in the presence of their fathers! Mothers expired on the bodies of their sons! Alas! all perished miserably. *(Assembly shuddered with horror.)* Barbarity spared not even the bodies of these unfortunate victims. They were beheaded—cut in pieces. The bodies of women were embowelled! the remains *(here M. Montiex could proceed no further, his frame was convulsed, the paper dropped from his hand, he covered his face and fled with precipitation from the tribune. His flight was beheld in gloomy silence: of so numerous an assembly not one person was found, whose curiosity had so far mastered his feelings as to oppose his departure, or to demand his return.)*

After a pause of horror, M. Isnard, the Secretary, was ordered to proceed with the recital. "These mangled remains of their fury were thrown into a ditch, called Glaciere du Palais. The entrance was closed up: we discovered this tomb, and caused it to be opened. A *putrid* stench rendered it almost inaccessible: we, however, caused it to be examined with proper precautions, in order if possible, by the number of heads, to discover how many lives had been lost. Sixty were found,"* *(the Assembly resounded with mingled exclamations of indignation and sorrow.)*

As yet there were some good men amongst the members of government, who could shudder with horror at the bare recital

* Legislative Assembly, November 17th, 1791.

of such scenes as these. But a short time banished these from the Legislature of France; and, it is remarkable, how a man once embarked in a cause which is radically wrong, proceeds to do with exultation deeds which he formerly shuddered to hear mentioned. Such was the case in the present instance amongst several of the members of this assembly. M. Isnard, in particular, was afterwards President of the Convention, in 1793, when tragedies of ten times deeper horrors were *commanded* and allowed by them.

Troubles augmented. Crimes increased. The banditti who perpetrated these were suffered to escape; or, from numbers and support. openly braved the laws of their country. The mild and peaceable manners of Louis XVI. was not suited to such a period as this. His anxiety to save the lives of those he governed, cost him his own. His wish to save the effusion of blood has caused rivers of it to be shed. One firm and decided step, on his part, might have scattered that flock of harpies which were collecting round his throne; and a sacrifice of the lives of a few wretches, who disregarded all law, and trampled upon humanity, might have saved millions of lives to France, and to Europe. But he hesitated—he leaned to mercy when he should have wielded the sword of justice; and he was therefore undone. This amiable and unfortunate King fell beneath the axe of the executioner. He was tried by a mock tribunal, condemned in violation of the law, refused an appeal to those who, according to the existing laws, could only be his judges, and hurried to execution by order of the Convention, and under the command of that monster, Santerre, whose ferocious voice, when the King began to address the people, cried out, "*I brought you here not to speak, but to die;*" and whose imperious mandate commanded the drum to drown the last appeal of this innocent Sovereign. His widowed Queen and unfortunate sister, amidst the bitterest insults and unfeeling ferocity, shared the same fate. The indignities heaped upon these illustrious personages, but particularly the former, were such as degraded man to the level of the brute. Her son, a boy of only 7 years of age, was made drunk, and in that state instructed to give a deposition that his mother had caused him to commit

the crime of incest with her. None but the depraved heart of a corrupted Frenchman, amongst whom such crimes are no strangers, would ever have contrived such an abominable scheme of calumny as this. The daughter of Maria Theresa, a descendent of the Cesars, was confined in a room 8 feet by 12, in the worst dungeon in Paris. She was hardly allowed food of the coarsest kind. Condemned at half past four in the morning, she was called by the executioner at seven, and executed at noon, on the 28th October. No friend durst visit her; nor was she allowed to see her family. Her hair, from the excess of her sufferings and grief, was become white as snow. She was carried to the scaffold on a *tombril*, or dung cart, seated with her back to the horses tail, and in company with other victims of tyranny. In her way, she was insulted in the most opprobrious manner by furies, in the shape of women. Her hands were bound behind her back—her hair cut off—and she perished beneath the fatal guillotine, without a single friend daring to appear to offer her consolation in her last moments, or to cover with decency her lifeless remains. Her bleeding head was held up and shewn by the executioner at each of the four corners of the scaffold, which for other persons was only done at one corner. When placed beneath the fatal instrument, the last words she uttered were, "Adieu, my children, I go to meet your Father."

The death of the King was the signal for the commencement of a system of atrocity, at which the heart recoils with horror. Arrests multiplied—executions increased—France became a dungeon—her cities a grave. No age nor sex was spared—young and old—good and bad, all shared the same fate. All law was violated. The prisons, crammed with innocent victims, were cleared at will by a bloody rabble, eager to embrue their hands in blood; and the *suspicion of being suspected* sent thousands to an untimely grave. Can the bloody days of the 10th of August and 2d September, 1792, ever be forgotten in the annals of France or the records of Europe.

> *Then "murder bar'd her arm*, and rampant War
> Yok'd the red dragons of her iron car."*

* Campbell's Pleasures of Hope.

Petion, who was at this time Mayor of Paris, and who was also justly accused of secretly encouraging these horrid scenes, was, on the 3d of September, giving a grand entertainment at his house to about 60 persons. According to the account of Duhem, in his deposition upon the trial of the Brissotine party, who was one of the guests on this day, "the company were struck with consternation at seeing 15 of the murderers enter the apartment, fresh from their work of slaughter, and all covered with blood." "*It is nothing at all,* LADIES *and Gentlemen,* (replied one of them very coolly,) *we could even dispatch* 60 *more.*" "Well," replied Petion, "*do as you please.*" "He then, very deliberately, returned to the table and swallowed a glass of ice cream."* This callous wretch met the end he merited; compelled to fly from that fury which he had called forth, but which he could neither govern nor allay, he and Buzot perished with hunger; their bodies were found half eaten with worms, and their remains mangled by the birds of prey.†

That far famed instrument of blood and terror, the guillotine, was established in every town in France, and kept constantly employed. In Paris two permanent ones, each of which cut off several heads at one blow, were established; at Strasburgh there was a permanent one established, by St. Just, who also sent out from that place what he called an *ambulatory* one to traverse the surrounding country. In the armies they were also placed. An attempt was made to introduce them on board their ships of war, but the sailors would not tolerate it. These dreadful machines were never allowed to rest. The infamous courts supplied them with a constant succession of victims. Of all the instruments of human villany that ever disgraced the page of history, the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris was certainly the most odious. So little did the men who composed it care for their proceedings, that one person was frequently guillotined for another—the father for the son, and the son for the father. Nor could it be otherwise. By the 2d article of

* Paris Journals, November 2d, 1793.

† Letter from the Republican society of *Castecon* at *Bec de Ambes,* to the representatives of the people, Convention, July 6th, 1794.

the decree constituting this tribunal, it was enacted, "that from its sentence there should be no appeal." By the 3d article it was enacted, that "sentence passed in the absence of the accused shall have the same effect as if they were present." Such a mode of proceeding violated every principle of law, and was the most desperate and iniquitous. When debating about the accusations to be brought against the Queen, "what needs (said Julien) the Revolutionary Tribunal stand upon formalities; if it has no material proofs, it ought to deem moral proofs or probabilities sufficient!!"* At the trial of the Brissotines, Brechet recommended as the best, because the most expeditious mode of trying the accused, that "after Brissot was condemned, the President of the Tribunal should only ask, is Vergniaud, &c. convicted of having co-operated with him, &c. &c. If the Jury says yes, the same judgment shall be passed on all."† In the early periods of the career of this infernal tribunal, Tinville Fonquier was the public accuser. He also perished in his turn. The accusations against him were, "of having caused an innumerable multitude of citizens to perish under the forms of law—of having ordered women with child to be executed—of having tried and condemned 30, 40, *and even* 60 *persons at a time*, and caused them to be executed within three hours—of having drawn out indictments in such a confused manner, *that the father has often been guillotined for the son, and the son for the father*—of having refused to persons accused a copy of the accusation against them—of having packed juries instead of chusing them by lot, &c."‡

Such were the engines employed to administer justice, under the mandates of Liberty and Equality; and such the scorpions who scourged France and terrified Europe. Name and number were the only demand of this infernal quorum. Scenes of deliberate destruction, became so common, that the multitude either beheld them with the most unfeeling indifference, or joined in them with the most savage exultation. To such a length had this barbarous trait in the human character arrived,

* Club of Cordeliers, August 22d, 1793.

† Jacobin Club, October 4th, 1793. ‡ May 8th, 1793.

that David, the celebrated Painter*—David, a member of the national institute—David, a member of the Legion of Honour, was accustomed to accompany the innocent victims of tyranny to the scaffold, where he employed himself in taking sketches from the last agonies of expiring nature, in the murdered persons of his own countrymen. Yet, it is not a little remarkable, that this man and his works are mentioned even by Englishmen, as affording, in contemplating them, the most delightful sensations. Were the feelings of humanity assisted by memory, one would naturally imagine, that however well executed the work, that the name of David, and his conduct on the scaffolds of expiring innocence, would fill the mind with horror, and thrill the heart with anguish.—What a pity that this man was not chosen by his master to accompany his armies, in order to take sketches in Germany and Russia. There, where blasted by the breath of the Almighty—where scattered in thousands on Russian snows, "*food for dogs and crows;*"†—where, crushed by the burning beams of the bridge, and floating ice at the Berezina—weeping like children round the gory

* This monster was the ardent admirer and particular friend of the infamous Marat. He was deputed by the Convention to arrange the ceremony of the public funeral of his deceased friend. It was intended to lay him out in state; but said David to the Convention, "putrefaction has rendered the corps of Marat so infectious, that it will be impossible to lay him out in state. Only one half of his body will be presented to view, covered with a wet sheet." Marat was eat up with the leprosy, the consequences of his abandoned life. Such was the friend of David—congenial souls, no doubt. "I have read (said David) the lives of the Aristides, the Catos, the Fabricii, and the great men of antiquity: all I can do is to admire them, but not to make their panegyric. *I am exactly thus situated with regard to Marat:* I have seen him---I have known him---*I have constantly admired him*---Posterity will be his judge." Convention, July 16th, 1793. Yes, it *will* judge him; and couple David's name with his in this *legion of honour*. Charlotte la Corde, whose intrepid arm freed the world from Marat, was immediately guillotined for the deed. Her undaunted spirit struck even the Revolutionary Tribunal with astonishment. "I did not (said she to her judges) expect to appear before you; I always thought that I should be delivered up to the rage of the people, torn in pieces, and that my head, stuck on the top of a pike, would have preceded Marat on his state-bed, to serve as a rallying point to Frenchmen, *if there still are any worthy of that name.*"

† Very likely some of those very men, the consequences of whose handy works he had contemplated with such satisfaction, at the guillotine, in 1793 and 1794.

walls of Leipsic*—or where "*a cry of dismay spread from rank to rank*," at the Elster, there might he have seen the agonies of expiring nature, amongst his countrymen, in colours such as would have appalled his callous heart, and far exceeded his art to delineate. At this outrageous period, a look or a sigh of pity, expressed for the fate of the nearest relative, was instant ruin. On the fatal 10th of August and 2d September, 1792, even pity seems to have been banished from what has hitherto been supposed, her last refuge on earth—from the female bosom. The refuse of Paris, *some of them*, no doubt were; but they were women, and far outdid the men in acts of violence and brutality. They tore to pieces, the bodies of the victims of their fury, and carried their bleeding limbs in triumph through the streets, as was done with the Princess Lamballe, whose bleeding head they mounted on a pike, and thrust into the window of the Queen's apartment, during that night of horror. Barbarity, from which the tyger would have turned with shame; indignities which the most ferocious ape which traverses the wilds of Borneo would have shunned with disgust, and which modesty forbids us to reveal, were heaped upon her dying body. The Swiss guards were massacred under circumstances the most horrid and atrocious; and many of the inhabitants of Paris, particularly the women, by way of triumph, carried their bloody clothes on the points of their lances, through the streets. In the midst of this career of phrenzy and blood, these furies already mentioned broke open the Royal cellars, intoxicated themselves with the wines there deposited, and pouring it from cups into the mouths of their slaughtered countrymen, exclaimed, with the fury of demons, "*Here take your last drink, F—— drink to the nation!!*"

Every sense of justice—every feeling of humanity or shame, were at this moment obliterated from the minds and the hearts of that banditti, which now controled and tyrannized over France. The want of these not only dictated the measures they pursued, with regard to their internal concerns; but the opposite sentiments were boldly and openly avowed in their connexions with other nations. Their fury was directed

* Narrative, Battles at Leipsic.

against every nation who wished to withstand their principles, and the new code of politics originating from these; and it bent its utmost strength and fiercest anger against the happy Constitution of Great Britain, then threatened by similar principles, and attacked by similar storms. "There must be no more King's in Europe," said Danton; "one King would be sufficient to endanger the general Liberty: and I request, that a Committee may be established, *for the purpose of promoting a general insurrection amongst all people against Kings;*" applauded and referred to the Committee.* In the Jacobin Club, Deffieux and St. Just demanded the lives of 100,000 Aristocrats. "It is certainly much better," said they, "to swim in oceans of the blood of Aristocrats, than to suffer one patriot to receive a single scratch."† Upon his arrival from his bloody expedition at Toulon, Robespierre the younger, in the Jacobin Club, which then gave laws to France, said, "*I wish that all the tyrants were cut in small pieces, and that a pie were made of them: I would eat them with pleasure, although I do not like human flesh.*"‡ Cruelty indeed, was the distinguishing attribute of the French government at this moment, and all those that it employed in office were of the same stamp. Mercy was prescribed in France. "And you *sacred mountain*," said the Mayor of Paris, "be the Sinai of the French; hurl the eternal thunders of the will of the people. *Holy* mountain, become a Volcano, in which shall be consumed every heart that wishes the destruction of Liberty. *Legislators, away with pity—away with mercy.* If we do not anticipate our enemies, they will anticipate us. Let us put between them and us the barrier of eternity."§ Paris at this moment was the centre of every crime, and the focus of every mischief. Never in the annals of mankind were any class of rational beings so completely brutalized as its inhabitants were at this moment. Murder and blood seemed their only delight; and these they accompli[illegible] by any means which came into their minds. From the highest to the

* Convention, Sept. 29th, 1792. A decree was publicly passed in November following, for that purpose.

† Jacobin Club, April 9th. 1793.

‡ Do do. Dec. 29th, 1793. *The monster spoke as if n[illegible]ied.*

§ Speech of the Mayor of Paris to the Convention, Sept. 5th, 1793.

lowest rank amongst them, all were equally savage and guilty. On the 20th Jan. 1794, the commune of Paris, "denounced the milkmen of adulterating the milk so much, that several children died in consequence of it." Paris, said Barrere, "never contained so many miscreants and traitors, as at this moment. *All the villains of Europe seem to have made it their rendezvous.*"*

In the meantime, while such principles dictated their conduct to foreign nations, the Revolutionary Tribunal continued its atrocious labours and bloody career with unceasing activity. All that was eminent for knowledge or abilities, throughout France, were singled out as victims to its prey, and fell beneath its odious judgments. When glutted, but not satiated, with the blood of innocence, its vengeance was turned against those which gave its fury birth. Friends and foes were sent, without distinction, to the guillotine. The party who commanded one faction to be guillotined to-day, were sent to the block to-morrow by another faction, again destined to perish in their turn. The system spread throughout France. Every town had its Revolutionary Tribunal assiduously employed, and glorying in the work of destruction. Their labours I shall have presently occasion to mention, more in detail, as I enter upon the scenes connected with the Provinces; but one thing it may be here necessary to mention, as illustrative of the true state of the administration of what was called justice in France, by this odious Tribunal. It took place at Marseilles, and is no doubt a faithful portrait of its conduct in other places. "Of 13 individuals condemned to suffer death, one of them having heard his sentence, pulled out a dagger, which he had concealed in his sleeve, and rushing towards the President, cried out '*Revenge.*' BRUTUS did not appear in the least frightened, AS EVERY JUDGE UPON THE BENCH *has two loaded pistols in his girdle, and a hanger by his side.* The President *having usually his pistols before him on the table, cocked them at the enraged culprit*, who suffered himself to be intimidated. The man was then seized, and led off to execution. In his way, he broke

* Convention, March 30th, 1794.

from his guards—threw himself into the sea, from whence he was taken and guillotined, the last of the 13.* Where, in the courts of justice or injustice, shall we find a parallel to this? In Paris, however, this odious tribunal presented the widest scenes of destruction. In the short space of 18 months, previous to the death of Robespierre, from 2500 to 3000 people were guillotined in Paris alone. The monsters employed in these scenes had lost all feelings of man, all regard for any thing here, or dread of a world hereafter. Danton, when brought in his turn, before the Revolutionary Tribunal, which he had so often supplied with victims, amused himself by pelting his Judges with little balls. At Marseilles, when the popular Tribunal of that place sentenced to death one *Paulet*, arraigned for having murdered 13 persons; so far was he from feeling any regret at his crimes, that he told them with the greatest unconcern, that they were wrong in their accusation against him: "*Your* charge, *said he, is false, I only killed nine of them.*"† Camille Desmoulines, when questioned by the Revolutionary Tribunal about his age, said "*That he was just as old as the Sans Cullotte,* JESUS CHRIST, 33 *years.*‡ The following is a list of those condemned and guillotined, for two months previous to the death of the tyrant Robespierre. In some days it is the numbers condemned which is given, and who were generally executed the same, or the following day; but in general, it is those who were actually guillotined, who are given, and the daily list are always fresh victims.

PARIS, 1794.

April 9th,	9		April 16th,	18
— 13th,	27	And many other persons of distinction. Hebert editor of the Journal *Pere Duchesne*, an atheist, and Madame Desmoulines, who personated the Goddess of Reason, were amongst this number.	— 19th,	12 And several others.
			— 20th,	5
			— 22d,	27 and many others of less note.
			— 24th,	13
			— 27th,	13 and a prodigious number of the inhabitants of Verdun.
			— 29th,	45
			May 3d,	15

* Marseilles, Jan. 28th, 1794.

† Paris, July 18th, 1793.

‡ Paris, April 3d, 1793.

May 5th,	25
— 7th,	34
— 8th,	31
— 12th,	53
— 14th,	14
— 17th,	15
— 21st,	29
— 23d,	8
— 27th,	9
— 28th, 29th	17
— 31st,	18
June 2d,	13
— 3d,	26
— 4th,	20
— 6th,	23
— 8th,	4
— 9th,	18
— 10th,	12
— 11th,	27
— 12th,	8
— 14th,	41

June 16th, 17th,	113
— 18th,	56
— 24th,	30 condemned.
———	54 accused.
— 25th,	48 many of these were women from 17 to 22 years of age; every day from 40 to 50 are cut off.
— 27th,	29
July 3d, 4th, 5th,	72
— 6th,	30
— 7th,	78 condemned,
— 9th,	71 executed.
— 10th,	44 condemned.
— 22d,	44
— 23d,	81
— 25, 26, 27th,	135
— 24th	many.
— 28th,	71 Robespierre, &c.
— 29th,	76

It must be observed, that, in the above numbers, are only included the names of *persons of rank*. Each days butchery generally concluded, in the accounts by the Paris Journals, with this addition, " and a great number of inferior rank." When they could not lay their fangs on Royal blood, they dressed up effigies representing the different Sovereigns of Europe, and guillotined these. In La Vendee, one of the inhabitants had a parrot, which had been taught to cry *Vive le Roi*. This was an unpardonable crime. The parrot was caught and guillotined. Man and beast were led to that terrible *national razor*, as they termed it, and upon the most frivolous pretences. On the 12th Feb. 1794, the Marquis de Narbseuf was guillotined for having caused clover to be sown in his fields, in place of grain!! Such were the results of *Liberty and Equality;* and such a few of the consequences of the New Light of Reason, spread over France. In no nation that could ever lay claim to the smallest degree of civilization, were such cruel and degrading scenes ever witnessed, and in none were they ever surpassed; yet that thoughtless people, after having carried blood and destruction throughout the civilized world, dare to insult the human understanding, by stigmatizing other nations, where no such scenes were known as barbarians and savages! O Paris! guilty Paris! thou baneful centre of all that is odious and unjust; vengeance lowers

over thy haughty turrets and the day of retribution is advancing with steady pace, when, unless thy conduct in time to come shall wipe away thy faults, the irresistible arm of unerring justice "will sweep thee with the besom of destruction;" and thy ruins form a terrible beacon to future generations, to shun thy baneful footsteps, that they may avoid thy awful fate.

But let us, for a moment, take a more detailed view of the consequences of these horrible proceedings. In this I shall be as concise as possible, and follow the best authorities. Under the Constituent Assembly, from June 17th, 1789, till 1st Oct. 1791, there perished by massacres, 3,540 persons, of whom twelve were women, and 22 children. Under the Legislative assembly from the 1st Oct. 1791, till the 20th Sept. 1792, there perished by massacres 8,044 persons, of whom 292 were priests. The principal part of the latter number fell during the bloody days of the 10th August, and 2d. Sept. These numbers united, make 11,584 persons.

As we advance, however, the scene becomes more bloody, and the prospect more gloomy. Under the National Convention, from the 20th Sept. 1792, till the end of 1795, there were guillotined throughout France, 18,613 persons, amongst whom were 360 nuns, 1467 wives of mechanics, and 1135 priests. At Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, and Nantz, and at other places, this infernal machine was kept constantly employed. One hundred, and even two hundred per day, was no uncommon prospect, to see thus butchered At Paris, as has already been noticed, two permanent guillotines were employed, which, for many months running, frequently decapitated 300 weekly; yet the prisoners increased; and in June 1794, they exceeded 8000 in Paris alone. To take one life at a time was not sufficient. Ingenuity was stretched to improve in cruelty. "I can assure you," said Chaumette, "that workmen are employed to make guillotines of 30 collars, to behead the rebels in a more expeditious manner."* About the same time another proposition was made to the Convention, to construct machines to strike off 500 heads at once, in order to get clear of the prisoners. D'Orleuille

* Chaumette, Convention, June 7th, 1793.

while he announced to the Convention the execution of 140 Lyonese, proposed to dispatch 500 at one blow. "*Applauded*, and ordered to be inserted in the Bulletin."* In the small town of Arras, the birth place of Robespierre, 27 persons were guillotined in one day.† Here they had a guillotine which cut off 17 heads at once. In Strasbourg, and other towns, besides those in other places as afterwards more particularly mentioned, there fell still greater numbers. But it was not only that life was taken unjustly, but the last moments of the victims of oppression were embittered by the basest insult and agonizing suspense. Lebon kept a man under the suspended blade of the guillotine, while he read to the surrounding multitude some public news which he had at that moment received.‡ When that monster, Robespierre, at last fell beneath the axe of Justice, the populace of Paris, whose idol he formerly was, "rushed upon his body, mutilated it with a thousand slashes, and carried the bleeding members in triumph through the city."§ Lanau, the deputy, was denounced by the Commune of Brienne, because "he exposed on the public scaffold, for 48 hours, the body of an old man, the father of 12 children, whose sentence of death he had unjustly procured."‖ Bo, the deputy, averred, "that 12,000,000 of inhabitants were sufficient for France, and that the rest ought to be guillotined."¶ PRIORY, the deputy, wrote to the Society of Sans Cullottes, at Nivres, in the following terms; "Brave and vigorous *Sans Callottes;* you were desirous to have with you a *good b*—— of a Representative. I will be shortly with you, along with my colleague Lugrand. *In the mean time, you may destroy, burn, pillage, and guillotine, at no allowance.*"* It may be said, that these were the ravings of madmen. Perhaps they were so; but still they were madmen who had method in their madness, and who governed France—such men she obeyed and into her mind they instilled principles which laid Europe waste.

* Paris, Dec. 19th, 1793. † May, 17th, 1794.
‡ Charles Lacroix's accusation against him, Convention, Aug. 2d. 1794.
§ Paris, July 28th, 1794. ‖ Convention, Aug. 8th and 9th, 1795.
¶ Convention, Aug. 8th and 9th, 1795.
* Convention, Aug. 8th and 9th, 1795.

To escape in these perilous times, was almost impossible; no man was safe, let his conduct be what it might. Amongst the numbers denounced as suspected persons, which step was the first stage on the journey to death, were the following persons: "Those who are ever ready to report bad news, with a kind of affected sorrow—those who have changed their conduct and language according to events—and those who have done nothing either for or against Liberty," &c. &c.* Of the summary and unjustifiable proceedings of those friends of Liberty, their conduct at Bourdeaux affords a striking example. "The military commission proceeds in a Revolutionary manner; the heads of the conspirators fall on the scaffold; the *suspected* are shut up till peace shall be concluded; and the moderate, the indifferent, and the egotist are punished by the purse. Lately, all the actors of the Grand Theatre, to the number of 68, were arrested. It was a focus of Aristocracy; we have destroyed it. On the evening before the Theatre was surrounded, when there were upwards of 2000 persons in it; all *suspected* persons, who were re-united in great numbers, were imprisoned; the same night 200 capital merchants were arrested, and seals put upon their papers; and the military commission *will soon do them justice*. The guillotine, and great fines, will purify the merchants, and will exterminate the monopolizers, and money-changers. *Reason* makes here a great progress, *all* the churches have been shut."†

In consequence of the expulsion of the Brissotines, on the 31st May, 1793, and the capture of Lyons, there perished at that city and other places, 31,999 persons. The massacres at this city were dreadful. It felt the full vengeance of the Convention. On the 12th Oct. they decreed, that it should be destroyed, its name changed, and five Commissioners were appointed, to try its inhabitants by military law. Amongst the number who perished during the siege, were 348 women in childbed, 184 died of fright, 45 by suicide, and many others in various ways, to escape the rage of their enemies. The following

* Chaumette to Council General, Paris, Oct. 13th, 1793.
† Bourdeaux, Dec. 20th, 1793.

is a short list of some murders committed in cold blood by the deputies of the Convention. D'Orfeuille, (*a player*) President of the Revolutionary Tribunal, thus writes. "Every day the sword of justice struck off 30 heads; and the two tribunals, always in a state of activity, have already sent to the scaffold more than 200 counter-revolutionists.* "We wish," said Couthon, "for a total destruction to this city. We have already destroyed it walls, and places of defence, as well as every monument which might tend to recal despotism to remembrance. We have established a military commission, which every day, since we entered Lyons, has passed sentence on many guilty heads; and we have formed a Revolutionary Tribunal for all criminal politicians—the municipality, and committee of vigilance, are making out a list of *all* the houses which belong to the rich, as well as *the property of these Gentlemen*, which we shall take good care of."† Very soon after this, another person proceeds in relating the conduct of the Republican party at that place, as follows, viz. "Since Saturday, the tower de Pierre Seize has been demolished, and all the front of Belle Cour. The arrests continue, and multiply without end. There are already from 12,000 to 14,000, which we expect to see, every moment, murdered. The colleges serve as a supplement to the common prisons. Some of these prisoners are shot daily, and their goods confiscated."‡ On the 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, and 11th Dec. 391 persons were shot, and 21 guillotined.§ From the 13th to the 17th Dec. 1793, 995 persons were guillotined, and 300 shot!‖ On the 4 days, ending the 22d. Jan. 1794, three hundred and twenty-nine persons were guillotined, and 339 shot.¶ Feb. 1st. 1794, says an account from that city, 62 persons were condemned. Two days after, they were shot in the great square. The women and children employed themselves in stripping the dead, to divide

* Letter read in Convention, Dec. 3d, 1793.

† Letter to Convention, Oct. 16th, 1793. ‡ Lyons, Oct. 29th, 1793.

§ Letter to the Convention, by Peltier, read Dec. 17th.

‖ Paris, January 28th, 1794.

¶ Letter to the Convention, dated Jan. 22d. 1794.

their bloody rags. On the 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, and 12th April, 888 persons were guillotined or shot.* Yet these were trifling in comparison to what followed; for in one day 300 were guillotined, and 400 shot; while at another time, Nov. 18th, 1793, from 2 to 3000 were taken out to the square of Belle Cour together, and destroyed by grape shot. "These Lyonese," said Peltier, "must be dispersed into different parts of the Republic; and the population of the city, which now is 140,000, must be reduced to 25,000 at the most."† Rousin, Commander in Chief of the Revolutionary army, wrote, "that his army entered Lyons on the 25th ultimo; and that from the 5th inst. 400 people were either guillotined, or shot to death; that a new Revolutionary Committee, presided by Parien, fearing lest the slowness of formal proceedings revived the hopes of the traitors, intend, within a few days, to destroy 4000 conspirators at once, by placing them at the mouth of the cannon. The Rhone, he adds, must roll their carcases along; while their flaming dens proclaim far around, the punishment reserved for them who dare to imitate them."‡

It would appear that this threat was fully put in execution. On the 18th December, 1793, a deputation from Lyons appeared at the bar of the Convention; and amongst the other horrors they related, proceeded thus: "The new Tribunal received orders to repair the prisons, to judge in one and the same moment the great number of prisoners with which they were crammed. That commission punctually fulfilled its rigorous orders; and no sooner had it pronounced sentence than the cannon arrived, and a thunder of case shot was discharged upon the condemned! Struck by the fatal fire, the victims of the laws fell in heaps upon each other; and, frequently but mutilated, they were only half killed by the first discharge. Those victims who had still breath left in them after that pun-

* Official Account, sent to Commune of Paris, April 17th, 1794.

† Peltier's letters, assistant Commissioner to the Convention, read Dec. 17th, 1793.

‡ Rousin, to Convention, 5th Dec. 1793, Paris, Dec. 13th, At this sitting Hebert said, "that he looked upon Jesus Christ as the founder of popular societies."

ishment, were dispatched with the sword or the musket. Even the pity of a weak and feeling sex has been construed into a crime: two women were dragged to the pillory for having implored mercy for their fathers, husbands, and children! All tears, all commisseration, were rigorously forbidden. Nature has been forced to stifle her justest and most generous emotions, under pain of death. *Four thousand heads* are now devoted to the same punishment, and will be struck off before the expiration of this day." This unhappy city also suffered most severely during the siege. It was taken on the 9th October, 1793, and previous to the 10th September, 500 bombs, and 100,000 red hot balls, had been thrown into the place, besides what were thrown in from that period till its surrender. Many of its finest streets were laid in ruins. Collet de Herbois was one of those infamous commissioners from the Convention, which covered it with ruin and mourning. This monster, along with the other members of the Committee of Public Safety, viz. Robespierre, Amar, David, Vadier, Carnot, &c. kept a number of witnesses, who went under the appellation of "*the sheep*," and deponed against the prisoners for money.* All classes in Lyons felt the vengeance of these republican monsters. "We ought, (said a deputy in a letter from Lyons to the Convention, June 7th, 1794,) to come to a resolution respecting the condemned women—we are quite stunned with their petitions; *they regret more the loss of their property* than the loss of their husbands: *they got fresh ones quite ready.* Judge with what vermin they mean to poison the Republic if we do not remedy it."

During these dreadful massacres what inhuman actions must have been committed, and what scenes of agony and distress must thousands have suffered? It would far exceed my limits to detail many of these. Let the following suffice as examples. Amongst the number of those guillotined, was a Mons. Loyer, a person of note. "His young, tender, and charming wife accompanied him to the place of execution, and there harangued the soldiers and the people with a courage and

* Convention, August 29th, 1794.

sensibility which moved every heart but that of a Jacobin. 'It was I (she exclaimed,) who solicited, prompted my husband to take up arms. Death is all I ask of you; I alone am guilty—save him.' Saying this, she covered with her body that of her husband, and bathed him with her tears. But all in vain. The savage rigicides threw her down from the scaffold, and murdered her husband. Arrived at her house, she destroyed herself in a fit of despair. The wife of M. Sauve also destroyed herself in the Rhone, on the very same day her husband was executed."* "In one of these sanguinary scenes, 209 person were taken to the *place des Brotteaux*. They were fired upon with grape shot. About 15 were killed. Upon the rest, mangled in the most horrid manner, the republican soldiers who protected this cruel execution, rushed in the utmost fury, and killed them with cutlasses, pikes, and bayonets. During another exhibition of the same kind, on the *place des Terreaux*, Madame Auriol, a young lady of 25 years of age, who came to solicit a pardon for her husband, one of the richest merchants in the town, *was tied to one of the posts of the guillotine, and thus forced to see the execution of her husband, and of all the other citizens who suffered that day.*"†

In other places, similar scenes of agony and horror took place. When the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris, "passed the sentence of death upon Lavignac, governor of Longwy, a woman rose, and exclaimed, 'we must have a king—yes, we must have one! This Tribunal, is only a tribunal of blood, and a thousands deaths would be preferable, to living in such an age of horror and barbarity.' This woman, was immediately seized by the sanguinary *Sans Culottes* and proved to be Lavignac's wife. She was dragged before *another section* of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and immediately tried.‡ Madame du Barre, who was guillotined on the 9th Dec. 1793, had counterfeited pregnancy, to prolong her life. But the fatal moment at last arrived. From the prison to the place of execution, the executioner was obliged to support her. At the scaffold, she fainted, and was carried on it by two men. When upon

* Lausanne, November 24th, 1793. † Lausanne, November, 24th, 1793.
‡ April 4th, 1794.

the point of fastening her to the plank, she exerted all her strength and *ran to the other side of the scaffold.* She was soon brought back and tied. Her head was immediately struck off."* Cicile Renault, a beautiful young woman, who was executed at the age of 20, for an alleged attempt to assassinate Robespierre, behaved with uncommon resolution. Her father was executed along with her, as an accomplice; and all her relations, friends, and acquaintances, were involved in the same fate, on her account. Some of the victims of this bloody axe, met their fate with the most shocking indifference. When Danton's party were executed, Vincent and Rousin, looking at General Laumur, at the very moment when his head was beneath the guillotine, said to Hebert, "*Had it not been for the unskillfulness of that blockhead, we should have succeeded.*"†

Dreadful, however, as were the bloody tragedies which were acted on the noble banks of the Rhone, they were still far outdone by the atrocities perpetrated on the desolated borders of the Loire. During the Proconsulship of Carriere, at Nantz, there perished 40,000 persons: of these, 264 women and 500 children were shot; 500 women and 1500 children were drowned; 360 priests were shot, and 460 were drowned; 1400 nobles were shot or drowned; 3500 mechanics shared the same fate, and 8000 died in prison of the plague. Amongst all the tools of cruelty employed by the Convention, this man was certainly the worst. His conduct was a disgrace to human nature. The butcheries which he occasioned, and the cruelties which he committed, are altogether incredible, were they not established under his own hand, or from official authority. He boasted of stripping young men and young women naked, tying them together in a situation which modesty forbids us to describe, and then of throwing them into the Loire, which hellish operation he called consummating a Republican marriage. Women, of all ranks, who refused to gratify his lust, were destroyed without mercy, and many also who did not. Drowning the royalists in hundreds was a daily and common occupation, by cramming them into vessels and sinking some in the

* Paris, Dec. 14th, 1797. † Paris, April 1st, 1794.

Loire and some in the ocean. Amidst the plaudits of the Convention, Barere announced, that at Nantz 58 refractory priests were shut up in a barge during the night, and sunk in the Loire."* This fell monster yet lives, and was employed by Bonaparte to write political paragraphs in the Moniteur, having escaped throughout the revolution. The number of La Vendeans shot and guillotined at Nantz was incredible. According to the accounts to the Convention,† on the 24th December, 1793, the country people had brought in 500 royalists who had thrown away their arms and implored pardon. *This was refused, and they were all put to death.* The same account adds, that more than 600 had been brought into Ancennis, 800 to Angers, and a great number to Saumur, of whom the representatives of the people would soon rid the earth, by ordering them to be thrown into the Loire. The killed in the late battles amounted to 30,000. "Besides the guillotine, (said an account from Nantz inserted in the French official paper,) the commission, *ad hoc*, dispatches from 4 to 500 at a time, they shoot or drown them, and bury them 40 or 50 in a grave, which occasions such a stench that a plague is apprehended."‡ "During the trial of the 94 inhabitants of Nantz, who have been acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal, atrocities have come to light, at the bare mention of which humanity shudders. Eight hundred unfortunate persons were drowned at once near Nantz; and 1000 more, among whom were a number of children, were shot to death. Their property was confiscated, and divided among the assassins."§ These bloody accounts, however, do not stop here. "It appears, (said the Paris Journals,) from the deposition of the 80 witnesses from Nantz, heard on the trial of the 14 members of the Revolutionary Tribunal of that city, that there had perished, viz.

By sickness and misery,	10,000	
Drowned and shot,	30,000	
		40,000

* Convention. Dec. 20th, 1795.
† Convention, Dec. 26th, 1795.
‡ Nantz, Feb. 15th, 1794.
§ Paris, Sept. 20th, 1794.

of which number from 4 to 500 were workhouse children, the oldest of which did not exceed 14 years of age. Fouquet boasted that he had dispatched 9000. Carriere caused six sisters to be butchered, without trial or counsel, the eldest only 16. This monster appeared publicly with a poinard in his hand, and tore the children from their mothers' breasts and murdered them.* Never were such a set of devils let loose among men. They were worse than the wildest bedlamites ever let loose from their chains. The following is a specimen of their mode of communicating their bloody news. "*Victory, damnation!*—I am harassed, and *sleep* to-night at Nourmoutier. All is taken—all is ours: Debee, Dubois, Tingry, D'Hauterive, Mussey—all the chiefs of the rebels are under keys; and *the national razor* will put an end to the feast. Forty pieces of cannon; 30,000 pounds of powder; Debee in agony. I cannot say more, the post in a hurry."† On the 23d December, 273 royalists were shot, and next day 7 ladies were guillotined. On the 24th July, 1794, 300 persons were guillotined. Around the whole country the same system was continued. From Rochfort, Lequinio thus writes the Convention. "Between 4 and 5000 banditti (royalists) taken prisoners, cram the prisons of *Fontenay le Peuple.* When Charette threatened an attack, I gave orders that all the banditti prisoners should be shot, without any form of trial, as soon as the enemy shall make their appearance. A military committee is organized, as more expeditious than the Revolutionary Tribunal, to destroy all without mercy upon the first alarm. In La Vendee I wrote every where to take no more prisoners."‡ This was the same Lequinio who afterwards published a book, by orders of the government, detailing the horrors committed in La Vendee; and, certainly, none could describe so well as he could, the scenes in which he was so deeply concerned. This man, and Laignelot his associate, were afterwards brought to justice. They were accused of "establishing

* See accounts to Convention, Nov. 8th, 1794, and Paris Journals at that time.

† General Dutry's letter to Carriere, dated, Isle Marat, Jan. 3d. 1794.

‡ Lequinio's letter, Rochfort, December 14th, 1793.

at Rochfort, a permanent guillotine, and the making innocent blood flow in large streams—making a foreigner executioner, when no one else would undertake the office—of ordering for execution an individual, by virtue of a law *posterior* to the crime with which he stood charged—of converting the scaffold of the guillotine into a tribune for haranguing the people—of having forced young persons to come forward and trample upon the gore of their murdered relations—of having assassinated, with his own hand, (Lequinio) a prisoner, amidst his companions, and of insulting public morals by horrid obscenities."* Such were the wretches who scattered desolation over the beautiful banks of the Loire. At Nantz, said an account transmitted to Paris, " The republicans guillotine all the royalists the moment they are taken. The butchery was such, that the blood ran in rivulets through the streets. So many had been guillotined, that it was necessary to inclose the spot with boards, and cover it with a layer of sand, in order to absorb the blood, and prevent it from overflowing the square."†

The following interesting and authentic story, may serve to give the reader, once for all, an idea of the lawless and deplorable scenes which took place in this part of France; of those private griefs and wrongs, which power and cruelty can inflict, but which no human power can alleviate, nor kindness heal. " SOUSSAY, widow TARRET stated, that she was 57 years of age, had been a prisoner 13 months; that she had lived on the revenue of her estates, which are situated on the right side of the Loire, and three leagues from Nantz. On the 23. Oct. 1793, the armed force, composed of *blacks and whites*, among whom was Pinard, surrounded my house. They carried away all our family papers, between 4000 and 5000 livres in assignats, 21 Louis d'ors from one of my sisters-in-law, and one, together with some silver from me. When going away, they threatened us with a second visit on the following day; and really returned at two in the morning. Pinard was again with them—they were headed by a negro. This time, they made us all get up, and descend to the hall, where we were confined—the whole of

* Convention, Aug. 8th and 9th, 1795. † Nantz, April 29th, 1795.

our effects were packed up, and loaded in 30 waggons, which were waiting at the gates, *the poultry* being placed in one of them. The waggons set off, and the whole family were likewise carried away; among these, were my four sisters-in-law, *ex religeuses*, one of whom, upwards of 83 years of age, had been robbed. One of my sisters-in-law, had saved from 700 to 800 livres; and having been informed, that it was intended to burn our house, she offered them to her guards, if they would prevent this conflagration: they appeared to agree to this condition, and accepted the money, *but the house was consumed.* (Emotions of horror were expressed by the judges and auditors.) Pinard was present. After this, they placed us in a tumbril; there was a *Cabriolet* that belonged to us, but they forbade us to use it, and tied it behind the cart. *My husband*, 63 *years of age, followed on foot.* We were then conducted before the Revolutionary Commitee at Nantz. When we were there, the mulatto Lieutenant made the recital of his capture, and *boasted of his moderation;* since he said, *his orders authorized him to kill and burn.* The Committee answered him, that he would *have done right.* My sisters-in-law, and I, were conducted to the *Bon Pasteur*, and my husband was taken to the *Saintes Claires*, the *Eperronniere*, and ultimately to the Sanitaire, where he died. Four others of my relations have also died; and she, who was 83 years old, and was stripped of every thing, outlived her imprisonment but three weeks. When we entered the prison, we were informed, that we were to be fed on bread and water, and not to be allowed straw: Nevertheless, on the representation of a mind more tenderly constructed, the latter was granted to us. I am ignorant as to what has been done with the furniture, effects, and plate, which were taken away. I have to add, that, about 15 days prior to our arrestation, Benare came to put a mark upon our horses, and looking steadfastly at our house, he said to one of his companions, '*I have burnt handsomer ones than this;*' 'and if you have,' replied his friend, 'I do not think that such actions, have been amongst the best of your life.' We did not, continued the witness, conceive that we had merited such treatment. We had cheerfully submitted to all the taxes and requisitions, which had

been imposed on us; and, having nothing to reproach ourselves with, we remained at our homes, thinking to terminate our days, under the protection of the laws."* It is unnecessary to quote further references, to shew the nature of this system. Hundreds of thousands, not only of similar, but actions of deeper atrocity, cruelty and guilt, were at this period perpetrated over France.

Never was human nature so outraged and degraded as it was by the actions and conduct of that villain, Carriere: The following abstract of the accusations brought against him before the Convention, exhibits a picture of depravity which could hardly have been supposed to exist in the human heart. Yet, bad as this is, it is not all the wicked actions of which this man was guilty. His accusation ran thus: "of having, on the 27th Frimaire, given Philips, President of the Criminal Tribunal at Nantz, a written order to execute immediately, without trial, 24 royalists, two of them only 13, and two only 14 years of age—of having on the 29th of the same month given a written order to cause to be executed 27 rebels, among whom were 7 women.—Of having authorized a military commission to shoot the country people, part of whom had not taken up arms—of investing communes by night, and shooting the inhabitants, without distinction, and without interrogatory—of having caused to be drowned or shot, a great number of rebels who had come to Nantz on the faith of an amnesty—of having made some rebel cavalry to suffer the same fate as the other prisoners, though they came to surrender, and ordered to give hostages that they were sent in the name of the whole army—of having ordered or connived at various drownings of men, women, and children, *several of the women being pregnant*—of having given unlimited powers to one Labertye, who made use of them to drown priests and other persons, and for tying young men and women together and plunging them into the river, which was called a republican marriage."—Lebatteaux, furnished with powers from him, did many arbitrary acts, and caused 8 individuals to be apprehended and shot, though two of them produced certifi-

* Account of Widow Tarret, given to the Tribunal, instituted to inquire into these enormities, taken from the Paris Official Journal, Nov. 1794.

cates of civism—of having written to General Haxo on the 23d Frimaire, that it was the intention of the Convention to cause all the inhabitants of La Vendee to be *exterminated*, and all the habitations of it *burnt*. (In consequence of this, some commanders caused a great number of *communes* of that country, and also of the farm houses, to be burnt, and the inhabitants to be butchered, without distinction of age, or birth, patriots, or rebels)—of having ordered 80 refractory priests to be drowned, who should only have been transported—of having ordered several women to be thrown into the Loire, after having enjoyed them—of having in his drunken revels given as a toast, '*those who have drank out of the large cup*,' (meaning those who were drowned) and of having feasted in the same boat used for drowning the unfortunate victims—of having given Norman, a convicted villain, a place of 8000 livres a year, as the price of a criminal connexion with his wife—of having written to General Haxo on the 18th December, 'It is my plan, and the intent of the Convention, to strip that province (La Vendee,) of all corn, burn down all the houses, and destroy all the inhabitants who have torn the republic by a civil war,"* &c. &c. In many of these charges he attempted to defend himself, by bringing forward the orders of the Convention, particularly one, which said, "*The banditti of La Vendee must be exterminated before the end of October.*" In fact, the Convention was, at that time, as bad as himself. He, however, at last, met the fate he justly deserved. The career of these monsters were in general short; but, unfortunately, for a long period, they were succeeded by others equally wicked and atrocious as they themselves were.

At Toulon, there perished during the siege, and were drowned, &c. upon the evacuation of the place, 14,325 persons, of whom 1265 women and children were drowned in the sea. The number massacred afterwards cannot be ascertained, but, besides what was guillotined, it perhaps exceeded 3000. The following authentic documents, while they confirm this, exhibit a picture of depravity and barbarity not exceeded in the annals

* Convention, Nov. 25th, 1795.

of Revolutionary France. "Let us be terrible, that we may not have to become weak and cruel," said Fouche; "let us, in our wrath, annihilate, by one blow, all the rebels, all the conspirators, all the traitors, in order to spare us the grief, the lasting pain to punish them as Kings. Let us exercise justice as nature does; let us take revenge as a people; let us strike with the might of thunder; and let even the ashes of our enemies vanish from the earth. Let the treacherous and ferocious Britons be assaulted from every side; let the whole republic form but one volcano, launching upon them its devouring lava, and the infamous island which produced these monsters, be swallowed up by the surrounding seas. Farewell, dear friend! *tears of joy are trickling down my cheeks, and inundate my soul.* The Courier is setting off; the next shall bring another letter from me. P. S. We have only one way to celebrate this victory; 213 rebels shall be shot this evening."*

"The blood of traitors, (said the same monster on another occasion) ought to fatten the soil of liberty, and to establish its power upon a solid basis."† On the 20th December, 1793, Robespierre, Freron, Salicetti, and J. Barras, wrote the Convention from Toulon: "The national vengeance is begun, we are shooting criminals in numbers. *All* the officers of the marine are already exterminated. The Republic shall be avenged in a manner worthy of it," &c. It was confidently stated that at the time when this unfortunate city was taken, 400 democrates went out of the place to meet their new friends, but these were so exasperated against every one in the place, that they refused to receive them, and immediately butchered the whole, cut off the ears of several of them, and placed these in their hats as cockades, and thus entered the city in triumph. This account, which in any other nation, or at any other period, would seem altogether incredible, ceases to be so when we consider the bloody tragedies at this time acted in France. On the 26th December, 1793, the deputy Freron thus writes the Convention, "Every thing goes on

* Fouche's letter from Toulon, to Collot de Herbois.

† Jacobin Club, Paris, August, 1794.

charmingly here. We have 1200 masons of the surrounding departments, to demolish and raze the town to its foundation. Every day since our entrance we have cut off 200 heads." On the 5th January, 1794, he again wrote thus, "800 Toulonese have already been shot."* Isnard, in his reply to, and accusation against, this monster, said, "When I asked who it was that covered the country with universal mourning, with millions of widows and orphans? They said it was Freron. Freron (he proceeds) comes within our walls (Toulon.) It publishes a proclamation, commanding all good citizens to repair to the Champ de Mars, under pain of death. I was a good citizen, and so was my son. We went to the Champ de Mars. Three thousand citizens went there along with us. Freron assembled us for the purpose of being massacred. This Sardanapalus was on horseback, surrounded with artillery, with troops, and with a hundred constrained votaries of their God, Marat. Freron said to these butchers, "enter the crowd, set aside all whom you think proper, and arrange them along the wall. These cannibals rushed in among the ranks, and selected their victims as chance, caprice, and passion dictated; one seizes his enemy, another his rival; *this man his creditor, and that the husband of the woman with whom he lived in adultery;* ALL FIXED UPON THOSE WHOM THEY BELIEVED TO BE RICH. They tear me from the arms of my son. They drag me amid 200 victims. Freron gives the signal, the guns on all quarters are fired; the work of death is consummated!! The earth is drenched with blood: the air resounds with cries of despair. The wounded and dying fall together and roll upon one another in heaps. All on a sudden, by order of the tyrant, a voice proclaims, 'Let them all who are not dead rise up.' The wounded think that he wished to succour them; they rise; they are fired upon anew; and, in a short time, the sword begins to glean all that the fire had spared. I was only wounded. I lay motionless like a carcase; they left me for dead. It was now twilight

* These monsters, while they acted thus, had the most savage antipathy against their companions in guilt. "I demand," said Freron in the Convention, August 2d, 1794, that Fouquier Tinville, *may be sent to expiate in hell*, the torrents of blood, which he hath shed." *Plaudits*, and immediately DECREED.

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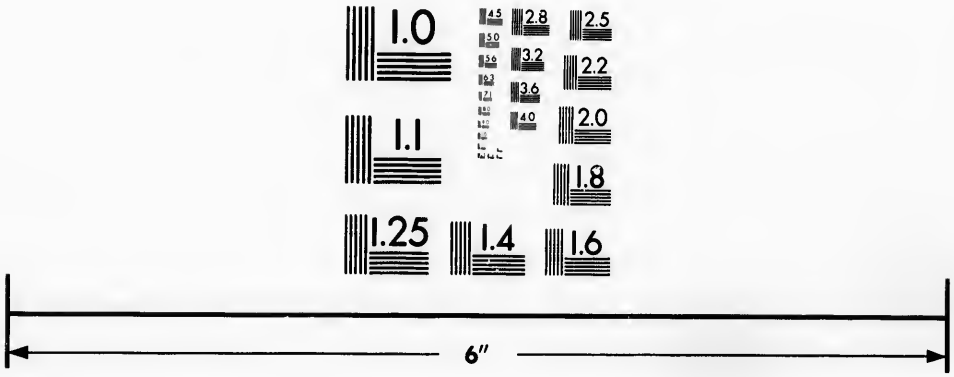

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and the shades of night veiled this horrid massacre. Then some men, what do I say? Some harpies the forerunners of the ravens, and more rapacious still than they, run to plunder the dead; they strip them from head to foot. I was, among the rest, left naked in this place. After these monsters had abandoned our bodies to the birds of prey; when no human voice disturbed the silence of death; towards midnight, at that hour when the Pro-consul, after the example of Nero, had left his orgies to pass the night in the bed of a prostitute, I ventured to move. I disentangled myself. I listened. I looked. I heard nothing but the last sighs of a lingering victim. I saw nothing at a distance but some dogs tearing a carcase to pieces. But, a little way off, I perceived an unhappy wretch much agitated. He addressed me with a deep sigh. I replied with a feeble groan. Leaning upon our knees, and creeping over dead bodies, we advanced one towards another. We joined hands. He spoke to me. His voice confounded me. Heavens! it was my son! O nature! I fell on his bosom in a swoon. He recalled my departed spirits; we mingled our sighs together, and, leaning upon one another, we attempted to walk. Before day-break, we reached the open fields. Next day, I heard the report of new gun-shots. More than 800 unfortunate wretches were thus massacred without trial," &c.* I have been thus particular in quoting largely from this accusation, because it agrees with the monster's own letters, and because it affords but too true a picture of similar scenes in other parts of France.

Under the Convention there perished by different ways, by suicides to avoid their bloody decrees, 3790 persons; 3400 women in untimely birth, brought on by fear; 1550 lost their senses by terror; and 20,000 died by famine—together, 28,740.

At the attack upon Marseilles by Carteaux, and murdered in different parts of the South of France after Robespierre's fall, there perished 2,329 persons.

The town of Bedouin, consisting of 1600 houses, was raz-

* Paris, August, 1796.

ed—its inhabitants destroyed or dispersed. Unhappy Bedouin, said the Deputy Goupilleau of Montaigne to the Convention*, " Had you been at Bedouin, as I have been, you would carry to your graves the recollections of the cruelties there committed." " Magnet," said he, " the former representative to Montaigne, declared that Commune in a state of rebellion, and 500 houses of which it consisted were delivered over to the flames. I myself found among the ruins of the houses, bills forbidding any person to approach them. Powder was brought to blow up a new church, which had cost 200,000 livres. A young woman of 18, intercceded with a person in authority for her father. Whence are you, said the barbarian? Of Bedouin, replied the young woman; She was taken into custody, and, in two days, ascended the same scaffold with her father. Old men of 87 and children of 18 years of age were guillotined. At Orange, I found in one trench, 500 dead covered up, and I filled up another trench, large enough to contain 1,200 bodies, near which, a quantity of lime had been collected to throw in with them."

But La Vendee—unfortunate La Vendee! who can describe the horrors, massacres, and evils, which were inflicted upon thy loyal and unfortunate inhabitants. It is calculated, that, in the murderous war carried on, with such bitter animosity in this, and the adjoining provinces, 900,000 men, women, and children, perished in various ways. The number of these loyal people was great. Their armies, oftener than once, made Paris tremble. Many a bloody and obstinate contest they fought against their oppressors in the field, and, in which the loss was immense. In 1793 it exceeded 200,000 men, of both parties. According to the memoirs of General Hoche, who commanded in La Vendee, and given in to the Minister of the Home department, 600,000 *Frenchmen* perished to that date, in the wars in that part of France.† The details of these bloody tragedies, sicken the heart. Every species of destruction, was visited on their devoted heads, with the most barbarous severity; and they, in their turn, retaliated without mercy. The slaugh-

* Convention, December 6th, 1794.

† Paris, March 7th, 1796.

ter on both sides, was therefore incredible; and the miseries suffered, beyond the power of language to describe. The following accounts, from the monsters employed by the Convention in that ill-fated country, may give us some idea of its situation. "Our different columns," said they, "enlightened the country as they advanced, by setting every thing on fire. The countries lately occupied by the banditti, present but a profound solitude; we go a great distance without meeting a cottage; for except at Cholet, St. Florent, and some patriotic towns, we leave behind us, only ashes and carcases."* "Our victory," said Garnier, "cost them at least 18,000 men, for the 14 leagues, over which we have pursued them, not a toise (fathom) is without a dead body. Prisoners are brought in here, by thirty at a time. *In three hours they are tried, and in one more shot*, for fear that these pests, if suffered to accumulate in the city, should leave the seeds of their epidemic malady—*they are hunted like wild beasts of prey*, and as many of them are killed as are taken prisoners."† "There are no more rebels," said Francastle, "on this side of the Loire; and every thing is preparing, to make those of La Vendee, share the same fate. Thousands of them are brought into the different communes, and quickly expiate the [illegible]imes. I have collected into one place, all those whose tender age seems to excuse, and render susceptible of Republican impressions. They are superintended and taken care of by patriots."‡ "In the month of August last" said Carrier, "the rebels had 150,000 men in arms; but the victories of Cholet and Montaigne were so fatal to them, that I have passed over 14 leagues of country entirely covered with the dead bodies of the rebels, heaped to the number of 12, one over the other. Their General de Elbee, acknowledges, that the battle of Montaigne alone, cost them 20,000 men."§ Every age, and every sex in that country, suffered in the cause of Royalty. "The women, would you be-

* Thoreau, Bourbotte, and Choudieu, to the Convention, 23d October, 1793.

† Garnier's letter to the Convention, Alencon, Dec. 19th, 1793.

‡ Francastle, Representative of the people, to the Convention, Dec. 25th, 1793.

§ Carrier's letter to the Convention, 22d February, 1794.

lieve it," said Carrier, in the dispatch already quoted, "are our most ferocious enemies. At Chollet, when our troops began to give way, and the rebels were thought to be victorious the women with knives in their hands, fell upon our brave defenders, whom they massacred without pity. *Children of 12 years, also carry arms against us;* children of *more tender age,* serve as spies to the rebels." "I call the attention of the people," said Tallien, "to the thousands of victims you (Duhem) have immolated in the South, and drowned in the Loire."* "Thureau entered the country by 12 passages, pillaging, laying waste and massacring all he met, without distinction of sex or age. Ferocious soldiers, who had made their first essay in arms in the revolutionary army, *bore as trophies on the points of their bayonets, infants of two and three months old.* One woman who was murdered left two children three or four years old: They brought them to Carrier. "These are two serpents, (said he) they will remember their mother's fate, let them share the same fate."† At another time, when the inhabitants of 20 communes, came to surrender themselves, they were fired upon and shot.‡ "I will prove (said Gen. Danicamp) that old men were massacred in their beds, that infants were murdered at their mother's breasts, and that pregnant women were guillotined. The practice of drowning was not confined to Nantz; it extended 30 leagues up the Loire."§ "The works of Lequino, upon the war in La Vendee, have completely opened the eyes of the public. Facts are mentioned in Lequino's report that make the blood curdle, and would be thought incredible, if the proceedings at Nantz had not demonstrated the possibility. A miserable ship carpenter, avowed before the revolutionary tribunal, that he had been paid 200 livres for sinking three vessels, full of these devoted people: the first of 800 individuals of all ages, the second 400, and the third 300. Many of these victims who had been freed from their irons, were seen thrusting their hands and arms through the planks of the

* Tallien accusing Duhem, Convention, October, 22d, 1794.

† Accusation against Carrier, Convention, September 29th, 1794.

‡ Convention, Sept. 26th, 1794.

§ General Danicamp's Letter to Convention, October 26th, 1794.

vessel, and, with the most petrifying shrieks imploring mercy, while Grand Maison, with his sabre, chopped off their hands and even plunged it in the breasts of others."*

Such are a few of the horrors perpetrated in La Vendee. One of the finest countries under Heaven, was rendered a wilderness; and as late as 1804, exhibited the same frightful picture of desolation. "His Majesty (said the Paris Journal Le Citoyen Francois, July 14th, 1804,) the Emperor has order-"ed, with a praise-worthy liberality, 300,000 livres to be dis-"tributed among the inhabitants of La Vendee, whose proper-"ty has been burned or plundered, during the civil wars. "This certainly is a very liberal act, and does honour to the "generous and *feeling heart* of his majesty, but unfortunately, "it is not sufficient to satisfy the demands and wants, of a "*twentieth part* of the sufferers, in a country, where a traveller "may *pass days without seeing a countenance, bespeaking happi-"ness, or an individual, whose misery is not visible*, and where "in the space of 10 leagues, *often* not 10 houses are seen stand-"ing, nor 10 acres of land *cultivated*. If it be still necessary "to continue severe measures, as martial law, and special tri-"bunals, not long ago, this, and the neighbouring departments, "shewed a spirit of mutiny, inclined to insurrection, and of "their young men, hundreds of conscripts *are still in chains in "prison, or in the gallies for being refractory*, and refusing to "take up arms against their country's irreconcilable foes, the "violaters of the most sacred treaties, the British Government "and nation. But though several thousands have deserved "death, *hardly* 300 *have been executed*, and those only, who "have been known to be incorrigible fanatics in favour of the "Bourbons."

Although after 1795, the furor which possessed men's minds, had considerably abated, and the government became more stable, still various insurrections took place in different towns, and much blood was shed. The Chouan war continued till 1800, and even in 1799, upwards of 20,000 men perished in it. Various severe revolts took place in the conquered pro-

* Reports to the Convention, November 10th, 16th, 1794.

vinces and countries overrun by the French arms from the unprincipled rapacity of the French Government and their armies. The principal of these was in Italy in 1796, and in Belgium, Switzerland and Naples, during 1798. These were not quelled without much bloodshed; and, if we estimate the loss of mankind, by all these together, at 100,000, we certainly do not exceed the truth.

Although the horrid scenes of butchery may be said to have closed with 1795, still France continued to suffer evils, little less destructive. It is, indeed, but a small part in comparison of the whole of these scenes, which were suffered to transpire, under such a ferocious and jealous Government; but, when these did become known, shame and horror chained their tongues. The frenzy of the revolution, had now spent its rage in some measure, in the interior, and had begun to direct its fury to another point; namely to foreign war and conquest. But the crimes and miseries which it had occasioned, continued long after, to scourge and disturb France. "At Lyons," said M. Dumolard, "out of 800 children brought to the alms-house at that place, whose fathers had been butchered, 780 perished for want of food."* "Out of 1800 infants," said the Paris Journals, "placed in the Foundling Hospital, since the month of December last, 1500 have perished in consequence of bad nourishment, or rather, want of nurses."† If so at this time, what then must it have been at an earlier date in Paris, and other places; particularly at those periods, when the country was actually suffering under the most grievous famine? But this was but one evil. "The Government," said the editor of *la Sentinelle*, "are in possession of certain proofs, that from 1794 to this date, 23,000 murders have been committed in the South of France."‡ Nor did this evil stop here, it continued for years after. At this moment, although the French nation was the terror of its neighbours; yet, internally, every part of the government was labouring under the greatest disorganization and distress. "All the tribunals of justice," said the

* Council of 500, Nov. 14th, 1796. † Paris, June 11th, 1797.
‡ La Sentinelle, Paris, Nov. 6th, 1797.

Directory, "are in a state of inactivity for want of salaries. Many magistrates are obliged to discontinue their sittings, for want of candles and fuel."* The following account from the Paris Journal, Tableau de la France et de l' Europe, July 13th, 1797, exhibits a picture of misery and frivolity, which could never be witnessed in any other nation but France. "The message of the Directory, (said the Editor) read in secret, contains "a most alarming picture of the actual state of the finances. "After enumerating all the offices, and public institutions, it "proceeds, 'Bitter tears of agony must be shed, when one "reads the following details, contained in this report. Out of "350 infants, carried to the Foundling Hospital, within a "month, there have died for want of support in that time, no "less than 800. The prisoners suffer the same penury. The "public functionaries experience the greatest delays, in the "payment of their salaries, and several of them have de-"stroyed themselves.' A long silence of consternation suc-"ceeded the reading of this message." Nevertheless, continued the Editor, "While these scenes of sorrow, are every "where passing, one sees the most sumptuous illuminations, "burst upon the sight. A stranger who arrives in Paris, "is led to believe, that every day is a public fete; the con-"currence is infinite, between the authors of these new esta-"blishments. The Hotel of the emigrants, sometimes of "those who have been condemned, serve for these *fetes*. Who "would believe it? The Hotel of Madam Lamballe, massacred "on the 2d. Sept. has been chosen as a place of pleasure, and "for dancing. On the place de la Revolution, where the "pavement still seems to be dyed with the blood of Revolution-"ary victims, there is another place of resort, where in a long "gallery, thousands of persons, whose relations have been "massacred, go to take ice, and to contemplate the beauty of "that place, which ought to recal the most horrid scenes to "their minds." Such were a few of the bitter consequences, of that mad system of irreligion, Liberty and Equality, falsely so called, attempted to be introduced amongst mankind. Will

* Message from the Directory to the Council of 500, Feb. 21st, 1797.

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Mons. Carnot, stand forward, and say, that to this period at least, it was not a period of carnage and crimes, or that it was *good men* who directed these measures?

The indescribable scenes of misery and wo, brought upon the West India Colonies are well known. In St. Domingo alone, about 400,000 slaves, 30,000 whites, and 24,000 mulattoes either perished, or were driven in want and disease, to drag on a few years of distress, till death relieved them. In Grenada, St. Vincents, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia, at least 20,000 slaves, 9000 whites, and 12,000 mulattoes perished, besides the military from Europe. Crimes, at which the soul shudders, and the blood chills in the veins, overspread those desolated countries. I shall shortly mention a few of those committed in St. Domingo.

On the fatal 23d August, 1791, when the insurrection began, the negroes on the plantation of M. Flaville, rose and murdered five white persons, one of whom (*the procureur*, or attorney) had a wife and three daughters. These unfortunate women, while imploring mercy from these savages on their knees, beheld their husband and father murdered before their faces. For themselves, they were devoted to a more horrid fate, and even carried away captives by the assassins.

Upon the estate of M. Gallifet, the negroes had been treated with a kindness which was become proverbial. The attorney, from this circumstance, conceiving that they would remain faithful, went with some friends amongst them, but found them in a state of complete rebellion, and *their standard was the body of a white infant, which they had recently impaled on a stake!* M. Odeluc endeavoured to escape from this horrid scene; but he and a friend that accompanied him, with some soldiers, were butchered without mercy, a few only of the patrole escaping to tell the dreadful tale.*

* The Edinburgh Review, with its usual candour, keeps altogether out of sight this horrid transaction; but asserts without the smallest shadow of evidence, that the reason why they joined the rebels, was, because the attorney had been more severe to them, than their former master. If the body impaled upon the stake, had been a black infant in place of a white one, the world would certainly have heard of it.

They seized M. Blen, an officer of the police, and having nailed him alive to one of the gates of his plantation, chopped off his limbs, one by one with an axe.

A *poor* man, named Robert, a carpenter by trade, endeavouring to conceal himself from the notice of the barbarians, was discovered in his hiding place; and the savages declared, *that he should die in the way of his occupation:* accordingly, they bound him between two boards, and deliberately sawed him asunder.

M. Cardineau, a planter of Grand Riviere, had two coloured mulatto children, whom he had treated with uncommon tenderness. He offered them money to remain faithful—they took the money, and then stabbed their parent to the heart.

All the white, and even mulatto children whose fathers had not joined in the revolt, were murdered without exception; frequently before the eyes, or clinging to the bosoms of their mothers. Young women, of all ranks, were first violated by a whole troop of barbarians, and then generally put to death. Some of them were indeed reserved for the further gratification of the lust of the savages, and others had their eyes scooped out with a knife.

In the parish of Limbe, at a place called the Great Ravine, a venerable planter, the father of two beautiful young ladies, was tied down by a savage ringleader of a band, who ravished the eldest daughter in his presence, and delivered over the youngest to one of his followers: their passion being satisfied, they slaughtered both the father and the daughters.

In the neighbourhood of Jeremie, a body of mulattoes attacked the house of M. Sejourne, and secured the persons both of him and his wife. This unfortunate woman (my hand trembles while I write!) was far advanced in her pregnancy. The monsters, whose prisoner she was, having first murdered her husband in her presence, ripped her up alive, and threw the infant to the hogs. They then (how shall I relate it!) sewed up the head of the murdered husband in——!!!

through their pages, without any inquiry about its truth or falsehood. It is lamentable, to see men thus employ their time and their talents, to conceal or misrepresent truth in such a manner as this.

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* See Speech to th
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At another place, a colonist was murdered by the very negro whom he had distinguished by acts of kindness. His wife stretched upon his body, was forced to satisfy the brutality of the monster.* In the dreadful conflicts which took place afterwards, in which the savage commissioners of the Convention, leagued themselves with the negroes, against the whites, the most horrible cruelties were committed. In one house, 300 persons were shut up, and burnt by the negroes, and the party attached to the Commissioner, Santhonax.†

Monsters such as these, scarcely deserved mercy; and none was shewn unto them. One of the mulatto leaders was taken: him, the victors placed on an elevated seat in a cart, and secured him in it, by driving large spiked nails through his feet into the boards. In this condition he was led a miserable spectacle through the city. His bones were afterwards broken, and he was then thrown alive into the flames!

But these horrid scenes did not terminate at this period. They were continued, after the extermination of the whites, amongst the mulattoes, and blacks themselves for many years. The formidable expedition from France in 1802, united them for the moment, when the war of extermination between the Blacks and the French again began. No language can describe these horrid scenes of cruelty, in which the French were not behind with their savage adversaries. "I have now "been several weeks here, (said a person, in a letter from Port-"au-Prince, dated October 19th, 1802.) and witnessed scenes of "the most deplorable calamity. The French lately began a "war of extermination. I have seen 3 or 400 blacks, whom "the fortune of war had thrown into the hands of the French, "put on board an old crazy vessel, ordered out to sea, and "after having been scuttled, sunk; when all the miserable "wretches were consigned to the bottom. One of Touissant's "field officers was destroyed in this manner. The French troops "employed in this service think nothing of it." The number that were destroyed in this manner, was very great—according

* See Speech to the National Assembly, Nov. 3d, 1791, by the deputies from St. Domingo.

† Convention, Oct. 14th, 1793.

to the official account of the Emperor of Hayti, dated Sept. 18th, 1814, the number cut off by the cruelty of the French was 6000, independent of those who fell in the field of battle. The following horrible conduct of General Boyer, when in St. Domingo, is related by persons of veracity from that place. "He had invited the Commander-in-chief, Le Clerc, to a dinner party. Amongst the dishes prepared, was one of turtle soup, which it was found, the cook, a black man, had spoiled. The unfortunate man was immediately ordered out into the yard—every avenue was barred, and a hungry blood hound let loose upon him. The animal had been accustomed to receive food from the hand of this negro, and refused to touch him, till a stick was put into his hands, and he was forced to beat the blood-hound, who immediately tore him to pieces!" But it was not against the blacks alone, that French fury was directed, but also against their own countrymen, who differed with them in political opinions. "The cruelty of Santhonax and Polverei, two deputies sent by the Convention to St. Domingo," said Verneuill "was horrible. The wife of La Coste, to escape their barbarity, after seeing her husband murdered, threw her eldest child into the sea, and seizing the other, plunged with it into the water herself, and was drowned."*

Such was the fatal effects of the inflammatory harangues of the Society, called "*Amis des Noirs*," at Paris, amongst which was that monster of iniquity, Robespierre. Their frantic conduct and decrees, destroyed the finest colony in the world, and entailed indescribable misery and wo on thousands.† That these things are not exaggerated, I am well aware, from my own personal knowledge of the tragic scenes perpetrated in other islands in the West Indies. St. Domingo has continued till this day, a scene of butchery and horror; a scourge to herself, and terror to her neighbours; and under the blasting sway of a ferocious despot. That such scenes should be contem-

* Convention, August 22d, 1794.

† In the Council of 500, November 10th, 1796, Bourdon of the Oise stated; that of 450,000 negroes in St. Domingo, only 130,000 remained; of 25,000 people of colour, only 15,000 remained, and of 40,000 whites, only 20,000 were left at that date.

plated in France with satisfaction, was not then surprising; but it almost exceeds credibility, that these could be rejoiced at in Britain. Yes it was so. In a letter from the Rev. Percival Stockdale, A. M. to Grenville Sharpe, Esq. he thus proceeds, "Should we not approve their conduct in their violence? Should we not crown it with eulogium, if they exterminate their tyrants with fire and sword! *Should they even deliberately inflict the most exquisite tortures on those tyrants, would they not be excusable* in the moral judgment of those, who properly value those inestimable blessings, rational and religious liberty."*

From the fatal revolution, which produced the scenes which I have recorded, the French nation lost its character and became the enemy and the dread of the human race. All connexion with them, moral or political, became not only dangerous, but impossible to maintain; and those who were unwise enough, to adopt a different line of conduct, paid for it in the end, by the loss of their principles, property, and liberty. The principles that created and supported the French Revolution, can never change. These remain, and will remain the same, under whatever form they may control and command the energies of France. It is only when overpowered by force, and kept at bay by the arm of defiance, or crushed beneath the undivided energies of Europe, that they will cease to do harm. Till then, we may address the nations of Europe, in the animated, but just language of Mr. Burke, who, while its infamy and cruelty were yet in their cradle, clearly foresaw its dreadful career. "He warned his countrymen, against the fraternal kiss of France, and against the smiles of Frenchmen; *for their kiss was treason, and their smile murder.* He conjured his countrymen, to avoid them as a pestilence, as a banditti of assassins, and as practising every evil; *as a nation of traitors*, whose religion was atheism, and whose political principles, rendered them the enemies of the universe."† The melancholy history of the last 24 years, shews how clearly, that great statesman understood and pourtrayed the character of Frenchmen, of the Revolutionary

* See Edward's History of St. Domingo——Supplement.

† Burke's Speech on the Alien Bill, House of Commons, Dec. 29th, 1792.

school. Painful, as is the thought, and lamentable as is the prospect, nevertheless, it is perfectly certain, that while the party, which professes these principles, govern France, Europe never can, and never will, enjoy an honourable peace, or a state of secure repose. No oaths could, or can bind men, who conceive that there is no power beyond human might, to punish the violation of them; no treaty could or can be lasting, with men who conceive, that they are justified in breaking them, whenever avarice or ambition excite them to do so. It would be a waste of time in me, to quote documents to prove, that all the wars which have scourged Europe, since 1792, have originated from French ambition, and bad faith. There can scarcely exist one, but who must be sensible, that this has been the case. Yet, the French Government succeeded in blinding the eyes of those they governed, and for a long time, many others in Europe, to their ultimate objects and real views. Never was such a system of delusion practised upon the world, or amongst rational beings. While the profligate government was daily hatching plots, by means of its own creatures, against itself, in order to enable them to turn the indignation of the people against those whom they feared; they still contrived, to throw the odium upon foreign nations, or domestic traitors, but particularly on Great Britain, who, by their accounts, had a hand in every thing. If a mad republican stumbled on the banks of the Seine, and broke his neck; or, if a powder waggon was overset in the waters of the Marne, the infamous Pitt was sure to have had a hand in it.* Against that Statesman, and against Great Britain, their fury was particularly directed. It would be endless to quote passages, containing their denunciations of vengeance against this country. Let the following suffice, and which is mercy to some of the others. It is contained in the address of the Republican Society of Cognac, to the Convention, Feb. 22d, 1794. "Tell them," said they, "that the tri-coloured flag shall wave on the walls of London:—Tell them in the name of Frenchmen, that the Thames dyed with the blood of the Eng-

* Nevertheless, in the Jacobin Club, Jan. 31st, 1794, Robespierre declared, that the English were not half so enlightened as the French, and that Mr. Pitt would be overthrown because he was a sot." Applauses.

lish; shall teach them how to regard a nation, fighting in defence of its rights." (*Applauded.*) "Go," said the Directory, to Bonaparte, "and by the punishment you inflict on the Cabinet of London, strike terror into all Governments, which shall dare to doubt the power of a nation of freemen. Go, and punish in London, crimes which have remained unpunished, but too long. Numerous votaries of Liberty, await your arrival. Strike down that perfidious Government; and let its downfal inform the world, that, if the French people are the *benefactors of Europe*, they also are the avengers of the rights of nations."*

According to the statement of that violent republican, Prendhomme, France lost on the field of battle, against the Allies, till the end of 1795, fully 800,000 men. Part of this man's work was suppressed, by order of the Convention, as it disclosed such scenes, as made even them ashamed. The loss here stated, is certainly not exaggerated, for, in the official paper of the Convention, Dec. 22d, 1794, I find the following statement, which completely confirms it. Till that date, says this account, France had called out 1,778,000 men; of this number, 119,000 never joined the army; 53,000 deserted, 167,000 died in military hospitals, and 610,000 were slain by the enemy, or taken prisoners. Still further, however, to ascertain this matter, I went over the official dispatches during the campaign of 1793, where I found the killed and wounded alone, amounted to 230,000 men. The carnage on both sides, was truly dreadful. France at this time, was a perfect grave for the human species. To such a length did the slaughter reach, that in the Convention, a citizen invited that assembly, "to take into consideration, the means of preserving France, from the infection which might be produced by the great numbers of dead bodies left unburied on the roads, by the banditti of La Vendee."—Also, from the number of dead in Alsace, and on the other parts of the frontiers. "On the proposition of Romme, the Convention charged the Committee of Public instruction, to concert with professional men, the best means of preventing the inconveniences which might be raised, by the putrefaction of so many

* Directory to Bonaparte, Dec. 11th, 1797.

dead carcases."* "We continue," said Lavat, "to devastate the enemy's country; within an extent of 40 miles round, *we leave the inhabitants nothing but eyes to weep.* Though this be the necessary consequences of war; yet, I would not wish you to see the dreadful sight. Whole villages, have been plundered and sacked: the women remain without bread, and the men are carried off as hostages for the contributions we exact."† Such were the direful scenes of havoc and ruin, early begun by the lawless hordes of France; and such a faint sketch of the destruction of the human species, in and around her detested soil. The loss in the French armies, during the early periods of the Revolution was enormous. By numbers alone, they baffled the skill and bravery of their antagonists. The frenzy which occupied their minds at that period, quickly replaced the ranks which the sword, sickness, and famine, so rapidly swept away. Their unprincipled Government, set no value on their lives; and, notwithstanding the robbery and plunder exercised in the unhappy countries which their arms over-ran, the dreadful situation of their armies, even as late as 1799, was well known. In the Convention, during 1793, an officer of health announced, "that more than 60,000 men in the armies were infected with the itch," which, Montaut said, "was the fault of the general officers, who left them to rot six months in prison."‡ Without clothes or shoes, literally *Sans Culottes*—without medicines or hospitals, and often without food, their deplorable situation, was daily the subject of grievous complaints to the Government, by all their Generals. Of the army with which Dumourier invaded the Netherlands, in 1792, according to his letter to the Convention, dated April, 1793, in a short period, 25,000 men deserted, and 15,000 were sick. The dreadful fatigues of winter campaigns, unknown in former wars, upon raw levies, must have occasioned the most extensive mortality and misery.

M. Mongaliarde, who fled to Germany from the fangs of Robespierre, and who was also a member of the Convention, stated the

* Convention, Dec. 27th, 1793. † Convention, February 4th, 1794.
‡ Convention, November 19th, 1793.

number of persons imprisoned throughout France to have been 450,000, and he does not seem to have exaggerated much; for after Robespierre's death, and when more moderate counsels began to prevail, I find it mentioned in a Journal devoted to the Convention, dated Paris, December 3d, 1794, that 400,000 prisoners had been released throughout France, during the three preceding months. Twenty thousand habitations, including villages and hamlets, were destroyed during the internal wars and bloodshed. The Constituent Assembly enacted 3,481 laws, the Legislative Assembly 2,190, the National Convention 15,414, and the Directory, till 20th May, 1797, enacted 1,139; making, till the middle of 1797, a total of 22,224 laws;* some single acts of this number formed a volume in 8vo. of 500 pages. There emigrated from that distracted country till the end of 1795, no fewer than 125,789 persons; of which number there were 15,949 nobles, 9130 ladies of noble families, 8392 military nobles, 9224 landed proprietors, 28,724 priests, 7847 merchants, and 22,729 mechanics. After that period, many more emigrated; for it appears by Fouche's report to the first Consul, October, 1800, that the number of emigrants then amounted to 150,000, and to that date 14,200 had been struck off the list and allowed to return, making, altogether, 164,200.

The loss of the allied powers in battle, till the end of 1795, was also severe. In the campaign of 1793, according to an official statement given in to the Emperor, the Austrian loss was 69,000 killed or dead, and 20,000 sick or in the hospitals. The loss of the Prussian, Hanoverian, Hessian, and Neapolitan armies, could not be less than that of the Austrian; and the Spanish loss was 6000 dead and 10,000 sick, exclusive of the British, separately estimated. The campaign of 1794 was still more bloody and disastrous to all the allies. Perhaps it is not exaggerating to state it at 200,000, killed, wounded, and sick; but part of these were British, and which, suppose 20,000, leaves 180,000 as the loss of the Continental powers. By order of the Convention, the particulars of each battle, during

* Darrac's Statement, Council of 500, Nov. 1st, 1797.

1794, was preserved, the total loss inscribed upon a tablet, and hung up in their hall, March 4th, 1795, which made the loss of the allies on the continent to have been 80,000 killed, and 91,000 prisoners, besides sick and wounded.

Prussia having seceded from the coalition, the campaign of 1795 was short, and the organization of the Netherlands and Holland occupied the Convention. Several bloody actions, however, were fought on the Rhine, in the close of the year, to the disadvantage of the French, whose loss may be estimated at 50,000, and that of the allies at 30,000 men, killed, wounded, and sick. The conduct of the French armies in Italy and Germany was dreadful. When Scherer's army invaded that country it committed the most horrible excesses. Officers and men broke into the churches and houses, and stole the plate, money, &c. Even Scherer himself, who was a most unprincipled being, was obliged to interfere, to use strong measures, and in his public proclamations to stile the conduct of his army "*infamous.*" In Germany, their wickedness and mischief were equally great. "The whole country," said Sir C. Crauford, in 1795, "through which the French have marched on this occasion, bear the most evident marks of their depredations. There is no village, and *I may almost say no house*, that has not ample reason to lament this invasion; for, however short its duration has been, the effects will be felt for many years to come. The inhabitants have been plundered of their cattle, grain, and whatever could be found that was valuable. In many places what could not be carried off was destroyed. *Even women and children have been murdered;* in short, the manifold acts of atrocity, which are *proved in the clearest manner*, are such *as could only be perpetrated by men lost to every sentiment of humanity.*"*

The campaign of 1796, and that of 1797, till the signing of the preliminaries of peace in April, was dreadful and bloody both in Italy and Germany. The rapid advance of Bonaparte

* Sir C. Crauford's dispatch, Limburgh, October 26th—London Gazette, Nov 11th, 1795.

—the numerous bloody battles which he fought, regardless, as he has always been, of the lives of his men, provided he gained his object, are well known. The superiority in numbers, led on to fresh carnage, ultimately overcame the finest armies of Austria, and compelled her to conclude a peace. The siege of Mantua, (the first part of the siege of which cost France 14,000 men,) the battles of Lodi, Rivoli, Arcola, Montebello, &c. must recal to the memory of every person the prodigious waste of human life. On the side of the Rhine, the severe battles which took place upon the advance of Moreau and Jourdan, and the subsequent disastrous defeats of these Generals, and their flight across the Rhine before the Archduke Charles, in which they lost 20,000 men, are in the recollection of all. During this period, the loss of the enemy by assassination, killed, wounded, and by sickness, could not be less than 248,000 men. That of the Austrians was also severe, and perhaps it did not fall short of 200,000 men. Hungary, alone, during that period, raised 115,614 recruits for the army.

The year 1798 produced the French expedition to Egypt, the fate of which, Nelson determined at a blow. In land and sea forces, it cost France 60,000 men; and the dreadful slaughter and massacres made by them amongst the inexperienced forces of the Turks, and inhabitants of the country, are not forgotten. The battles of the Pyramids, the storming of Aboukir, the siege of Acre, where Bonaparte made roads for the living over the bodies of the dead, in order to reach its walls, and the battle with the Vizier, near Gaza, where 20,000 Turks perished before the army of Kleber, occupy a bloody page in the volume of history. Including the natives who fell on both sides, I certainly do not exceed in stating the total loss to Turkey and Egypt, at 120,000 men. The dreadful cruelties exercised upon the Turks, and retaliation by them, affords a lamentable prospect for humanity to dwell on. The murder of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, in cold blood, and the destruction by the hands of Frenchmen of their own sick and wounded, were instances of barbarity the 18th century could never have expected to see. The following account of the murder of the prisoners is given by a French officer who was an eye-

witness, and is sufficient to harrow up every feeling of the soul. "The Turks marched without order, shed no tears, and uttered no cries, but resigned themselves to the fate which awaited them. Some who were wounded, and unable to keep up, were stabbed on the road with the bayonet, others walked through the crowd, and seemed to advise their companions in this dreadful hour; strong guards accompanied them, to prevent any escaping, and who conducted them to the sand hills, south-west of Jaffa, where they halted near a pool of muddy water. The officer who commanded the troops, then divided the unhappy multitude into small parties, which were led off to different points, and there separately shot. This horrible operation, took up a long time, notwithstanding the great force employed in it. A youth in the group to be massacred, was quite overcome—he threw himself at the officers feet, "How am I guilty," said he, "what have I done?" He implored for mercy in vain. A venerable old man, of superior rank, dug a grave in the sand, into which he laid himself, and was covered by his companions, who stamped upon it with their feet to shorten his pain. The French soldiers had consumed their ammunition, it became necessary therefore, to put to death the remainder with the bayonet, and naked sword. Some of the unhappy prisoners, yielding to the irresistible impulse of our natures, which compels us to shrink from death, even when hopeless of escaping it, jumped one upon the other's shoulders, receiving in a limb, the blow aimed at the heart. There was, since we must speak out, a frightful pyramid, dripping with blood, formed of the dead and dying; so that it was necessary to drag away the murdered corpses, to finish the butchery of those who were yet alive, and who under cover of that ghastly rampart, had not yet been stabbed. This picture, so far as it goes, is exact and faithful. The remembrance of it still makes that hand to tremble, to which it has not given the power of representing half its horrors."*

The campaign of 1799 was singularly bloody and destruc-

* Miot's History of the expeditions to Egypt and Syria; he was present at the massacre.

tive. The French attack on Naples—the severe defeat of Jourdan, on the Rhine, upon the opening of the campaign—the numerous bloody battles fought by Suwarrow, such as Trebia and Novi, which freed Italy—and the subsequent disasters which befel the Austrian arms in Switzerland at the close of the year, are well known. The battles of Trebia and Novi, alone, cost France about 40,000 men; and those around Zurich, at the commencement and close of the campaign, were proportionally bloody. During this campaign, there were fought in Italy 16 battles, and 120 engagements; 19 strong towns, 4,301 pieces of cannon, 80,759 muskets. &c. and 78,401 persons were taken from the French by the allies. The cruelties committed by the French armies in Italy during this year, were of a piece with their conduct in other places. At the evacuation of the Neapolitan States, the most barbarous and nameless cruelties were exercised upon the women; and old men were in various places *cast into the flames* or massacred, to the number of between 3 and 400. "The *verified* excesses upon this occasion surpassed all those with which some other divisions of the Italian army had polluted themselves—the savage and ferocious banditti even murdered some of their own officers who attempted to restrain them."* Horrible as is this account, it gives but a faint idea of the reality. "Switzerland and Italy," said Lucien Bonaparte, "have been ravaged by men whose names would not escape the vindictive execration of mankind; and their gratitude to the Great Nation had been turned into bitter lamentation."† A vast number of the French troops were cut off by the justly enraged population of these countries. "The inhabitants," said the Paris official Journals, "have certainly lost their all, and they have taken their revenge." In France also the internal commotions this year were to a considerable extent, and in the contest it was found that the ferocity of the Jacobinical Republican soldiery was still the same. "By accounts from Thoulouse," said the Paris Journals, "it appears that a column of rebels which took refuge at St. Cear de Lomagne, a small town near Lectouret, has been cut to pieces,

* Accounts from French Journals.

† Council of 500, June 19th, 1799.

The Republicans were not satisfied with the victory, but put to death men, women, and children, of the village, and then burnt the place."* This campaign cost France about 230,000 men killed and wounded, 30,000 by sickness, in the territories of Genoa alone, besides what remained sick, or were in other places. That of the Austrians and Russians could not be less than 160,000 men.

The campaigns of 1800 and 1801 were much less bloody, yet these also were very destructive. The successes, and afterwards sad reverses, of the Austrians in Italy and Germany, are familiar to most people. The battles of Marengo, Hohenlinden, &c. must recal to the memory the torrents of human blood that were shed. The loss of the French might amount to 100,000, and that of the allies to 90,000 men. It must be remarked, that though these campaigns were unfavourable to Austria, still the loss of men was greatest on the part of France, as it was only by sacrificing numbers that they carried their object. The Chouan war, also cost France many men this year. In the battle near Mans, in January, about 8000 Chouans were killed.

The year 1802 produced the French expedition to St. Domingo, in which, by land and sea, France lost about 60,000 men. The loss of the people in that island has already been estimated in the colonial losses.

The fatal campaign of 1805, which laid Austria prostrate at the feet of her enemy, cost each side about 75,000 men killed and wounded; but the loss of the Austrians in prisoners was enormous, from the conduct of General Mack. I need only mention the fatal battle of Austerlitz, to shew the accuracy of the amount here stated. The war in Calabria, from 1805 to 1807, deducting the British elsewhere enumerated, cost France and Italy about 120,000 men.

The campaigns of 1806 and 1807, which reduced Prussia to a French province, are fresh in the recollection of all. The battles of Jena, Lubeck, the siege of Dantzic, the bloody battles of Pultusk, Mochringen, and the horrible carnage at Eylau and Friedland, can never be forgotten. In the battle of Eylau a-

* Paris, September 4th, 1799.

one, 42,000 French and 20,000 Russians covered the bloody field; and Friedland was, perhaps, equally as bloody. These years, by famine, sickness, and the sword, cost France at least 180,000 men, and Prussia and Russia 150,000.

The campaign of 1809 was also most destructive and sanguinary. The desperate resistance made by the brave Tyrolese, favoured by the impervious nature of their country, is well known. The havoc they made amongst their enemies, with trifling loss on their parts, was prodigious. It cost France about 70,000 men to subdue them. Deserted by Austria, the miseries this brave people suffered were such as harrow up the feelings of the soul, and which will hand down the name of France and her Tyrant, with execration, to the latest posterity. Forty-one towns and villages, containing 7000 houses, were burnt by the French and Bavarians. In this retreat, early that year, they burnt and plundered the town of Nauders, Molo, and Schluderno. They took away the sacred vessels from the churches, and burnt all the pictures. Women who had taken refuge in stables were burnt in them, together with the cattle. At Schwatbz, 1200 people, mostly women and children, perished in the flames. A party of children coming from school were driven into a barn by the soldiers, and there burnt alive. All Tyrolese and Voralbergers taken in arms had their tongues torn out. *Old men were hung up as marks for the musqueteers*, children sabred, *impaled on the bayonet*, and borne about in mockery; *pregnant women were ripped up, their breasts cut off, and their embryos were crammed down their throats* to put an end to the shrieks and moanings of the wretched victims.* Betwixt the regular armies, the carnage

* Terrible as is this picture, it will cease to excite our astonishment, when we recollect who was the immediate instrument of the tyrant's vengeance. It was Lefebre —the infamous Lefebre, who, in 1794, wrote the following order:

Liberty, Indivisibility, Equality.

"Pierre Mace, Captain of the vessel Le Destin, is ordered to land the female, named Jeanne Biclet, the wife of Jean Pirand. The remaining persons to be conveyed by him to the part of the bay opposite to Pierre Moine, and there thrown into the sea, as rebels to the law. This having done he is to return to his post.

(Signed) LEFEBRE, Adjutant-General."

In consequence of this order, at seven in the evening of the 23d February, 1794,

was also great. The battle of Asperne is well known. On that fatal day, 22,000 Austrians and 46,000 Frenchmen were killed and wounded, and besides these many of the latter were drowned in the Danube. The battle of Wagram was perhaps little less destructive. The battles of Ratisbon, and those between the Viceroy and the Archduke John, were also severe. This campaign cost France fully 170,000, and Austria 120,000 men, by sickness and the sword.

Spain, the most conspicuous theatre of the Tyrant's crimes, has been the grave of Frenchmen. The many bloody battles fought—the numerous bloody sieges undertaken, such as Tarragona, Gerona, Valencia, and Saragossa, immortalized by its noble defence, the last attack on which perhaps cost each party 30,000 men. The massacre at Madrid, and the consuming Guerilla warfare, afford lamentable pictures of human carnage. The operations carried on by the British and Portuguese and the French loss as opposed unto them, I calculate separately; but if we estimate the French loss against the Spaniards alone at 50,000 annually, it certainly does not exceed the truth. This, for six years, makes 300,000 men, and the loss of the Spaniards had been perhaps an equal number. The French loss altogether in that country is certainly not over-rated at 70,000 annually, or 420,000 men; for the last two years it is above 170,000 killed and wounded.

The conduct of the French in this country was a disgace to human nature; the murders and butcheries perpetrated, without any provocation, were hitherto unknown amongst civilized men. The odious scene of bloodshed at Madrid, under Murat and Grouchy—the terrible scenes of plunder, pillage, violation, and carnage at Sarragossa and Tarragona can never be forgotten by the world. The sanguinary and ferocious decrees of the French Generals will form an eternal blot on their name and their nation. It is impossible

there were taken on board for Nantz, 41 persons, of whom two were men 78 years of age, one of whom had been blind for six years; 12 women of different ages, and 15 young children, five of whom were at the breast—and all were drowned. See proceedings of Convention, Oct. 13th, 1794, where the original order was produced. Such is the Duke of Dantzic!!

to dwell on these scenes of barbarity without horror and indignation. It is difficult to select, where the materials are so abundant; but brevity forbids me from entering at length into these horrid details. Let the two following suffice. "The town of Rio Seco was plundered, and 600 persons, priests, friars, nuns, women, and children, were massacred in cold blood; no age nor sex was spared: the nunnery was broken open and the nuns violated and murdered. *Eight* French grenadiers entered the house of a man, whom they seized, *and before his face, one after another, violated his wife, cut off her breasts, ripped her body open, and then murdered her husband.*"* In other places their conduct was similar. At Tarragona, said Joze Manso, "In a few hours, more than 6000 persons, of all classes, were cruelly and cowardly assassinated. Neither the old, the servants of God, women, nor infants lately born, were spared: the soldiers robbed and plundered in the most atrocious manner; *they violated maidens, nuns, children, widows, married women*, and committed such abominations that the pen refuses to record them."

"On the last day, when part of the division of the wicked and sanguinary Suchet passed from Villa Franca, to Barcelona, I ordered a party of horse from Santiago, with another of tiradores, part of the reserves, and some veteran troops from the different corps to harass it, &c. &c. Half an hour had not expired when the General (Suchet) presented himself at the said bridge (Molins del Rey) and ordered *some should be hanged, others burned, or shot.* In their extremity, these unfortunate men threw themselves at his feet, stated they were soldiers, and begged that he would give that due consideration. This infuriated Nero ordered them to be put to death, which was instantly carried into execution. At such infamous conduct all human hearts must shudder. Some thirty husbandmen and women, belonging to St. Vincente, Molins del Rey, and Palige, who were peaceably cultivating the fields, met with a similar fate. They, at the same time, violated all the virgins they

* Rio Seco, 14th July, 1808, from a British officer who fought under Blake at the battle near that place.

met, satiating in this manner their brutal appetites."* Spain, for years, and from one end to the other, exhibited scenes of a similar nature.

Fearful as has been the waste of human life in the periods we have related, these sink into insignificance when compared to the bloody tragedies we have yet to record. Can the events of 1812 ever be forgotten? The measure of the iniquity of the tyrant and his followers was now become full; and the arm of unerring justice was prepared to pour out the vials of indignation upon their devoted heads. The South of Europe, in terrible array, under the banners of the most unfeeling tyranny, was led without any cause of complaint, and with a violence apparently irresistible, against the mighty Russian Empire. The world beheld the contest with terror and alarm. The firmness of Alexander—the bravery of his people at last triumphed. Their courage struck the weapon from the aggressor's arm—the breath of the Almighty withered his strength; and the campaign against Russia will be handed down to the latest posterity, not only pre-eminently remarkable for its consequences, but for the destruction and ruin it brought amongst men. Whole provinces were laid waste with fire and sword. Moscow was reduced to a heap of ruins, and millions were driven abroad without clothing or food. The slaughter was terrible. Around the bloody walls of Polotsk 32,000 met their fate. On the ruins of Smolensko 30,000 fell. On the carnage covered fields of Borodino 100,000 brave men were laid low. At Maloyaroslavitz, Viasma and Krasnoi, thousands on thousands were immolated. In the waves, and round the fatal banks of the Berezina, armies were swept away. But the fate of these was enviable. No language can depict the misery and woe of the hosts which perished from Moscow to the Niemen, where the "*living were compelled to live on the bodies of the dead;*" and where the Polar blast was infinitely more destructive than the sword. The heart recoils to follow such scenes of wretchedness. The horrors of Moscow crowned this career of iniquity—Can the fate of that ill-fated city ever be forgotten?—Fire and pillage

* Official dispatch from Joze Manso, Martorell, July 12th, 1811.

marked the progress of the French troops in this unfortunate capital. The inhabitants, who, upon the approach of the French army, had fled into their cellars, were quickly driven from their asylums by the progress of the flames, which catching the immense quantities of oil, vitriol, brandy, sugar, &c. there deposited, burnt with a fury unextinguishable, and was terrible beyond all description. Each endeavoured to save what he could of their most valuable effects; others abandoned every thing but their children, and with them endeavoured to make their way through flames and death. Many old people, borne down with grief, and unable to move to a distance, perished in front of their dwellings, where they had been born. The churches were crowded to excess, but these formed no protection from the brutal French soldiery—no refuge from the flames. The officers of the French army ceased to have any command over their troops. Yet, amidst this scene of horror and misery, not a murmur, nor a sigh, nor a complaint issued from the lips of a Russian. They suffered, without repining, the utmost rage of their merciless foe. Bonaparte perceiving that there was no longer safety in the city, left it, and endeavoured to take the darkest road, to escape the notice of the multitude. In vain he did so. On every side the flames seemed to pursue him, and flashed with a tremendous glare on his guilty head. Even the most hardened, said Lebaume, who was an eye witness to the scene, were struck with a conviction that at some future day the vengeance of the Almighty would fall on the heads of the authors of this calamity. The terrible glare of the flames, during the night, upon the atmosphere, darkened with smoke, was terrific beyond description. The howlings of the watch-dogs, chained to the palaces of the nobility, and from whence these animals could not escape, were, as the flames approached, dismal and distressing. "Nothing, (said Lebaume) could equal the anguish which absorbed every feeling heart, and which increased in the dead of the night, by *the cries of the miserable victims who were savagely murdered, or by the screams of the young females, who fled to their weeping mothers for protection, and whose ineffectual efforts to escape, tended only to inflame the passion of their violators.*" But why should I pursue this mourn-

ful subject; no language can describe half its horrors. Those horrors and those tears are registered in Heaven. The angels of destruction points to the source of them all—to Paris, and says, '*remember Moscow.*' This fatal year cost France and her allies 420,000 men, and Russia 170,000, besides prisoners on both sides; and the destruction amongst the defenceless inhabitants. In Spain also, the contest was destructive. The walls of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos were scaled through carnage and death, and the laurels of Salamanca were deeply dyed in human blood.

Equally terrible were the events of 1813. The population of Europe, equally balanced, met each other in arms. From the centre of Asia to the pillars of Hercules, the voice of the trumpet called the combatants to battle. The struggle was terrible—the stake immense—Europe fought for freedom and independence—the tyrant for his dominion and for his throne. Justice triumphed most signally. The palm of victory enriched the brow of patriotism, but how deeply was it dyed in blood? 60,000 were killed and wounded at Lützen and Bautzen. Round the trembling walls of Dresden 25,000 fell. From the Katzbach to the Bober 30,000 were cut off. On the bloody plains of Dennevitz 20,000 were destroyed. Culm and other places were the graves of thousands. One hundred and thirty thousand covered the desolated environs of Leipsic, while the waves of the Partha, Pliesse and Elster, were swelled with torrents of bloods. Hanau saw 25,000 perish; and the banks of the Izonzo, Tagliamento, and the Adige, were covered with thousands of slain. In Spain, also, the contest was equally severe. On the plains of Vittoria 15,000 fell. Amidst the Pyrenees at least 30,000 were destroyed; and the walls of St. Sebastian, with the bloody banks of the Bidassoa and Nive, swell with thousands more this volume of blood. In killed and wounded alone, this campaign cost France 400,000 men; and the other nations of Europe 200,000; besides prisoners innumerable taken from the former power. Thus, in 18 months, about 1,200 000 men, the flower of the youth of Europe, have perished by famine, sickness, and the sword; the terrible effects of the ambition of one individual.

Although less bloody, the year 1814 was productive of

the most interesting events. The 2d of April, 1814, will form one of the most conspicuous and beneficial epochs in the annals of history. It is a day doubly dear unto Britons. On the 2d of April, 1801, at Copenhagen, the arm of their immortal Nelson crushed the Confederacy which threatened her existence; and a return of that day in 1814, saw her bitterest enemy overthrown—saw the "*sacred territory*" violated, the "*beautiful country*" invaded, and feeling, most justly, a share of those woes and miseries which its rulers had so long unjustly inflicted upon other nations. Europe in arms, and maddened with the cruel wrongs she had long suffered, advanced with a determined step to the combat. The tide of victory which flowed from the lines of Torres Vedras and the glorious banks of the Moskwa, advanced with accumulating force and accelerated speed along the streams of the Seine and Garonne. The bloody field of Brienne checked the tyrant's remaining force. The ensanguined environs of Montmirail, Chateau Thiery, Nangis, and Montereau, enlivened his hopes; but which, like the *ignis fatuus* to the benighted and bewildered traveller, only led him on to more fatal destruction. The sword of Blucher, on the bloody plains of Laon, defeated his utmost strength. At Arcis-sur-Aube he met the arm of defiance. The wisdom of his foes, with the rapidity of lightning carried the terrors of war to his forsaken capital, and the carnage-covered heights of Montmartre terminated the woes of Europe. Paris submitted, and was saved. His power and authority vanished. In a moment, the man who had "*made the earth to tremble*," was, with a mark affixed upon him by Heaven and earth, driven away like Cain, a "*fugitive and a vagabond;*" while the blood of the millions which he has shed, yet calls aloud for vengeance upon his head. In the South, the contest was short but severe. The plains of Orthes were covered with carnage, and the environs of Thoulouse dyed with blood. Of the severe combats in Italy we are but imperfectly informed, but they were great. To the losses in these battles we must add those at Dantzic, Modlin, Torgau, Wittenberg, &c. which are not included in the statements for 1813. This year cost France at least 130,000 men, and the allies 90,000.

In this grand contest, Great Britain has also profusely bled; but her blood has not been shed in vain. She has been the sheet anchor of the world. Nor has her triumphs cost justice a sigh, or honour a tear. Where is the country that does not attest her prowess—the spot that does not add a wreath to her fame? Amongst the thousands of heroes whose names will live to future ages, the name of Wellington will be pronounced with respect and gratitude by millions delivered from oppression; and the name of Nelson be remembered with enthusiasm and admiration, while Aboukir, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar adorn the page of history, and the billows, over which he so long rode triumphant, shall continue to roll.

The total loss sustained by Great Britain, I estimate in the following manner. From 1793 to 1800, the loss in her army, from killed, or who died in consequence of their wounds, was 48,791 men—in 1801 we shall suppose 2000—from 1802 to November 1812, the loss in killed, or who died in consequence of their wounds, was 86,405 British, and 14,697 foreign and provincial. Allowing the loss in 1813 to have been equal to that of 1812, about 15,000, which makes the loss for the last 22 years 167,000, During the above period, 133,000 have been discharged on account of wounds and other infirmities, which gives 300,000 for the waste in the army, or nearly 15,000 annually. We can scarcely take less than 7000 as the waste in the navy by similar causes, which, for 21 years of war, makes 147,000 men. We certainly do not exceed the truth if we estimate the French loss, as opposed to Great Britain, at one half more, which makes a loss to France of 673,000. I know of no instance, at least very few, where the enemy's loss, when opposed to British forces, was not double; and, in our naval combats in particular, the loss was perhaps ten to one. The preceding accounts of the losses of the British army are taken from the official returns as published at the Adjutant-general's office for the respective periods mentioned.

The waste among the inoffensive inhabitants of Europe, from the wide extended calamities of war throughout the whole of it and in its most hideous and destructive forms, is beyond calculation and impossible to determine. The disease and mi-

sery the French armies introduced into so many garrisons, towns, and provinces, during the last two years, is almost incredible. In all the towns of Russian and Prussian Poland, it was dreadful. Dantzic, Modlin, Hamburgh, Torgau, Leipsic, Mentz, &c. were perfect graves for the garrisons and inhabitants. In the latter place and its environs, it is calculated that 25,000 persons fell victims to contagious distempers; and in Torgau, the contagion was so great, that when the place surrendered, they durst not introduce fresh troops into it. Saxony, so long the abode of the French armies, Franconia, &c. the road of their disastrous retreat, have had thousands upon thousands of their inhabitants swept away. The loss in this manner throughout Europe for the last 23 years, I certainly do not over estimate at 300,000 men.

Portugal, during the last six years, by the French invasion, and of her troops since, cannot have lost less than 60,000, including the inhabitants destroyed by assassination, sickness and the sword. France as opposed to them, may have lost 40,000 men. The cruelties committed in this country, by the French troops, were unequalled, even in their atrocious conduct in other countries. The fidelity of the Portuguese, to their country and their sovereign, so far from obtaining respect, only called forth the deeper vengeance, from these destructive furies, employed by France in the work of ambition. Whole districts were laid waste by fire and sword, the inhabitants who did not fly, murdered, and their properties, and dwellings destroyed—" I am concerned," said Lord Wellington, " to state, that the conduct of the French, throughout their retreat, has been *marked by a barbarity seldom equalled, and* NEVER SURPASSED."* The towns of Torres Novas, and Thomar, were plundered, and beat down. The beautiful town of Leyria, and the Convent of Alcobaco, were burnt, " *by orders from the French head quarters.*"† The enemy digged out the bodies of the Portuguese Kings, and destroyed their tombs. In one house, an old man and his wife were murdered, and their heads and fingers cut off; and by them, lay their grandson, with his throat cut. The nuns were

* Wellington's dispatches, 1811. † Do. do.

violated by whole troops of barbarians—to bear the resemblance of a female was to be tortured—to be an infant, to be a sacrifice. Eleven nuns, with two priests, endeavouring to escape from Villa Franca were taken—the priests were shot, and the nuns violated by successive bands of these Gallic banditti, till disease made their miserable victims, loathsome to them. When sent to the British army by a flag of truce, the sight is described as shocking beyond all description. From one hovel, was withdrawn, the father, mother, son, and daughter dead—an infant child survived this scene of horror, but with worms of three or four inches in length, crawling in its flesh. But the consequences of their atrocities would fill volumes. At Zaphus, they cut the sinews of an old man, whom they caught in his house, opened his veins, and then killed him with their bayonets. At Figueiros des Vinhos, they *flayed* an old man from the chin to his breast, and then cut the throat of another like a pig. At Pombal, they hanged a peasant on a tree, and burnt him over a slow fire. At St. Jaga de Guarda, they *burnt two women alive;* and they hanged two men in sight of their wives and children. At Coja, they tore out the tongue and jaws of an old palsied man. At Vacarissa, they tore open the mouth of an old woman of 80, so that the lower jaw fell on her breast; another blind woman of 85, they cut down. At Olieveira they ripped open a girl from the belly to the breasts, after violation. At Ceira, a girl throwing herself into her father's arms, to avoid their violence, they first killed the father; and after ripping the daughter up, they threw her on her father's dead body. In Mata Maurisca, 12 women were found dead, and hanging on trees, after the most brutal violence. Near Coimbra, a woman and babe in her arms, were killed before the eyes of the husband, in defending themselves from their brutality.* Horrible as this catalogue is, it is nevertheless but a small part of

* I have previously given a short specimen of their conduct in Spain; yet in the face of all these, and ten times wider horrors, it was asserted, that the hatred of the inhabitants of the Peninsula, was not warranted by the conduct of the French troops or their Government towards them.—"The hatred of the name of Frenchmen in Spain, has been such, as the *reality will by no means justify;* and the detestation of the French Government has, among the inferior orders, been carried to a pitch, *wholly unauthorised by its proceedings towards them.*" Edin. Review, No. 27.

their barbarities. But the hour of their punishment drew nigh. Divine Vengeance, which they had so long provoked, was preparing for the guilty lips of the authors of all this, the bitter chalice of severe retribution. On the banks of the Dwina, and the Berezina, it was placed in their hands, by the arm of the Most High—there they wrung out, amidst anguish unutterable, the bitterest dregs of His anger and their guilt.

The war between Russia and Turkey, which ended in 1812. was very bloody; and I am certain, I do not go beyond the truth, when I state the Russian loss at 40,000, and the Turkish loss at 60,000 men. For many years, the Turks and Servians have carried on a bloody and destructive warfare, and the loss, which is perhaps nearly equal, may be estimated at 50,000 men to each party. This latter contest, however, can scarcely be said to have sprung from the French Revolution.

That, however, between Russia and Sweden, was confessedly of French manufacture. The loss was however, not very severe, but might be near 20,000 men on each side. The contest between Britain and Denmark, is included in the British and other losses.

The war kindled by French intrigue, between Britain and the United States of America, has, perhaps, cost the latter 55,000 men.

The Revolution in South America, has also sprung from French wickedness and ambition; throughout two-thirds of the American Continent the flames of civil war rage with unrelenting severity; of the operations in these regions, we have but an imperfect account. All we know is, that it is attended with much bloodshed; while the convulsed and distracted state of the different provinces is the means of the introduction and spreading of contagious disorders, which, in these climates, are most destructive to the human race. During a short period, previous to the latter end of October 1813, a contagious disorder swept away 1-7th (27,000) of the inhabitants of Mexico, 400 dying in one day. If we estimate the loss throughout Spanish America, by sickness and the sword, at 130,000, we certainly do not exaggerate.

The calculation in the subjoined Table for the numbers who

would have died a natural death, during the period mentioned, had there been no war, is allowing one sixth for Great Britain, &c. and for France only one-seventh; because the principal part of her levies were composed of young men, from 17 to 25 years of age; whereas, those of the other nations, are generally from 25 to 40 years of age. The number deducted from the French losses, and added to the others, is, on account of the numbers belonging to other nations, who fought and fell under her banners.

That the numbers are nearly correct, is obvious from the number which France has called out to arms during the last 22 years. The mode of doing so, was by the galling yoke of conscription. Of the nature and extent of this tremendous engine, it may be necessary to say a few words, as its magnitude is not generally known. It has proved a weapon, which, like the projected lever of Archimedes, has moved, and almost overturned the political and moral world.

By the decrees of the Convention, Feb. 22d. and August 23d, 1793, every unmarried man, from the age of 17 to 42, was declared a soldier, if required. This law, has since been confirmed in a stricter manner, under the most dreadful penalties, and includes all from 16 to 45 years of age. These are divided into three classes. The first class is from 16 to 25—the second class from 25 to 35—and the third, from 35 to 45 years of age. The numbers in the first class in 1793, were 1,700,000, and at that time, France had obtained no accession of territory. The total numbers liable to serve, and under 45 was about six millions. The average births for five years, ending Oct. 1792, in France, were 928,916, of which, 479,649 were boys, and 449,269 girls. As one half, however, die under 17 years of age, the number that would remain for the annual conscription, would be 240,000. By the usual mode of computation, the number of inhabitants in France at that time, would be 25,000,000.

From the annexation of Belgium, Savoy, and other places in Italy, &c. forming an additional population of 10 or 12 millions, this tremendous engine, was proportionally augmented in strength. Before the annexation of Holland and the coun-

tries from the Rhine to the Elbe, according to the report of the Conservative Senate, Oct. 3d, 1809, it stood thus, viz.

15 months, ending 1806,	423,000
For 1807,	352,000
1808,	361,000
1809,	362,000
1810,	362,000

Or an yearly blood treasure of 360,000 men; and, it must be observed, that this only includes Old France, and the countries incorporated with her territory, and did not at that time include Holland with the countries to the Elbe, nor at any time Italy, Switzerland, the Illyrian provinces, and the whole Confederation of the Rhine. The above number of 360,000, by the usual computation, gives about 40,000,000 as the population of France, under her most extended sway. Such was the French Conscription, wielded by Bonaparte as he pleased.

The numbers stated in the following table, as called out by France, are, where the date is particularly specified, from the official decree for the levy. The others, viz. Italy, &c. are in the same proportion to France, according to the population; and the Rhenish Confederation are according to the numbers settled by treaty. Those for Prussia, Austria and Denmark, are from the same source; and those for the navy are estimated according to what was, and has been the strength of the navies of the different States when leagued with France.

The numbers called out from 1800 until 1805, I have found most difficult to ascertain from the documents within my reach. All we know is, that the whole annual Conscriptions were exhausted. During that time, there was a short peace, when it was necessary for Bonaparte to conceal his enormous levies as much as possible, that he might not alarm his neighbours, till he was an overmatch for them.

The following is the data I have to go upon, and which will bring us near the truth. The ordinary conscription amounted to 50,000 annually, which for 1801 and 1802, would be 100,000. In Nov. 1802, a conscription of 200,000 were called out. Oct. 20th, 1803, all the conscripts of the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th

years, and even men above 40, not included in the military conscription, were ordered to join the service and repair to St. Omer's. These would amount to 520,000, allowing 100,000 for those who may have been married. Sept. 1st, 1804, by a decree, all those born between the 24th of Sept. 1783; and the 22d, Sept. 1784, throughout the Empire were called out. These would amount to about 330,000, as it was before the annexation of 12 departments in Italy, containing 3,552,255 inhabitants. By the Legislative Body, Jan. 7th, 1805, the conscripts for the year 14, were called out, and also 30,000 of that year for a reserve. By a decree of Bonaparte from Boulogne, August 26th, 1805, these were ordered to join, and the Moniteur of Oct. 10th, 1805, states the number called out by the Session of the year 13, (Jan. 1805,) to have been 60,000. These two numbers make 90,000. Sept. 22d, 1805, a decree by Bonaparte, ordered all the reserves of the years 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, to be placed in activity. These, if the reserves were equal to those of the year 14, would be 150,000. The decree of September 23d, 1805, ordered out 80,000 of the conscription of 1806.

That these conscriptions called out a greater number than was stated by the decree, the following is a striking instance. The Conservative Senate, October 3d, 1809, stated the conscription of that year, at 102,500 men; but the Minister of Finance, January 7th, 1810, expressly says, "In fact, your Majesty levied 200,000 men in 1809," being 97,500 more than the Senate allowed.

TABLE OF CONSCRIPTIONS.

Including old army, from 1792, till 1795,	*1,778,000
1796, and 1797, at least	300,000
September 23d, 1798	200,000
1799, the whole conscriptions†	360,000
1800, ordinary conscription,	50,000
Army of Reserve for Italy	60,000
1801 and 1802, as noted	100,000
Carry forward,	2,848,000

* By Lindet's official report, France in 1794, had 1,500,000 men in arms.

† The number called out in 1799, was much more. I here only allow the annual conscription: but the decree of the Directory called out the *whole* conscriptions, of which they took what they pleased, and the real number was perhaps double.

	Brought forward,	2,848,000
November, 1802, conscription		200,000
Conscriptions, 1803, as noted *		520,000
Conscriptions of 1804,	do.	330,000
Do.	1805, do.	320,000
Do.	Dec. 4th, 1806	80,000
Do.	April 7th, 1807	80,000
Two do.	Sept. 7th, do. of 80,000 each	160,000
Do.	January 23d, 1808	80,000
Do.	September 13th, 1808	160,000
Do.	during 1809	200,000
Do.	Dec. 9th, 1810, Army	120,000
Ordinary conscription, 1810		50,000
Do.	February 1811	80,000
Do.	September, do.	80,000
Do.	December, 9th, 1811	120,000
Do.	March, 1812	100,000
Do.	September, 1812	150,000
Do.	January, 1813	350,000
Do.	April, 1813	100,000
Do.	September, 1813	30,000
Do.	October, 1813	280,000
Do.	November, 1813	300,000
Poles, from 1808		200,000
Confederation of the Rhine contingents, till end of 1813		330,000
Italy, Swisserland, Holland, Illyria, &c. from 1799, till 1813, say		740,000
Spain and Portugal		30,000
French Navy, in 1791		†80,000
Do.	suppose 8000 annually	‡176,000
Navy of other powers with her,		80,000
Do. say, raised annually, 7000		154,000
Austria, Prussia and Denmark, for 1812 and 1813		80,000
National Guards at Paris, &c. 1814		40,000
	Total,	8,648,000

No account can be taken of the additional numbers called out in 1793, under the operation of the *levy en masse*, but it was very great. To these I am not certain, but I should also add

* In this, and the two following years, it must not be supposed that Bonaparte placed all these in actual service. He only placed part; but the remainder was held liable to march at any future period, without any fresh decree for that purpose.

† Legislative Assembly, Oct. 31st, 1791.

‡ By French official Expose, Feb. 25th, 1813, the number of Conscripts for the navy, during the 5 years preceding, amounted to 80,000.

the ordinary conscriptions, from 1795 till 1799, and from 1805 till 1814, (excluding 1810) or for a period of 12 years, which makes 600,000 more. France therefore, for the last 23 years, may safely be said, to have called to the field of battle, 8,354,800 men, independent of the States obedient to her nod. These latter cannot be less than what I have stated them, if they do not exceed that number. The conscription quota of Switzerland, Zurich, May 3d, 1807, was 15,000. That for the kingdom of Italy was 25,000; Holland as many; besides the remainder of Italy, Genoa, and the Illyrian provinces. France for many years past, maintained a military force of 1,200,000,* and a considerable number of national guards, in 1814, not enumerated. The natural waste of such an army, and of the forces which she has maintained since the commencement of the Revolution, considering every circumstance, cannot be calculated at less than 35,000 annually, but call it 30,000. When her force was smaller, the waste was in proportion greater. This, for 23 years, amounts to 690,000. That the preceding table, as well as that which contains the losses of all parties is nearly correct, is proven by the following statement of the French forces, and those of her allies, brought down till April 11th, 1814.

Called out by extraordinary Conscriptions, including Navy			7,034,000
Do. do. Ordinary do. exclusive of levies *en masse*			600,000
Wounded in some campaigns, not noticed, may have rejoined			220,800
Suppose embodied, or raised by Royalists			500,000
		Total	8,354,800
Lost by war as enumerated	5,335,757		
Deduct massacres in France not military 326,600			
Do. losses of other nations in their armies 400,000 726,600		4,609,157	
Lost by ordinary course of military establishments		690,000	
Remains in arms at the overthrow of Bonaparte		376,870	
Garrisons, in Germany, Spain and Frontiers		185,000	
Remains Navy and Naval depots		90,000	
Prisoners taken, including those of other nations, above 700,000, but at least 250,000 of these were foreigners		450,000	
Remains have been discharged by wounds and accidents in war		1,946,773	8,354,800

* By an official report, Jan. 17th, 1809. The French army exclusive of auxiliaries, then was 900,000 infantry, and 100,000 cavalry, and afterwards much augmented.

ABSTRACT OF THE DESTRUCTION

OF MANKIND SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

YEAR, CAUSE, OR CAMPAIGN.	Great Britain. Killed and Wound	Other Nations. Killed and Wound	France. Killed and Wound	TOTAL.
Constitutent and Legislative Assembly			11,584	* 11,584
Convention, Guillotined, till 1793			18,613	* 18,613
Expulsion, Brissotines, Lyons, &c.			31,999	* 31,999
Under Carrier at Nantz			40,000	* 40,000
Toulon, Siege and Massacres			17,325	* 17,325
By terror, famine, &c.			28,740	* 28,740
Attack on Marseilles, &c.			2,329	* 2,329
La Vendee, to end of 1795			900,000	* 900,000
Internal wars to 1800			100,000	* 100,000
Insurrection in Colonies	38,000		457,000	* 495,000
In battle and sickness to end of 1795			800,000	* 800,000
Murders in South of France, after 1795			23,000	* 23,000
Allies Campaign, 1792		40,000		* 40,000
Do. do. 1793		200,000		200,000
Do. do. 1794		180,000		180,000
Do. do. 1795		30,000	50,000	80,000
Campaigns of 1796, and 1797		200,000	240,000	440,000
Expedition to Egypt by France		120,000	60,000	* 180,000
Campaign of 1799		160,000	245,000	405,000
Campaign of 1800 and 1801		90,000	100,000	190,000
Expedition to St. Domingo, by France			60,000	* 60,000
Campaign of 1805, & with Naples to 1806,		120 000	130,000	250,000
Campaign of 1806 and 1807		150,000	180,000	330,000
Campaign of 1809		120,000	170,000	290,000
Spain six years, ending 1813		300,000	300,000	600,000
Campaign of 1812, Russia		170,000	420,000	* 590,000
Do. 1813, Germany, Italy, Spain		200,000	400,000	600,000
Do. 1814		90,000	130,000	* 220,000
Great Britain to end of campaign 1814	457,000		673,000	* 1,130,000
Inhabitants of Europe, by sickness, &c.		300,000		* 300,000
Portugal, war with		60,000	40,000	* 100,000
Russia and Turkey, 1811, &c.		100,000		* 100,000
Turks and Servians		100,000		* 100,000
Russia and Sweden		40,000		* 40,000
Great Britain and America, to 1815	5,000	55,000		* 60,000
Revolution in South America		130,000		* 130,000
	500,000	2,955,000	5,628,590	9,083,590
Deduct recovered from slight wounds		298,000	292,833	590,833
	500,000	2,657,000	5,335,757	8,492,757
Deduct 1-6th for natural deaths	83,333	442,833		
Do. 1-7th for do. on French loss			762,251	1,283,417
	416,667	2,214,167	4,593,506	7,204,340
Deduct from France, and add to others,		400,000	400,000	
	416,667	2,614,167	4,193,506	7,204,340

The numbers where the loss may be considered as total, I have marked. '*' Of the remaining numbers, viz. 3,545,000, part of the wounded would recover and be able to join their ranks, and are of course to be deducted. This I estimate as follows, viz. of the number 3,545,000 marked lost in different campaigns, in killed, wounded, and by sickness, I suppose one-half, or 1,772,500 to be dead by the sword or sickness, and of the remaining half, one-third, or 590,833, to have recovered and joined their ranks, and of course, should be deducted from the respective losses in the proportion of 298,000 to the different nations, and 292,833 to France.

Such has been the baneful effects of that revolution, which high sounding names in this country, characterised as "*the utmost efforts of human wisdom;*" and such the direful consequences of undermining the noble fabric of morality and religion, by atheism and vain philosophy. How near we also were of being involved in the common ruin is fortunately now fully known. May what we have so narrowly escaped make us more careful for the future, and be a warning to succeeding ages, to shun the paths which conducted, and which will infallibly always conduct to such misery. It has cost Europe much, but France more. Her commerce gone—her national character lost—her name rendered odious—above 4 millions of the flower of her youth, swept away in search of imaginary happiness—a prey for years to every bad passion—a scourge to herself, and a consuming fire to her neighbours. Well may we therefore exclaim with the gallant Blucher, what has France gained by all this blood and carnage. Has she more liberty than under Louis the XVI. No! Has she more territory? No. Has she a better sovereign? No. Has she a more powerful navy? No. Is her knowledge or morality improved? No. Is her national character more respected, or more deserving of being so? Not one-tenth part so much. In 1789, they overthrew one Bastile, in which there were 7 state prisoners. When Bonaparte was overthrown, in 1814, in Paris alone, 1,200 state prisoners were there liberated, besides many in the provincial towns. What then has France gained? What has she learned? The knowledge of the bitter fruits of that experiment, of murdering her King,

and denying her God—the enmity of the world—the refuse of wickedness and tyranny, which controuled and ruled over her.

As no revolution amongst mankind, ever sprang from the same causes, so none ever had the same object in view. It was not to amend what was wrong in the social edifice, but to overturn it altogether—not to build but to destroy it, was the avowed objects of the infernal school which hatched it. Unfortunately for mankind, they pursued with but too steady an aim, and too much success, their terrible objects and baneful career. Europe was to be remoulded in this revolutionary crucible, and every thing that could recal the image of former times, political, moral or religious, or the natural limits of countries, was to be destroyed or obliterated. Under whatever name the Government of France shewed itself—under whatever tyranny that volatile people bent their necks, or lent their strength to support, still their object was the same: and the remains of any of the ancient fabric which constituted the social edifice of Europe, filled their minds with rage and alarm. There have been ambitious nations, and individuals, frequently in the world; and mighty empires, which extended their sway over neighbouring states; but these enlightened, not darkened mankind; at least, it never was the avowed object of any of them to occasion the latter. The ambition of Rome was boundless, she conquered kingdoms at will; but she boldly avowed her intentions in an open manner, and was not like our modern Gauls, while living at peace, carrying on operations more destructive than violent war; nor, when she conquered kingdoms, did she crub their national industry, or extinguish their national knowledge, but nobly proclaimed herself the patron and extender of both. Hence, she left amongst those she conquered, something better than they formerly knew; and the remains of which, throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, till this day, fill the mind with admiration at Roman wisdom, grandeur and power. Alexander, in the heights of his wildest ambition, never forgot the arts of peace, or the means of disseminating knowledge amongst mankind; and for which purpose, he clearly saw, that unfettered commerce was the surest road. For this object he built Alexandria, whose prosperity, through

so many changes of empires and revolving ages, sets the character of Alexander in the highest point of view, of any conqueror in the ancient world. Not so, did the actors in the French Revolution; and not so did that master actor in this dreadful political drama, Napoleon Bonaparte. Their efforts and his, were invariably directed to crush commercial enterprise, as the surest way to destroy knowledge, industry, and confidence amongst men; thereby rendering them more completely the tools of ambition, and military despotism. Hence, every thing that was good and virtuous fled before the approach of those Gallic swarms of infidels and athiests, which inundated Europe; and the march of their armies, like the polar blast, or torrid tornado, left the moral, the religious, and the natural world, equally a dreary scene of desolation and destruction.

To subdue Europe, was no new idea to France. It was as much the aim of Louis the XIV. and of that bloody assembly, the National Convention, as it has been of their more bloody successor Bonaparte. The revolution, however, afforded them the fairest prospect of ultimate success; and considering the means they employed, and materials they had to work with, their rapid progress, and their great success, were not at all surprising. It was, however, more than wonderful, how the nations of Europe were deluded and deceived so long, with regard to the ultimate object and real views of their enemies; who, with liberty, and protection of property on their lips, actually succeeded, in depriving nearly all Europe of theirs, before the population of it saw their fatal error. The resources of one people, were made use of to subdue another; till Europe, at last, was deprived of every thing but despair and vengeance. Yet, while no beam of comfort seemed to dawn from any point of heaven; and, while the fond and infatuated admirers of French tyranny and dominion, imagined the idol of their adoration, stood invulnerable and invincible, the axe was laid to the root of the tree, by the irresistible arm of unerring Justice. To Britain, the deadliest object of the tyrant's hatred, whose destruction to accomplish, he had waded through rivers of blood and oceans of crimes—to her, while the rest of the world trembled at the tyrant's frown, did the sons of Iberia in their

affliction, turn for succour and assistance. Here, first sprung the mine which shook the tyrant's throne. Long they contended against fearful odds, and long without hopes of success. But their example was equal to victory; and soon the efforts of the genius of the Thames and the Ebro, awakened to resistance, glory, and renown, the guardians of the Wolga and Moskwa. There the giant's arm was withered; and there those limbs of iron which supported the mighty fabric of Gallic power, and which had so long trampled nations in the dust, were broken to pieces. Its strength was shattered at Borodino—its pride rebuked at Moscow—and its glory buried for ever in the immortal plains of Leipsic.

Amongst the extraordinary events of the last 20 remarkable years, this was not the least surprising, that the conduct of France, by many, was considered as right, and that she was the injured party; nay, even to this day, these sentiments remain; and strange to say, I believe, remain no where else, but in Great Britain. No matter, however odious her conduct—no matter however oppressive her arbitrary demands—still these were held up as the climax of wisdom and of justice. With intentions and objects inimical to all other countries, and constantly plotting, by innumerable means, their ruin, yet she had the hardihood to proclaim, that she alone was injured. Peace was even a more dangerous state than war. In peace she seized on Spain; overturned the constitution of Swisserland; made Italy subservient to her will; swallowed up Holland; and incorporated the shores of the German Ocean to the confines of Jutland, into her vast dominions. In peace she corrupted Prussia, and secured her downfal; and, in peace, she wanted to dismember and destroy the Russian empire. Great Britain, alone, remained free from her arts, and beyond the reach of her power. Early did they commence this career of ambition. The first act of the Convention was to annex Savoy to France; and the same system was continued by all their successors, until the whole was crowned with the shameless and remorseless ambition of Bonaparte. France thought to change times and laws, and to bend Europe to her imperious will. All their ancient laws and usages were declared the work of ignorance—were

even made null and void. The new fangled and monstrous laws and regulations of Gallic tyranny and oppression were substituted in their stead. Yet France was guiltless—yet was she proclaimed the benefactress of the human race, at the time she was depriving them of liberty, property, and principle; of all that could render them comfortable here, or prepare them for happiness hereafter; for, in the moral as well as the political world, her baneful arts were alike pernicious; destroying every noble feeling or honourable principle in the human soul. Wherever French power was established, there immorality planted thick her baneful seeds—wherever French dominion extended, there infidelity raised his ferocious countenance and established his gloomy pavilion. Every tie that could bind man to man in society, was broken. The father was turned against the son, and the son against the father; female manners, the strongest bond of social order, were corrupted and destroyed: every effort of violence and seduction were openly employed to destroy the peace of thousands and the happiness of millions. The only knowledge taught was the knowledge of the sword. The only science studied, was the science of crime. Europe was rapidly approaching to a state of barbarity worse than that under Pagan ignorance. Intoxicated by success, France and her leader lost their reason; and he, in particular, endeavoured to exalt himself above the sphere of mortality. "*He has ceased to reign*,"* uttered by him, made Kingdoms fear and Empires tremble; till, at last, "*Fate drags them on—let their des-*

* This was a favourite expression with this overbearing despot. "The House of Braganza," said he, when speaking of the sovereign of Portugal, "has ceased to reign." Speaking of the Queen of Naples, who endeavoured to throw off his galling yoke in 1809, he proceeds, "Gen. St. Cyr advances to punish the treason of the Queen, and to *precipitate from the throne* this culpable woman, who has violated in so shameful a manner, all that is held sacred among men. So atrocious an act of perfidy, cannot be pardoned. *The Queen of Naples has ceased to reign.* This last crime, has *completed her destiny.* Let her go, to encrease the number of her intriguers, and form a sympathetic ink committee, with Drake, Spencer, Smith, Taylor and Wickham, &c." 37th Bulletin, Schoenbrun, Dec. 26th, 1805. And shall one sympathetic voice advocate his cause, when Europe says to Napoleon, you must reign no longer—go to your traitors, intriguers, and murderers, Carnot, Fouché, Merlin, Davoust, Caulincourt, Ney, &c.

tinies be fulfilled," formed the climax of human folly, and which never did and never can escape unpunished.

Discomfited however, and humbled, Napoleon Bonaparte abdicated the throne of France, and dared to live amidst the execration and contempt of mankind. To the confusion of his friends and admirers, his conduct in adversity shewed, beyond the power of controversy, his real character to be that of a being without feeling, principle, or honour. Had he the feelings of a man, how wretched must be his state! Driven from a throne, he consented to abandon many of his firmest friends, before he knew that they would abandon him. No future conduct of his can ever wipe away this stain,

> "Is this a General's voice, which calls to flight,
> While war hangs doubtful, *while his soldiers fight.*"

To preserve his life, he disgraced his wife and deserted his child. To appease the vengeance of Europe, which his crimes had called forth, he was content to abandon every thing which then seemed could constitute him an object either of fear or attention. Europe was avenged while humanity was spared. The heroes of the Danube, of the Wolga, of the Oder, and of the Elbe, have seen their oppressors, on the banks of the Seine, supplicate for and obtain that forgiveness and mercy they were never known to bestow. The Cossack, a name France will long remember with dread, and Europe pronounce with regard, have vanquished France, not only in arms but humanity. Where are now the eulogists and admirers of the character and policy of the greatest captain of the age? Where those men who, while "*trembling every inch of them,*" had yet the presence of mind coolly to observe and admire with what dexterity Napoleon, pushing right onward to his object, "planted the dagger in his antagonist's heart, while the limbs, in convulsive agony, trembled at the shock?"* Let them stand

* Edinburgh Review.---In No. 36, these Gentlemen have also the following extraordinary remarks:---"Nor can we persuade ourselves (which God forbid we should ever suffer ourselves to doubt!) that England will, in any circumstances, make head against France on the Continent; *our army is beautiful, but unprofitable—our navy resistless and useless.*

forward and advocate his cause; let them say in whose bosom the dagger was at last planted; was it not in that of the great Captain himself?—for whose downfal even Whitbread sung *Te Deum*, while Burdett was silent, and Hutchison mute!

On the causes and conduct which has accelerated these pre-eminently glorious events, I need not further dwell—they are seen and appreciated by all. While a noble field is open for the industry of the future historian, the present generation exclaims in the inimitable language of Isaiah upon a similar occasion. "Is this the man that did shake kingdoms, that made the world as a wilderness and destroyed the cities thereof, *that opened not the house of his prisoners?*"

How blind is man! and how insignificant, when he dares to war with him "who can arm the creation to take vengeance on his enemies?" "Hitherto shalt thou come and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed," is a command equally applicable and irresistible

> "When addrest
> To the wild wave, or wilder human breast;"

and never was it exemplified in a more striking manner than in the events of the last three years. Long had this ambitious mortal set at defiance every thing that is good and virtuous—long had he trampled upon every thing civil and sacred—and long had he been the terror and the scourge of mankind; when, lo, in the midst of his greatest security and proudest strength,

> "Even handed justice,
> Commands the ingredients of the poisoned chalice
> To his own lips."

Of this cup of fury he has drunk and been drunken; and he has yet to wring out the bitterest dregs thereof, unfriended and unpitied by any principle of honour or justice.

The terrible events of the last t. enty years can never be forgotten. They will stand a beacon to future generations to shun the baneful conduct of the present, that they may avoid the evils we have witnessed and borne. From these things let

us also learn wisdom. He must be blind and thoughtless indeed, who does not see the finger of Providence in all this. And shall we not acknowledge it and bless his mighty name? The fool, indeed, may say in his heart, there is no God—the irreligious, that the works of man are below his regard; but let not us act such a thoughtless part.

> "Shall the poor Indian's weak untutor'd mind
> See God in clouds and hear him in the wind;"

and shall not we, who have been taught, from our cradles, that the hairs of our head are numbered—that a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his permission—that he ruleth and reigneth amongst the kingdoms of men, and giveth them to whomsoever he will—shall not we, I say, perceive, when his judgments are abroad in the earth, and when the messenger of his Almighty will

> "Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm."

A HISTORY OF FRENCH CONTRIBUTIONS, REQUISITIONS, LOANS, &c. IN EUROPE, FROM 1792.

"THE palace of Fontainbleau has been preserved. The Austrian General Hardegg had entered the town, and placed sentinels to defend it against the excesses of the Cossacks, who, however, succeeded in *pillaging some door-keepers, and carrying away some horse cloths from the stables.* The inhabitants do not complain of the Austrians, but of these Tartars; monsters who dishonour the sovereign who employs them, and the army who protects them. The brigands are covered with gold and jewels. There have been found from eight to ten watches, upon those whom the soldiers and peasantry have killed. *They are true Highwaymen.*"*

* Bonaparte's dispatch, Feb. 14th, 1814.

Is it possible that there should be an individual, and, more particularly, that Napoleon Bonaparte should be that person, who could have the presumption to step forward and complain, when the foes, which their detructive ambition had raised up against them, retaliated upon them and their "*beautiful country*," (allowing that it was true that they did so) a faint specimen of what him and his myrmidons inflicted upon Europe. Did not he and the profligate race which he governed, plunder and rob every nation in it? and, shall they complain, when their victorious antagonists had it in their power to repay their enemies for the atrocities committed against them, by taking from those enemies, by force, what after all was very probably their own? With equal justice might the wolf complain, when his hiding place was ferreted out; and the prey, of which he had robbed the fold, was retaken from his grasp. Were "*horse cloths and watches*" the only articles which, during 22 eventful years, the nations of Europe have been robbed of by Frenchmen? Whence came all the gaudy furniture of the palace of Fontainbleau? or could the brave and indefatigable warrior of the Don forget the tragic scenes perpetrated by the "*roving Gaul*," on the desolated banks of the Moskwa? The palace of Fontainbleau was preserved; Was it? Was the Kremlin saved? Did not Mortier, Duke of Treviso, by the orders of Napoleon the Great, Emperor of France and King of Italy, spring the mine which destroyed what he could no longer keep; and that too, after the Emperor, like a "*true highwayman*," had robbed it of every thing that was valuable. And who could have blamed the Cossack had he reduced Fontainbleau to ashes? No one. Blush, Frenchmen, when you recollect your own conduct, and endeavour to asperse the character of the Sons of the Don.

What reason France had to complain of the conduct of the nations which her unprincipled ambition had raised up against her, had that conduct even been ten times worse than she represented it to be, is the object which I have at present in view to shew to the reader. Can France have already forgotten the regular organized system of plunder carried on by her in every country in Europe, from the commencement till the close of the revolution? "In future," said Duhesme, "instead of attaching any conquered provinces to France, would it not be more prudent to make them furnish us with provisions and stores, and conduct some of the Belgic saints to Paris? *Certainly, replied the whole assembly, with much applause.* The proposition was immediately sent to the Committee of Public Safety."* "All the armies of France," said the Directory, "shall be marched beyond the frontiers. *All the troops of France shall*

* Convention, September 10th, 1793.

live at their expense; all the calamities of war shall be transferred to their territory, until they please, at last, to accept the just and moderate conditions of peace."* The same system was continued under every form of government that ruled in France. "*The French army, according to its fundamental law, subsists upon the country upon which it makes war.*"† "The observation," said the Moniteur, "of Trevulcio to Louis XII. has been often repeated: 'To make war with success, you must first have money; 2dly, money; 3dly, money. How much *more just and noble* is the maxim proclaimed by Hannibal, adopted by Frederick, and of which we have *so often seen the brilliant application, by that hero* who has surpassed them both:—'IT BELONGS TO WAR TO SUPPORT WAR.' Must a nation begin by exhausting itself, in order to inflict vengeance on its enemy? and should not all the weight of the contest be made to fall on those adversaries *who have provoked it?* The first consideration then, the first duty of the head of a great nation, is to render sacred and inviolable the country which he inhabits."‡

By this diabolical principle has France maintained all the wars kindled by her ambition. These cost her, comparatively speaking, nothing; for the expense was extorted, at the point of the bayonet, from the population of Europe. No wonder then that France should appear prosperous, while other nations are struggling with difficulties brought on them by her robberies and her ambition. Thus, said the Morning Chronicle, when commenting upon the budget brought forward by Talleyrand, in 1814. "It affords, however, a melancholy confirmation of what we stated long since, that England would *ultimately* be found to be the *greatest sufferer by the war.* We see that in France the debt accumulated is comparatively of trifling amount, and will be paid off in the course of three years, &c."§ I do not quote this because it is the sentiments of the Morning Chronicle; but because I know of no better way in which I could embody the sentiments of a very numerous class of men in Britain, with regard to this subject, than the manner in which the writer already quoted has done it in this place. The contrast here stated may be true; but even if were so, it is most invidious, most dangerous, and unjust, to bring it forward in this manner. Surely these gentlemen would not recommend us to pursue a course similar to that which France has done, in order to render war

* Letter from the Directory to the Minister at War, in the Paris papers, September 9th, 1796.—The just and moderate terms were, that France should keep all her conquests!!

† Moniteur, Paris, February 26th, 1811.
‡ Do. do. October 18th, 1812.
§ Morning Chronicle, September 15th, 1814.

less burthensome and our debts light. The situation of France adds nothing to her honour—her present boasted prosperity has been purchased at a price, which, were she willing and just, the wealth of Potosi could not repay—and the lightness of her burdens is in reality an indelible disgrace to her name. But has she suffered less in this combat than Britain? We have already seen how much more she has suffered in the loss of human life; and, a short investigation will shew us, that her loss in every other thing is proportionally great.

While these invidious and thoughtless comparisons of the present happy and prosperous state of the French nation are made by others, we cannot be astonished that from her mouth should issue murmurs and regrets, at the wresting from her, for ever, all the sources from whence that wealth and that prosperity has flowed. But as impolitic and unjust as are these comparisons with regard to Great Britain, so improper and ill timed is the high tone and spirit of accusation adopted by France against the nations of Europe. Complaint at this moment should not be the language of France: nor is arrogance becoming from the lips of a Frenchman. Instead of one murmur of indignation at the humiliation they have suffered, they ought as individuals, and as a nation, to "lay their hands on their mouths and their mouths in the dust;" and in the language of the bitterest sorrow and sincerest contrition, cry out for forgiveness from mankind, whom they have so cruelly injured, and mercy from Heaven, whom they have so grievously offended. I wish not to keep alive animosities—I wish not to see the sword unsheathed for no other purpose but that of vengeance; but there are characters who, when *it was unsheathed*, by the calls of justice and arm of necessity, deserved no mercy—who had placed themselves, by their conduct, without the pale of humanity; by trampling upon every principle of justice or honour. Such was a Lefebre, a Santerre, a Barrere, a Fouche, a Suchet, a Davoust, a Caulincourt, and a Vandamme, with many others. These, for their infamous conduct, should have been gibetted; as a terror to the present, and a warning to future generations. No man could have defended them, or he must have been as wicked as themselves.

But no; we are told, let the world beware how it touches French honour, or wounds the feelings of that high spirited nation. O this French honour and feeling! how dear have they cost Europe? These principles murdered thousands for the good of the nation, and then plundered millions for her honour. During one quarter of a century these have made Europe weep tears of blood. These have covered her with mourning and desolation. These have destroyed the industry of past generations, entailed sorrow upon the present, and

hardships upon generations yet unborn. Throughout the world, these set the father against the son, and the son against the father; and, left the moral and political world, one dreary scene of mourning, misery, and confusion.

But if such men find forgiveness, shall they also meet with encouragement? or shall we fear to speak of their conduct and crimes as we ought? Forbid it justice—forbid it truth. France, though she renounced Bonaparte, possesses millions who would pursue the same course under any leader. Awakened from their dream of security, and in some degree to a sight of their crimes, the policy of that volatile people, which seldom forsakes them, did in the hour of peril, by renouncing and denouncing the man whom they formerly worshipped, ward off the vengeance which indignant Europe was ready to inflict upon them; and which man, Europe erroneously conceived, was the sole cause of all her woe and misery. French vanity and arrogance have, however, undeceived the world. In vain do they now labour to throw the blame of all their mischief upon the head of that great Scape Goat, which has been banished to Elba for the good of the world. The revolution only produced that tyrant as it did thousands of others; but he alone had the superior address to arrange and controul the fearful and destructive materials which stood ready at his call, in order that, with their assistance, he might enslave and oppress mankind. The French nation marched after him with a willing mind. When misfortunes lowered their vanity and humbled their strength, then only did they abandon him. But have they forgot or abandoned his principles? Every succeeding day shews to Europe that they have not: and that millions in France are as unprincipled and profligate as their leader was: and that he was only the head of a banditti who set all the usages, laws, and customs, which had hitherto guided and governed mankind, at defiance; with whom might was right, and the sword the only arbiter. Yet such men live, and dare to lift up their heads under their glowing titles, and complain of the dismemberment of the French empire, as taken in the French sense of the word. Although France is left greater than she was under any of her former Kings, yet these men attempt to be angry at the loss of Belgium, which never justly belonged to them; and of the annexation, with the consent of its legitimate sovereign, of part of that country, which never was an independent state, to the dominions of Holland, in order to strengthen her against her formidable neighbour. Yes, these men complain, who, in strict justice and sound policy, should have seen their *beautiful country* contracted in her limits; and instead of being rounded, by adding 700,000 inhabitants to its population, might and ought to have been so, by taking an equal or a greater number from it;

and who, if to part of the Netherlands, had Picardy, Artois, Alsace, and Loraine, been added to Germany and to Holland, ought to have been silent, and thankful too, that more was not demanded. It is impossible to contemplate without indignation, this unmanly cry, for tenderness to French honour and to French feeling. Deeply wounded, no doubt, these passions now are, and I hope incurably; for these are that species of honour and of feeling, which had almost banished feeling from the human bosom, and justice from the human mind. Can the recognition of their ancient Princes eradicate from the recollection of Europe, or from the page of history, their conduct and their crimes? Are those woeful accounts of sufferings, which from time to time harrowed up the feelings of the soul, all falsehoods? Were the massacres at Avignon, of the 10th August and 2d September, 1792, with that infernal quoram, the Revolutionary Tribunal, all fictions? or was their conduct and their thirst of blood confined to their native land? No. From the cataracts of the Nile to the bottom of the Gulph of Mexico—from the Pillars of Hercules to the shores of the Gulph of Finland, and the banks of the Moskwa—has not all that portion of the globe, by sea or by land, been covered with bloodshed and wickedness, of a shade so deep that even Nero would have shrunk from the scene with fear, and with destruction and misery at which the savage heart of Caligula would have wept. France, to atone for her conduct—to reinstate herself in the good opinion and the confidence of mankind, must long pursue a different course, than, in the language of menace, to speak to other nations of her tarnished honours and her wounded feelings. At such complaints Patience herself, when considering what the conduct of the allies has been, is provoked to cry out in the indignant language of Elisha, "thou shouldest have smitten five or six times, then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it:"* and at the same time not to remember, but with fear, the more emphatic language of Elijah: "because thou hast let go out of thy hand the man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people."†

But, let us consider for a moment, what French rapacity has at different times inflicted upon Europe; and from that learn what a different contrast her conduct affords to that of other nations. In doing this, I shall confine myself to authentic documents, (principally their own;) which documents, oftener than once, made the profligate Convention ashamed; which drew even public expressions of indignation from their lips; but

* 2 Kings xiii. 19. † 1 Kings xx. 22.

which more atrocious scenes were never able to effect upon the flinty bosom of Bonaparte and his followers.

But before proceeding to notice their conduct to foreign nations, it may not be uninteresting to observe what it first produced to themselves. It is a terrible picture of human villany and of human misery; and both conjoined, inculcate a lesson, which if these do not, to the remotest period of time, deter mankind from similar revolutionary changes, I know not what can. If the whole hosts of Pandemonium itself had been let loose upon this world, their career could scarcely have been marked with more oppression and destruction.

Previous to the revolution, France had accumulated a considerable load of debt, particularly in her impolitic assistance rendered to the United States, which cost her 1,500,000,000 francs, or £63,000,000 sterling. The people were heavily taxed, in comparison to their means; but these taxes were either shamefully evaded or altogether unproductive. A spirit also at this time began to make its appearance in France, which set legislation at defiance; and this evil of an accumulating debt, the destruction of confidence, and a depreciation of the national credit, advanced with alarming strides. The evil, however, was not irremediable, had the nation had the patience or the will to meet it with boldness. But the revolution took place, which swept away honour and honesty; and turned the plow share, and other weapons of industry, into the sword of violence, and the weapons of war. No taxes could be collected, from the state of internal discord. The channels of the old were dried up—no new ones could be laid on where there was no object of industry or trade on which to lay it. But the wants were urgent—the exactors merciless—their power unlimited—and public and private peculation the order of the day. To support the enormous expenses which their profligate demagogues and frantic conduct led them into, no other resource remained but that of an almost indiscriminate massacre and confiscation of the property of the wealthy; and which was immediately put in execution, and carried to an extent never before known in any age or country.

In order more clearly to appreciate the extent of these noxious measures, it may be necessary to state what the expenses were during the early period of the revolution. The war in La Vendee, while it lasted in force, according to Fermont,* cost the nation 1,000,000,000 livres, annually. The campaign of 1794 in the Netherlands, on the Rhine, and the conquest of Holland, cost, according to the official statements of the Convention, 1,000,000,000 more; her share of which Holland was afterwards obliged to pay. On the side of Italy, in Spain, the colonies, and for the navy, it must have cost 1,000,000,000

* Report to the Directory, August 16th, 1796.

livres more. Accordingly, the Paris official Journals, May, 1795, stated positively, that the expenses of the preceding campaign amounted to 3,000,000,000 livres,* or £126,000,000 sterling, independent of the civil establishments of Government, above 1,100,000,000 additional, and also the enormous expense of supplying Paris with provisions. Cambon's financial reports† to the Convention states, that the expenses of the three first years of the revolution were 5,000,000,000 livres more than the expenses of the three last years of the King, which amounted to 2,732,973,000 livres.‡ The annual expenditure, therefore, for war alone, must have been more than 3,000,000,000 livres; and including all other expenses, from documents which we shall presently see, it must in some years have been treble that amount. On the 25th November, 1793, Barrerre informed the Convention, that the expenditure was 400,000,000 livres monthly, which would at that rate give 4,800,000,000 livres, annually. But it afterwards greatly exceeded that sum, as the following accounts will shew.—For the month ending the 21st December, 1794.

The Revenue was,		49,724,090 livres.
The Expenditure was,		268,503,571
		218,779,481
Deficiency of Revenue, April, 1793,		253,000,000
Do. do. May, do.		315,000,000
Expenditure for month Pluvoise, 1794,	504,478,863	
Revenues for do.	60,580,618	
		443,898,245
Deficiency, August,§ 1794,		193,027,200
Deficiency per month, ending Jan. 22d, 1795,		218,779,475
Expenditure for month Nivose,	428,374,109	
Revenues for do.	57,168,533	
		371,205,676
Deficiency for month preceding Germinal, 1795,		660,000,000
Deficiency for 8 months, about 112 millions sterling, or		2,673,690,077
Expenditure for month Germinal, year 3d (1795)		
For the civil administrations,	5,000,000	
Committee of public instruction,	2,000,000	
Committee of Agriculture,	1,000,000	
Carry forward,	8,000,000	

* Decree of the Convention January 10th, 1794. "*Extraordinary* expenses of this year will exceed 3,000,000,000 livres.

† Official report, January 22d, 1795.

‡ In 1790, Income was,	200,000,000	In 1792, Income was	282,000,000
Expenditure,	650,000,000	Expenditure,	1,362,973,000
Deficiency,	450,000,000	Deficit,	1,089,973,000
In 1791, Income was	175,000,000	In 1793, Income was	150,000,000
Expenditure,	720,000,000	Expenditure,	3,600,000,000
Deficiency,	545,000,000	Deficit,	3,450,000,000

§ Convention, September 8th, 1794.

Brought forward,	8,000,000	
Public Buildings,	10,000,000	
Posts and Conveyances,	70,000,000	
Marine,	20,000,000	
Arms and Gunpowder,	30,000,000	
Provisions for Paris, &c.	600,000,000	
For one month,	738,000,000	
For 12 months,		8,856,000,000

Independent of the expense for the army, which exceeded 220,000,000 monthly. In February 1793, it cost 218,000,000. In December, the extraordinary expenses of the army and the navy, was 279,264,333 livres, and in 1793 and 1794, it rose to 260, and even to 400,000,000 livres monthly. The expense of provisioning Paris in 1795, was prodigious; and on Nov. 29th, 1793, was estimated at 350,000,000, each decade or 10 days. The expense of the French Government at this period, was truly enormous, and can hardly be guessed at. In August 1793, the army amounted to 601,902 men, and a decree by the Convention, added 400,000 more to it. According to Lindet's report to the Convention, Sept. 30th, 1794, the army, navy, and attendants, then amounted to 1,500,000 men. In November, 1795, the Directory demanded the following sums, viz.

For the Minister of Justice	50,000,000
Minister of the Interior	900,000,000
Extraordinary expenses of the Directory	100,000,000
Minister of Finances	200,000,000
Minister at War	1,100,000,000
Do. Marine and Colonies	600,000,000
Do. Exterior Relations	50,000,000
	* 3,000,000,000 livres.

Which at the rate of depreciation, that the Government at the time allowed for assignats, was equal to 200,000,000,000†. Shortly after the following demands were again made for the use of the public.

In a few days after this	21,000,000 livres in specie.
Dec. 22d. for War Minister	50,000,000
Jan. 10th, 1796, Minister of Police	3,000,000
Do. do. do. Interior	20,000,000
Feb. 2d. 1796, Minister of Marine	12,000,000
Do. Home department	25,000,000
March 27th, Minister of Finances	2,500,000
Do. Administration of the Treasury	59,000
Do. 21st, Minister at War	100,000,000
April 9th, Minister of Interior	20,000,000
Carry forward	253,559,000

* Message to the Council of 500, Nov. 8th, 1795.
† But the real depreciation was equal to 200 per cent.

Brought forward	253,559,000	
April 18th, War expenses	200,000,000	fixed value.
— — Navy	50,000,000	do.
— 30th, Minister of Finances	8,000,000	specie.
— — Home department	30,000,000	do.
— — Monthly for Interior	100,000	do.
May 18th, Minister of Finances	12,000,000	fixed value.
June 6th, Minister at War	220,000,000	specie.
— 7th, Various	*540,000,000	mandats.
— 19th, Minister of Interior	80,000,000	fixed value.
— 24th, Minister of Marine	120,000,000	do.
Sept. 26th, Minister for Foreign affairs	1,500,000	specie.
Oct. 5th, Minister of Interior	25,000,000	metalic value.
— 11th, Minister of War	100,000,000	specie.
— — Home department	25,000,000	do.
— 23d. Permanent expenses	450,000,000	metalic value.
— — Extraordinary war expenses	†550,000,000	do.
	2,655,159,000	

The above expenditure also, was only for part of the year, as several of the dates are wanting. On the 25th Feb. Dubois Crance, in the Council of 500, stated that the campaign of 1796, would cost the nation 1,500,000,000 livres, in specie. That of 1797 was greater. Yet, notwithstanding the provision made for this latter estimation, the deficiency of the different ministers from Sept. 22d. 1796, till June 14th, 1797, was according to the account to the Council of 500, no less than 600,000,000; though they had that year received 240,000,000 in contributions from conquered nations. In the same assembly, November 18th, 1796, Lufon Ladebat, stated the ordinary revenue at only 500,000,000—and the revenue from National estates, at an equal sum. In fact, the just revenue of France, for several years, did not exceed on an average 500,000,000, if so much. In the sitting of the Council of 500, already referred to, Ladebat said, that the whole revenue of the preceding year in specie, was only 36,264,000 livres, (£1,500,000). Amongst other instances of their profligate and immense expenditure, I may quote the following—For Dumourier's expedition into the Netherlands, Bentable said, "800 millions of expenses, and 150,000 men, conducted to slaughter, these are the fruits of all your conquests in the Netherlands."‡ The expense of the Government, to hire newspapers to advocate their cause was at one time, 36,000,000 livres annually, and in 1795 it rose to 60,000,000.§ According to the report of St. Just, the sums expended in bribing dif-

* March 10th, 600,000,000 mandats were decreed for the Treasury, to be equal to specie—From that number, the present was spent.

† To defray this, national domains and sale of lands, were to take place.

‡ Jacobin Club, March 23th, 1793.

§ Council of 500, Feb. 18th, 1796.

ferent Governments was enormous. Turkey cost them in one year 70,000,000; Switzerland 40,000; Genoa 54,000,000; and other countries large sums, all in the space of one year.* To the above expenditure may be added as last, but not least, the system of private peculation and fraud at this time, exercised over France. This was enormous, and beyond calculation. Men without principle, had no bonds to restrain them; and the fate of their neighbour to-day, did not deter another individual from following the same course to-morrow. Indeed, it was accounted no crime, unless it was taken from a Sans Culotte. "Learn," said Robespierre, to a member who accused the followers of the former, for taking what was not their own, "that the patriots never rob." The sums made away with in this manner were prodigious. "It is notorious," said Montaut, "that some individuals had gained in the situation of Farmers-general, ten, twelve, and even twenty millions."† In reply to this speech, Cambon said, "that measures had been taken to bring back several hundred millions into the coffers of the nation. It would be easy to prove, that these great fortunes were acquired only by great robberies."‡ From the commencement of the Revolution, till the month of November, 1795, M. Calonne estimated, that in the four preceding campaigns, France had expended in war £.780,000,000 sterling.§ Such is a faint sketch of the expenditure and waste of the French Government, during the early periods of the French Revolution, and that while the old revenues that should have defrayed these, were decreased and dwindled away, so that they had no fresh means or resources of a justifiable nature, to have recourse to; for, said Cambon, "*New taxes, or further loans, are equally impracticable.*"§

To supply the place of revenue, usually derived from taxes upon trade and commerce, compulsory loans and *assignats*, were resorted to. In the former mode, an unprincipled Government took by force, for the sake of Liberty, what they pleased; but the latter was by far, the most unprincipled and extensive system of robbery. These assignats were paper, issued by Government, upon security which they possessed, and what they contemplated they might and could possess, and to redeem which, they held out the national property of all kinds, throughout France. These, as might be expected, from the unsettled nature of the Government, and more from its want of principle, suffered a dreadful depreciation; but they were forced into circulation at par, under the terror of the guillotine, and at the point of the bayonet, both in France, and in the coun-

* St. Just's report to the Committee of Public Safety, May 1794.
† Convention, Dec. 11th, 1793. ‡ Tableau de l'Europe, Nov 1795.
§ Convention, Dec. 11th, 1795.

tries which she overran, and on which, the loss to the holders was enormous, and perhaps averaged 30 per cent. even in their most creditable times. The Government for some time, as I have just noticed, forced them, into circulation at par; but afterwards they created a substitute, which they exchanged at the rate of 30 to one, though their real depreciation at that time, as we shall presently see, was equal to 200 to 1.

To judge of the loss, by this odious system, let us attend to the number which were issued. According to Cambon, the assignats in circulation at the commencement of 1795, were 9,000,000,000* livres, or £.378,000,000 sterling, besides 300 millions of *billets de Confiance*, and counterfeits. To that date about 2,000,000,000 had been redeemed and burnt; consequently, 11,000,000,000 must have been created to that period, and on which, there had been to individuals, or was to be a loss upon an average of 30 per cent. or £.138,600,000 sterling. But that was a trifling number, to what was subsequently issued. In October, that same year, Vernier stated, that the amount in circulation was 30,000,000,000† livres, or £.1,260,000,000 sterling, and to that date, 3,084,683,000 livres,‡ or £.130,000,000 sterling, had been redeemed and burnt. Still increasing, Camus early in 1796, stated the number that had been issued at 45,581,470,000 livres, or £.1,914,400,000 sterling, of which number, only 6,294,000,000 livres, or £.264,558,000 sterling, had been burnt, leaving 39,287,579,999 livres, or £.1,649,558,000 sterling, in circulation at that date.§ What the loss was to the holders of these, is impossible to determine, unless we knew at what discount every part were issued and taken; but no doubt, it was enormous, and perhaps exceeded a fourth part of the whole debt of Great Britain, besides the loss upon the 11 milliards first noticed. This mode of swindling could go on no longer. The national domains were hourly disposed of, and hourly swallowed up in this Revolutionary vortex, without any of the national pledges being redeemed. No person would take the assignats at almost any value. Their depreciation was so great as 200 to 1, and afterwards it rose to 2000 to 1.

In this dilemma, the Directory had recourse to a compulsory loan of 600,000,000 livres, or £.25,200,000 sterling, to be paid in specie, or a proportionate number of assignats, according to the value fixed upon them. This loan was not to be reimbursed, nor any interest to be paid for it, but to be deducted out of the taxes of the next 10 years.‖ This loan it was calculated,

* Cambon's report to Convention, January 22d, 1795.
† Convention, Oct. 17th, 1795. ‡ Paris, Oct. 1st, 1795.
§ Council of 500, Feb. 23d. 1795.
‖ Council of Ancients, Dec. 10th, 1795.

would redeem 25,000,000,000 livres of assignats, making their value as 40 to 1. Accordingly, we find, that a vast number were paid into the Treasury at this rate. On the 19th April, the Directory communicated, that in 47 departments, the forced loan had produced in real value 331,369,917 livres, and that 13,157,652,100 livres in assignats, had been paid into the Treasury and burnt, leaving the number still in circulation, to the value of 25,000,000,000 livres, or £.1,050,000,000 sterling. But even this scheme was not sufficient to extricate the Government from their difficulties. French ingenuity was therefore set to work, to contrive another, which it quickly did, of a similar nature. On the 10th March, 1796, the Council of 500 decreed the issue of 600,000,000 livres value, in a new species of money, called *mandats*, and which was declared to be of equal value with specie. This was given to the war Minister, and by the 6th June following, 540,000,000 of it were gone into circulation at par, and on which the holders afterwards suffered a prodigious loss. Continuing this species of deception, the same assembly, on the 26th March, 1795, decreed the issue of 2,400,000,000 livres, value in mandats, which from that date, for three months following, were to be exchanged for assignats, at the rate of 30 livres in *assignats*, for one in mandats, and after the expiry of that period, only the one for the other. All these mandats were declared equal in value to specie. Whatever assignats were withdrawn in exchange for these, were to be burnt, as were the mandats themselves, when they were redeemed by the proceeds of the national property, 1,800,000,000 livres in value of which, had been previously decreed by the same assembly, to be immediately sold, in order to accomplish this object. But these, like the proceeds of other sales, were applied to another purpose. In the meantime, the mandats, like their brethren the assignats, got into bad credit, and became useless. To replace them, the Directory on the 10th Dec. 1796, proposed to issue hypothecary notes upon the security of the national domains to be discounted in a bank—but all failed—public credit was gone—and the demands most urgent, as the contributions from Foreign countries, had not yet found their way into France. The national debt continued to increase in a terrible ratio. At the beginning of the Revolution it was 4,503,788,000 livres. In the beginning of 1794, it was 8,000,000,000,* and according to Mons. Calonne at the end of 1795, it amounted to 20,000,000,000 livres, or £.840,000,000 sterling, and which, for the succeeding years, was prodigiously increased, even the interest alone, was equal to 2,000 millions, and the addition to the princi-

* *Bourdon de l'Oise*, Convention, 1794.

pal perhaps as much. At this time, according to Ramel's report to the Convention, Feb. 1796, the arrears of taxes, amounted to 13,000,000,000 livres, or £.546,000,000 sterling. On the 1st January, 1793, the arrears of the taxes amounted only to 648,000,000 livres, or £.27,200,000 sterling. Revolutionary ingenuity could no longer find its way in the labyrinth which its injustice had created; and therefore, Revolutionary justice was brought forward to cut the Gordian knot, which they had formed, but could not untie. Bourdon de l'Oise declared, that all France did not *contain rags sufficient* to make assignats if the *rentiers* (annuitants) petitions, were attended to.* To prevent their being obliged to import this commodity from other nations, they fell upon a simple expedient. On the 15th Sept. 1797, the Council of 500, received a message, stating, that the national debt of France was reduced two-thirds, or from about 24,000,000,000 as we have seen, to 8,000,000,000 millions, even had they allowed the whole to be just, but which they did not. When indignation was expressed at the message, the reporter coolly replied, that "*the justice of nations had its limits.*" Some time afterwards, Rosseau declared in the same assembly, that the plan would ruin 200,000 families;† no matter, that was an object of little importance to Liberty and Equality; 16,000,000,000 livres, or £.671,000,000 sterling, *saved rags*, which was an economical way of paying their debts. Thus, after swindling the inhabitants with the loss of several hundred millions sterling, by assignats, and a much greater amount by confiscations and robberies, as we shall presently see, the honest and enlightened French Government came forward with 6s. 8d. per pound to its creditors, who had previously lost an equal sum, by the manner in which their interest for some time had been paid; for Cambon informed us, that 1,000,000,000 livres in *assignats* went annually to pay the interest of the national debt.‡ But this was not all, for this debt so reduced, was afterwards understood to be reduced two-thirds more, leaving only about 2,666,000,000, or £.108,240,000 sterling. For this debt also in its most reduced shape, the French Government for many years never paid any interest. Such was the lamentable consequences of the French Revolution in this point of view; and, we shall presently see, that it was in reality the least of its evils.

It was of no consequence, or rather the consequences were more deplorable, how many of these assignats and mandats were redeemed; because these were so from the confiscations of the properties, and by the murders of innocent men. To this gloomy subject, let us for a moment direct our attention. It is an in-

* Convention, Jan. 26th, 1796.

† Council of 500, Sept. 30th, 1797. ‡ Convention, Jan. 2d, 1795.

tricate and difficult subject to unravel, but it is one worth while to ascertain as near as possible. According to the National Assembly, the value of the national property, and the domains of the crown, on the 9th Sept. 1791, was 3,400,000,000 livres. This, as the property of Government, we will allow that the Government, under whatever form it was constituted, had a right to. But not so of the other property. The property of the Clergy, was the first object of their prey. The estates, lands, and chattels, of this body of men seized, were estimated by Cambon, at 2,244 millions, which he afterwards informed us, on the 10th July, 1792, were all sold. To the 26th Jan. 1793, the same official authority informs us, that the confiscated property sold, amounted to 3,100 millions, in which were the following items, viz: 2,400 millions national lands; 400 millions lands of the order of Malta: 200,000,000 woods and forests; 69,000,000 Convents, occupied by Nuns, and 15,000,000 Bishops palaces. At this date, there remained woods and forests, valued at 1,200,000,000 livres; and lands belonging to the civil list, 200,000,000 livres. To ascertain the whole therefore, of the fixed property confiscated in France, we only want the amount of that sold from Jan. 1793, till Jan. 1794, in order to complete it. As this year was one of the greatest of the Revolutionary frenzy; it is not likely, that the amount disposed of was less than the next. In all probability it was much more, as I shall have occasion to notice presently. According to Cambon's official report, Feb. 11th, 1794, the national architect valued the national domains in Paris, at 1,500,000,000 livres, and throughout the rest of France, at 20,000,000,000 livres, together 903 millions sterling. On the 22d. Jan. 1795, Cambon again estimated all the remaining national property throughout France, at 15,000 millions, or 630 millions sterling. On the 27th March, 1796, Fermont in the Council of 500 stated, that from authentic documents there still remained unsold, national property throughout France, to the value of 8,000 millions, but 1800 millions of which, was on the 10th of that month decreed to be sold, which would leave 6,200 millions after that period—much of which was also disposed of. Taking therefore the difference between 1794 and 1795 as the amount sold in 1793, the whole would stand thus—

	Value.	*Sold off.*
National lands and domains of the crown, 1791,	3,400,000,000	2,400,000,000
Church lands and goods of Priests, 1792		2,244,000,000
Other confiscated property to January 1793		675,000,000
Do. from January 1793, to January 1794, same as next year		6,500,000,000
Do. from difference between value, Feb. 1794, and Jan. 1795		6,500,000,000
Do. from January 1795, to March 1796		7,000,000,000
Do. decreed in March, 1796 to sell		1,800,000,000
		27,119,000,000
Remains in France in the end of 1796		6,200,000,000
		33,319,000,000
Deduct value crown domains, &c. in 1791		3,400,000,000
		29,919,000,000

Or £.1,254,680,000 sterling, as the immoveable property confiscated throughout France, and of which there remained after the decree of 10th, March 1796, £.260,400,000 sterling. If must also be observed, that the value above mentioned, is only the estimated value; but when sold, the property brought much more, as the following quotations will shew, and which will at the same time afford us some idea of the amount disposed of in 1793.

Authority.	*Place, &c.*	*Valued at.*	*Sold for.*
Leg. Assembly, Feb. 19th, 1792,	Seine Inferieure,	20,000.000	45,000,000
Convention, July 6th, 1793,	property in 97 districts	14,717,424	33,871,930
Do. July 6th, 1794,	one estate	105,344	252,000
Do. Feb. 28th, 1794,	district Grenoble	3,000,000	10,000,000
And to June additional			5,000,000
Do. Feb. 12th, 1794.	estates of Emigrants	8,488,501	11,752,246
Do. January 4th, 1794,	district Cogniac, and not half finished		2,500,000
Do. April 15th,	in 415 districts put up	117,699.084	241,633,106
Do. May 6th,	in 206 districts, last decade	14,961,712	31,573,805
Do. April 15th,	in the department of Isere	7,000.000	20,000,000
Do. May 6th,	in 84 districts	160,000,000	312,474,053
Do. September 21st,	one estate		1,900,000
Do. Do. do.	do.	110,000	1,100,000
Do. November 12th,	do.	18,000	34,000
Do. Do. do.	do.	69,000	123,000
		343,169,065	699,714,140

leaving an excess above the value, of 344,645,075 livres, or rather more than one-half. Part of the property confiscated, was no doubt restored. What the amount of that was, it is impossible to determine, but if we are to judge of it from the proportion of emigrants which returned, to the whole which emigrated, and which we shall presently notice, it could not be above one-twelfth; while many of those who were allowed to return to France received back no part of their property. But at any rate, it is obvious from the price which the property brought beyond the estimated value, that after deducting the

expenes of sales, and allowing a fourth to have been lost by peculation, still the estimated value must have gone into the pockets of Government.

The following authentic documents, selected by chance from a multitude of the same kind, will shew the nature and extent of the sales of national property at another period of the revolution.—In the Council of 500, June 22d, 1796, it was announced that in 52 departments there were made

	Livres.
46,230 offers to purchase national estates to the value of, ...	79,000,000
And on the 5th August, 1796, that there were made 161,153 offers for estates, and money deposited for these, ...	351,692,325
17,739 sales accomplished, and cash received for these, ...	155,591,187
1,313 offerers withdrew, and 875,016 livres returned to these, ...	
Again on the 2d September, 1796, the said assembly said there were 194,553 offers for estates, and money deposited for these,	488,236,000
39,026 sales accomplished, and cash received for these, ...	344,678,171
Do. do. do. paid on account, ...	532,843,057
2,907 defaulters, and 3,978,614 livres returned to them, ...	

The above is considered as sufficient to shew the very great number of these sales, and the immense sums received for these.

But this was only one species of plunder to the rapacious government of France. Another fund remained in the personal property of emigrants, which amounted to a prodigious sum. The extent of this it is impossible to determine, as their moveable and immoveable property is often blended together, and much of the latter included in what I have included and considered under the general head of National Property. According to the report of Cambon, January 22d, 1793, the number of persons emigrated, to that date, were 40,000; whose properties being confiscated, amounted, as then estimated, to 4,800 millions of livres, or £210,000,000 sterling. After deducting their debts, and the expenses of sale, the neat proceeds were estimated to produce 3000 millions, or £126,000,000 sterling. To the end of 1795, the number of emigrants were increased to 125,000, and according to Fouche's report to Bonaparte, October, 1800, the number that was still on the emigrant list at that time was 150,000; and 13,000 more had been struck off that list by the

three assemblies, and 1200 by the Consul, making the total number emigrated to have been 164,200. If we are to estimate the value of their property by the same scale as the 40,000 mentioned by Cambon, it would make the amount of the whole to be 19,680,000,000 livres; a compensation only for about one-twelfth of which was restored, if taken by the number struck off the emigrant list. From the value of the national property, as given by Cambon, and others, at different times, and which has already been referred to, it is evident that this is not far from the truth. Still it is much deficient from the amount given by these estimations; but then we have to add to this the property of those who were not emigrants, but who perished beneath the edge of the guillotine, and whose property was immense.

The sums thus laid hold of by government, and property confiscated belonging to those in this manner cut off, was certainly enormous. It is well known that it was all the wealthiest of the people who were singled out as the victims, and frequently, indeed, for no other reason than because they were so. In this number also was included those Republican Generals, officers, and members of the government, who fell under the suspicion and axe of the reigning party. These men had, generally speaking, risen from poverty; and their immense fortunes were either the plunder of foreign nations or the fruits of peculation in their own country; and which wealth, by their death, was again dispersed amongst another set of men, equally unprincipled and profligate as they were. Were we to estimate the value of the property of those guillotined and shot, throughout France, by the scale of the property of the first 40,000 emigrants, we should find that as their numbers were as many, so their property was as great, or 4,800 millions. I do not mean to include the numbers in the general massacres, but the number of more respectable individuals shot in a systematic manner. But the property of those guillotined and massacred was perhaps greater in proportion than that of those who emigrated, and a greater part of it was in moveable than in immoveable property. Therefore they were cut off. The following instances out of many may give us some idea of the total value of the property of these persons cut off in this manner.

	Livres.
November 2d, 1793, Rich, Mayor of Bourdeaux, guillotined,	100,000,000
Do. do. two rich Jews of do. do.	23,000,000
Do. 28th, do. Paris, General La Verdy ex-comptroller General, aged 74, guillotined,	4,000,000
Do. do. do. Duke de'Orleans personal property,	50,000,000
Do. do. do. do. landed property,	100,000,000
	277,000,000

Such was the property of 5 individuals: and as 18,619 persons were guillotined besides what were shot, we may form some idea of the great amount of property belonging to the whole; perhaps it is not estimating it too high to rate it at 5000 millions. According to an account by the Convention, January 14th, 1794, all the property of the Farmers General was confiscated, and amounted to many millions. By another account to the Convention, February 27th, 1794, the minister of public contributions had received, for the use of government, from the moveable effects of emigrants, 20,117,783 livres. The system indeed was most dreadful, ruinous, and extensive. "Twenty thousand petitions," said Lanjunais, "are before the Committee—30,000 fathers of families have had their property seized, and almost all the land in France is in a state of confiscation."*

Incredible sums were extorted both by the government and their agents, from wealthy individuals throughout France, in order to save themselves from the unprincipled and blind fury of those frantic republicans. The sums thus raised it is impossible to estimate; but they were no doubt, great, as no excuse or resistance durst be offered to their merciless demands. Other sources of robbery were found in compulsory loans, the plunder of churches, fines on the rich, contributions laid on cities which had incurred their displeasure; and, lastly, the property of foreigners in their funds and in the hands of their bankers, which was seized, and ransomed for an enormous sum. Nothing escaped them, and nothing was held sacred. The following is a specimen of this system of robbery. The appendages of churches afforded them an extensive fund. The gold and silver Saints in France were estimated by Chaumette at 1,000,000,000 livres,† and it was afterwards ascertained that they exceeded that sum. Bells were the next valuable appendage. They took the whole, and their value was great. It is well known that in Roman Catholic countries the number of these are particularly great. Throughout France, Belgium, and Savoy, this system was continued with the utmost severity. On the 25th July, 1793, the Convention decreed that only one bell should be allowed to each parish. According to the Legislative Assembly, February 19th, 1792, there was at that time 12,001,400 livres and 40,000,000 sous in the treasury, made of bell metal; and, according to the Convention, February 9th, 1794, there had been coined from the same metal, between January 1st, and 30th, 1793, the sum of 2,885,764 livres; and to April 9th, 1794, eleven millions more. At the inconsiderable place of Provis, the value of the bells melted was 150,000 livres: church plate was also an article from which vast sums were

* Convention, 30th July, 1795.

† Do. Nov. 10th, 1794, Municipality of Paris.

raised. At the last mentioned place, the value of that carried off amounted to 10,000 livres. From Dunkirk, February 1st, 1794, there was sent to the Convention, of the spoils of churches, 1000 livres, in jewels, 986 marks gold and silver, and 94,000 livres in specie, and 13,400 livres in assignats. From the Commune of Vassy, 30,000 livres in specie and 90,000 livres in assignats, the produce of the church plate, was sent for the benefit of the nation.* Convention, January 17th, 1794, at Lille, the gold and wealth of churches was great—estates belonging to the church there, sold for 18,000,000 livres, and emigrant property for 2,000,000; and in the same Assembly, December 3d, 1793, the spoils of the churches in the department of *Puy de Dome* amounted to 1,000,000 livres. I merely instance the accounts from these places to shew what a vast sum such a system, throughout France, must have produced; and if we estimate the value of bells and church plate converted to the use of government, or stolen by individuals, to be the same as the value of the gold and silver Saints, we shall not be far from the truth. During the month of October, 1793, the Convention laid hold of all the property of foreigners in the French funds, and all their property which was in the hands of their bankers, who were glad to compromise matters by paying the government a sum, according to the papers of the day, equal to 15 or 20 millions sterling. A compulsatory loan was raised in August, 1793, of 1,000,000,000 livres. From the bank of Genoa they obtained a loan of £800,000 sterling, for which the crown jewels were pledged; and various fines and contributions from cities and individuals, as the following short table will shew more clearly:

		Livres.
1793.	August 28th, a compulsory loan	1,000,000,000
	Peter Mignot, and Francis Pesan, fined for want of energy	12,000
	Oct. — Contribution laid on Marseilles	18,000,000
	Nov. 13th, Convention—cities and country places, round Strasburgh, of suspected persons, &c.	15,600,000
	— 19th and 20th, 2 Jews, named Rabas in Paris, fined	500,000
	Oct. 6th, Foreigners and Bankers property	420,000,000
	— — From rich Aristocrats, Strasburgh	29,000,000
	Nov. 2d, Rouen—a loan from rich	7,000,000
	— — Exacted from Lyons	29,000,000
	— — Chaumette, plundered from priests, for the good of the nation, 17 boxes gold, worth many millions, say	6,000,000
	— — Loan from Genoa, for crown jewels, never paid	19,000,000
	— 20th, Gold and silver saints	1,000,000,000
	— — Bells and Church plate	1,000,000,000
1794,	Feb. — Bourdeaux, fine on rich Merchants	100,000,000
	— M. Bormase, singly	1,800,000
	June 18th, Suspected persons in Paris when imprisoned, stripped of gold and jewels	1,200,000
		3,647,112,000

* Convention, December 1st, 1793.

or £153,200,000 sterling: it must be observed that, with regard to the fines and contributions, these are only a small part indeed of this wide spreading system of injustice. But what sums were drawn from other places as well as these, at other periods, I cannot tell.

The next source of gain was the money and plate hid in the different places in France, by emigrants and others who wished to keep their specie from the hands of Sans Culottes and assignats. This was very great, but impossible to form a correct idea of. The abodes of the living and the receptacles of the dead were searched with equal care.* At Avignon the Jews buried their treasures in coffins, as if it had been their deceased relations. These were dug up, and immense sums obtained out of them. In order to form some idea of what property was lost, and seized in this manner, we have only to consider the amount of the specie in circulation in France at the commencement of the revolution. According to Calonne, this was 1,800,000,000 livres; but according to Lecointe's report to the Council of 500, March 26th, 1799, it amounted to 2,500,000,000 livres, (£105,000,000) in specie, besides 1,800,000,000 livres in good paper. Perhaps the greater part of this was secreted to escape the grasp of the rapacious government; and if we estimate one fourth of it as afterwards discovered, or lost by exchange for assignats, we certainly do not exceed the truth. The next thing was plate and jewels concealed in a similar manner. These must have been to a very large amount, and if we take them in proportion to the value of the same articles in Britain, they would amount to £50,000,000; much of this was also dug up and made away with in various ways. The

* In 1794, "the Commune of Sens caused the remains of the Dauphin and Dauphinesse, Father and Mother of Louis XVI. to be taken from the tomb in which they were inclosed, burnt their superb mausoleum, and converted the leaden coffins into musquet balls." *Paris, Jan. 18th*, 1794. During the reign of the Guillotine, which instrument, Lequinio and Langelot called "*the people's justice.*" Barrere on the 23d July, 1793, caused it to be decreed, that "all the tombs of the Kings at St. Dennis, and in the departments, should be destroyed on the 10th of August." The following regulations were adopted for the burial of the dead during the mania, when death was declared an eternal sleep.

"The dead shall have their face uncovered. They are to remain twelve hours in their place of abode; they shall be carried on a litter, covered with a drapery, characterising the three stages of life: the drapery ornamented with tri-coloured lace, shall be of one plain colour, namely, for youth, *white*, bearing this inscription, 'He grew for the country!' for the age of manhood, it is to be *red*, with this inscription, 'He lived for the country!' and *blue* for old people, with this inscription, 'I have lived for the country!'

"The litter is to be carried on the heads of four citizens, in a pantaloon and short waistcoat, with tri-coloured girdle. Over it, they shall wear a tunic, which is to come down to their knees, and on their heads a *red cap*. Children shall be borne by children, from eight to twelve years of age. The body, after having lain twelve hours, is to be carried to the FIELD OF REPOSE, accompanied by those whom the burial shall concern. The dead are to be buried at midnight."

following particulars, picked out at random from a multitude of others, will serve to shew us that the property lost was great. In October, 1793, there was found in the house of Villemain, in Paris, 25,000 livres in gold; 40,000 do. in silver; from 50 to 60,000 in plate, and from 12 to 15,000 in jewels. In the house of an emigrant at St. Florent Vieux, and Belle Fontaine, there was found, about the same time, buried in a cellar 38,000 livres in gold, 30,000 in assignats, and 500 merks of silver. In the Convention, November 7th, Mauzel stated that he found at Beauvais, 17,208 livres in gold, 45,559 do. in silver, 120 merks silver, and 120 crosses, which had been buried in a cellar. In the Convention, November 10th, 1793, Tallifet wrote that he had discovered and dug up in the castles of some emigrants, plate and specie to the value of 100,000 livres. In the Convention, September 19th, 1793, Voullanna said that there had been found in the house of the ci-devant Marquis Vaupalierre, concealed in a cellar, 438 merks silver in plate, 58 do. gilt do, 5 ounces of gold, 2208 livres in specie, and 1944 Louis d'ors, which were all ordered to the treasury. At Lyons, said an account transmitted to the Convention, and dated December 13th, 1793, "the sum total of gold and silver found in cellars and gardens will astonish you." In the same Assembly, April 20th, 1794, Javocque informed them that he had left at Lyons 21 chests of gold, viz. 6,030 merks of silver or gold, 678,067 livres 6 sous in coin, 117,235 livres in assignats, 10 watches, and 2 gold boxes. In the palace of Prince Xavier 1,600,000 livres were found. By different other accounts to the Convention, there were found the following sums, viz. by account, December 2d, 1793, there was discovered in the cellars of citizen Dutartre 66,000 livres in gold, 42,000 do. in silver, and 340 ounces silver plate. In Barber's house, Grenoble, (January 4th, 1794) 37,628 livres, and much plate. By account, January 17th, 1795, there was found at Lyons, in the house of Labalonendierre, 50,000 livres in gold, and 10,000 in assignats. In the house of Mons. La Chaubaume, 24,000 livres in gold, 6000 do. in other coin, many assignats and precious effects. By account, October 24th, 1793, Dumont sent from Abbeville, from the house of an emigrant, 88,873 livres in gold, 37,070 do. assignats, 106 covers, 18 case spoons, 14 ragout spoons, 8 candlesticks, &c. All these sums amount to 4,000,000 livres, and these are but a small part of this description of funds. It would be endless to recount similar instances; and when we consider the proportion that would be concealed from the government by those who found it, we may guess at the amazing amount. If we estimate the property lost in this way, in money, plate, and jewels, at 500 millions, or £50,000,000 sterling, we are certainly within the amount.

The famous Pitt diamond, valued at 12,000,000 livres, also came into their hands. A bouquet, belonging to the King, worth 800,000 livres. A set of diamonds worn by Madame, worth 2 millions livres, and also valuable portraits set with brilliants. In the Convention, October 14th, 1793, it was stated that the furniture of the castle of Rambouillet produced 590,000 livres, besides 250,000 lbs. of iron. In the Convention, December 1st, 1793, it was stated that 5 waggons were loaded with the furniture of Versailles, gold and silver, lace, &c. The iron pipes which conducted the water were carried away; and the iron lead, and pewter, amounted to 1,435,727 lbs. Besides all these, a very considerable sum was derived from the confiscation of literary works. The Royal libraries were extensive and valuable. In the different monasteries in France 4,200,000 volumes, (one-fourth of which were reckoned useless,) and 260,000 manuscripts were also confiscated—altogether, perhaps, 25,000,000 livres.

But this system was not confined to France, it extended also to her colonies. In the Convention, August 22d, 1794, Verneuil accused Santhonax and Polverel of having plundered on their own account, in St. Domingo, to the amount of 200 millions livres. Others pursued the same course to a large amount. According to Fermont's report to the Convention, August 4th, 1795, founded upon the letter of Victor Hughes, to that body, dated Guadaloupe, June 9th, 1795, the emigrants, effects confiscated in that island amounted to 800,000,000 livres. The French Government had also, at different times, recourse to curious ways of raising money and robbing innocent people. In 1795, a clerk in the Treasury, by order of Government, but in his own name, drew upon another clerk Langerine, at Hamburgh, for 50 millions livres, in value. The bills were sold throughout France, but of course never paid.

Abstract of Robberies and Confiscations in France.

Loss on circulation of 45,000,000,000 assignats to Government and individuals, say on an average, only 30 per cent.	13,500,000,000
First Reduction of National debt, and payment of interest	16,000,000,000
Property confiscated, of Emigrants, &c.	29,919,000,000
Property of those guillotined, and moveable property, about	5,000,000,000
Fines, contributions, saints, &c.	3,647,112,000
Money, plate, and jewels	500,000,000
Sundries, about	25,000,000
Confiscations and Robberies in the Colonies	1,000,000,000
Loss on 3,000,000,000 mandats, 1796, suppose only 20 per cent. though they were at 50 per cent. discount	600,000,000
Forced loan, 1795	600,000,000
Do. do. 1799	150,000,000
Carry forward,	70,941,112,000

Brought forward.	70,941,112,000
Voluntary Contribution, 1797*	200,000,000
Total Robberies for the good of the nation	71,141,112,000
Of National domains, remaining in 1796	6,200,000,000
Total disposed of	64,941,112,000
Or £.2,727,748,000 sterling.	

Such is a faint and but a faint sketch indeed of the system of robbery and oppression exercised in France, during the *golden days* of Liberty and Equality—and such the resources of the profligate government of France at that period. In a short time also they received at least 100,000,000 livres in specie, in voluntary gifts. Enormous as all these sums were, the whole quickly disappeared, leaving the nation constantly in misery and want, in all their public establishments. They guillotined, confiscated, and sold—they fought and plundered their neighbours and themselves, and yet were in distress. "You are not ignorant," said the Directory to the Council of 500, "that every branch of the public service experiences the utmost distress. The pay of the troops remains unsettled; the defenders of their country suffer all the horrors of nakedness—the hospitals are in want of food, medicines, and all other necessaries; the public alms and work-houses experience the same want, and for this reason they reject the needy and infirm citizens. The creditors of the state—the contractors of the armies, with great difficulty, obtain only a small part of the sums due them—the public roads are impassable—the salaries of the public functionaries remain unpaid, &c."†

The collected history of human oppression and injustice can afford no parallel to a system such as I have here described. The earnings and works of past ages, the wealth and prosperity of the present, and the resources and hopes of future generations, were alike swept away by it, for no purpose and for no use but what was bad. We have unquestionably suffered much, but how near were we of being plunged into a situation, where all the hardships we have encountered would only have been as a drop in the bucket, and a grain in the balance, compared to what we should have then endured. Where is the man who even at the present moment, dares to look back to that awful precipice, from the brink of which we most fortunately escaped, and reflect upon it without trembling? We also had our National Convention—we also our Corresponding Societies—we also our Friends of the People—the honours of the sitting—our patri-

* Paris, January 30th, the loan was called voluntary, where all were *forced* to contribute: all persons whom they *supposed* had obtained their money by *dishonest means*, were to pay one half to the Government.

† Message, Dec. 10th, 1796.

cts, equalisers, and levellers, whose bewildered and distracted ideas had parcelled out the properties and divided the wealth of the superior classes amongst us. And what would have been the consequences had they succeeded in their diabolical views? The same, unquestionably, which has been the case in France. Our National debt might have been extinguished by the ruin of our National character, the credit, and the fortunes of millions. Commerce and confidence would have deserted our land, and fled to more secure and equitable abodes. The lawful owner of property would have been cut off. He who destroyed him, would with his ill-gotten gain, have been destroyed in his turn —multitudes would have been ruined—millions slaughtered—the chains of tyranny would have been twined round our necks, and the dagger of the assassin found at our bosoms—the evil would have spread to the uttermost corners of the earth; and, while the British nation was a scourge to herself, by the means of her navy, she would have been, to countries which French Republican tyranny could never reach, a terror and a consuming fire.

The cruel sufferings of Europe were now about to commence. The plunder of nations was about to supply the exhausted coffers of the French Government; and to replace the destruction occasioned in France, by Republican fury and barbarity. The entrance of the French troops into Spain, Belgium, Holland, and Germany, was characterised by every species of oppression, plunder, and destruction. Nothing was safe—nothing was sacred. Their frantic and famished troops, lived at will upon the inhabitants. Remonstrance or opposition, only aggravated the evil. From the General downwards, plunder was the order of the day; and the Liberty and Equality which they carried along with them, entitled them, as they conceived, to make every one alike, with regard to property. To such a length did this system go, that *even* the Convention, was obliged to order severe measures against the troops, and many of them were shot in different places; but still the same iniquitous and unmerciful system was continued, for the benefit of the Government and many of the civil and military officers.

It would be endless to relate, if it was possible I could, every act of French injustice, during the last 22 years throughout Europe. These are wrote in fearful volumes of destruction and blood; and form a sum of injustice and human misery, which no period in the history of mankind can afford any resemblance unto. Great Britain alone, has escaped the immediate effects of this tremendous scourge. All else have suffered. From the banks of the Wolga to the straits of Gibraltar, and from the shores of the Red Sea, unto the extremities of the Gulph of Mexico, French cruelty and rapacity has been felt in woeful

examples, such, as will hand down the name of Frenchmen. with detestation and execration through succeeding ages. The unprincipled maxim of the French Government, which has been the same since the Revolution, of "*making war support war*," as they boasted they would do in Russia, is well known, and has at all times been rigidly acted upon, whether enforced by the pike of Liberty, and cries of "*Vive la Republique*," or the imperial cannon, and "*Vive la Empereur*." The latter only did it in a more imperial style; and while the puny Convention, continued at their child's play of robbing town after town, of what wealth they had, he plundered an empire at one blow, not only of all the wealth it had at the moment, but of all it could possibly make for half a century to come.

Belgium, the wealth of whose inhabitants was prodigious, was in the first place destined to feel this infernal system. When Dumourier entered the country in 1792, he plundered the lands of the church of 40,000,000 French *Ecus*. The moment the French troops passed the frontiers in 1794, they lived at the expense of the inhabitants. The army not only cost France no more money to support it, but they sent enormous sums of money to France. The churches which were immensely rich, were stripped of all their plate. That of private families shared the same fate. All was melted in the Revolutionary crucible. On the 14th August, 1794, says Chambon to the Convention, 3,815,179 livres in specie, have been received from the Netherlands. On the 17th, 11 waggons, with 10 millions specie from the Netherlands. On the 30th September he stated, that on the 25th, 29 waggons loaded with gold and silver from Belgium, had arrived in Paris, the value amounting to 18,369,404 livres, together with the Electoral Throne of the Bishopric of Treves. On the 28th Oct. he stated, that 1,000,000 florins, had been received, and many other convoys at different times. On the 24th Feb. 1795, Hauffman, who had been deputed by the Convention, stated to that body, that at the date of his departure 36,000,000 livres in specie, from the Contributions had been received, and that on the 10th February, 47,000,000 more were due. The granaries and warehouses at Ostend, were worth 10,000,000, and the sales of the wood and fuel, had produced more than 10,000,000. Besides the moveable property of the Emigrants, which was very great, the domains and landed property confiscated, was estimated at from 3 to 4,000,000,000. This amount was by no means exaggerated, for till 1797, no fewer than 1,500,000 trees had been cut for ship building out of the noble forests. In 1796 Monasteries to the value of 1,200,000,000 were decreed to be sold by order of the Directory. Hauffman continued to state, that all paintings of the greatest masters, ar-

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ticles of the arts and sciences. One-twentieth of all horses—vast quantities of metals, &c.—to Feb. 1795, 70,000 trees had been cut, and assignats forced into circulation. One-ninth of the harvest of 1794 was also ordered to France. The Requisitions in clothing, provisions, &c. amounted unto 300,000,000 livres; in jewels, and plate, &c. 100,000,000 livres; a forced loan of 50,000,000 livres; and money belonging to the Austrian Government 20,700,000 livres.

Holland was the next object of the peculiar attention of the Great nation. Requisition succeeded upon requisition—exaction upon exaction, till that frugal and high-minded people sunk under the accumulating load of poverty and oppression. The system pursued by France in every country, was, by degrees, to strip them of every thing they had; and then, when they no longer had the means of defending themselves, to make that a proper plea for annexing them unto France, and for depriving them of their liberty and political existence. This was the case in a most remarkable manner with regard to Holland; and I cannot more clearly shew the wretchedness and misfortunes of that ill-fated country, than by copying the speeches of the French ministers to their Emperor, upon the annexation of that country to France. None were better acquainted with the miseries she had endured, and none could paint them more accurately; but it required the brazen countenance of the most unfeeling French traitor, to promulgate and boast of the following. "Rotterdam and Dordrecht, are already on the verge of ruin. Holland is sunk under the weight of her public debt, which amounts to between 85 and 90 millions, that is to say, 1-4th more than the debt of the whole Empire.* Its government could give no guarantee for it, inasmuch as the debt, if *even* reduced to 39 millions, would still be *beyond* the actual means and ability of that country. *The people groan under the weight of 23 distinct descriptions of contributions.* The Dutch nation sinks under its contributions, and can no longer pay them."

"Nevertheless, the necessary expenses of the Government require, that this burden should be augmented. The budget for the marine amounted in 1809, to 3 millions only, of florins, a sum scarcely sufficient to pay the administrators, the officers, and seamen, and to defray the expenses of the arsenals, and which has not admitted of the equipment of a single ship." For 1810 it would require triple that sum. "The war budget has

* The expense of Holland in 1800, was estimated at 78,571,684 guilders. The deficit of the two years preceding 1807, was 80,000,000 florins, and the annual deficit after that period was then supposed to amount to 61,000,000 florins. By an official article, Hague, July 29th, 1800, inserted in the Dutch official Journal, the interest of the National debt then amounted to 25,000,000 florins, consequently the interest at 5 per cent, gives 500,000,000 florins, or about 45 millions sterling.

scarcely afforded a sufficiency for maintaining 16 battalions," therefore Holland must be annexed to France, "she ought to be associated in our blessings, as she has been associated in our calamities."*

From the entrance of the French troops into Holland, &c. "Brabant formed a part of our territory, and Holland was irrecoverably conquered. There has not passed since, a single day, when her union with the French Empire would not have been a benefit; and we say it *with confidence*, an invaluable benefit, since she would have been *spared* a long series of privations, of losses, and of misfortunes."

"The public debt, which had not then received that immense increase to which it latterly arrived, might have been *entirely saved* from shipwreck; vast communications of commerce, might have been opened with France; *enormous* charges would not, for fifteen years have weighed down these interesting countries; and for what? To obtain the *barren honour of a Government pretendedly national*, as if a nation could *exist* where there was *neither independence, nor army, nor territory*, susceptible of defence."

"Those times are past, when the conceptions of some statesmen gave authority, in the public opinion, to the system of balances, of guarantees, of counterpoises, of political equilibrium. Pompous illusions of cabinets of the second order! Visions of imbecility! Which all disappears before necessity, the *power* which regulates the duration, and the mutual relations of Empires."†

Machiavel himself, could never have uttered any thing like this. Such was the fate of the most interesting country in Europe, and such the misery and poverty of a power, which once contended for the Empire of the Ocean; whose revenues were 3½ millions sterling, whose army was 40,000 men, and navy, 40 sail of the line, and who lent money to almost all nations. Immediately upon entering that country, the enemy issued a sweeping decree, Jan. 1795, for a requisition in provisions and clothing, equal in value unto £.1,600,000 sterling, and about the same time, 1,500,000 sterling in money. To procure peace, they were to pay 100,000,000 guilders. By treaty of peace 100,000,000 florins, to take 25,000 French troops to maintain and pay, which cost 1,000,000 florins monthly, but nearly double was extorted under that head. This for 19 years, would amount unto 499,200,000 livres, or £.32,554,200 sterling. Loan upon loan, and contribution followed upon contribution, amongst which were the following. In 1796 a decree for 100,000,000 livres, see Convention (France) Oct. 8th. In 1795

* Champagny's Report to the Emperor, July 9th, 1810.
† Conservative Senate, Dec. 15th, 1810.

a forced loan of 100,000,000. In Dec. 1802, a loan for 1803, of 160,000,000 francs, or 80,000,000 florins. Feb. 1808, a contribution of 40,000,000 florins. Nov. 1804, a loan from Amsterdam and Rotterdam, of 15,000,000 florins, and Verhueil seized 5,000,000 ducats, which were intended as a compensation for the Prince of Orange. In 1808, a fresh contribution of 100,000,000 livres, and in March, a forced loan of 30,000,000 guilders, afterwards reduced by a decree from Louis, Nov. 21st, 1808, unto 20,000,000 guilders. Innumerable other exactions by individuals took place as well as the Government. Immense robberies were also committed, under pretence of burning and confiscating British goods, the principal of which shall be noticed in another place. All the old taxes were always continued, and many new and highly oppressive ones were laid on.

Spain about the same time, felt the effects of this baneful political tornado. In Biscay and Navarre, the plunder was dreadful. In Catalonia it was equally so. The robbery of the soldiery was so great, that the Convention were obliged to send commissioners to investigate, punish, and repress it. In Navarre it was calculated at 30,000,000 livres, and it was certainly as much in other places. France, when she did not force Spain into a war with England, made her pay about 60,000,000 francs annually, for her neutrality, and in war as much. The diabolical invasion of that Peninsula, I mean to notice in a particular manner in chronological order.

Early in the campaign of 1796, Germany next suffered. Innumerable requisitions and contributions, had previous to that period, been laid on the towns on the left bank of the Rhine, amounting unto at least 54,000,000 francs, as is particularly detailed in the general table. From passing the Rhine early in 1796, until driven across it by the Archduke Charles, the whole contributions in money and provisions, &c. amounted unto 200,000,000 livres. The principal of which were, viz. in money from Frankfort 3,000,000 livres; from Neustadt 7,000,000 do. Baden 2,000,000 livres, Wurtemberg 4,000,000 livres, Circle of Franconia 10,000,000 livres, Circle of Suabia 19,000,000 livres, Bavaria 10,000,000 livres, Bamberg 4,000,000 livres, Nuremberg 2,500,000 livres, country between the Mayne and the Lahn 5,600,000 livres, City and Bishopric of Wurtzburgh 5,000,000, &c. &c. as with the account of the provisions, is particularly detailed in the table. It may here be necessary, once for all, to state, that the amount of the French contributions laid on the different places were regulated, so as that about the same value was taken in specie, that was in provisions, supplies, &c. though the latter was generally the greatest: hence, when we have the value of one kind, we cannot go far wrong with regard to the other. During this campaign in Ger-

many in 1796, the conduct of the French troops was, as it has always been in every country, particularly wanton and atrocious, and such as only modern Frenchmen could perpetrate. "Their conduct during their abode in this country, has exhibited (says an eye witness) a scene of depravity, which is degrading to human nature; robbery and peculation have been universal in every rank, and in every department of the army."

"Every species of violence has been exercised on the persons as well as on the properties of individuals. Many villages have been reduced to ashes, without the existence of even a pretext for this act of barbarity; and the countries through which their army has passed, exhibit every where, a spectacle of the utmost desolation and distress."*

Italy next felt the utmost stretch of their rapacity. During the career of their mighty Emperor, in 1796 and 1797, and when as yet he was but a General, as good a *Sans Culotte* as ever lived, the system of robbery was carried to an extent never before known; and that fine country was plundered of every thing valuable. Besides the immense stores and property which belonged to the Austrian Government, which the fortune of war threw into his hands, the requisitions and contributions were to an enormous extent in every thing. So great were the sums levied, that Bonaparte in his official dispatches, March 10th, 1797, and the Convention in their public debates, boasted that their whole army in Italy was not only maintained without any expense to them, but that enormous sums of gold and silver, and other precious effects, were sent to France, together with 300 masterpieces of the arts, whose value is incalculable. When the inhabitants, driven to despair by the exactions of an unprincipled soldiery, rose in arms to protect that property which the rapacity of the Government agents had spared, they were given over to military execution, and their towns to indiscriminate pillage, as was the case, in a most signal manner with Pavia, by the special command of Bonaparte. In addition to the robberies committed in it, upon the first entrance of the French troops, the city was afterwards taken at the point of the bayonet, given up to general pillage, and then a contribution of 60,000,000 livres imposed on it. Upon mustering the troops, "I found, says the ferocious villain, that only one soldier was missing, which saved the place from total ruin, for if the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, I was determined to erect on the ruins of Pavia, a column, with this inscription, *Here was the city of Pavia.* I ordered the municipality to be shot, and seized 200 hostages, whom I have sent to France."† The individual plunder was also

* Robert Anstruther's dispatch, 10th Sept. 1796. London Gazette Extraordinary.
† Bonaparte's dispatch, Peschiera, June 1st, 1796.

to an amazing extent. It is well known that those who now figure away as Dukes and Marshal's gained their fortunes at this time in the above manner. When Massena was accused by his colleagues of carrying this to an extent which made even them feel shame, and was called to an account for his conduct, he told the assembled conclave, pointing to this officer, "you are a robber;" to another, "you too are a robber;" and to Bonaparte, "you are the chief of robbers." *We are all robbers together*, said the chief, in a satirical tone; and with a laugh of contempt left the confounded and guilty assembly.

According to the report of the Minister of Finance to the Directory, October 18th, 1796, previous to that date, the contributions in money received from Italy were 300,000,000 livres, and due at that time 150,000,000 livres. From that period down to the peace, more than 400,000,000 livres were levied. The pictures, statues, and ships, could not be worth less than 100,099,000 livres—for one picture, that of St. Jerome, Bonaparte refused 1,000,000 livres. The plunder by individuals must have exceeded 100,000,000 livres; and the enormous contributions and requisitions during these two dreadful years, to support the necessaries, waste, and extravagance of that formidable and unprincipled army, which threatened Austria with ruin, must in this case have at least equalled the public contributions in money, viz. 720 millions of francs, or livres; but call it only half, or 360,000,000, and the pay of the French armies about 146,000,000. The waste and destruction baffle all calculation. The chief of these contributions in money, were for the first sweep, viz. upon the conquest of Savoy 30,000,000 livres, from the lands of the Clergy. In 1796 from Parma, 2,000,000 livres—from Milan and Milanese, 75,260,000 livres—Genoa, 4,000,000 livres—from the Pope for armistice 21 millions livres—from do. for peace, 30,000,000 do. Tournois—from Venice for preliminaries of peace, 6,000,000; in naval stores 3,000,000; ships, (six sail of the line) 11,400,000 livres—for peace, 130,625,000 livres, &c.—Verona, 5,400,000 livres—from Pavia, 60,000,000—from Naples, 58,000,000 livres—Grand Duke of Tuscany, 2,000,000 livres—Trieste, 25 millions livres, and various others, as are particularly noted in the table, besides many other places not mentioned. During the following years, immense sums were paid in the extraordinary contributions, some of which only are known and noted. Besides maintaining French troops, of whom the Italian Republic supported 35,000, Naples often 50,000, and other places in proportion. Naples paid, annually, to France, 10 millions. The Pope, 4 millions; Etruria, 6 millions; Genoa, 3 millions; and the Italian Republic, 32,000,000 livres.

Egypt next felt their merciless hosts. Of the depredations

there, we are not correctly informed, but these were to a prodigious amount. From Grand Cairo, at one time, in 1798, they took 600,000 piastres, and, shortly after, 2,000,000 more. But in order to come near it, we have only to recollect that an army of 40,000 men were supported for three years, upon the war establishment, solely at the expense of that country. Judging from what proportionate numbers cost in Europe, the whole expense could not be less than 120,000,000 francs. The waste and destruction were also very great, as every species of barbarity was exercised upon the unfortunate inhabitants.

The terrible campaigns of 1799 and 1800, gave their hordes fresh liberty for destruction, robbery, and mischief. During the former year, Naples suffered severely, and paid, besides the support of the troops, 19,500,000 livres. This campaign was most disastrous to them in Italy; yet still that country had their army wholly to maintain, with the most aggravated waste and destruction. Of the extent of the contributions and requisitions we are not correctly informed; but their army could not be less, upon an average, than 100,000 men, and these, situated as they were, would cost Italy, at least, 100,000,000 livres. On the side of Switzerland and the Rhine, very considerable sums were exacted for Massena's and other armies, and till the peace of Luneville, perhaps amounted to as much more. The destruction of property throughout these countries, from the numerous sieges and bloody battles, was incredible.

Upon the breaking out of hostilities, in 1803, until 1807, Hanover fell into their grasp; plunder and extortion were unbounded; and amounted, with 800,000 livres, the monthly pay of the French troops, unto upwards of 55,000,000 livres, besides unbounded waste, new oppressive taxes, and numerous confiscations.

Switzerland, besides extraordinary contributions, of which we have no very accurate accounts, was obliged to pay and maintain from 12 to 20,000 French troops, which from 1800 to 1814, might amount to 120,000,000 livres.

Austria was again destined to feel their rapacity. The treachery or cowardice of Mack, laid the empire and its resources at their feet. In Vienna, and places adjacent, the requisitions amounted unto 119,000,000 francs. A contribution of 100,000,000 francs was laid on the Austrian states occupied by the French troops, and it was said she paid 50,000,000 florins (Austrian) as the price of peace. The destruction of public property was immense, and the requisitions in cloathing and provisions, &c. necessary to supply the French armies from the Rhine and Italy, amounting to at least 250,000 men, for a period of six months, would at least be equal to 200,000,000

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Prussia, whose hesitation and jealousy had sealed the fate of Austria, felt, during the fatal years of 1806 and 1807, the full effects of the tyrant's vengeance. In a few months she was ruined and bereft of every thing. The immense magazines and supplies in her fortresses, surrendered almost without resistance, may, perhaps, be accounted a lawful prey to the invader, and must be classed under a different head. The plunder made by the French troops, alone, was inconceivable: "some hussars," said the 19th French bulletin, October 29th, 1797, "had made prizes to the amount of 500,000 francs." Perhaps 20 millions is not too much to allow under this head. By the 29th bulletin, November 9th, 1796, a contribution of 150,000,000 francs was laid upon that part of the Prussian states then occupied by the French, besides what was laid upon the dominions afterwards conquered; and the requisitions in provisions, and forage, &c. are certainly, to the end of the war, much underrated at the same amount as the contributions in money. At Leipsic, a contribution in money and provisions, amounting to 3,460,000 livres, was levied; and another, still greater, as the arrears of it amounted, on the following year, to 7,000,000. Other towns in Saxony also suffered. At Koningsberg, says the 80th and 82d bulletins, "several hundred thousand quintals corn, 300 ships all loaded, immense wealth, and magazines were taken." A large contribution, in money, was also laid upon the inhabitants. Prussia has since suffered in various ways, and by various exactions; and according to the secret journal called, "*les nouvelles la Maine*," she paid France, annually, in loans or otherwise, 50,000,000. Her sufferings under the confiscating and burning decrees belong to a different head.

The system of robbery throughout Germany now became most flagrant, and regularly organised. The domains of Cassel, Bayreuth, Munster, Osnaburgh and Fulda, amounting to 180 millions, were confiscated in November, 1807. The Government property in Hanover either had been or was daily pledged for large loans from the Hanse Towns, which were most grievously oppressed with contributions, exactions, and requisitions. Since 1802, I find a list of these, amounting to 140,000,000 francs, besides what was paid for British goods when seized, and the maintainance of the French troops, at one time near 18,000 strong. Bremen, Lubeck, &c. also suffered most dreadfully; but of these, as well as other levies on Hamburgh, I have a less accurate account. In 1806, the whole treasure of the Prince of Hesse, amounting to 16,000,000 dollars, was seized by the French troops.

Once more, Austria was obliged to wring out the dregs of

the tyrant's hate. In 1809, he was again Lord of the ascendant. By a decree, dated July 7th that year, an immense war contribution was laid on the Austrian States, of 200,000,000 francs. At Vienna, several millions of florins were found, and very great requisitions in cloathing, provisions, and forage, were made. The amount of these I cannot ascertain; but considering the number of the armies, and the nature of the contest, it was certainly equal to the amount of the contributions in money, or 200,000,000 francs more. The Tyrol also suffered severely. In contributions, confiscations, and by other iniquitous proceedings, it cost that brave people about 100 millions francs.

Portugal had previously and was subsequently to feel, more severely, Gallic tyranny and injustice. For her neutrality, while she remained so, it was said she paid 30 millions annually. On the 1st February, 1808, by a decree from Junot, an extraordinary war contribution of 42,000,000 crusadoes, nearly 147,000,000 francs, was levied. Evora was taken in July, 1808, by Loison, and plundered of 400,000 dollars. All the property, moveable and immoveable, belonging to any foreigners, and all British goods, to a very great amount, were confiscated; besides numerous new and odious taxes were laid on. When the French army left the Tagus, after the Convention of Cintra, it was supposed that in plunder by individuals they carried from Lisbon, &c. from one to two millions sterling. In 1810, these desolating swarms returned to their work of destruction. The country, wherever they went, was completely rifled. The plunder by individuals was great—the waste immense. The whole army of Massena, at least 80,000 strong, according to the Moniteur, lived 6 months upon the resources of the country, and which expenses could not be less than 36,000,000 francs. The destruction occasioned by them belongs to another head.

Denmark, though apparently a staunch friend to France, did not on that account escape; but the exactions from her were drawn in a secret manner, and are more difficult to ascertain. According to private accounts, which appear accurate, she was forced to pay large sums to be allowed to trade with Britain, particularly in July, 1808, when her Continental dominions were, according to private accounts, forced to pay for that purpose the enormous sum of 42,000,000 rix-dollars. Besides this, there were other exactions; and according to the secret Journal, circulated at Paris in 1803, called "*les nouvelles a la Maine*," Denmark paid, annually, in one shape or another, 4,000,000 francs.

Spain, after an attack the most wanton and unprovoked which the annals of history ever recorded, was now destined to

ced the severest effects of those devastating swarms which had made Europe a wilderness. Spain had bled profusely to support French ambition in wars not her own. The whole efforts of her industry, and *all* her treasures had for many years been exerted and poured out for that purpose. Yet it obtained for her no mercy, or rather, it made her doom more dreadful. The ruin brought upon that country is altogether incalculable. We can only by the following data glance at the immense amount. The whole revenue of Spain, which formerly amounted, annually, to six millions sterling, in time of peace, and which French rapacity perhaps trebled by war taxes, was completely absorbed and dissipated. In addition to the several items detailed in the tables, and which it is unnecessary here to repeat, and which are but a trifle in comparison to the whole, the following circumstances will enable us to form some idea of the vast extent of this system in that country. By an official decree, Madrid, July 30th, 1810, the Provinces of Madrid, Toledo, Cuenca, Mancha, Avila, and Segovia, were laid under a requisition of 960,000 bushels wheat, and 750,000 bushels barley. The following divisions of the kingdom of Spain may enable us to form an idea of what the amount would be, in the same proportion over all the kingdom. The kingdom of Leon contains the Provinces of Palencia, Zamora, Toro, Salamanca, Leon, and part of Valladolid. The kingdom of Old Castile, the Provinces of Burgos, Soria, Segovia, and Avila. The kingdom of New Castile, the Provinces of Madrid, Cuenca, Toledo, and Guadalaxara. Andalusia, the Provinces of Seville, Cordova, Jaen, and Granada, &c. &c. The kingdom of New Castile contains 1,200,000 inhabitants, Leon the same, and the Province of Andalusia an equal number, or *one-tenth* of the population of the kingdom. At least two-thirds of the kingdom, upon an average, during five years, was in the hands of the enemy. If, therefore, every part of the country furnished an equal proportion to the Provinces above-mentioned, in the requisitions in grain, or something else in lieu thereof, the whole would, annually, amount to 6,400,000 bushels wheat, and 5,660,000 bushels of barley; and for five years, 32,000,000 bushels of wheat, and 28,300,000 bushels of barley; the whole, upon the most moderate calculation, worth 25 millions sterling. To these we must add requisitions in clothing of all kinds, warlike stores, and every thing necessary for an army on the war establishment, and engaged in a ruinous contest where no economy was observed, or was considered worth attending to. This must have exceeded the previous sum. The contributions in money were enormous, but of their real amount I have not been able to obtain an accurate return. On the Province of Soria, in 1810, there was laid a contribu-

tion of 2,000,000 dollars. On the Province of Valladolid, 100,000,000 reals, or about 33,000,000 francs. If we take the Province of Soria to estimate the proportion for the other parts of the kingdom possessed by the enemy, it would amount to above 80,000,000 dollars, annually, or about 20 millions sterling; and for five years, 100 millions. If we take the Province of Valladolid as the scale, it would amount to nearly three times the sum; but if, as I conceive, the Province of Valladolid is, in this instance, put for the kingdom of Leon, then the amount would in proportion to the rest, be very nearly the same. One hundred millions sterling, may therefore be taken without exaggeration as the amount of the French contributions in Spain, even supposing that they levied these upon the scale mentioned only once every year. But it is more probably that it greatly exceeded this sum. The private plunder was enormous. It is in vain to calculate it. Money, plate, jewels, every thing that was valuable became the prey of the French soldiery; officers and men, of all ranks and degrees, civil as well as military, made it their business. I have heard British officers say, that they have seen in the knapsacks of some of the French soldiers slain on the field of battle, from £1000 to £1500 sterling in money, bullion, plate, and jewels. And when we recollect what an army France for many years had in Spain, we may be satisfied that the private plunder was enormous.

It is well known that these armies cost France nothing; and that they subsisted on the countries on which they made war. They made it a boast that they did so; and, to encourage the soldiers, they were allowed to do as they pleased. France had generally 300,000 men of one description or other in Spain.* Their pay alone would exceed six millions sterling per annum; and the whole military establishment could not be maintained at less than 20 or 25 millions sterling; which, for five years, is much the same as the amount of the contributions and requisitions by the previous calculation. The total amount, therefore, of the French robbery in Spain cannot be less than 150 millions sterling; including the plunder by individuals, and independent of the loss sustained by the destruction of property. In addition to the items mentioned in the tables, the following are a few particulars, in which no amount is stated, but which will shew the nature of the system. All the property of the Inquisition, amounting to many millions of French money, was seized, and sold in December, 1808. At Palencia, August 1808, all the public money, the plate from the chapels, private plate, and, in short, all the wealth of the people were taken. Rio Seco, in the same year, was sacked and plundered. All the estates of

* In the Council of 500, June 19th, 1796, Lucien Bonaparte stated, that the expense of each soldier, in time of war, was at that time equal to 700 livres, annually.

those who remained faithful to Ferdinand, to a great amount, were confiscated and sold in 1810; and all the Spanish property at Florence, in 1808, was confiscated for the same reason. Tarragona was pillaged, and then destroyed by Suchet. Other places shared the same fate. To enumerate more is unnecessary, and would exceed the limits of this work.

I shall not here take up the reader's time with attempting to enumerate the innumerable contributions, &c. &c. levied at different times over all the North of Germany, which were immense, but refer him to the tables where these are particularized under different heads.

Confiscations, seizures, and enormous duties on British goods, were the next objects of French rapacity. This system was carried to a dreadful extent; and not only British goods but all which had the appearance of being so, were involved in one common evil. At Leghorn, in 1796, goods to the amount of two and a half millions were confiscated. At Salicetti, to the value of 350,000 piastres. At Embden and Antwerp, January and Feb. 1804, goods were seized and sold to the value of 5,900,000 livres. In Helvetia, 1806, Oudinot found and confiscated "*many millions*," (suppose 10,000,000 livres.) At Leipsic, 1806, according to the 15th French bulletin, October 23d, so much British goods were found, that "60 millions francs have already been offered for them." At Leghorn, September 5th, 1807, goods were confiscated and sold, worth 180,000 pieces of eight. Hamburgh, December 18th, 1807, paid for British goods seized, 16,000,000 francs. According to the Moniteur, December 25th, 1810, at Koningsberg 210 vessels, 150 of which were loaded, were seized, confiscated, and sold, their cargoes worth 30,000,000 francs; and an equal amount in the other ports belonging to Prussia. We certainly much underrate the amount seized at the same time in all other ports of the Continent at an equal sum, or 60,000,000 francs. The enormous duty of 50 per cent. on all colonial produce, was calculated would produce on the Continent £9,000,000 sterling; and the monopoly of colonial produce yielded France, from 1807, fully 100,000,000 francs per annum.

Next came the delirious measures of the burning decrees. Of all the villanous and distracted proceedings that were ever hatched in the brain of tyranny, these were certainly the most odious, unjust, and absurd. The property destroyed under them was prodigious. The Moniteur, above quoted, calculated the amount in the ports of Prussia, December, 1810, which were to be burnt, at 10,000,000 francs; and as this system extended with unmitigated severity throughout all the French dominions, 90,000,000 is certainly not too much to allow for the loss in this manner. At Frankfort alone, December 4th, 1810, "many millions" in value were burnt.

Louisiana was taken from Spain, and sold to America for 4,000,000 dollars. Under the Rambouillet and other decrees, France seized and sold American property to the amount of £5,000,000 sterling. Many vessels and cargoes were seized and sold under various other pretences. The amount I cannot accurately ascertain. In 1809, in a few months, I find it stated at 467,000 dollars, and altogether it was a much greater sum.

The secret Journal, already quoted, and circulated at Paris, calculated that Mecklenburgh paid, annually, to France, 1,500,000 livres. Hesse, annually, 6,000,000 livres. Brunswick, annually, 1,500,000 livres; and Saxony, annually, 4,000,000 livres; besides 18,000,000, annually, from the Northern Imperial cities, in loans, contributions, and requisitions.

During the year 1812, Prussia must have suffered prodigiously. For a year and a half preceding, immense bodies of French troops were scattered over that country, and for several months before the Russian campaign, 500,000 men were supplied with every thing. According to the manifesto of the King of Prussia, France took no fewer than 70,000 horses and 20,000 carriages from the inhabitants, without any payment whatever. She also owed the Prussian Government 94 millions francs for supplies furnished, but which she would not pay. In Dantzic the requisitions in grain and clothing amounted, during 1812, to 25 millions francs. In other places it was equally great. The sum altogether was inconceivable.

In the Russian dominions the amount was less than in any country in Europe. A dismal solitude met the invaders step, and placed his wonted pursuit beyond his grasp. Still, however, he obtained a considerable sum. In the province of Courland he levied about 12,000,000 francs; and if we allow 28,000,000 more as the amount which he obtained in the Governments of Witepsk, Polotsk, Smolensko, and in the advance to and occupation of Moscow, we, perhaps, are not far from the truth. These sums make 40,000,000 francs, and the plunder must have far exceeded that sum. In this I do not include the pillage and plunder of Moscow, &c. as I class that under the head of the destruction of property. At Witepzk a magazine of salt fell into the hands of the French, which Bonaparte valued at 15,000,000 francs.

The dreadful campaign of 1813, which put an end to French tyranny and oppression in Europe, was indiscribably galling, destructive and oppressive. It is scarcely possible to estimate it, but the subsequent accounts will convince the most thoughtless, of the prodigious amount. Near 700,000 Frenchmen, and others in the service of France, and all their necessary appendages for war, were to be supported in Germany and Italy. It was not

what the French army really required, but what they also wasted, which swells the enormous amount. According to the reports of the Committee for the German sufferers, in that part of lower Silesia, occupied by the enemy, during the armistice alone, he levied in ordinary requisitions, besides plunder, viz.

Money, rix-dollars.....	589,741	
In cloth, linen, wine, &c. do.....	2,336,546	
In quartering upon the inhabitants, at a moderate calculation.....	4,068,787	
In wheat, rye, barley and oats.....	1,524,054	Berlin Scheffel
In Potatoes.....	94,800	do.
In Spirits.....	27,788	do.
In Hay and Straw.....	1,254,715	Rix-dollars.

Horses 12,333; Oxen 16,025; Milch cows 43,681; Heifers 13,024; sheep 167,434; amounting altogether, to nearly £3,000,000 sterling. This was trifling however, to what Saxony must have suffered, according to these reports already quoted. At Ratziburgh, besides immense contributions and extortions during 1812, and beginning of this year, the whole harvest and their provisions, and 10,000 head of cattle were consumed or carried away. The farmers, in order to cultivate their fields, bought their own horses again from the French, and were again plundered of them. Lubeck had always 10,000 French troops, to maintain at its own expense.—The country all round Hamburgh, was plundered by French soldiers, in order to supply that place with provisions for 9 months. At Dresden, many a Housekeeper, though he could scarcely procure provisions for his own family, had 20 and 30 men quartered on him. During a truce of 10 weeks, that city and the adjacent country was obliged to support a French force, concentrated there, about 200,000 men. For 8 weeks after the renewal of hostilities, this place had to support an equal number, under accumulating difficulties and distress. The French force in Saxony, at the renewal of hostilities, was at least 400,000 men, and if these required the same expense as we have seen, the forces in lower Silesia did during the armistice, which was only 90,000 strong; and which, considering every circumstance, they no doubt did, if not much greater, the total amount of loss sustained in that part of Germany, down till the battles of Leipsic, would amount to 15 millions sterling. When we come to review the horrible distress which overspread these countries, once so populous and prosperous, we shall find, that this sum, great as it is, is not exaggerated; and which, after all, does not take in the destruction of property—besides other requisitions, Leipsic from the 2d May, to the 19th Oct. was obliged to

pay 30,000 dollars weekly, towards the expenses of the French Hospitals, crowded to excess, and unable to contain half the miserable patients. In Germany therefore, and Italy for this year, the expense must have exceeded 20 millions sterling.

In the numerous towns besieged, the contributions and requisitions were enormous. Hamburgh, a contribution of 48,000,000 francs; requisitions to more than 40,000,000 francs, the money in the bank 19,000,000 francs. The country plundered all round for provisions: immense magazines and supplies, laid in at the expense of the people; all these were afterwards seized by Davoust—60,000 inhabitants driven from the towns; and the property of those which had any, divided amongst the soldiers. These things amount to an amazing sum. Stettin had paid in money 10,000,000 francs, and in requisitions of provisions, &c. &c. about 14,000,000 francs. Allowing we take Stettin as a criterion, by which we are to judge of what other places, held by French garrisons, would have to pay, and which we may safely do, as few were smaller than it, and the greater part double and even treble its size in population, wealth, and the number of the garrisons; the principal worth noticing are Dantzic, Dresden, Modlin, Zamocse, Zentochau, Glogau, Kustrin, Thorn, Wittenberg, Torgau, Magdeburgh, Erfurt, Mentz, Huninguen, Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Walcheren, Venice, Mantua, Alexandria, besides many other places, the amount would be 432,000,000 francs, besides destruction of property. In Thorn, the amount during the last 5 years, till 1812, is estimated at 1,500,000 rix dollars. I must also observe, that I do not here include any of the Spanish fortified towns, nor those of any country, previous to 1807—but that must also have been great, particularly in Italy during 1809.

Having thus given the reader a general idea of this horrible system, I shall now proceed to embody into tables more particular details of each. Many particulars, however, it is obvious, are still wanting, as some of these were frequently passed over in the translations from the French and foreign journals; and the documents containing many others have not fallen into my hands. Enough, however is given to convince the reader of the terrible extent of this iniquitous and galling system, which has robbed the population of the fairest quarter of the world of all the fruits of the industry of their forefathers, and of all their own toils and labours during the last 25 years. There must, and will be a day of retribution for all this; no nation that ever acted in this manner has ever escaped from the fearful consequences of her own injustice, and of having her own conduct and actions retaliated upon her guilty head.

TABLES OF FRENCH

CONTRIBUTIONS, &c. &c.

IN EUROPE, FROM 1792.

Countries from France to the Rhine.

NETHERLANDS.

CONVENTION, Feb. 24th, 1795 National domains, and other immoveable property, confiscated (see also Council of 500, January 15th, 1796.)	3,500,000,000
Contributions in specie, received to date	36,000,000
Do. do. due 10th February	47,000,000
Granaries and Warehouses at Ostend	10,000,000
Sales of wood, for fuel, produced more than	10,000,000
OTHER AUTHORITIES—Requisitions in clothing and provisions to date	300,000,000
Do. in Jewels, plate, &c.	100,000,000
Forced loan	50,000,000
Patent rights	25,000,000
Trees, cut for ship-building, till 1797, viz. 1,500,000	720,000,000
Money belonging to the Austrian Government	20,000,000
One 20th of all the horses } uncertain.	
One ninth of the harvest of 1794 } uncertain.	
Paintings, &c. &c. } uncertain.	
COUNCIL of 500, August 5th, 1796. Monasteries in Belgium decreed to be sold, value, not including books, church plate, and other ornaments	1,200,000,000
CONVENTION, January 26th, 1793, Dumourier drew from Belgium from the Ecclesiastical bodies, &c. 40,000,000 French Ecus, equal to 64,000,000 florins, Brabant	140,000,000
CONVENTION, Nov. 1st, 1795, Menin and its environs	10,000,000

The following account from the French Journals, will serve to give us some idea how the preceding sums were levied.

BRUSSELS, first Contribution	5,000,000
Do. 2d. do. and penalties	4,950,000
MONS, Aristocrats and Monks	2,000,000
Do. Abbeys and Priories	1,000,000
Carry forward,	6,168,000,000

Brought forward,		6,168,000,000
Mons, Gifts	2,000,000	
Do. 40,000 rations bread daily		
Do. 20,000 quintals corn		
Do. 20,000 do. do. from country round		
Besides an immense quantity of other things,		
Deputy Laurent's Letter, 21st, Mesidor, &c.		
Ghent, Contribution	7,000,000 flor.	
Cambray, May 27th, 1794, Contribution	6,000,000 do.	
Louvain, money	2,000,000 liv.	
Do. cattle 8,000		
Do. pairs boots 10,000		
Malines, money	1,500,000 liv.	
Do. hats 10,000		
Do. pairs shoes 10,000		
Antwerp, money	10,000,000	
And penalties of 100,000 livres per day forfeited.		
Namur, Rations of bread 12,000		
Do. do forage 400		
Do. blankets 1,400		
Do. matresses 1,400		
Several hundred pieces linen, several do. do, of cloth, a vast quantity of hardware, old lead, tin, brass, iron, &c. from every place.		
Ostenda money	2,000,000 guilders	
Bruges, for revolt, money	4,000,000 do.	
Leige, 2d Contribution, money, &c. &c. &c.	1,000,000 livres.	
		6,168,000,000
		or £270,425,000

Other Countries from France to the Rhine, till April, 1795.

Frankfort, by General Custine, see trial of Gen. Custine, 1792, 1,000,000 florins		3,500,000
Spires, do. October, money		500,000
Do, do. Benedictine monks		400,000
Do. do. Clergy, Spires as individuals,		120,000
Do. do. Chapter and Clergy, of do.		150,000
Bishopric and Clergy of Worms		1,200,000
Do. do. Sacks of flour 382		
Do. do. Barley and oats 12,726		
Do do. Trusses of hay 1,927, &c. as much		1,200,000
Leige, Clergy of, money 100,000 florins		712,000
Crevel, 500,000 do.		
Duke of Wurtemberg's property		80,000
Dutchy of Cleves, December 1792 Contribution, by Lamorlierre		2,000,000

From middle of 1793, *till April* 1795.

Leige, Contributions	3,190,000 florins	
Do. Impositions on 32 merchants, at 500 florins, each	26,000 do.	
Do. do. upon Custom-house	20,000 do.	
Do. do. Coffee 100,000 lbs.	75,000 do.	
Do. Loaves sugar, 100,000	580,000 do.	
	3,891,000	
Carry forward,		9,571,000

	Brought forward, 3,891,000	9,671,000
LIEGE, Sugar candy, 150,000 "	112,500 do.	
Do Various effects, carried away into France " " "	1,200,000 do.	
		10,760,000
AIX LA CHAPELLE, city and territory of, money	8,000,000 florins	
Do. do. Requisitions	3,500,000	
		21,500,000
JULIERS AND LIMBURGH, country of, money	12,000,000 florins	
Do. do. Requisitions	7,000,000 do.	
		39,800,000
COLOGNE, Electorate of, money	12,000,000 do.	
Do. do. Requisitions	2,560,000 do.	
		30,151,000
COLOGNE, Imperial city of, money, &c.	2,600,000 do.	
Do. do. ammunition carried off	400,000 do.	
Do. do. library, drawings, engravings, &c.	100,000 do.	
Do. do. lodging troops " "	376,000 do.	
		7,509,500
SAARBRUCK, country of, money " "	420,000 do.	
Do. do. Requisitions from Farmers	370,000 do.	
		1,709,000
CLEVES AND MEURS, money, &c. " "	230,000 do.	
		483,000
TREVES AND COBLENTZ, money " "	2,500 000 do.	
Do. do. Requisitions " "	760,000 do.	
		6,426,000
TREVES, Electorate of, Bourbotte's letter to Convention, August 9th, 1794. " " " " " " "		4,000,000
OGERSHEIM AND GERMERSHEIM, Bailliewicks, money, 4,000,000 flor.		
Do. do. Requisitions	210,000 do.	
		8,841,000
FRANKENTHAL, 80,000 florins, KIRCHBERG, 70,000	150,000 do.	
SIMMERN, 90,000 do. KREUTZNACH, 100,000	190,000 do.	
BINGEN, 140,000 do. ALZEY, 116,000	256,000 do.	
OPPENHEIM, 110,000 do. other places, 300,000	410,000 do.	
		2,112,000
TREVES, in money " " " " " " "		4,500,000
4000 pairs shoes, and 4000 pairs boots, and merchandise to an immense amount, suppose " " "		1,000,000
Do. Contributions " "	6,000,000 florins	
DEUX PONTS, fine on, December, 1793 "	2,000,000 do.	
Do. Requisitions " "	470,000 do.	
		17,787,000
SPIRES, Dec. 1793, Custom house, spoil " " "		1,000,000
Do. do. 100,000 pitchers of wine		
Do. do. 6000 wax candles		
Do. do. 30,000 cwt. forage		
Do. do. 50,000 loaves bread		
Do. do. 70 tons, flour		
Do do. 6,000 sacks oats		
Do. do. 6,000 do. dried vegetables		
Do. do. 30,000 blankets		
Do, do. Old bells, metal, &c. &c. together		1,000,000
Do. do. Contributions " "	600,000 florins	
Do, Bishopric of, contributions and damages,	1,000,000 do.	
		3,560,000
Carry forward,		171,209,500

	Brought forward,	171,209,500
Worms, Contributions, and damages,	600,000	
		1,260,000
Bischweiller, 25,000 florins, Zaburn, 35,000 flor.	60,000	
Dettweiller, 25,000 do. other places, 300,000	325,000	
		808,000
Worms, Contributions,	2,000,000 florins	4,400,000
Do. Requisitions	1000 pairs breeches	
	1000 do. stockings	
	1000 do. shoes	15,000
Frankenthal, January, 1794, Contribution, 75,000 florins		162,500
Requisitions 3,000 loaves and 500 blankets daily		
	5000 shirts	
	700 pairs shoes	
	2500 do. sheets.	150,000
Germersheim, February 1794, Contribution	3,000,000 florins.	6,600,000
Kirchheim Bolender, Jan. 6th, 1794, do.	90,000 do.	198,000
Bercheim, Sept. 27th, 1794, Requisition	6,000 pairs shoes.	
	8,000 do. stockings	
	8,000 shirts.	200,000
Bois le Duc, Oct. 1794, Contribution	7,000,000 florins.	14,000,000
Requisitions, immense, "*every thing.*"		
Newstadt, by General Hoche,		
Do.	10,000 pairs breeches.	
Do.	10,000 waistcoats.	
Do.	10,000 coats.	
Do.	20,000 shirts, &c. together worth	770,000
Do. Bailliewick		400,000
Creveld, 10th Oct. 1794, lbs. of bread	36,000	
Do rations hay, of 150 lbs.	8,000	
Do. bushels of barley	4,000	
Do. tons of brandy	12	
Do. oxen	150	
Do. waggons	6	660,000

The French Commissioners, with the armies of the Rhine, and Moselle, on the 25th Feb. 1794, exacted from the conquered countries, the following supplies, to be ready in 6 weeks, from that date.

47,000 suits of clothes	29,000 pairs boots
52,000 waistcoats	190,000 shirts
100.000 pairs breeches	100,000 hats
154,000 pairs stockings	25,000 pairs pantaloons
300,000 pairs shoes	25,000 great coats

The value of the above, is supposed to be included in the previous sums.

To the above is to be added, wood, iron, pewter, lead, copper, plate, cloth, and the property of the Emigrants, calculated about 30,000,000 florins 63,000,000

And the loss by assignats in these departments 63,000,000

Subsequent to April, 1795.

May, 1795, Clergy on West Bank of the Rhine, 8,000,000 florins		16,000,000
July, 1795, a new Contribution on the conquered countries, between the Maese and the Rhine		30,000,000
Dusseldorf, Sept. 24th, 1795, money		800,000
Do. do. wheat	10,000 quintals	
Do. do. barley	8,000 do.	
Carry forward,		373,633,000

	Brought forward,	373,633,000
Dusseldorf, Sept. 24th, 1795, rye	10,000 quintals.	
Do. do. sheep	600	
Do. do. cattle	500 &c. &c. worth	800,000
Cologne, August 26th, 8000 lbs. meat, for French army, and in lieu of 2,000,000 livres, Clergy to maintain 5000 men		2,000,000
Do. October 31st, money		76,000
Do. November 6th		30,000
In 1796, Contributions on these departments		9,000,000
1797, do. do.		14,000,000
1798, do. do.		11,000,000
1799, do. do.		9,000,000
Prussian Provinces, West Bank of the Rhine, to furnish		
Wesel, April 23d, 1795, wheat	15,000 quintals	
Do. do. barley	15,000 do.	
Do. do. oats & meal	22,000 do. together	1,300,000
Paris, Jan. 4th, 1797, between Maese and Rhine countries, 4,000,000		8,000,000
	Total	*428,839,000
		or £.18,766,607

HOLLAND.

To procure peace in 1795, money 100,000,000 guilders		210,000,000
By Treaty of peace †		100,000,000
Forced loan, August 15th, 1795		100,000,000
Pay and maintainance of 25,000 men, about 1 million florins, monthly for 19 years ‡		499,200,000
Contributions, money,	36,000,000	
Requisitions, rations hay, at 15 lbs. heavy weight, 5 millions		
Do. rations straw at 10 lbs	200,000	
Do, pairs shoes	150,000	
Do. pairs boots	20,000	
Do. cloth coats	20,000	
Do. do. waistcoats	20,000	
Do. pairs, stocking breeches	40,000	
Do. coarse linen trowsers	150,000	
Do. shirts	200,000	
Do. hats	50,000	
Do. oxen	12,000	
altogether worth 38,000,000		74,000,000
And about this time, a duty of 3 per cent. on all property for France		
Hague, Oct. 1796, Government sent Gen. Bournonville		1,260,000
French Convention, Oct. 8th, 1796, a loan of		100,000,000
Dutch and French Journals, April 1797, levied by French on *Province* of Holland alone last year, 61,758,731 florins		129,693,335
Paris, Nov. 25th, 1797, an extraordinary impost, to create a navy 20,000,000 florins, but would cost		84,000,000
In Dec. 1802, the loan to France for 1803, was 80 millions florins		168,000,000
Feb. 1804, Contributions of 40,000,000 do.		84,000,000
Nov. 1804, a loan from Amsterdam and Rotterdam, to France		33,000,000
Money seized by Verheuil, 5,000,000 ducats		30,000,000
Carry forward,		1,613,153,335

* Aix la Chapelle, April 1795. "The Journal de Speculateur, published under the eye of the Constituted Authority, estimates the money, clothes, and provisions, furnished by the Provinces, between the Maese and the Rhine, unto the French army, at 257,515,000 livres—to that date.

† Batavian Convention, Aug. 8th, 1798.

‡ Hague, August 21st, 1795, pay of French troops, fixed at 5 stivers 1½ lbs. bread, ½ lb. meat per day, Convention, Aug. 18th, 1798, yearly, 9,679,835.

Brought forward,	1,615,155,555
1808, a fresh Contribution	100,000,000
Do. in March, a forced loan of 30,000,000 guilders, afterwards reduced by Louis, Nov. 25th, 1808, to 20 millions	44,000,000
April 3d, 1800, loan of 10 or 12 millions, from Merchants, commuted by Bonaparte's letter to 6 millions from Government	6,000,000
Total,	1,765,155,555
	or £.77,158,857

GERMANY.

Paris Papers, July 28th, 1796, official.

Frankfort, 1st Contribution, money	8,300,000	
Do. Requisitions	4,000,000	
Do. 2d Contribution, by Duffreton	2,000,000	
Do. 2000 oxen, &c. &c. worth	2,000,000	
Besides 11 cart loads private property, carried off		
Black Forest, depredations in it equal to many millions, finest trees cut down, &c. *Fribourg*, Aug. 17th		10,000,000
Neustadt, Contribution money	7,000,000	
Duke of Wurtemberg, July, 1796		
Do. To pay for suspension of hostilities	4,000,000	
Do. 4000 horses, 2000 oxen, provisions, &c. &c. to Moreau, July 17th, 1797	4,000,000	
Do. Treaty of Peace	12,000,000	
Baden, Treaty, July 25th, 1796, official.		
Do. Contribution, money	2,000,000	
Do. Requisitions, horses (400 draught)	1000	
Do. quintals grain, 2-3ds wheat	2,8000	
Do. sacks oats, of 12 bushels each	2000	
Do. quintals. hay	50,000	
Do. pairs shoes	24,000	
Do. oxen	500	
Circle of Swabia, 1796, money in 2 months	12,000,000	
Horses, (one-half draught and one half cavalry)	8000	
Do. Chaise do.	400	
Oxen	5000	
Quintals Wheat	100,000	
Do. Rye	50,000	
Sacks of oats, 12 bushels	100,000	at 144 francs.
Quintals hay	150	
Pairs shoes	100,000	
Money from the abbeys and the bench	7,000,000	
Paris, August 12th, 1796. Wurtemberg, Baden, and Swabia have already yielded the Republic in money, &c.	55,000,000	
And the army of the Sambre, and the Meuse, have sent	12,000,000.	

Circle of Franconia, 1796, *French accounts.*

Contributions, money	6,000,000	
Requisitions	20,008,000	
Do. horses, 2000		
Fresh Levy by Commissary Duffreton	2,000,000	
Do. oxen, 2000		
Carry forward,		10,000,000

Bavaria, 1796.

	Brought forward,	10,000,000
Contributions, money	10,000,000	
Requisitions, 300 saddles, and 600 cavalry horses	900	
Do. dragoon do. and 1500 artillery do.	3,500	
Do. quintals wheat and rye	200,000	
Do. do. oats	100,000	
Do. do. hay	200,000	
Do. pairs shoes	100,000	
Do. do. boots	10,000	
Do. ells of officers cloth	30,000	
Do. chosen pictures, from Munich	20	

Moreau's Treaty, Sept. 7th.

The Paris Journal, *L'ame des Lois*, Sept. 6th, says, the whole Contributions and Requisitions, amounted to 32,000,000 florins.

Bamberg, 1795.

City and Bishopric, Contribution money		4,000,000
Do. do. shirts	100,000	
Do. do. pairs shoes	100,000	
Do. do. do gaiters	50,000	
Do. do. do. boots	100,000	
Do. do. horses	600	
and various other things.		8,000,000

Nuremberg, 1796.

Contribution, money		2,500,000
Requisitions, gallons brandy	25,000	
Do. lbs. meat	25,000	
Do. lbs. oats	150,000	
Do. lbs. hay	150,000	
Do. pairs shoes	50,000	
Do. do. boots	10,000	
Do. gaiters	50,000	
Do. shirts	50,000	
Do. horses	600 and cloth,	
vinegar, &c. &c. to a great amount.		
Country between the Mayne and the Lahn, exclusive of Frankfort, and the requisitions, money		5,600,000
Bishopric of Fulda		70,000
Do. Canonry do.		30,000
City and Bishopric of Wurtzburgh, twice, each time		5,000,000
10,000,000.		
Do.	600 horses.	
Landgrave of Hesse, Darmstadt, money		5,000,000
And Requisitions of different articles, from all these places, supposed to equal the amount in cash		20,700,000
The whole amount of Contributions and Requisitions from the crossing, till the recrossing of the Rhine, by the French army in 1796, amounted to		200,000,000
Inhabitants of Prussian Provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, to pay of the forced loan		150,000
1797, after passing the Rhine, Hoche levied. *Dufresne's Report*		5,525,000
Frankfort, August 26th, 1797, Countries on this side the Rhine, to pay		2,000,000
Carried forward,		217,675,000

Brought forward, 217,675,000

And immense quantities of wood cut down, and sold to Dutch speculators.

PERLET'S JOURNAL, Paris Sept, 26th, 1796. The Elector Palatine to pay for peace ... ... 32,000,000 florins 80,000,000

FRANKFORT, August 27th, 1799.

Requisitions by Baraguay de Hilliers.

lbs. leather	...	...	100,000
lbs. lead	...	...	500,000
ells blue cloth	...	...	400,000
ells linen	...	...	200,000
pairs shoes	...	...	50,000
do. stockings	...	...	60,000
lbs. bread	...	...	48,000
quintals hay	...	...	10,000
sacks oats	...	...	10,000
bundles straw	...	...	10,000

Contribution, money, ... 250,000 dollars

The City unable to furnish all of the latter, and afterwards commuted to 22,006 Louis d'Ors 484,000

HIELBORN, August, 1799, money, 80,000 florins

BRUSCHAL, August 30th, 1799, 150,000 do.

DO. do. 800 pairs shoes, &c. 825,000

HIEDELBERG, Sept. 1799, money 12,000 florins

HIELBORN, do. do. 35,000 do.

HIEDELBERG, Oct. 1799, do. 100,000 do.

MANHEIM, do. do. 350,000 do.

1,245,000

DUCHY OF WURTEMBERG, Nov. 4th, 1799 2,000,000

Also, a monthly Contribution, uncertain.

EHRENBREISTTETN, Contribution, to repair works, 275,000 dollars 1,100,000

200 oxen, &c. &c. to a great amount, say as much ... 1,100,000

OFFENBERG, by General Suzanne, April, 1800.

Contribution ... ... 12,000 florins

MEMMINGEN, May, 1800 ... ... 60,000 do.

UBERLENGEN, do. ... ... 50,000 do.

BREGENZ, do. ... ... 12,000 do.

333,000

AUGSBURGH, exacted by Lecourbe, May 16th

Do.	money	... ...		600,000
Do.	rations bread	... ...	50,000	
Do.	quarters beer	... ...	30,000	
Do.	bottles wine	... ...	500	
Do.	do. brandy	... ...	1000	
Do.	ells blue cloth	... ...	1000	
Do.	ells white cloth	...	300	
Do.	ells scarlet cloth	...	300	
Do.	pairs shoes	... ...	6000	
Do.	pairs officers boots	...	600	
Do.	horses and accoutrements		15	

A Carriage for the General.

THE Chapter of Money,	...	...	...	400,000
Do.	ells blue cloth,	...	...	1,200
Do,	ells white do.	...	...	300
Do.	ells scarlet do.	...	...	300
Do.	quintals oats	...	...	260

Carry forward, 301,464,000

		Brought forward,	304,464,000
Tux Chapter of money, oxen, 50 cwt each		40	
Do. horses		50	
The whole, within 6 weeks, exceeding 2,000,000 florins			3,500,000
Munich, June 28th, 1800			
Contribution by General Decaen			10,000,000
Duchy of Wirtemberg, Contribution			12,000,000
Do. Requisition, 15,000 cloaks, &c. and all tolls and revenues due the Duke			
Frankfort, July, 1799,			
Do. Contribution, money			800,000
Do. Requisitions	40,000		140,000
County of Brisgau, March 1799, Contribution, 200,000 do.			
Do. Requisitions 500,000 do.			2,450,000
Swabia, July, 1800, to Moreau			
Requisitions, quintals wheat		50,000	
Do. do rye		10,000	
Do. oxen, at 450 francs		3,000	
Do. quintals hay		90,000	
Do. sacks oats, each 144 francs		50,000	
Do. cwt. forage		20,000	
Do. pairs shoes		100,000	
Do. cloaks		20,000	
To furnish, monthly, (*Paris papers*) if only 6 months, would be			24,000,000
Ratisbon, July 25th, Contribution			400,000
Electorate Mentz, July 28th, that part of it occupied Contribution, money,			300,000
Do. clothes, provisions, &c. &c. to a great amount,			
Heilborn, August 1st, 1800, Contribution by Moreau,			400,000
Manheim, and parts adjacent, August 8th,			
Do. Requisitions, rations bread,		66,000	
Do. do. meat,		60,000	
And many other necessaries for the French army.			
Arnheim, 1799,			
Do. Requisitions, pairs shoes,		7000	
Do. do. lbs. candles,		10,000	
Do. do. bullocks,		200	
Do. do. gallons brandy,		1000	
Do. do. pairs boots, &c.		1500	170,000
Circle of Franconia, Moreau, July 19th, 1800. Contribution,			6,000,000
Swabia, August 14th, 1800. *Since* the armistice, Moreau has levied in Contributions, but principally on Swabia			35,000,000
After the armistice, the French poured in 150,000 more troops, which were all maintained and supplied with every thing in Germany; and as they supplied one set, they withdrew these, and then sent a fresh horde of naked hungry wretches.			
Electorate Mentz and the Mayne, October, 1800. Contribution by Augereau,			600,000
Ulm, October, 1800, necessaries left by Austrians, and sold,	100,000 florins.		250,000
Yssenberg, Sept. 1800 for peace,	100,000 livres.		
Munich, 1800, previously by Moreau,	100,000 do.		200,000
The French took 11,192 musquets, 51,000 sabres, 144 pieces of cannon, 3200 bombs, 1662 grenades, 126,000 bullets, 3163 bayonets, 2000 pistols, 2 pieces small cannon in silver, &c. &c. the whole worth,			3,000,000
		Carry forward,	403,674,000

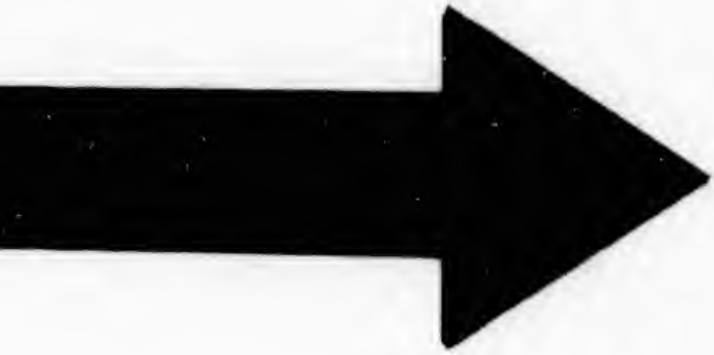

IMAGE EVALUATION
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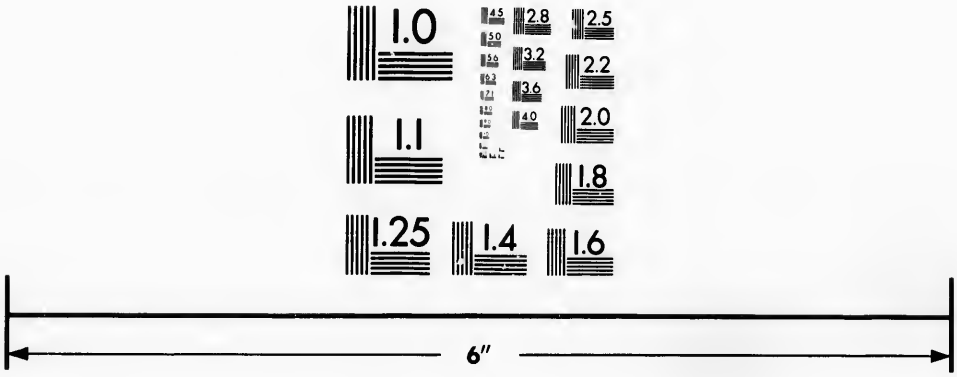

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Brought forward,		403,674,000
SWABIA, Jan. 1801, *A new* Contribution by Moreau,*		4,300,000
Petitioned against by the inhabitants.		
BENTHEIM STEINFURTH, 1804.		
Sold mortgage states of Hanover over it,		340,000
FRANKFORT, FEBRUARY 8th, 1806.		
Contribution by Augereau,		4,000,000
Do. County of Rodelshiem, 100,000 rix-dollars,		400,000
FRANKFORT, 1804.		
Sold territory, town, and privileges, for		12,000,000
Several other cities, at this time, shared the same fate.		
GERMANY, November, 1807.		
Domains of Cassel confiscated,	125,000,000	
Do. of Bayreuth,	20,000,000	
Do. of Munster and Osnabruck,	15,000,000	
Do. of Fulda,	20,000,000	180,000,000
Livres		604,714,000
or,		£.26,456,292

ITALY.

ECCLESIASTICAL property in the department of Mount Blanc, paid for making them free,		30,000,000
DUKE of PARMA, May 9th, 1797.		
Do. Contribution, money.	2,000,000	
Do. Requisitions, horses,	1800	
Do. do. oxen,	2000	
Do. do. quintals wheat,	10,000	
Do. do. pictures,	20	
For one of which, St Jerome, Bonaparte refused 1 million, Italian money.		
Salicetti's dispatch, May 9th.		
MILAN, 1796. Contribution, money,		3,500,000
And provisions to a great amount.		
MILAN, 1796.		
Contribution from Merchants,		1,000,000
Loan from do.		1,660,000
Forced loan, September 26th,		2,600,000
Do. Requisitions.		
Bales silk confiscated,	7000	
Pairs pantaloons,	10,000	
Shirts,	20,000	
Pairs shoes,	10,000	
Do. spatterdashes,	5000	
Hats,	2000	
Ells green cloth,	2000	
Do. white cloth,	12,500	
Do. Linen,	13,750 &c.	
Official dispatch, Bonaparte.		
Do. PICTURES. La Madona della Scedella, the Virgin, and St. Jerome, by Coreggio: the Martyrdom of St. Agnes, by Dominequain: St. Cecilia, by Raphael: the Circumcision, by Guercin: the Crowning of Thorns, by Titian: St. Sebastian, by Poccaccini, &c. Books; Herbal of Hallet, in 60 volumes. A manuscript on Papyrus. The manuscript of Leonardo de Venice, and many others.		
Carry forward,		30,000,000

* When the French troops entered the Austrian dominions, Moreau issued a proclamation, stating, that they were to have double pay and rations, at the expense of the country.

Brought forward, 30,000,000

Also the property of the Archduke, in 148 cases, very rich, all seized, and sold.

MILAN, December 16th, 1796, demanded by Bonaparte. 5,000,000

MILANESE, Paris, June 20th, reports from Italy.

Contributions, * 70,000,000

Do. Paris, September 26th, a new do. 8,000,000

GENOA, October 9th, 1796.

Contribution, 2,000,000

Loan, 2,000,000

Paris, February 27th, 1797.

Loan, 4,000,000

Found at Loretto, 1,000,000

Bonaparte' dispatch, 25th Pluvoise.

LEGUAIAN REPUBLIC, September 12th, 1797.

Contribution, 4,000,000

VENICE, 1796 and 1797, French official.

Preliminaries of peace, 1,500,000 ducats, 6,000,000

Do. In naval stores, 3,000,000

Do. 6 sail of the line, 11,400,000

Do. June 20th, 1797, forced loan from ex-nobles and rich merchants, 1,000,000 ducats, 4,000,000

Do. Treaty of peace, 12,000,000 zequins, 131,000,000

And the fleet, part of the arsenal, bread, meat, wine, forage, clothes, shoes, hats, money wanted for and taken by French soldiers, what they pleased, perhaps as much as the latter sum.

Milan, June 22d, *French papers.*

All plate in churches in the Venetian territories, and an extraordinary tax of 22,000,000

VENICE, August 4th, 1797.

Do. Expense for French troops and new government, daily, 14,000 ducats.

Do. In the country round, 75,000 livres.

For 6 months only, that would be 23,580,000

Also all British, Russian, and Portuguese property confiscated for the use of the French Republic, *uncertain.*

POPE, for armistice, 1796, 21,000,000

And 100 pictures, Vases, Statues, and 200 manuscripts to be chosen by the French; among the above shall be busts of Junius Brutus, in bronze, and Junius Brutus, in marble.

Do. Treaty of Tolentino, Feb. 19th, 1797.

Articles 10th and 12th, 30,000,000

viz. 20,000,000 in specie, and 10,000,000 in diamonds, jewels, &c.

The *second* convoy of pictures, &c. which left Rome, May 9th, 1797, for France, contained, viz.—Pictures, the Transfiguration, by Raphael; the Martyrdom of St. Peter, by Guido; the Martyrdom of St. Gervais, by Valentine; the Martyrdom of St. Erasmus, by Porassin; St. Ronald, by Andrea Sacchi; Fortune, by

Carry forward, 30,000,000

* By the treaty with Milan, Bonaparte levied £5,000,000 sterling, above 110 millions livres. See Pitt's speech, House of Commons, Feb. 3d, 1800.

Brought forward,		30,000,000
Guido; St. Thomas, by Guerchino; the Virgin, and infant Jesus, by Gorafalo. Statues. The Discobalus of the Vatican; the Marcus Brutus of the Capitol; the Antinus of the Capitol; the Tragedy, Meleager, Domosthenes, and Lacoon of the Vatican; the mutilated Trunk of the Vatican, (commonly called the genius of the Vatican;) the lesser Ceres of the Capitol; Tiberius in Toga of the Vatican; the Apolla Belvidere of the Vatican; the Venus of the Capitol; the Ariadne of the Capitol; the tomb of the nine Muses of the Capitol; the Adonis and the Comedy of the Vatican, &c.		
Paris, June 17th, 1797.		
The above only forms about *one-fifth* of the whole number demanded, but from these we may form some idea of the prodigious value of the whole.		
To pay for the assassination of the French minister Basville,		500,000
Pope, 1st October, 1796, to pay, monthly, till peace with Austria, Naples and France, in all about 21 months,		6,300,000
Milan, November 25th, 1797, Cisalpine Republic demanded from the Pope as the debts due it from those parts of his territories incorporated with it		30,000,000
Italy, August 8th, 1797.		
Country round Mantua, monthly,	75,000 liv.	
Verona, May, 1797.		
Contribution, money,		5,400,000
And all plate, public and private.		
Pavia, revolted, stormed, pillaged, and then forced to pay		..000,000
Modena, Duchy of, 1796, treaty with Bonaparte,		
Contributions, money,		7,500,000
Requisitions, provisions,		2,500,000
Do. horses,	20,000	
Do. musquets,	10,000	
Do. choice pictures,	21	
One of which was St. Cecilia.		
Lombardy, Bonaparte's Proclamation.		
May 24th, 1796, Contribution,		20,000,000
Leghorn, Paris July 5th, 1797.		
British goods confiscated, about		8,000,000
Bonaparte's Dispatch, July 2d,		
Contribution,		6,000,000
Do. Paris, Aug. 9th, paid Bonaparte, to withdraw garrison, 1,000,000 piastres		5,000,000
Do. October 28th, 1796,		
Paid Salicetti, 380,000 piastres		1,900,000
Paris, March 27th, 1797, garrison retired, paid Bonaparte again ,to evacuate it, by the Grand Duke of Tuscany		2,000,000
Cassal Maggiore, 1796, money		1,000,000
Grand Duke of Tuscany, money		2,000,000
Salicetti, British goods ransomed		1,750,000
Carry forward,		30,000,000

Brought forward,		30,000,000
SALO, 1797, ransomed for	300,000	
Silver plate, 1075 lbs.	75,400	
CISALPINE REPUBLIC, Redacteur, Oct. 4th, 1797, to pay into the French military chest monthly, 1,000,000, to be exempted from all requisitions, suppose only till 1799, or two years	24,000,000	
UDINA, Sept. 26th, 1797, French troops cost us 100 ducats daily.		
BRESCIO AND BERGAMO, all wrought silver in them, if only equal to SALO, is	150,000	
BOLOGNA, a large Contribution, uncertain, and by Bonaparte's Dispatches, June 23d, and July 2d, 1796, 50 choice pictures.		
TRIESTE, 1797, money 10,000,000 florins,	25,000,000	
And all loaded ships in the harbour.		
NAPLES, for peace	30,000,000	
By secret article in the treaty, to furnish in provisions	8,000,000	
Paris, May 17th, 1797, demanded by Bonaparte	8,000,000	
REPUBLIC OF LUCCA, 1796, Contribution, money	4,000,000	
Musquets, 6000, &c. &c,		
TUSCANY, June 23d, 1796, money	21,000,000	
300 Manuscripts and Pictures, &c.		
GRAND DUKE OF MODENA, 1796.	1,000,000	
Retired to Venice, and forced to pay in 1797,	2,500,000	
NOVI, Inhabitants of, 1796,	400,000	
Besides immense sums in other places; and all the requisitions for provisions and stores for the French army, which Bonaparte in his Dispatch, March 1st, 1797, boasted that he maintained without any expense to France. It must be remarked, that all these contributions were solely for the French Government, and exclusive of the maintenance and pay of the troops, also furnished by these countries. The pay alone, of Bonaparte's army in Italy during 1796 and 1797, was equal to 200,000 livres per day, or 73,000,000 per annum, which, for 1796 and 1797 alone would be	146,000,000	
To this must be added, the supplies in clothing, provisions and stores, at least equal to half the amount of the money contributions, if not much more, and the immense plunder and peculation of individuals, which was enormous and incredible.		
Received from Italy by France, to 18th Oct. 1796		300,000,000
Do. in arrears at that time		*150,000,000
Levied afterwards till peace, about		400,000,000
Pictures, Statues, Ships, &c. worth		100,000,000
Provisions, stores, clothing, &c. &c.		360,000,000
Pay, French army		146,000,000
Individual plunder and peculation		150,000,000
Independent of all the property belonging to the Austrian Government and army. Austria lost in this campaign 2000 cannon, 500 field-pieces, and 300 master-pieces of the Arts, were sent to Paris from Italy. Bonaparte's Dispatch, March 10th, 1797.		
Carry forward,		1,636,000,000

* Part of this was due from Germany.

Brought forward,	1,656,000,000

Subsequent to 1797.

ROME, Aug. 28th, 1798,	
From rich families in 6 months	6,500,000
SARDINIA, October 1798, a loan,	8,000,000
Contributions of 6th year, ending Sept. 22d, 1798, chiefly from Italy	50,000,000
TUSCANY, Jan. 21st, 1799,	
Sums paid France lately	800,000
NAPLES, Jan. 10th, 1799,	
Paid for Armistice,	10,000,000
Revolt, city assessed for, 2,500,000 ducats	10,000,000
St. Elmo when it surrendered, found in it, 6,000,000 ducats, which had been collected by the French troops in Neapolitan territories	24,000,000
FERRARA, 1799,	
Plundered of 200,000 florins in gold	400,000
BOLOGNA, June, 1799,	
Contribution, money	2,000,000
PLACENZA, June 29th, 1799,	
Contribution, money,	2,000,000
MODENA, 1799, money,	3,000,000
GENOA. *Turin, July 26th,* 1799,	
Contribution, money	4,000,000
SAVONA, money	2,000,000
PIEDMONT. Paris, Jan. 25th, 1799,	
70,000,000 levied by King of Sardinia, on Ecclesiastical property, sequestered by order of the Directory	70,000,000
LUCCA, 1798, Serrurier's proclamation, Dec. 28th,	
Contribution, money	2,000,000
TUSCANY, Paris, Feb. 25th, 1799,	
Loan from produce of church plate	1,000,000
Do. Florence, March 12th, 1799,	
A further loan, demanded by France	12,000,000
ROME, Feb. 15th, 1799,	
Ecclesiastical property, sold to defray expences of the French army, 50,000 crowns	500,000
LUCCA. Milan, July 13th, 1799, by Massena,	
Contribution	1,000,000
Tax on Commerce	8,000,000
Do. upon Nobles	2,000,000
Do. of 8 derniers, per crown,	
GENOA, Florence, March 8th, 1800,	
Contribution by Massena	800,000
TURIN, July 28th, 1800,	
Contribution, by Massena	2,500,000
PIEDMONT, Turin, Aug. 5th, 1800,	
Contribution, by Massena	1,000,000
BOLOGNA, Oct. 2d. 1800,	
Contribution, money	2,500,000
And all blue and green cloth.	
LEGHORN, Oct. 1800,	
Quintals wheat 500,000	
Carry forward,	1,862,000,000

Brought forward,		1,862,000,000
Do. rye	150,000	
Do. dried pulse	90,000	
Found and seized with 6 ships, belonging to the enemies of France.		17,000,000
Do. Nov. 20th, 1800, War Contribution, by Dupont		2,000,000
FLORENCE, Oct. 23d. 1800, Contribution, money		2,000,000
Requisition, 80,000 ells, blue cloth.		
NAPLES, March 28th, 1801, Treaty, To pay, money		5,000,000
GENOA, Jan. 6th, 1800, A deputation sent to the First Consul, to state the inability for this place to pay the French troops here, which amounted to 47,000 francs daily, suppose this only for one year		17,155,000
MILAN, Nov. 24th, 1803, Contribution to aid France, to invade Britain		5,500,000
NAPLES, July 24th, 1806, A loan of 1,200,000 ducats, for which Jesuits property of 1,500,000 ducats was pledged		6,000,000
LEGHORN, Sept. 5th, 1807, British goods confiscated, (some accounts say more)		700,000
LIGURIAN REPUBLIC, Paris, Dec, 12th, Contribution, and sundry articles		1,000,000
Do. For extraordinary expense of the army		25,000
Do. Pairs shoes	26,000	
Do. Watch-coats	25,000	
Do. Cartridges	200,000	
And specie for the pay of 25,000 men.		
VERONA, Vienna, Jan. 17th, 1801, Contribution, by Brune, 100,000 ducats		400,000
Campaign 1799, maintenance of French troops, &c.		100,000,000
TUSCANY 1801, Moniteur, Feb. 21st, On absent subjects, 100,000 crowns		550,000
COUNCIL of 500, July 1799, Laurent said he *had received* 65 millions of the Contributions levied in conquered countries, 15 millions of which had been levied in as many days, most of this was from Italy, and much was not then received.		65,000,000
Livres		2,084,550,000
		or, £91,168,619

AUSTRIAN STATES.

TYROL, 1809, Exactions, contributions, sale of property, fully 20,000,000 florins; and by *forced* depreciation of Austrian Bank money, 20,000,000 florins more,	100,000,000
MINES OF D. YDRIA, Bonaparte's Dispatch, 22d, March 1797	2,000,000
For armistice, Peace and Contributions	100,000,000
SALTZBURGH, Dec. 1800, Contribution	5,000,000
UPPER AUSTRIA, 1801, Bavaria, Jan. 4th, Contribution, reduced to	8,000,000
In 1805, To 11th, Nov. in money and provisions	14,000,000
Requisitions at Vienna, 42,000,000 florins	105,000,000
Carry forward,	332,000,000

Brought forward,			332,000,000
Requisitions of all plate of palaces, churches, houses; &c. very great but *uncertain.*			
Contribution, in States occupied by decree of Bonaparte, Dec. 7th, 1805			100,000,000
Treaty of Peace, 50,000,000 florins			125,000,000
Austrian magazines, sold for benefit of the French army, proceeds very great.			
Besides, the French army from passing the Rhine, levied on countries through which they passed, at least			100,000,000
AUSTRIA 1809, 6th Bulletin, May 9th,			
Quintals, wheat and flour		400,000	
Rations, biscuits		400,000	
Rations bread, very great, say		400,000	
Vienna, July 29th, a second Contribution.			
Ells cloth		100,000	
Much linen and leather, &c.			
Vienna, Sept. 7th, 1809,			
Muskets dug up,		10,000	
About 4,000,000 florins, hid and dug up			10,000,000
Proclamation, Berthier, several millions florins, in Bank Paper, also found, say equal			10,000,000
Military stores immense.			
Contribution, Bonaparte's decree, July 7th,			200,000,000
Viz. Upper Austria	28,000,000		
Lower Do.	50,000,000		
Saltzburgh	11,440,000		
Stiria	44,880,000		
Carinthia	18.210,000		
Carniola	15,260,000		
Hungary	7,630,000		
Circle of Znaim	7,400,000		
Other places	17,180,000		
	200,000,000		
Requisitions, clothing, provisions, &c. uncertain, but perhaps equal to the contributions in specie			200,000,000
Livres			1,077,000,000
			or, £.47,118,750

PRUSSIA.

LEIPSIC, Oct. 13th, 1807, Contribution,			
Requisitions after the battle of Jena,			
Common cloth		300,000 ells	
Fine do.		60,000 do.	
Pairs shoes		120,000 do.	
Bottles wine		25,000	
			1,200,000
PRUSSIA, French 15th Bulletin, Oct. 23d, British goods confiscatted, and amount to so much, that to redeem these, there is already offered			60,000,000
19th Bulletin, Oct. 29th. 1807. At Spandau, magazines of meal and oats, &c. sufficient to serve the army 2 months. 60 schuyts, laden with meal and effects from Berlin, taken. Some grenadiers had made prizes to the amount of 500,000 francs, altogether worth at least			10,000,000
Carry forward,			71,200,000

Brought forward,	71,200,000
29th French Bulletin, Nov. 9th, Contribution, on States then occupied, in money	150,000,000
In provisions and clothing, for maintenance French army, during the campaign, at least as much	150,000,000
PRUSSIA, 1807, Two large cases antiquities of Berlin and Potsdam, with the chariot from the Brandenburgh gate—150 cases magnificent paintings, from Hesse, Brunswick, &c. of great value. *Paris, May 17th,* 1807.	
Plunder and prizes by French troops,	20,000,000
LEIPSIC, 1806, omitted last page,	2,200,000
LEIPSIC, April 1807,	
Arrears, Requisitions, 7,000,000, consequently, at first, must have been much more, but say only double	14,000,000
KONIGSBERG, 1807, French 80th and 82d Bulletins, Some hundred thousand quintals corn; 300 loaded ships, immense wealth, magazines, &c.	
Contribution, in money, about	8,000,000
DANTZIC, 1807, 800 pieces cannon; 500,000 quintals grain, 300,000 quintals wheat; 1,700,000 bottles wine, and Contribution of 30,000,000 francs	53,000,000
Besides the above, this city from 1807, till 1814, lost in Contributions and Requisitions for the French garrison and armies,	521,000,000
STETTIN, Contributions to 1813,	10,000,000
Requisitions, do.	14,000,000
If we estimate the other fortifications after named, at the same amount, we shall not exceed the truth, viz. Modlin, Thorn, Kustrin, Glogaw, Magdeburgh, Wittemberg, Torgau	168,000,000
LOWER SILESIA, during the armistice, 1815,	75,000,000
KING'S DECLARATION against France,	
Advanced in specie, to French Government	94,000,000
70,000 horses taken away, say	42,000,000
20,000 carriages, say	10,000,000
And maintenance of all French armies, from 1807 till 1813, which was prodigious.	
KONIGSBERG, April 28th, 1812, Contribution,	4,000,000
KONIGSBERG, Paris, Dec. 25th, 1810,	
Cargoes seized here, and at Memel, and sold	30,000,000
At Colberg, Stettin, &c. as much	30,000,000
KUSTRIN, Feb. 19th, 1813,	
5000 cattle from the environs, driven in by the French garrison, worth 30,000 dollars	150,000
ELBING, March 25th, 67th French Bulletin, 300,000 bottles wine at 4 francs	1,200,000
Livres	1,467,750,000
or,	£.64,214,062

SWISSERLAND.

BRISGAW, 1799, 1st Contribution	500,000
Do. 2d. do.	200,000
BASLE, April, 1800,	
Contribution, by Moreau	1,500,000
BREGENZ, May, 1800,	
Contribution, money	50,000
ST. GALL, June 1799, Contribution	2,000,000
Carry forward,	4,250,000

Brought forward,	4,250,000
Zurich, June 1799, Contribution, 2 millions florins	4,000,000
St Gall, Oct. 1799, do. by Massena	800,000
Zurich, do. do.	400,000
Basle, 1799, Contribution	800,000
Horgbach, 1799, do.	75,000
Extraordinary Contributions on parts revolted, in 1806, great, but uncertain.	
12,000 to 20,000, French troops, to pay and maintain, from 1802, for 11 years, about	120,000,000
War Contribution, to pay French troops in 1802,	900,000
Oudinot in 1802, found and confiscated British goods, to the amount of "*many millions*," say	10,000,000
Berne, July 21st, 1799,	
Requisition, quintals corn, 6000,	
Massena's army, about 50,000, supplied with every thing for 6 or 8 months, and paid for nothing, estimated at	11,000,000
Basle, Paris, Nov. 17th, 1799,	
Loan from 20 merchants	1,000,000
Requisition, 2000 cwt. bread, and 280 oxen	100,000
Helvetic Republic, Oct. 1800, Contribution,	2,000,000
And a forced loan, uncertain.	
	155,325,000
	or £.6,795,468

Hanover and other Places, 1803.

Expense and Plunder of French army, till 21st Sept.	10,000,000
Jan. 29th, 1804, to clothe and arm the army	1,600,000
Do. 1350 horses, and a quantity of coats	800,000
Nov. 18th, 1803, to arm and clothe anew Mortier's guard	80,000
Pay of French troops monthly, till Sept. 1805, at 800,000 livres monthly	19,200,000
Provisions and stores, for do. as much	19,000,000
All arms and clothing of Hanoverian army	2,000,000
Individual plunder great, Commissary Michaud, alone amassed	2,000,000
Emden, Jan. 1804,	
British goods seized and sold,	1,900,000
Antwerp, Jan. 1804,	
British goods seized and sold	4,000,000
Hanover, Jan. 1804,	
Mortier, an extraordinary tax of 3 per cent. on all public salaries; 2 do. on all descriptions of private property, &c. 3 do. on all landed estates.	
Do. April 1807, war Contribution,	1,200,000
Livres	61,780,000
	or £.2,702,874

HAMBURGH.

Nov. 4th, 1803, This city, Bremen and Lubec, a loan, for which the King of Great Britain's property in Hanover is pledged	9,000,000
July 31st, 1804, demanded of the Senate, to celebrate Bonaparte's coronation	670,000
Do. Lubec	1,000,000
Do. of Bremen	2,000,000
Carry forward,	12,670,000

Brought forward,	12,670,000
April 5th, 1803, Two ships from Britain, seized and sold at Cuxhaven, very valuable	2,000,000
Sept. 1804, paid Bourienne to evacuate Cuxhaven, which he engaged to do, but forgot	1,500,000
March, 1806. Loan demanded under guarantee, States of Hanover	8,000,000
Nov. 1806, Requisitions, 156,000 pairs shoes.	
Do. do. 50,000 great coats, and immense supplies of other kinds	10,000,000
British goods confiscated, and ransomed for	16,000,000
24,000 men quartered and supplied there.	
HAMBURGH, July, 1808,	
Expense to celebrate the feast of Napoleon,	180,000
Do. June 22d, 1810, a forced loan*	2,000,000
Do. 1813, Contribution	48,000,000
Do. do. Requisitions	40,000,000
Do. do. Money in the Bank	19,000,000
Do. Requisitions from May 1813 to May 1814†	18,500,000
Livres	177,850,000
	or L.7,780,936

Various Countries, &c.

LOUISIANA, Spain robbed of it, and sold it to America	22,000,000
ST. DOMINGO, 1803 and 1804.	
Bills on Government, refused payment	11,000,000
Officers had plundered inhabitants, afterwards taken by the British, 500,000 dollars	2,600,000
PRINCE OF HESSE, 1806,	
All his treasure fell into the hands of the French, 16,000,000 dollars	88,000,000
And one magnificent service of gold, and one do. silver plate.	
AMERICA, Property seized and sold under Rambouillet decrees, 25,000,000 dollars	138,500,000
Extraordinary duty of 50 per cent, on Colonial produce, was calculated to produce on the Continent from Russia to France, 10 millions sterling	240,000,000
HOLLAND, Aug. 21st, 1811,	
Imperial decree, rescinding debt due by Holland to the Prince of Hesse	1,000,000
POMERANIA, 1812,	
Seized all ships at Stralsund.	
Money in the Treasury, 100,000 dollars	525,000
And immense Contributions on the inhabitants, both this year and next, uncertain.	
BRITAIN, Claimants in the French funds in 1802, kept by Bonaparte, 2 above millions sterling	50,000,000
PRINCE OF HESSE, Hamburgh, July 12th, 1806,	
Bonaparte demanded from Hessia the sum wanted last year	20,000,000
SAXONY, do. do.	20,000,000
Carry forward,	593,625,000

* Answer to the Moniteur, 1813, said to the date of delivery of the city by Tettenborn, Hamburgh had paid 60,000,000, which exceeds this account.

† Debt of Hamburgh 52,000,000 marks banco, occasioned by French robberies.

Brought forward.	593,625,000
POLAND in 1812, gave Bonaparte in money, provisions and stores, 12 *millions sterling*,	288,000,000
In 1807, also large sums.*	
Monopoly of Colonial produce, produced annually to France, 100,000,000 francs, which from 1807 till 1812, is	500,000,000
Saxony and other parts of Germany, in 1812, taken in the same ratio as Lower Silesia, 15 millions sterling	360,000,000
COURLAND, 1812, Contributions	12,000,000
Other places in Russia, including plunder of Moscow, and maintenance of French troops while there, at least	100,000,000
SAXONY, 1813. Prince Repnin's Address, Nov. 8th, 1814, Public effects taken from Saxony by French, besides the jewels of the crown	
Maintenance of French troops, during that eventful year.	4,500,000
GERMANY, &c. French Expose, 1811, 16 New Departments, added to France, yield an annual revenue of 100,000,000 francs, this for 10 years, as an average of the whole, some being added earlier, and some latter,†	1,000,000,000

By the Secret Journal referred to ‡ the following countries, besides those already enumerated, paid annually to France in tribute, loans or otherwise, viz.

SPAIN,	60,000,000 francs.
PORTUGAL,	30,000,000 do.
NAPLES,	10,000,000 do,
POPE,	4,000,000 do.
ETRURIA,	6,000,000 do.
GENOA,	3,000,000 do.
ITALIAN REPUBLIC,	32,000,000 do.
HANOVER, WESTPHALIA, &c.	32,000,000 do.
HESSE,	6,000,000 do.
MECKLENBURGH,	1,500,000 do.
BRUNSWICK,	1,500,000 do.
SAXONY,	4,000,000 do.
DENMARK,	4,000,000 do.

Those, from the time the system began, in 1805, till it ended, in each, would amount to	1,000,000,000
And to the above should be added the sums drawn from Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemburg, &c. and 25,000 French troops paid by the Kingdom of Italy.	
EGYPT, 1798, 1799, and 1800. Grand Cairo, 1798, Contribution, 600,000 piastres,	3,000,000
Carry forward,	3,861,125,000

* 52d. French Bulletin, January 19th, 1807, City of Warsaw furnishes daily 100,000 rations.

† France, from her acquisitions and immediate vassals, armed and paid for her own aggrandizement, even in 1800, no fewer than 268,000 men. From French Journals of that period.

‡ The account here given, is taken from a secret Journal, called, "*les nouvelles a la Maine,*" circulated in Paris in 1803, at the rupture of the peace of Amiens, in order to shew the people of France, that war was no burden to them. In 1809, the war expenditure of France for her army, was 650 millions francs, only 350 millions, of which, was chargeable on the public Treasury, leaving a deficiency of 300 millions to come from some other source, and most probably from the source here mentioned.

Brought forward,	3,861,[illegible]5,000
GRAND CAIRO, November, 1798, for insurrection when quelled, to pay two million piastres,	10,000,000
N. B. Paris, April 7th, 1799. French army augmented by recruits to 80,000 men, of the natives, all paid in the country.	
Council of 500, December 8th, 1799. Decreed for the army of Egypt, for the 8th year, 15,000,000 francs, to be taken *from Contributions* there levied; of course these must have been more, but say for 3 years,	45,000,000
CAIRO, September 22d, 1799, Kleber's intercepted letter. Levied by Bonaparte, a few months after his arrival. On merchants,	
On landed proprietors,	4,000,000
Expense of the French army must have cost	1,200,000
From March till December, 1800, taken by France and her allies from America, 470,000 dollars,	100,000,000
WESTPHALIA, 1810, by Jerome, official,	2,585,000
Remains of French Contributions on provinces, due	21,922,000
ROTTERDAM, 1810. For insulting French troops, 200,000 guilders,	400,000
BREMEN, March and April, 1813. *Again* levied by the French, 80,000 dollars, together 160,000,	800,000
CIRCLES, LEIPSIC, THURINGIA, AND WITTENBERG, March, 1813. Contributions above 500,000 dollars,	2,500,000
BRUGES, March, 1813, Contribution,	200,000
BERGEN-OP-ZOOM, March 1st, 1813, Contribution,	60,000
GERMANY AND ITALY, 1813, not yet enumerated, 20 millions sterling; deducting 3 millions for Lower Silesia,	340,000,000
Do. Garrison towns, besides those enumerated in Prussia,	217,000,000
Livres	4,606,792,000
or L201,[illegible]46,712 sterling.	

SPAIN.

NAVARRE AND WEST COAST, 1793,		30,000,000
EAST COAST exceeded that sum,		30,000,000
MADRID, April 5th, 1808, 50,000 watch-coats,		
August 2d and 6th,		
Joseph fled, plundered the Treasury and Bank, &c. of 14 millions dollars (perhaps francs,)	77,000,000	
All Church plate, &c. and 1000 carts plunder.		
DUPONT, captured in 1808, taken from him,		
Suits military clothing,	17,000	
Musquets packed up,	30,000	
120 pieces cannon, and 36 mortars; 116 coaches, 2000 horses, 200 ammunition chests; all the Church plate of Cordova, which was melted, and 6,000,000 dollars.		
From himself, of private plunder, 8000 ounces gold, 60,000 piastres, besides plate.		
PAMPLUNA, August 17th and 20th, 1808.		
"Streets are covered with Church plate, linen, clothes, watches, jewels, &c. stolen from Navarre, and exposed for sale at low prices."		
Carry forward,		60,000,000

Brought forward,	60,000,000
BARCELONA, August 23d, 1808.	
DECREE OF DUHESME, to supply for 4 months,	
At Citadel every 10 days, quintals bread,	22,773
Do. do. quarters wheat,	24,226
Every fortnight, quintals rice,	915
Do. do. quintals pease and beans,	1,830
Do. do. quintals salt,	448
Every 10 days, quintals fire wood,	50
Every fortnight, pints wine,	48,800
Do. do. pints vinegar,	73,200
Do. do. pints brandy,	91,500
Every week, pesetas money,	36,000
Do. do. extraordinaries of all kinds, pesetas,	50,000
Do. do. francs, by bills on Perpignan, which were never paid, the whole of which would amount to a prodigious sum.	
BURGOS, November 30th, 1808.	
4th bulletin, wool sequestered,	30,000,000
ARANDA, 6th bulletin, November 18th, 1808.	
quintals grain,	400,000
Much cloathing, and a large quantity of biscuit.	
BILBOA. August 16th, 1808.	
Contribution, 8,000,000 reals.	
REUSS, 1809, Contribution, 60,000 dolls.	
BILBOA, August 8th, 1810.	
A new Contribution, 3,000,000 reals.	
PROVINCE OF SORIA, 1810.	
Contribution, 2,000,000 dolls.	
RASES, September 2d, 1808.	
Dollars, 16,000	
Do. daily, for some days, 6000	
GRANADA, December 1810.	
Last months Contribution, 700,000 francs.	
AYAMONTE, December 23d, 1810.	
Castellegos, Contribution, 200,000 reals.	
Alemeda, do. 60,000 do.	
Port St. Mary's do. 25,000 dolls.	
KINGDOM OF JAEN, July, 1810.	
Rations, 600,000	
GRANADA, August 3d, 1810.	
Daily, for Soult's expenses, 62,000 reals.	
Contribution, 12,000,000 do.	
Do. Cordova, 3,000,000 do.	
VALLADOLID, August 12th.	
Contribution on this Province, 100,000,000 reals.	
Property, of the rich, near Baytorga, sold by Bonaparte, 3,000,000 francs.	
MADRID, February 24th, 1811.	
PROVINCE OF BURGOS, by Bessieres,	
Contribution, 24,000,000 francs.	
LA MANCHA, Contribution, 13,000,000 reals.	
SEVILLE, December, 1810, Contribution, 5,000,000 francs.	
Do. April 9th, 1811, a new Contribution, not stated.	
SEVILLE, May 31st 1811, to supply Soult's expenses, daily, reis, 1520	
VALENCIA, February 18th, 1812, by Suchet.	
Carry forward,	60,000,000

60,000,000

	Brought forward,	60,000,000
Contribution,	20,600,000 francs.	
And 10,000 reals and 8900 rations daily, and all jewels and precious effects.		
VALLADOLID, 1812.		
When evacuated by Wellington, Contribution to the French	600,0000 reals.	
VALENCIA, November 1812.		
Suchet, Contribution from 800 persons,	16,000,000 reals.	
SIGUENZA, May 7th, 1810.		
Plunder retaken,	800,000 reals.	
Fanegas wheat,	1000 &c.	
On the country from Avila, Toledo, and Caceres, to Talavera, by Marmont, September, 1811, Contribution,	4,000,000 reals.	
TARRAGONA, April 20th, 1811, found at Figueras when taken by the Spaniards,		
Sacks wheat	[illegible],000	
Rations bread,	[illegible],000	
Quarters barley,	11,000	
Sides bacon,	4,400	
Pipes brandy,	800	
Live oxen,	500	
And 2,000,000 livres.		
Total, Spain, from 1808 to 1814,		3,368,571,428
	Livres	3,428,571,428
	or,	£,150,000,000

PORTUGAL.

IN 1797, as price of peace, in various ways,	30,000,000
Paris papers, May 2d.	
In 1800, demanded from her,	36,000,000
In 1803, Contribution by Lasne's embassy,*	17,000,000
December 5th, 1807, 500,000 alquires wheat, 500,000 dollars,	2,600,000
All goods, jewels, and silver, as well as moveable property of any nation whatever.	
February 1st, 1808, extraordinary war Contribution of 42,000,000 crusadoes, by Junot's decree,	147,900,000
EVORA, July, 1808	
Stormed by Loison, Contribution 400,000 dollars,	2,200,000
LISBON, carried off at the evacuation of that place by the troops, in plunder and Contributions about £1,500,000,	36,000,000
Various districts, in 1811, plundered,	5,000,000
Expense of the French army for 6 months,	36,000,000
Livres	312,700,000
or,	L.13,680,624

ABSTRACT.

NETHERLANDS,	6,168,000,000
Carry forward,	6,168,000,000

* Paris Oct. 21st, 1803. Spain to avoid taking an active part in this war, is to pay to France 4 millions monthly, and guarantee the payment in like manner, of 1 million monthly by Portugal.

60,000,000

Brought forward,	6,168,000,000
Departments from France to the Rhine,	428,839,000
HOLLAND,	1,763,153,335
GERMANY, right bank of the Rhine,	604,714,000
ITALY,	2,084,330,000
AUSTRIAN Dominions,	1,077,000,000
PRUSSIAN, do.	1,467,750,000
SWISSERLAND,	155,325,000
HANOVER,	61,780,000
HAMBURGH,	177,850,000
Various countries, till 1814,	4,606,792,000
PORTUGAL,	512,700,000
SPAIN,	3,428,571,428
Burning decrees,	70,000,000
Total, over Europe, in Francs or Livres, at 10½d. each,	22,406,804,763
or, £980,297,708 sterling.	

N. B. The Contribution of 42 millions Rix-dollars, said to have been paid by Denmark, is here omitted, as it was only derived from private authority.

DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

BY THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Under this head I have, comparatively speaking, but few certain particulars; but the few which I have, will excite the astonishment and regret of mankind; and may enable us to form a tolerably correct idea of the loss occasioned by those events, the particular accounts of which I have not in my possession. I do not mean to include in this article the loss in military stores, and captures on the field of battle. This will be included in the statement of the general expenses the war has cost every nation in Europe. Contrary to my former plan, I mean in following out this subject, to take the latest period first, because it is that wherein I am enabled to be most correct in; and principally, because I wish, if possible, to take the data which the enemy himself has given us in his official bulletins, to form our

opinion upon those particulars wherein I am at present deficient in information.

In this I shall begin with Russia. In the French bulletin, dated Moscow, September 17th, 1812, it is stated that the loss occasioned by the destruction of Moscow amounted unto "*several milliards;*" and, in a subsequent one, that it was 3 milliards, or £131,250,000 sterling. Now, subsequently to that event, all the buildings and villages, for many miles round it, were destroyed or much injured; and previous to that catastrophe, Smolensk, where the enemy informed us there were immense magazines of colonial produce, was completely destroyed. The devastations in other places and provinces, from the Niemen to Moscow, where the routes of the armies lay, were also very great, 50 towns and 2000 villages, besides three times the number of farm houses, &c. were destroyed in the finest part of the Russian Empire. An extent of country for 700 miles in length, by 50 to 100 in breadth, was laid waste, and we certainly do not exaggerate when we state the loss in other parts of the Russian Empire at the same as in Moscow, which together makes six milliards of francs, or £262,500,000 sterling.

From this let us endeavour to calculate the enormous loss of property in France, during the civil war and revolutionary horrors. After the scenes recorded in a previous part of this work, we cannot wonder at the destruction of property which took place throughout France. Robbery, murder, and destruction, were the avowed objects and pursuits of the worshippers of the Goddess of Reason. A felon, who had assumed the name of Brutus, chief of a Revolutionary Tribunal at Rennes, said to his colleagues on Good Friday, "Brothers, we must put to death this day, *at the same hour the* COUNTER REVOLUTIONIST JESUS CHRIST DIED, that young devotee who was lately arrested:" this young lady was guillotined accordingly; and her corpse treated with *every possible species of indecent insult*, to the infinite amusement of a vast multitude of spectators.* At Lyons, Jabogues, the murderer, next in rank in atrocity to D'Orfeuille, in his speech to the Democratic Society, said, "down with the edifices raised for the profit or the pleasure of the rich; *down with them all.* COMMERCE and ARTS are useless to a warlike people, and are the destruction of that SUBLIME EQUALITY *which France* IS DETERMINED *to spread over the Globe.*" Around the banks of the Loire, however, destruction and cruelty, in their wildest and most savage forms, took up their abode. That beautiful river, in the language of that monster Hebert, was in reality turned into blood. From the number of bodies drowned in it, its waters became putrid, and public edicts from

* General Danicamp's memoirs.

the Republican authorities forbade the people, on that account, to use these. Nothing escaped their rage in this devoted spot. "The department of La Vendee," said Merlin of Thionville upon his arrival from that country, "*is now only a heap of ashes* DYED WITH BLOOD."* Whoever considers with attention the career of the French armies over Europe, will perceive, that under whatever authority they fought, CONVENTIONAL, DIRECTORIAL, CONSULAR, or IMPERIAL, still the principles of Jabogues and Merlin, already mentioned, directed their proceedings, and proved these to have been hatched under the bloody throne of the GODDESS OF REASON, and instructed in the same school, ONE AND INDIVISIBLE. From her followers, nothing but destruction, as wanton as it was wicked, could be expected; and while one of them survives, under whatever garb they may disguise themselves, mankind may rest satisfied that the point of the bayonet, directed by a strong arm, can only deter them from following their darling pursuits.

The most fertile provinces upon the beautiful banks of the Loire, compared to which Russia is a wilderness, were completely laid waste. Their buildings were burnt, their crops, their stock and their fields were destroyed. Lyons, Toulon, Marseilles, and many noble towns suffered most dreadfully. In Lyons, alone, the damage done during the siege amounted to 500,000,000 livres, and that was perhaps not above a half of what it altogether suffered. Twenty thousand habitations, including hamlets, villages, and farms, were totally destroyed. Many of these, both in the towns and in the country, were beautiful and expensive buildings, and every thing around them was upon a similar scale. The beautiful town of Bedouin, consisting of 1600 houses, was razed to the ground. In a word, the banks of the Loire, for 100 miles, were made a complete wilderness. Now, in Moscow there were only 12,000 houses, 2-3ds of which were of wood. Of the whole, the enemy first estimated 1-4th and then 1-10th as being saved, but let us suppose 1-5th as the number. Here then we have one half more as the number of buildings destroyed in France; and certainly, considering every circumstance minutely attending both, these must have been equally valuable. The loss, therefore, according to the scale furnished by the enemy himself, may be fairly stated at double that of Moscow, viz. 6 milliards, or £262,500,000 millions sterling. If to this we add 1-4th more, on account of the property destroyed in a more richly cultivated country, harassed for many years by the most destructive civil war, we certainly do not exceed the truth. The amount of property, therefore, destroyed in France in the early periods of the revolution will amount to £328,125,000 sterling.

* Convention, November 6th, 1793.

In the colonies the loss was also prodigious, and altogether irretrievable. In Grenada, St. Vincents, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe, it was at least £5,000,000 sterling. In St. Domingo 20 times as much. The amount of this, as of the former, I state the first from actual knowledge, the last from authentic documents. In St. Domingo, at the commencement of the insurrection, there were 500,000 slaves, who, at an average, were worth £65, sterling, or, altogether, £32,500,000 sterling. The value of lands, buildings, stock, and the growing crops, are rather more than twice the value of the slaves, which, together, makes £97,500,000 sterling. Add to this the value of merchandize, and buildings in towns unconnected with the cultivation, and the shipping attached to the colony, altogether at least 20 millions more. To this we may also add the value of 580 vessels, averaging 323 tons each, which France had in the St. Domingo trade, and which, in consequence of the insurrection, were totally lost to her, and we shall have £120,000,000 sterling as the value of property sacrificed by the most frantic madness and savage barbarity.

The destruction in Germany, during 1813, was enormous; and the distress thereby occasioned to millions affords one of the most heart rending pictures ever exhibited in the darkest page of history. The mind is struck with astonishment and terror to read the accounts of actions committed by man against his fellow creatures, at which the tyger, that roams through the forests of Africa, would recoil with horror, I had almost said with indignation. The circumstances, though dreadful and disgusting, must be recorded, as they may be useful. For the substance of what follows I am indebted to the excellent reports published by that meritorious body, the Committee in London on account of the suffering Germans. In extracting from these, I shall endeavour to be as short and connected as I can, in order to give a clear view of the subject, as relating to different places.

LEIPSIC.—" We have before our eyes many thousands of the adjacent villages and hamlets, landed proprietors, farmers, ecclesiastics, schoolmasters, artizans of every description, who, some weeks since, were in circumstances more or less easy, and at least knew no want; but now, without a home, and stripped of their all, are, with their families, perishing of hunger. What the industry of many years had acquired was annihilated in a few hours. All around is one wide waste. The numerous villages and hamlets are almost all entirely or partially reduced to ashes; the yet remaining buildings are perforated with balls in a most ruinous condition, and plundered of every thing; the barns, cellars, and lofts, are despoiled, and stores of every kind carried off; the implements of farming and

domestic economy, for brewing and distilling; in a word, for every purpose: the gardens, plantations, and fruit trees were destroyed; the fuel collected for the winter, the gates, the floors, the woodwork of every description, were consumed in the watch-fires; the horses were taken away, together with all the other cattle; and many families are deploring the loss of beloved relatives, or are doomed to behold them afflicted with sickness and destitute of relief. The miserable condition of these deplorable victims to the thirst of conquest, the distress which meets our view whenever we cross our thresholds, no language is capable of describing. The horrid spectacle wounds us to the very soul."* "There are, in Saxony alone, a million of souls who are reduced to misery too severe to be capable of taking any part in the general joy, and who are now shedding the bitterest tears of abject wretchedness and want. *All* that the oppressive imposts, contributions and quarterings, as well as the rapacity of the yet unvanquished French had spared, became on these tremendous days (the 16th and 18th October) a prey to the flames, or was plundered by those who called themselves the allies of our king, but whom the country acknowledged as such only through compulsion. Whoever could save his life with the clothes upon his back, might boast of his good fortune; for many who were obliged, with broken hearts, to leave their burning houses, lost their apparel also. Out of the produce of a tolerably plentiful harvest, not a grain is left for sowing; the little that was in the barns was consumed in *bivouac;* or, next morning, in spite of the prayers and entreaties of the owners, wantonly burned by the laughing fiends. Not a horse, not a cow, not a sheep is now to be seen; nay, several species of animals appear to be wholly exterminated in Saxony. I have myself lost a flock of 2000 Spanish sheep, Tyrolese, and Swiss cattle; all my horses, waggons, and household utensils. The very floors of my rooms were torn up; my plate, linen, important papers and documents, were carried away and destroyed. Not a looking glass, not a pane in the windows, or a chair is left. The same calamity befel my wretched tenants," &c.† "Consider the state of the circumjacent villages, to the distance of 10 miles, all completely stripped. The *shells* of the houses were converted into forts, and loop holes made in the walls, as every village, individually, was defended and stormed. Winter is now at hand; the inhabitants have no prospect before them but to die of hunger; for all Saxony, together with the adjacent countries, has suffered far too severely to be able to afford any relief to their miseries."‡ "Only

* Memorial of the city of Leipsic to the British Nation, October, 1813.
† Count Schonfield's Letter, Leipsic, November, 28d, 1813.
‡ Mr. G. Frege's letter, Leipsic, November 10th, 1813.

two flocks of sheep did I see, until approaching Leipsic, and not two herds of cattle. The plains round Leipsic had the appearance of straw yards, strewed with the carcases of man and beast. The suburbs of Leipsic have greatly suffered. The field of battle comprehended more than 60 villages, all of which have been completely plundered, and many burnt. In this whole range, extending to the distance of 10 miles round the city, there are scarcely to be found either animals of any description, or corn, or hay, or any implements of agriculture. The houses that still remain are uninhabitable. The inhabitants of this country, which was once among the most flourishing and populous in Germany, are represented as crowding by thousands to Leipsic, for relief, which the general state of misery makes it impossible to grant. Whole families, once in affluent or easy circumstances, now without a home, are actually dying of hunger. No grain is left for sowing; and there will be no harvest this year, unless the means are immediately supplied."* A letter dated Holmstadt, near Grimma, 7th December, 1813, says, "both these places together (the villages Stotteritz and Holmstadt) contain from 6 to 700 houses, and at least 5000 inhabitants, half of whom are without shelter, and even without apparel or effects of any kind; for here the battle raged most furiously, and almost every house was a fortress, which was taken and retaken till it was converted into a heap of ruins. In spite of the most active exertions, an infectious disease broke out in Leipsic, and prevailed to a very wide extent throughout the surrounding country. The French army seems to have carried with it a contagious fever to all the places through which its retreat was directed." "Besides our own neighbourhood, the environs of Lutzen were dreadfully ravaged, on occasion of the battle of the 2d May; several villages were burned, together with churches and schools."†

LOWER SILESIA.—"The small town of Lochn, on the Bobr, consisting of 139 houses, is entirely destroyed; and the undermentioned towns have considerably suffered by fire and pillage, viz. Bunslaw, Goldberg, Haynau, Leignitz, Lowenberg, Naumberg on the Quiesse, Jauer, Primkenau, Rautden, Neustedtel, and Neusatz. Besides the above, the following number of houses have been burnt down; in the circle of Leignitz, 108; of Goldberg, 143; of Lowenberg, 809; of

* Accounts, by John Hobhouse, Esq. and others.

† Letter from Frege & Co. Leipsic, 22d February, 1814.

"In the course of a few months, more than 500 children have been deprived of their parents, and become helpless orphans, in the upper district of Meissen alone, by war, and by disease. We have to support about 2000 children of the poor in the country, who have lost their parents by the war, or diseases attendant on it." *Leipsic.*

Jauer, 80; of Sagan, 38; of Gruenberg, 20. In the other circles somewhat less." *Official statement.* "The number of houses burned down within a small part of this range amounted to considerably more than 2000." *Official statement.*

"On the borders of Silesia, *seventy* villages have been almost entirely destroyed. The loss in horses, cattle, milch cows and sheep is enormous. In Upper Lusatia, the whole tract between Bautzen and Gorlitz, which has been repeatedly traversed by the marches and counter marches of the armies, is reduced to a desart,"* "On advancing from Laun, a town on the river Eger, in the Austrian dominions, towards the Bohemian frontier, the effects of the long and tremendous struggle, between the French and the allies, at the commencement of the late contest, begin to be seen and felt. Between Toplitz and Dresden, 500,000 men were encamped for three months: and, it is at one post North of Toplitz, that the most decisive signs of war are visible. Preissen, Kulm, Arbesan, Nollendorf, and several other villages in the valley, in which Vandamme was defeated, are all burnt to the ground. From Nollendorf, across the Riesen Geberge to Peterswalda, not a village is standing. Fifteen or 20 hamlets, through which the road passes to Dresden, are fired and gutted. Amongst the ruins of a village, perhaps a single chimney is seen smoking; and around it, are eight or nine families, in a wretched situation. In short, from Toplitz to Dresden, a distance of 70 English miles, once fertile and populous, not a single village remains. An infectious disease is universally prevalent; I saw many dying, and one man died as I passed. From the frontiers of Saxony to the capital, the eye is presented with one wide waste of plain, littered with straw, and dotted with the numerous bodies of horses. The small towns and villages on every side of Dresden, are level with the ground. The fields are totally uncultivated."† "That part of Saxony, lying between the Bohemian frontier and Dresden, including nearly all its villages, has of late been visited by the most direful calamities. Dwellings were burnt or destroyed; cattle were driven away and perished by famine. The tenantry of these once flourishing districts, houseless, and without bread, are now suffering under the most fatal contagious sickness; of 36,000 inhabitants, 10,000 are afflicted with infectious fevers, and 6000 have already fallen victims to their direful effects. More than fourteen hundred families (for 25 villages are wholly destroyed) are exposed, almost naked, to the inclemency of winter, and have not even straw enough to lie upon."‡ "The town

* Authentic Statement. † Account of John Hobhouse, Esq.

‡ Letter to Messrs Harman & Co, London, from Messrs Ballatine & Co. Prague, Feb. 2d. 1814.

of Dresden has suffered little or no damage; but it is crowded beyond its resources by the multitudes that have taken refuge in it, from the destruction of the villages. Most of the beautiful walks were destroyed, many of the inhabitants turned out of their houses, which were pulled down, and whole woods felled for palisades. In Lusatia there is *not a corner* that has escaped the ravages of war. The vicinity of Grimma and Meissen was likewise, cruelly laid waste. At Wittenberg, one-half of the inhabitants have been forced to abandon their homes. Not only, were all the suburbs demolished and purposely burned, but the greater part of the city itself, has fallen a prey to the flames; and many, after being so long exposed to every species of hardship, are yet wandering about in this inclement season, without a roof to shelter them."* After the battle of Leipsic, the countries through which the French passed, suffered in a similar manner. " *The fate of the Clergy is peculiarly distressing.* The doors, shutters, floors, and even the roofs of the houses, were seized and burnt at the *bivouacs* by the French; who, in their flight, also carried off all the utensils, beds and clothes. Many clergymen were personally *compelled to drive their cattle* after the French armies; and, when permitted to return, were stripped of their coats, boots, and shoes. To most of them not a shirt, coat, boot, or bed, was left. Some far advanced in years, cannot recover from the effects of this cruel treatment. The wives of some of the Clergymen of my diocese, are now lying on nothing but straw, expecting the births of infants, for whose covering, they have hardly a few rags left, nor have they even the means of keeping a fire in their rooms: indeed, most of the houses of the Clergy are burnt, and they have been obliged to take shelter in such huts, as were too wretched to attract the notice of the French soldiers. The churches afforded no refuge, *for even they were plundered, and the pews used for fuel.*"† " The whole of last year was for us a time of distress, a succession of scenes of horror. In the early part of it, we saw, daily, thousands of sick and mutilated soldiers arrive here, in the most wretched condition, emaciated with hunger, and eaten up by vermin. They were, if possible, conveyed further, but many were obliged to remain here. It was a dreadful scene—many had died on the road; others died on the street. At first, the sight occasioned the most painful feelings, but by the frequent repetition, the mind became more callous. Within a distance of more than a mile from the town, no tree or house was permitted to remain. Every head of cattle was taken away for the use of the garrison, so that not a single

* Hobhouse and others.

† Letter from the Rev. N. N. Superintendent at Eckhartsberg, Saxony.

one remained to the inhabitants. During the bombardment, 138 houses were burnt, the French prevented the citizens from checking the conflagration, spoiled even the engines, and pulled down 72 houses more, which had remained in that part of the town. Our beautiful Cathedral is a stable for horses, and the churches are turned into block-houses."* "The towns in Franconia are in a miserable condition; Vacha, Berka, and Hunefield, are nearly depopulated by the fever. In the latter, a small town, numbers are dying daily. On the line of the French retreat through Thuringia, the damage has been extreme. All the other towns on the route to Mentz, particularly Hanau, are in the utmost want. The funds of the Orphan House at Halle, in which from 6 to 1200 orphans were entirely educated and maintained, have of necessity been applied to the sufferers in battle. This institution, therefore, is without resources. The same fate has befallen the numerous public institutions of a charitable nature, which abounded in the city of Hanover. They are ruined. The consequences is general wretchedness, poverty, disease, and want of food." *Authentic reports.*"

PRUSSIA.—"Not a bed, not a spoon, not a stool did they leave them; (in Stettin) and, finally, burnt, in the most wanton manner, the houses and cottages in the suburbs and villages. They turned out, on one day, 2000 women and children; and obliged them to live on rafts in the river, exposed to every inclemency of the season, without affording them the least supply of provisions. Kustrin, Glogau, &c. shared the same fate."† "The following villages in Brandenberg suffered from the battle of Gros Beerin, a loss in grain, cattle, standing corn, implements of husbandry, and buildings, to the amount of 82,639 rix dollars, viz. Gros Beerin, Klien Beerin, Ossdorf, Keinersdorf, and Stansdorf. All the houses of the inhabitants, barns, and stables, had been emptied, and most of them destroyed."‡

HANOVER.—"What scenes of wretchedness I have witnessed! how shocking is the present condition of things when compared with the prosperity that formerly reigned in this unfortunate place. Our streets exhibit numbers of our wretched fellow-subjects, wandering about like spectres, pale from hunger, and shivering from cold; and many others, who, stretched on their bed of sickness, fervently pray to God to send death to release them from their misery. But what is still more affecting, young persons, hitherto virtuous, plunge into vice to gain some few pence from the foreign military, to satisfy their demands of hunger, or to assist their starving parents," &c. Report of

* Letter from the Rev. Dr Schwabe, Erfurt, Jan. 14th, 1814.
† Letter C. L. Wiessman. ‡ Official statement.

Counsellor Kauffman, Hanover, February 19th, 1814. "But our greatest sufferings began when the army of Ekmuhl took a position here against the Russian corps under Chernicheff. I myself have, within the short period of one fortnight, lodged and fed at my house 1495 men and their horses. The smallest houses of the peasants had, daily, from 80 to 100 men. The soldiers took from them whatever they could find: many people fled from their homes. All around us is a scene of devastation, whatever could serve as fuel was destroyed; all the gardens, which are the principal means of the support of the inhabitants of this place, lie open and waste."* But

HAMBURGH—wretched and unfortunate Hamburgh, all the vials of the tyrant's wrath, under the most merciless of all those satellites which in his name have devastated Europe, seem to have been poured out upon thee. "Murders and arrestations are the leading principles of the Government. Fifty thousand inhabitants—I say 50,000, and perhaps even 70,000, have left, and partly been driven from their homes, destitute of all means, and literally starving for want of the common necessaries of life. Some hundreds of children, from infancy to twelve years of age, were, by order of Davoust, conducted to a village about two miles from the city, and there turned adrift in an open field, to be picked up by the country people or perish."†

"Within a space of 4500 feet round the ramparts, all houses were destroyed and burnt down. Sixty-one houses at Hamm were also burnt. Whoever knows the populous vicinity of Hamburgh, will be able to form an idea of the extent of the calamity. *All churches are converted into stables.* The week before Christmas all the suburbs and adjacent villages were burnt down, after eight hours warning: the Hamburgherberg, containing 6000 inhabitants, the Reeperbahn, Schulterblatt, Rosenhoff, Shafferkamp, Grindel, &c. The beautiful country seats, near the Alster, shared the same fate. All the houses in the vicinity of the ramparts, Kehrivieder, Halle Reihe, Hall Brook, Wandrahm, Schweinemarkt, Messberg, &c. &c. have been given up to the military. At a latter period, Harvestihude, the beautiful village of Eimsbuttel, a considerable part of the Stadt Deich, and part of the Gartnerstrasse, at Altona, were burned. At Christmas and New years eve large bodies of inhabitants were turned out: young and stout persons, as being dangerous; and old and infirm ones, as being useless consumers. Soldiers and police officers entered the houses by night, dragged the unhappy people from their beds, suffered them hardly to dress themselves, much less to

* Letter from the Reverend Mr. Ritscher of Gilfhorn, Hanover, 5th January, 1814.

† Authentic letters.

take any thing with them, confined them for some hours in churches, and turned thousands of them, at day break, out of the gates, exposing them to the inclemency of the weather. The Orphan House was evacuated, and upwards of four hundred children driven out of the dam-gate, to Eppendorf. From the hospitals and infirmaries, old and weak persons were driven in herds out of the Altona-gate; dressed in their festival habits, the only ones that were left them, four of them were upwards of 100 years old. Some, having been unaccustomed, for a length of time, to the air, and exposed half naked to a cold of 19° (Reaumur 11° below zero) turned mad. Scenes were witnessed, which filled *even French gens de armes* with horror and detestation. The sick were transported on many waggons, attended by officers of the police, to Altona; some of these waggons were refused admittance; upon which, the poor unhappy wretches were thrown upon the high roads. In the first week of the new year, Davoust ordered the infirmary, called the Pesthoff, to be burned, which was so promptly executed that a great number of people had nearly perished in the flames. The sick were, during the night, thrown in the snow, on the the neighbouring field, where they lay till waggons arrived, on which the nervous, the blind, maniacs, and those afflicted with infectious diseases were promiscuously laden. Eight hundred of these wretches were carried to Eppendorf, where no previous notice had been sent, and consequently where no preparations had been made for their reception; so that three days after their arrival, many of them were without shelter, and maniacs ran about the streets, at the very time this place was taken by assault, by the Russians. To the end of January, 20,000 people have lost their houses and property, by fire, in the suburbs; and yet, daily, more are expelled, and more houses burned. The roads about Hamburgh, in all directions, are crowded with children, women, and old men, half starved and frozen: long trains, conducted by Cossacks, are seen lingering on the roads to Lubeck and Bremen. The women and children, being unable to withstand the rigour of the season, are, consequently, frozen *to death by numbers at a time.* The number of exiled Hamburghers at present (March 16th) residing in Bremen, Altona, and Lubeck, persons of the poorest class, and in want of the commonest necessaries of life, is said to amount to 13,000, not to mention the number who are dispersed over the country, or who have taken refuge in other towns. The hospitals here (Lubeck) are filled with 11,000 of the unfortunate women and children, dying partly from fatigue and partly from the inclemency of the season; and the deaths are from 10 to 13 a-day. It would be useless to dwell any

longer on this distressful scene of calamity; it surpasses all description."*

Dantzic also suffered most severely. The opulent inhabitants were reduced to beggary. All classes suffered. Misery and horror took up their abodes within its devoted walls. The remains of the French army brought with it a pestilential disease. They were seen walking about the streets, delirious from their sufferings, without relief, or the means of procuring any. Hundreds died daily. It spread amongst the inhabitants, many of whom perished. Nor durst the living bewail the loss of the nearest relative; by the orders of Rapp, even that consolation was denied them. The numerous burials were conducted privately—no signs of grief dared be shewn by any one. The towns of Prussia, and particularly Berlin, were filled with sick and wounded soldiers, of both parties, but chiefly of the allies. Women of the first rank attended upon these brave defenders of their country. They even sold their jewels to procure necessaries for them. One young lady, the daughter of the Prussian Baron Schmettau, having given away for that purpose all the valuables which she had, at last cut off her hair, sold it for a ducat, and bestowed it to relieve the distress and the wants of the sick and wounded. This generous deed having been reported to Count de Hardenberg, he endeavoured to find out the identical tresses, and succeeded. He then directed these to be wrought into rings, broaches, &c. &c. and sold to the admirers of this trait of patriotism, and they produced in this state to the fund for which they were originally destined, upwards of 400 rix-dollars. The destruction and distress which marked the countries through which the French army fled from the bloody fields of Leipsic, was altogether indiscribable. Dead bodies covered the roads. Half consumed French soldiers were found in the ruins of the villages, destroyed by the flames. Whole districts were depopulated by disease—every kind of property was destroyed—every living creature abandoned these melancholy spots. For a month after the retreat, said the Prussian Camp Paper, No. 10, dated Frankfort, November 9th, 1813, "no human being, no domestic animal, no poultry, nay, not even a sparrow, was to be met with: *only ravens in abundance, feeding on corpses, were seen.* But it is unnecessary to dwell on this heart-rending subject. Suffice it to say, that similar was the situation of all that part of Europe, extending from Moscow to Mayence, a distance of 1450 miles.

The history of human atrocities affords no instance of such unparalleled misery, robbery, and destruction, as this. The blood runs cold to contemplate such distressing enormities; and

* Authentic Statements.

the bosom burns with indignation to think that the perpetrators of it should dare to lift up their audacious countenances amongst men. What is the life of that villain Davoust?—what a poor compensation would it be for the thousands that have perished by his merciless decrees. It is impossible that this man can escape. He may evade for the moment the justice of man, but the arm of the Almighty will overtake him, armed with terrors and vengeance.

But leaving this, let us proceed to our immediate object, and from the preceding account sum up, as shortly as possible, the amount of property destroyed in Germany during the year 1813. Sixty villages, some of which contained from 3 to 400 houses, were totally ruined in October, besides what Leipsic itself suffered Several villages were burnt in May, near Lutzen. The number of buildings, therefore, in this quarter, destroyed or damaged, could not be less than 3 or 4,000, and their value, with the property in the country round Leipsic alone, is estimated at 2,580,000 dollars or £520,000 sterling. In Lower Silesia, above 2000 buildings have been consumed, besides what was damaged. On the frontiers of Saxony, towards Dresden, 70 villages were almost totally destroyed; and the towns of Bautzen, Goritz, and many others, suffered much. From Dresden to the Bohemian frontiers even greater destruction has taken place; and from thence to the Rhine nothing is seen but ruin and desolation. Upwards of 10,000 buildings more have certainly been destroyed in these places, and the finest country in Europe rendered a complete wilderness. In Hanover, Hamburgh, and other places, at least 10,000 other buildings, still more valuable than the others, have been destroyed. Here then is a destruction of property, in buildings alone, of about three times the number that were destroyed in Moscow, but many of them were not so rich; yet, there was a much greater destruction of property in the countries surrounding, and a population of near 30 times that of Moscow was reduced even to as great misery and want. What then shall we, from this data, calculate the destruction of property in Germany, besides what was in Italy? The amount must be enormous—the industry of centuries will scarcely replace it; and the total amount must be equal to that of Moscow, but call it only one half, or £65,600,000 sterling.

During the tremendous campaign of 1809, the destruction of property was prodigious. The suburbs of Vienna suffered much. Besides, according to the 26th French bulletin, dated Wolkersdorf, July 9th, 1809, "twelve of the most considerable villages in the beautiful plain of Vienna, such as are seen in the neighbourhood of a great capital, have been burnt during the battle" (of Wagram.) At Asperne even greater destruction took place. The environs of Ratisbon suffered in-

calculable injury during the tremendous conflicts near that place. In different places of the Austrian states, such as Raab, &c. much damage was done. In the Tyrol 7000 houses were totally destroyed, and the country laid waste. Here then is a destruction at least equal to the total number of buildings in Moscow; and considering the devastation over the fields in these fine countries, we may safely estimate the loss in 1809 at one milliard, or £43,730,000 sterling.

The next object of importance is, the destruction of property in buildings, and other things, in the numerous towns and places that have been besieged or blockaded, during this dreadful contest. These are so numerous that it is scarcely possible to enumerate them, and I shall therefore only state the principal of them. The data I have from which to estimate this loss is furnished by the enemy himself, and is as follows, viz. According to the French bulletin, dated May 29th, 1807, the destruction in Dantzic during the siege then concluded, was 21,000,000 francs. In 1813 it must have suffered as much, if not more, together, 42,000,000 francs. The following important fortresses, besides innumerable others of lesser note, have suffered from sieges, viz. Valenciennes, twice; Lisle, once; Ostend, once; Luxembourg, Tournay, Ehrenbrietstien, Manheim, Spires, Worms, Landau, Kehl, Huninguen, repeatedly; Mentz, three times; Genoa, twice; Mantua, twice; Venice, Alessandria, Tortona, Verona, Flushing, Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, St. Sebastians, (twice) Burgos, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Valencia, Tortosa, Tarragona, Sarragossa, Gerona, Almeida, Alexandria, Acre, Erfurt, (twice) Torgau, Wittemberg, Magdeburg, Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Glogau, (twice) Thorn, Modlin, Zentochan, Zamoese, Riga, Copenhagen, Pampluna, &c. &c. Now, if allowing for the numerous places of less importance, we estimate the total loss at an average in each place here enumerated, for each time, at the same amount as Dantzic, or for facility of calculation, at 20 millions francs, the whole would amount to 1,200,000,000 francs, or £52,500,000 sterling.

Next in rotation we may consider the destruction at the immediate vicinity of the places where the different bloody battles were fought. This must have been very great. In 1805, Ulm and its environs sustained a loss of 2,000,000 Austrian florins, or 5,000,000 francs. Now, this is certainly a very moderate scale for calculating the loss in those battles and places, the particulars of which are not already mentioned and included under other heads. During 1793 and 1794, the engagements were numerous and severe; and in Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain, I certainly do not over estimate this at 100,000,000 francs. In 1797, the loss by the engagements

between the Archduke Charles, and Jourdan and Moreau, at 20,000,000 francs. In Italy, 1796 and 1797, in the numerous battles between Bonaparte and the Austrians, at 50,000,000 francs. The tremendous campaigns of 1799 and 1800 to the amount of at least double the former two. Austerlitz, Jena, Pultusk, Eylau, Friedland, Copenhagen, Ratisbon, Raab, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Valencia, Albuera, Vimiera, Busaco, Torres Vedras, Talavera, Orthes, Thoulouse, Lutzen, Hanau, La Rothiere, Montmirail, Troyes, Laon, Montmartre, and numerous others in various parts of the world, in later times, too tedious to mention, at least 150,000,000 francs more, or, altogether, 560,000,000 francs, £24,500,000 sterling. This sum however, we shall suppose is included in the general loss sustained by each country.

In the last article, I merely allude to the destruction of private property from the effects of a general battle, without any wish on either side to aggravate or extend that loss beyond what cannot be prevented; but which, however, was not always the case. Of the excessive waste and destruction of property, and the works of industry over different fertile countries, during 1793, 1794, and 1795, I have no accurate data to judge by; but when we look at those periods where we have, and consider the nature of the contest, then we cannot, throughout the Netherlands, in Spain, Germany, Italy, and other places, estimate it at less than £30,000,000 sterling.

Italy has at different periods had her full share of waste and destruction. Independent of the numerous towns besieged by both parties, the destruction amongst the open towns, villages, and hamlets, was very great. It is scarcely possible to form any thing like an accurate estimate of it. The beautiful town of Pavia was nearly destroyed by Bonaparte. Lugo was sacked and plundered by Augereau. "Every inhabitant (says that worthy associate of Napoleon) convicted of having fired at a Frenchman, shall be shot, and his house set on fire. Every village which shall take up arms shall be burnt."* "Any who treat us as enemies, to them we will be terrible as the fire from Heaven; we will burn the houses and lay waste the territories of villages which shall take part in a war in which they have no concern."† This personage never failed in making threatenings of destruction good. In the same he says, "Lasnes marched against the Imperial fiefs, he burned the rebel's houses, and made the chiefs of them prisoners, who have been shot." Bonaparte, the same year, burned the town of Benasco, and massacred 800 of the inhabitants. Various other places shared the same fate. It would

* Proclamation, June, 1796.

† Bonaparte's proclamation to the Tyrolese, June 14th, 1796.

be endless to particularize them. We have seen what has been the conduct of these Gallic swarms in other places, and here their republican furor reigned without controul. During the dreadful campaigns of 1799 and 1800, the destruction was prodigious; what the industry of the inhabitants and the excellence of the climate had in some degree repaired, was again destroyed. Including the wars against Naples, and those in the Illyrian Provinces, in 1805, &c. I certainly do not exceed when I take one-fourth the loss at Moscow as the destruction of property in Italy at different periods, viz. 750,000,000 francs, or £32,875,000 sterling.

In Germany, and the West Bank of the Rhine, at different periods, subsequent to 1795, the destruction was prodigious. The last of these we have enumerated already. Previous to that period, in the bloody campaigns of 1794 and 1795, it must have been very great. From a memorial presented to the German Diet, early in 1794, it appears that the Bishopric of Spires had sustained a loss of property by the French inroads, to the amount of 4,000,000 florins. "We continue," said Lavat, "to devastate the enemy's country; within an extent of 40 miles round, *we leave the inhabitants only eyes to weep.*"* Other places no doubt suffered equally. In 1796, says Sir Robert Anstruther, Sept. 10th, 1796. "Every species of violence has been exercised upon the persons, as well as on the properties of the inhabitants: many villages have been reduced to ashes, without the existence of even a pretext for this act of barbarity, and the countries through which their army (retreating) has passed, exhibit every where, a spectacle of the utmost desolation and distress." In 1805, upon *advancing* against Austria, says an account from that country, "the French army who have crossed the Rhine, are maintained at the expense of the inhabitants, and the scenes of misery, distress, terror and flight, which have ensued, are indiscribable." In 1799, in 1800, and in 1801, the destruction of property along the frontiers of Switzerland, the borders of the Upper Rhine, Swabia and Bavaria, was immense, and it is not perhaps over estimating it for all these years at £16,000,000 sterling, half that of Italy, as above noted.

The loss of Prussia in 1806 and 1807, has been already generally enumerated under the head of battles, and besieged places, and expenses for the war. Still, however, the country must have suffered much from the passage of such mighty destroying hosts in those years, and again in the end of 1812, and beginning of 1813; and £6,000,000 sterling, is perhaps not too much to allow for the destruction of property in Prussia and Prussian Poland.

* Convention, Feb. 4th, 1794.

In the Peninsula, desolation and destruction had full scope. There, the conduct of Frenchmen has left effects, which will never be forgotten. The whole country in the line of their retreat from Santarem, to the Agueda, was rendered a desert. Around Santarem, the country was rendered a waste: for 20 leagues round, says the Moniteur, the foragers sent out could find nothing. According to accounts, from eye witnesses, during their retreat, the destruction was most wanton and prodigions. "Alcobaco and Batalia were destroyed, as far as fire could do it. They rooted out the bodies of the kings, and destroyed their tombs. Santarem and Coimbra, are the only towns which they have not burnt to the ground. A century will scarcely repair the loss this country has sustained. Condeixa was set fire to by signal. All the houses and towns in their route. were not only burned, but the inhabitants butchered." Every town, village, or cottage, says an eye-witness, were destroyed. The growing nursery, and the wild grove, each havocked for destructions sake. The pot that refined the oil broken—the wine press burning for burning's sake—the grape vines, destroyed as noxious weeds. The furniture unburnt, thrown from the windows, and with carriages, &c. made a bonfire of; the huge libraries, strewed over the land in remnants of paper; the noble convents in ashes, and the poor, unhappy, aged inhabitants, unable to flee, *hung around as ornamenting the walls—ten, twelve in a place.* To bear the semblance of a female, was to be tortured; to be an infant, to be a sacrifice," &c. "The houses of Salgada were all burnt. The village of Manteigas, abandoned to the will of the soldiery. All the olive trees, which require half a century to mature, were destroyed. Every thing belonging to religious establishments, rendered a heap of ruins or carried off. In a few districts, 87,000 cattle were destroyed. At Mirande houses were burnt, valued at 165,000 crowns, and 1,000,000 moys wheat destroyed. At Arega, Vale Entati and St. Jago in Coimbra, the loss was upwards of £152,000 sterling, and in three other places, the damage done to the churches, exceeded £6000 sterling. These are but a few examples, but they may serve to give us an idea of the destruction in this retreat, about 250 miles in length. "I am concerned, (says Lord Wellington, in an official dispatch,) to be obliged to state, that their conduct throughout this retreat has been marked by a barbarity, seldom equalled and never surpassed. Even in the towns of Torres, Novas, and Thomar, in which the head quarters of some of the corps had been for some months, and in which the inhabitants had been induced by promises of good treatment, to remain, they were plundered, and many of their houses destroyed, on the night the enemy removed from their position. The convent of

Alcobaco was burnt by orders from the French head-quarters. The bishops palace, and the *whole town* of Leiria, in which General Drouet, had his head-quarters, shared the same fate, and *there is not an inhabitant in the country of any class or description*, who had any dealings or communication with the French army, who had not reason to repent it, and complain of them." This account, be it remembered, was from a pen which never exaggerated; and which, without more than common reason, was not wont publicly to complain. The town of Leiria contains about 4000 inhabitants; the others here mentioned collectively rather more. Considering the damage done in the country places, we certainly do not exaggerate in stating the destruction of property at 15 millions sterling.

In Spain, a country four times more extensive than Portugal, similar scenes again and again took place, through a four times longer protracted warfare, upon similar principles. Whoever reads the conduct and destruction of the French Locusts in Portugal, reads what has been their conduct over a large portion of Spain.* To quote examples is almost superfluous; and if we estimate the destruction of private property and labour, over that country, at 30 millions sterling, we do not exceed the truth.

In North America, the destruction of property in 1813 amounted to upwards of 2,000,000 dollars, by the Americans themselves, in their flight from Canada; and, perhaps, twice as much more since that time; at Washington, and in all other places together, about £1,500,000 sterling. The havoc of the French armies in Egypt, and the ruin spreading over all Spanish America, it is impossible to estimate to any certainty, but it may safely be said to amount to £10,000,000 sterling.

The destruction of private property at sea, from the captures and destruction of property in ships, must have been very great. But the amount is very difficult to ascertain. America has captured and destroyed of British ships and vessels, about 6 or 700; and Great Britain has captured from America, about 1400 sail of merchant vessels. Ships of war I account included in the expense of the different nations, as these were built by that money. Previous to 1796, France had captured from different powers 1400 vessels. "Since the new tribunal of prizes," said accounts from Copenhagen, December 10th, 1810, "has been established at Christiansand, in Norway, it has

* Wretches who could commit the following crimes would do any thing. "Acts of the most atrocious kind, and which make human nature shudder, are daily heard of, such as the death of a man who threw himself into a well to avoid the brutality of a Frenchman; the cruel murder of a mother, *whose breasts were cut off in the act of giving suck to her son*, by these monsters, who afterwards sabred her infant; and a number of other cases equally horrible." *Order of the Supreme Junta at Seville, February 7th*, 1809.

condemned 118 English vessels." The vessels seized at Carlsham, &c. in 1810, &c. were very valuable, and occasioned a great loss. Some accounts stated that they were at last got off with the loss of 1,500,000 rix-dollars. On the 4th February, 1799, Arnoult stated in the Council of Elders, that from 1793, till 6th September, 1798, France had captured from different nations 2658 vessels; and if we double this number as the sum total till 1814, we perhaps do not exceed the truth. What number Great Britain captured from the different nations I cannot ascertain; but, including the shipping taken in the different colonies captured by her arms, perhaps an equal number is not too many to allow. Her naval captures were a national loss, and therefore their value may be considered to be included in the annual war expenditure. According to the accounts of the Dutch, from the commencement of the war in 1795, till June 20th, 1799, Britain had captured from their merchants and ship owners, property to the value of 120,000,000 guilders. The value of the British factories destroyed on the coast of Africa, by the French, in 1795, was estimated at 50,000,000 livres; and Bonaparte, in a dispatch from Egypt, 1799, estimated the captures in the Red Sea, principally British property, at 20,000,000 francs. But the first sum may more properly be said to belong to the destruction on land. A French squadron, under Richery, also occasioned a great loss in the British fishing settlements at Newfoundland. The amount I am unacquainted with. The loss of property at sea, to all nations, may safely be estimated at 30 millions sterling, during the last 24 years.

Abstract of the Destruction of Property.

Russia,	262,500,000
West India Colonies,	120,000,000
Germany and Prussia, 1813,	65,600,000
Austria and Tyrol, 1809,	43,730,000
Forts besieged or blockaded since 1792,	52,500,000
Germany, Belgium, &c. &c. before 1795,	30,000,000
Italy, as noted,	32,875,000
Germany, from 1795 to 1810,	16,000,000
Prussia, 1806 to 1812 inclusive,	6,000,000
Portugal, 1810 and 1811,	15,000,000
Spain, 1808 to 1814,	30,000,000
America and Africa,	10,000,000
Destruction on the Ocean,	30,000,000
France,	328,125,000
	£1,042,330,000

LOSS OF EUROPE

BY THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

WAR EXPENSES.

I HAVE not, in the preceding accounts, taken any notice of the enormous losses which any of the Belligerent powers sustained in military stores, during the dreadfully destructive and disastrous campaigns; because that properly belongs to the annual war expenses of each nation, and is therefore included under that head. To have estimated it separately is impossible. The amount of the loss under the head which I am now about to consider is truly astonishing, and has left every nation in Europe drained and exhausted, beyond any thing ever recorded in history. The wealth of past ages, the comforts of the present, and the hopes of future generations, have all equally been swallowed up in this tremendous convulsion in the moral and political world.

In this catalogue I shall begin with Great Britain. She has, alone, amongst the nations of the world, preserved her rights, civil and sacred, inviolate. But these have cost her dear. The following has been the expenditure from the commencement of the war. But, first, I may state, that her average expenditure for four years, ending 5th January, 1792, was £16,200,000, and that of the succeeding year was estimated at £15,800,000, but call it £16,000,000. Her expenses, therefore would stand thus.

Year, ending	5th January,	1793,	(at peace)	£16,000.000	
Do.	do.	1794,	"	"	£25,401,959
Do.	do.	1795,	"	"	41,599,225
Do.	do.	1796,	"	"	45,453,346
Do.	do.	1797,	"	"	53,538,358
Do.	do.	1798,	"	"	63,076,198
Do.	do.	1799,	"	"	47,390,065
Do.	do.	1800,	"	"	54,140,069
Do.	do.	1801,	"	"	57,160,123
Do.	do.	1802,	"	"	62,252,179
Do.	do.	1803,	"	"	53,369,020
					£503,380,542

Subsequent to the Peace of Amiens.

Do.	do.	1804,	...	...	L 49,836,904
Do.	do.	1805,	...	...	60,475,828
Do.	do.	1806,	...	...	69,995,977
Do.	do.	1807,	...	...	69,260,055
Do.	do.	1808,	...	...	70,024,713
Do.	do.	1809,	...	...	77,336,222
Do.	do,	1810,	...	...	73,236,222
Do.	do.	1811,	...	...	83,099,186
Do.	do.	1812,	...	...	89,000,000
Do.	do.	1813,	...	...	104,398,348
Do.	do.	1814,	...	...	108,398,218
Do.	do.	1815,	...	...	115,000,000
From the peace of Amiens to the peace of Paris,				...	L.970,061,673
Brought forward to the peace of Amiens,			...	...	L.503,380,542
					£1,473,442,215
Deduct peace establishment of 1792, for 23 years,					352,000,000
					£1,121,442,215

It may be said that the gradual rise in every thing, subsequent to 1792, would have occasioned a proportionate rise in our peace expenditure, as stated for that year; but then, it must be recollected that it was the war which occasioned much of this rise; and also, that the progressive increase of the sinking fund would, very considerably, have lowered the expenditure; and we, perhaps, are not far from the truth by supposing that the one cause would have lowered the expense as much as the other would have increased it; and, therefore, the expenditure of 1792 is a fair average sum to deduct from the expenses of each succeeding year, in order to gain the true expense of the last 23 years. But to this we must add a great deal for the increase of the interest of the national debt, and for the very great additional expense a peace establishment must now be, in comparison to what it was in 1792. The national debt, at the close, of that year, amounted to about £233,733,609. The interest, £8,176,336. On the 5th January, 1812, the funded and unfunded debt amounted to £869,399,925, and its increase since that period was so considerable, that in 1814, the unfunded debt, amounted to £993,077,608, besides the loan of 18 millions, together £1,021,077,608. Of this sum £282,000,000* is redeemed, leaving £739,000,000, which being all reduced to 5 per cents, may make the total debt about £600,000,000, the interest of which is about £25,000,000,

* London Gazette, 1815.

or £17,000,000 more than in 1792.* But the sinking fund, which, for last year, exceeded 20 millions, will now increase in a prodigious ratio, and liquidate the debt rapidly. According to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the peace establishment for 1815 was to be £65,000,000, being nearly 50 millions more than it was in 1792; and on this account, before this enormous and additional burden for interest can be reduced, we may add, upon a very moderate allowance, at least 300 millions more, as the expenditure which the French Revolution has cost Great Britain, making altogether, £1,421,442,215. According to Mr. Colquhoun's ingenious calculation, the total value of property in Great Britain, and her dominions, is nearly £4,100,000,000, and the annual value of agriculture, manufactures, and labours of all kinds, £693,000,000; consequently, the national debt amounts to nearly one-seventh of the capital, and rather less than the proceeds of the industry of the whole Empire for one year. Such is the wealth and prosperity of Great Britain, and such the vast price which our laws, our liberties, and independence have cost us. They ought, therefore, to be carefully guarded and preserved, or why should we have preserved them at such a cost.

Let us next examine the loss which France has sustained by her frantic ambition, and then see whether Britain or her has suffered most. I have already stated this down to the end of 1795, and shall therefore only notice it in the subsequent abstract. After the above period, independent of the unprecedented plunder and extortion wrung from other nations at the point of the bayonet, her war expenses were very great. The expenses for 1796 could not be less than three milliards, as has been already shewn. The following, however, establishes it more fully. The resources of the government, from the 26th August till December, 1796,† was as under, viz.

Remainder of forced loan,	349,000,000 livres.
Land Tax,	300,000,000 do.
Carry forward,	649,000,000

* The debt stood thus at different periods, viz.

	Principal.	*Interest.*
Debt at the end of 1792,	L.233,733,609	L.8,176,336
Increase till the peace of Amiens,	327,469,665	12,252,152
Debt at the end of 1801,	561,203,273	20,428,488
Increase during peace,	40,207,805	307,478
Debt at the end of 1802,	601,411,080	20,735,966
Increase till the 1st February, 1813,	341,784,871	9,693,468
Total,	L.943,195,951	L.30,429,424

† Fermont's report.

Brought forward,	619,000,000 livres.
Personal Contributions,	25,000,000 do.
Other objects,	70,000,000 do.
Payment of national domains,	200,000,000 do.
Military Contributions,	50,000,000 do.
Bills on Foreign countries,	80,000,000 do.
Other objects,	20,000,000 do.
	1,094,000,000 livres.

Such were the resources for less than three months; and it is well known that these never were able to meet the expenditure. Carnot in his message, Aug. 1st, 1797, stated the deficit for the 2d *decade*, of the month Thermidor, to be 14,000,000; and that, only for their *most pressing wants*, it required 20 millions each *decade*, or 10 days. Ladebat, in the Council of 500, Nov. 18th, 1796, stated the expense of the year running (Republican year) was 1,170,000,000; and Treilhard, March 8th, 1797, stated the war expenses for the same year at one milliard. For 1798 it could not be less, for 1799 it must have been much more; and for 1800 it must have been the same. The expense from 1795 till the end of 1800 would therefore amount to 9,000,000,000 livres. From this period our data is certain. Bonaparte himself, December 29th, 1810, tells us that the war expenditure of France was "900,000,000 francs, and may amount to 1,100,000,000 francs." This is certainly not exaggerated; for from Talleyrand's Exposé of the French Empire, 1814, we find that much more was expended than was really stated, and which was taken from private funds to supply the war service. One milliard, and one hundred millions, annually, gives, during 14 years, till Bonaparte's abdication, 15,400,000,000; which agrees with Chatebriand's address to the French nation, wherein he says, that Bonaparte from the time that he was at their head, expended, or rather squandered away in ambitious wars, 15 milliards. By a pamphlet published at Paris, in May, 1814, by J. X. T. L'Aine, he states that the revenue of France, under Bonaparte, amounted to 1,500,000,000 francs; and that Spain, annually, cost him one milliard, independent of all the pay, contributions, and requisitions there levied. The loss of France by war, therefore, will stand thus:

Till the end of 1795, according to Calonne,			*L780,000,000
From 1795 till 1800, inclusive	9,000,000,000 francs.		
From 1800 till 1814,	15,400,000,000 do.		
Loss by assignats, mandats, &c.	14,100,000,000 do.		
Left in debt by Bonaparte,†	1,645,000,000 do.		L.1,771,656,250
Destruction of property, by Talleyrand's Exposé,	350,000,000 do.		
			L.2,551,656,250

* This is supposed to include the debt contracted from 1795 till the end of 1795.

† Talleyrand's Exposé.

To the preceding, we have to add the captures of her trade, which must have been very considerable. According to the Report of the Minister of Finance, Jan. 17th, 1810, the interest of the French national debt, was 111,000,000 francs, consequently, calculating at 5 per cent. the principal must have amounted to 2,220,000,000 francs, and the additional debt left by Bonaparte, makes it come to nearly 4,000,000,000 francs, or 175 millions sterling, as the present debt of France, almost equal to what it was at the beginning of the Revolution, notwithstanding all her tyranny and plunder. The interest on the debt left by Bonaparte, amounts to upwards of 80,000,000 francs annually, and that of the whole debt at common interest, is 200,000,000 francs, or L.8,750,000, and which, without a sinking fund to reduce it, will add more than an equal sum, as the expenditure occasioned by the war, thus making the whole L.2,726,656,250. France therefore, after having lost millions of lives; undergone almost a complete change of property from the most atrocious means; her commerce annihilated, her name detested, her National character lost—France, after all this, has lost by war almost four times the sum which Britain has; for I only account the loss of Britain, the National debt, that remains unpaid, and it must be recollected, that half of the National debt that is redeemed, belongs to the debt which has been contracted since the French Revolution, as the resources to liquidate it were raised with the other supplies, and forms part of the total expenditure. Britain has a sinking fund to pay off her debt, France has none—Britain preserved her Liberty, Laws, Constitution, Capital and Credit—France has lost every one of these—yet we are told Britain has suffered most by the war!!

Austria is the next power who has suffered most from expenditure by war. To the end of 1794, the expenditure of the Austrian Monarchy, Prussia, and the whole German Empire was estimated from good information, to amount to 887,807,352 Frankfort florins, 450 millions of which at least must have been spent by the Austrian States. It was calculated, that to preserve Flanders, it cost Austria on that side, 30 millions sterling. What the amount of the expenditure was in the dreadful campaigns of 1795, 96, 97, 99, 1800, 1801, and 1805, I have not been able to trace with accuracy. But from Bonaparte's 8th Bulletin, dated Vienna, May 16th, 1809, we learn, that to support the expenses of that campaign, Austria had issued 300 millions florins, of paper money, and that her debt then amounted before that issue to 1500 millions—Consequently the expense of that campaign must have amounted to, at least, 300 millions, and if the others are taken at the same average, only accounting 1795 and 1801, equal to each of the others, the whole would be 1,800 millions. The campaign of 1813 and

1814, must have each cost as much as that of 1809, if not more, but at the same rate, the whole would stand thus:

Campaigns to end of 1794	603,000,000
From 1794 till 1806	1,800,000,000
Campaign 1800	300,000,000
Campaigns 1813 and 1814	600,000,000
Austrian florins	3,303,000,000

Or £.361,265,625 sterling. Nor can this sum be exaggerated. It is more probably still below the truth. It was calculated, that in the campaign of 1793, the transporting the heavy artillery alone cost 58,000,000 florins. In 1796, the loss of magazines between the Seig and the Lahn, was estimated by the French Generals, at 90,000,000 livres; and in Italy, it must have been three times the sum, during that and the succeeding year. The number of men called forth to war in the Austrian States, were immense. Hungary alone, from 1792 supplied the following recruits to the army, viz.

From 1792 till 1796,.....	88,000
1796 till 1800.....	242,000
	330,000

The same proportion over the empire, would give 880,000 men, but it is well known, that the quota of Hungary was smaller in proportion than any of the other States.

The Prussian and other states, afterwards known by the name of the Rhenish Confederation, expended, as we have already seen, 437 millions florins of Frankfort. From that period, whether the latter States were engaged in war, for, or against France, their expenditure was equally great; and if we estimate their expenditure in war, at only half the amount of their peace establishments, it will for that period, amount to 70 millions sterling.

Holland till the Revolution, expended 160 millions florins: from that period, her expenses has amounted to from 65 to 80 millions florins, annually, at least 40 millions of which, may fairly be calculated as expenses, occasioned by war. This for 20 years is 800 millions florins, about 67 millions sterling. These two sums make 80 millions sterling.

Spain to the end of 1795, had expended 52 millions sterling, during three Campaigns, or say 17 millions, annually; and from that period till the Revolution, or rather invasion by Bonaparte in 1808, a period of 13 years, we can scarcely suppose her expenditure less than half that sum in war alone.

This is 110,500,000 sterling. From the Revolution, though overrun, she was never subdued, and perhaps 10 millions annually is not too much to state as her expenditure in war. This gives 60 millions, and these sums united, amount to £212,500,000 sterling.

Portugal in the early stages of the French Revolution, expended about 1 million annually. For the last 6 years, it must have been at least double that sum. This would make for the war expenditure 27 millions.

Naples, Sardinia, and the Papal States, till the end of 1795, spent 9 millions sterling. Tuscany and all other parts of Italy, perhaps an equal sum. From that period, in the different contests for and against France, Italy has perhaps expended 5 millions annually, solely in war, which for 19 years is 95 millions sterling. The whole 113 millions sterling.

Prussia during the fatal campaigns of 1806 and 1807, and for her assistance against Russia in 1812, must have expended at least £20,000,000 sterling. Her prodigious exertions in 1813, and 1814, has certainly cost her an equal sum. These two sums make 45 millions sterling.

Russia during the campaigns against France in 1799, in 1805, 1806, 1807, and with France in 1809, and her wars with Turkey and Sweden, has perhaps not cost her less than 60 millions sterling, and her prodigious exertions in 1812, 1813, and 1814, at least an equal sum, or together, 120 millions sterling.

Sweden and Denmark must have expended, at least 10 millions in the different contests in which they have been engaged.

In an evil hour, Mr. Maddison took it into his head that he would become a military hero. The consequences of which has been a loss to America of at least 200,000,000 dollars in war, or 45 millions sterling.

Spanish America is also plunged into anarchy and bloodshed; and the sums expended there in the work of destruction, and that will be expended before it is abandoned, will be very great, and cannot be estimated. Besides all this, almost all, if not all these nations and countries already enumerated, are left with enormous loads of debt, which it will require the labour, industry, and cares of future generations to pay. And for what has all this vast expense been entailed on mankind? Is it possible, that it could only be to defend their liberties against a set of madmen, and public robbers, who were without judgment, honour or principle? Yet it is literally so—and with the exception of Great Britain, not one nation succeeded in preserving their independence, though exertions beyond the common efforts of man, succeeded in recovering what they had lost.

ABSTRACT

Comparative Statement of the loss of France and Great Britain.

FRANCE.

	Livres.	*Sterling.*
Lost by Expenditure in War		2,726,656,250
Do. by assignats and mandats	14,100,000,000	
Do. debt before 1793, reduced	4,500,000,000	
Property confiscated, including colonies	*43,000,000,000	2,695,000,000
Destruction of property, including colonies		328,125,000
Share of destruction on the Ocean		6,000,000
Total France		L5,745,781,250

GREAT BRITAIN.

Expenditure by War	L1,421,442,215	
Loss in colonies,	5,000,000	
Do. for share, losses at Sea, suppose	10,000,000	
		1,436,442,215
Balance against France,		L.4,309,339,045

Or even allowing that the robberies by confiscating the properties of individuals, amounting to £1,881,250,000 sterling, is not robbery, and no loss to the nation, still the sum of

* That this sum is either very much within the amount of the value of property confiscated in France, or certainly does not exceed it, the following document, which has been received while this sheet was in the press, is a convincing proof. At the meeting of that fresh monument of French folly, the Parisian Assembly, named the Champ de Mai, held on the 1st June, 1815; M. Dubois de Angers, the organ of it, states, that the number of proprietors interested in the overthrow of the Legitimate, and in support of the Usurper's authority, amounted to six millions. "We are," said he, "6,000,000 of Proprietors invested with property by the Revolution." In page 881, the Reader will find the total amount of immoveable property confiscated in France, calculated from the best authorities I could obtain, at 55 milliard, livres, or one thousand, two hundred and fifty-seven millions sterling, but taking, as we should do, the livre at 10½d. it is L 1,443,750,000. A small part of this only was the old national domains. About one-fifth of the above, remained unsold in March 1796; but till 1800, I find from numerous documents, that perhaps one-half of what remained at the former period, was disposed of at the latter date, and much afterwards. The Reader will also bear in mind, that the above is only the *estimated* value, while from numerous instances, quoted in page 882, it appears, that the property sold for double. According to official authority, quoted page 885, it appears, that the average value of 59,000 estates was 9000 livres (L.383) each. At this rate, 6,000,000 of proprietors, who had been invested with property by the Revolution, would give 54 milliards, or L.2,298,000,000 sterling, as the amount of the property confiscated, and that changed masters in France. This sum is equal to half the value of all the property in the British Empire, and is perhaps equal to half the value of the whole fixed property in France. The moveable property in France confiscated in the early stages of the Revolution, is estimated, page 889, at 9 milliards, L.393,750,000 sterling, which now forms part of the moveable property in France, which has changed hands by Revolutionary robberies, but which, as it remains in France, Liberty and Equality, denied to be robbery. "We do not rob you," said a French officer, to some of the inhabitants of Germany, "when we take your money from you, we do it all for your good, and give your money back to you in return for your provisions, which we purchase, or your provisions for our money." Perhaps there is not an instance upon record, in the annals of any other nation, where such a complete change of property, by similar diabolical and tragical means, or indeed by any means, has at any time taken place. Many of these proprietors hardened as they are, must yet tremble when they remember how that property has been acquired. The blood of their murdered brethren, like that of Abel's of old, must call out from the ground on which they tread to Eternal Justice for retribution on their heads.

£2,418,089,045 sterling, remains as a loss, that France has sustained greater than Great Britain. The latter also has made immense advances in improvement, and acquired wealth, earned in the paths of honest industry, without stain or reproach to her character, and after having made great sacrifices to her friends, and even to France herself, came out of the contest with augmented territories and increased reputation. France has failed, and is miserably deficient in all these points:

The whole expenditure collected will stand thus:-

Great Britain,	£1,421,442,215.
France,	2,551,656,250
Austria,	361,265,625
German States, including Prussia to 1795	70,000,000
Spain,	212,500,000
Holland,	80,000,000
Portugal,	27,000,000
Italian States,	115,000,000
Prussia, since 1795,	40,000,000
Russia,	120.000,000
Sweden & Denmark,	10,000,000
United States of America	45,000,000
Swisserland, perhaps	10,000,000
Turkey, uncertain, but at least,	50,000,000
Total expenditure in war	L.5,091,864,090
Confiscations and Loans over Europe	985,113,356
Destruction of Property over Europe	1,042,330,000
Total	L.7,119,307,446

This is without including the confiscations in France, which we shall allow only changed masters, and was no real loss to the national wealth. Taking, therefore, the inhabitants of Europe at 160 millions, and one-fifth of that as the number between 16 and 60 years of age, viz. 32 millions as the number whose labour may be allowed should acquire property, it follows that each individual of that number has paid L.222 sterling, or about L.10 sterling, annually, for 22 years, ending 1814. If we take in to the account the confiscated property in France, then it would be, in round numbers, L.13 sterling, which each person, from 16 to 60, and about L.2 : 10 which has been paid by every individual, male and female, old and young throughout Europe, in order to defray the expenses of laying the "*foundations of the Grand Empire*,"* to be established by France. What a building it would have been, if finished upon the same scale—Babel was nothing to it. And for what has all this been done? Why, for nothing else, but that France might gain the liberty to deny her God—murder her Royal Family—overset all Constitutions—make one for herself annually—overthrow Royalty—fight for Liberty and Equality—obey a tyrant, and become the delirious tool of military despotism.

* "I have renounced the idea of the Grand Empire, of which, during 15 years I had but founded the basis." Bonaparte's Speech, March 25th, 1815.

APPENDIX.

THE following important extract, which while it refutes the charge of duplicity, brought by Bonaparte against the Austrian Government in her conduct previous to her junction with the Allies in 1813, (see page 379) shews at the same time, the desperate and deliberate falsehoods which the French Government had recourse to, and boldly practised. On the 31st Dec. 1812, he boldly published to the world, that France and Austria were "*inseparable*" (see page 289). In the following document, which I had quoted on another subject, but this part of which escaped my memory at the moment, Bassano thus proceeds, "*None* of the proceedings of the Cabinet of Vienna, *escaped* that of the Thuilleries. *From the month of November*, (1812) *the Austrian change of system was foreseen*, and if the government demanded extraordinary levies from the nation on the TREASON of General de Yorck, because it made it foresee the defection of Prussia, it *demanded fresh ones* on the defection of Prussia because it made it *foresee that of Austria*. It is this foresight which has spoiled all the combinations of the Cabinet of Vienna." *Bassano's Report, Dresden August 20th, Moniteur Oct, 5th*, 1813.

As another instance of the perfidy of the French Government, and one of the causes which compelled the Allies, after the rupture of the negociations at Chatillon, to form the resolution to negociate no more with Bonaparte, or any of his dynasty, (see page 660). I subjoin the following important document, laid before the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, while the last sheets of this work were in the press.

Letter from the Duke of Bassano to the Duke of Vicenza, in the Cypher of the Emperor, dated March 19th, 1814.

"Sir,—Your Excellency will have received, or will doubtless in the course of to-day receive the dispatch from Rheims, of which Mr. Frochat was the bearer, and which was accompanied by a letter from the Emperor.

The Emperor desires, that you would avoid explaining yourself clearly upon every thing which may relate to delivering up the fortresses of Antwerp, Mayence, and Alexandria, if you should be obliged to consent to those cessions. *His Majesty intending* EVEN THOUGH HE SHOULD HAVE RATIFIED THE TREATY, *to be guided by the* MILITARY *situation of affairs.* Wait

till the last moment. The bad faith of the Allies in respect to the capitulations of Dresden, Dantzic, and Gorcum, authorises us to endeavour not to be duped. Refer therefore, these questions, to a military arrangement, as was done at Presburg, Vienna and Tilsit. His Majesty desires, that you would not lose sight of the disposition WHICH HE WILL FEEL, NOT TO DELIVER UP THOSE THREE KEYS OF FRANCE, *if military events, on which he is willing still to rely*, should permit him not to do so, EVEN IF HE SHOULD HAVE SIGNED THE CESSION OF ALL THESE PROVINCES. In a word, his Majesty wishes to be able *after* the Treaty, to be guided by *existing* circumstances, to the last moment. He orders you to burn this letter as soon as you have read it!!"

With such a government, all negociation is, and must be vain. No tie can bind it—none ever did—none ever can, but the point of the bayonet. The capitulations of Dresden and Dantzic, to which he alludes, were concluded by inferior officers, with the express conditions, that these should be null and void, if the Commander in Chief refused to ratify them. These things therefore, afforded him no foundation or excuse whatever, to act with duplicity in a matter which concerned the safety and repose of Europe. But it shews the true character and real intentions of the man, and the profligate race which he governs; and is a complete bar to all negociations with him or them for the future: except upon such terms as will leave them without the means of annoying or alarming their neighbours. Let Bonaparte and the French nation, now do to the Allies, as the Allies did to these garrisons, and see if they will then conclude a treaty with Bonaparte, such as they did with Louis XVIII.

With Bonaparte's Act of Abdication, the Treaty of Paris, and the American Treaty, I shall now conclude this Work.

ABDICATION OF BONAPARTE.

"The Allied powers having proclaimed, that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the establishment of the Peace of Europe; the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares, that he renounces for Himself and his Heirs, the Thrones of France and Italy, and that, there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France."

Done at the Palace of Fontainbleau, April, 1814.

London Gazette Extraordinary, April 9th, 1814.

TREATY OF PEACE.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

His Majesty, the King of France and Navarre, on the one part, and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Allies on the other, being animated by an equal wish to put an end to the long agitations of Europe, and to the calamities of nations, by a solid peace, founded on a just distribution of force between the Powers, and containing in its stipulations the guarantee of its duration; and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Allies, no longer wishing to exact from France, at the present moment, when being replaced under the paternal Government of her Kings, she thus offers to Europe a pledge of security and stability, conditions and guarantees which they had to demand with regret under her late Government; their said Majesties have appointed Plenipotentiaries to discuss, conclude, and sign a Treaty of Peace and friendship: that is to say:—

His Majesty the King of France and Navarre, M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigorde, Prince of Benevento, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold of Austria, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew of Russia, of the Order of the Black and Red Eagle of Prussia, &c. his Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, M. M. Prince Clement Wenceslaus Lothaire, of Metternich-Winneburgh, Ochsenhausen, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Russian Order of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Neusky, and St. Anne, of the 1st class, Knight Grand Cross of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Joseph of Wurtzburg, Knight of the Order of St. Hubert, of Bavaria, of that of the Gold Eagle of Wurtemberg, and many others; Chamberlain, actual Privy Councillor, Minister of State of Conferences and for Foreign Affairs, of His Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty; and Count John Philippe de Stadion Thannhausen and Warthausen, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen, Knight of the Russian Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Nensky and St. Ann of the First Class, Grand Cross of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, Chamberlain, Privy Councillor, Minister of State and Conferences to his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty: who, after exchanging their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Article I. There shall be, reckoning from this date, peace and friendship between His Majesty the King of France and Navarre, on the one part, and His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Allies, on the other part, their heirs and successors, their respective states and subjects in perpetuity.

The high contracting parties shall apply all their cares to maintain, not only between themselves, but also as far as depends on them between all the States of Europe, the good agreement and understanding so necessary to its repose.

Art II. The Kingdom of France preserves the integrity of its limits, such as they existed at the period of the 1st of Jan. 1792. It shall receive besides an augmentation of territory comprised within the line of demarkation fixed by the following article: —

Art III. On the side of Belgium, Germany, and Italy, the ancient frontier, such as it existed on the 1st January, 1792, shall be re-established, the same commencing from the North Sea, between Dunkirk and Nieuport, even unto the Mediterranean between Cagnes and Nice, with the following rectifications:—

1. In the Department of Jemappes, the Cantons of Dour, Merbes le-Chateau, Beaumont and Chiney, shall remain to France: the line of demarkation, where it touches the Canton of Dour, shall pass between that Canton and those of Boussu and Paturage, as well as, farther on, between that of Merbes-le-Chateau, and those of Binch and Thuin.

2. In the department of the Sambre and Meuse, the cantons of Valcourt, Florennes, Beauraing, and Gedume, shall belong to France; the demarkation, upon reaching this department, shall follow the line which separates the forementioned cantons, from the department of Jemappes, and from the rest of the of the Sambre and Meuse.

3. In the department of the Moselle, the new demarkation where it differs from the old, shall be formed by a line to be drawn from Perle as far as Fremersdorf, or by that which separates the canton of Tholey from the rest of the department of the Moselle.

4. In the department of the Sarre, the cantons of Saarbruck and Arnwal, shall remain to France, as well as that part of the canton of Lebach, which is situated to the south of a line to be drawn along the confines of the villages of Herchenbach, Ubechosen, Hillsbach and Hall (leaving these different places, without the French frontier) to the point where taken from Querselle (which belongs to France) the line which separates the cantons of Arnwal and Ottweiler, reaches that which separates those of Arnwal and Lebach; the frontier on this side shall be formed by the line above marked out, and then by that which separates the canton of Arnwal from that of Bliescastel.

5. The fortress of Landau having, prior to the year 1792, formed an insulated point in Germany, France retains beyond her frontiers a part of the departments of Mont Tonnere and the Lower Rhine, in order to join the fortress of Landau and its district to the rest of the kingdom. The new demarkation proceeding from the point where, at Obersteinbach, (which remains without the French frontier) the frontier enters the department of the Moselle, and that of Mont Tonnere, joins the department of the Lower Rhine, shall follow the line which separates the cantons of Weissenburgh and Bergzabern (on the side of France) from the canton of Pirmasens, Dahn, and Anweiler (on the side of Germany) to the point where these limits, near the village of Wonnersheim, touch the ancient district of the fortress of Landau. Of this district, which remains as it was in 1792, the new frontier shall follow the arm of the river Queich, which, in leaving this district near Queichheim, (which rests with France) passes near the villages of Merlenheim, Knittelsheim, and Belheim (also remaining French) to the Rhine, which thence continues the boundary between France and Germany. As to the Rhine, the Thalveg, or course of the river, shall form the boundary; the changes, however, which may occur in the course of the river, shall have no effect on the property of the isles which are found there. The possession of these isles shall be replaced under the same form as at the period of the treaty of Luneville.

6. In the Department of the Doubs, the frontiers shall be drawn so as to commence above La Ranconniere, near the Locll, and follow the crest of the Jura be-

tween Cerneaux Pequignot and the village of Fontenelles, so far as that summit of the Jura, which lies about seven or eight miles to the north-west of the village of La Brevine, where it will turn back within the ancient limits of France.

7. In the department of the Leman, the frontiers between the French territory, the Pais de Vaud, and the different portions of the territory of Geneva (which shall make a part of Switzerland) remain as they were before the incorporation of Geneva with France. But the Canton of Frangy, that of St. Julien, (with the exception of that part lying to the north of a line to be drawn from the point where the river of La Laire enters near Chancey into the Genevese territory, along the borders of Sesseguin, Laconex, and Seseneuve, which shall remain without the limits of France) the canton of Regnier (with the exception of that portion which lies eastward of a line following the borders of the Muraz, Bussy, Pers, and Cornier, which shall be without the French limits) and the Canton of La Roche (with the exception of the places named La Roche and Armanay with their districts) shall rest with France. The frontier shall follow the limits of those different cantons and the lines separating those portions which France retains from those which she gives up.

8. In the department of Mont Blanc, France shall obtain the Subprefecture of Chambery (with exception of the Cantons de l'Hospital, St. Pierre d'Abigny, La Rocette and Montmellan) the Subprefecture of Annecy (with exception of that part of the Canton of Faverges, situated to the East of a line passing between Ourechuise and Marlens on the French side, and Marthod and Ugino on the opposite side, and which then follows the crest of the mountains to the frontier of the Canton of Thones.) This line, with the limits of the afore-named Cantons, shall constitute the new frontier on this side.

On the side of the Pyrenees, the frontiers remain as they were, between the two kingdoms of France and Spain, on the 1st of January, 1792. There shall be appointed on the part of both, a mutual Commission to arrange their final demarkation.

France renounces all claims of sovereignty, supremacy, and possession over all countries, districts, towns and places whatsoever, situated without the above stated frontier. The principality of Monaco is replaced in the same situation as on the 1st of January, 1792.

The Allied Courts assure to France the possession of the principality of Avignon, the Venaissin, the county of Montbeliard, and all the enclosed districts once belonging to Germany, comprised within the above indicated frontier, which had been incorporated with France before or after the 1st of January, 1792.

The Powers preserve mutually the full right to fortify whatever point of their States they may judge fitting for their safety.

To avoid all injury to private property, and to protect on the most liberal principles the possessions of individuals domiciliated on the frontiers, there shall be named by each of the States adjoining to France, Commissioners to proceed jointly with French Commissioners, to the demarkation of their respective boundaries. So soon as the office of these Commissioners shall be completed, instruments shall be drawn up, signed by them, and posts erected to mark the mutual limits.

Art. IV. To secure the communication of the town of Geneva with the other parts of the Swiss territory on the Lake, France consents, that the roads by Versoy shall be common to the two countries. The respective Governments will have an amicable understanding on the means of preventing smuggling, the regulation of the posts, and the maintenance of the road.

Art. V. The navigation of the Rhine, from the point where it becomes navigable to the sea and back, shall be free, so as to be interdicted to no person. Principles shall be laid down at a future Congress, for the collection of the duties by the States on the Banks, in the manner most equal and favourable to the commerce of all nations.

It shall be also inquired and ascertained at the same Congress, in what mode, for the purposes of more facile communication, and rendering nations continually less strangers to each other, this disposition may be extended to all rivers that in their navigable course separate or traverse different States.

Art VI. Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, shall receive an increase of territory. The title, and the exercise of its sovereignty,

cannot, under any circumstance, belong to a Prince wearing or designed to wear a foreign crown.

The German States shall be independent, and united by a federative league.

Independent Switzerland shall continue under its own Government. Italy, without the limits of the countries which shall return to Austria, shall be composed of Sovereign States.

Art. VII. The Island of Malta and its dependencies shall belong, in full possession and sovereignty, to His Britannic Majesty.

Art. VIII. His Britannic Majesty, stipulating for himself and his Allies, engages to restore to His Most Christian Majesty, within periods afterwards to be fixed, the Colonies, Fisheries, Factories, and Establishments of every kind which France possessed on the 1st of January, 1792, in the seas or on the continents of America, Africa, and Asia, with the exception, nevertheless, of the islands of Tobago, St. Lucia, and the isle of France and its dependencies, namely, Rodrigue and the Seschelles, all which His Most Christian Majesty cedes in full property and sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty, as also that part of St. Domingo ceded to France, by the Peace of Basle, and which his Most Christian Majesty retrocedes to his Catholic Majesty, in full property and sovereignty.

Art. IX. His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his Allies, and for the execution of the preceding Article, consents that the island of Guadaloupe be restored to his Most Christian Majesty, and cedes all the rights which he might have to that Island.

Art. X. His Most Faithful Majesty, in consequence of arrangements entered into with his Allies, engages to restore to His Most Christian Majesty, within a period hereafter fixed, French Guyana, such as it was on the 1st January, 1792.

The effect of the above stipulation being to revive the dispute existing at that period as to limits, it is agreed that the said dispute should be terminated by an amicable arrangement, under the mediation of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. XI. The fortresses and forts existing in the colonies to be restored to His Most Christian Majesty, in virtue of Articles VIII. IX. X. shall be given up in the state in which they shall be at the time of the signature of the present treaty.

Art. XII. His Britannic Majesty engages to cause the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty to enjoy, in regard to commerce and the security of their persons and properties, within the limits of the British sovereignty on the continent of India, the same facilities, privileges, and protection, which are at present granted to the most favoured nations. On his side, His Most Christian Majesty having nothing more at heart than the perpetuity of the peace between the two Crowns of France and England, and wishing to contribute, as much as in him lies, to remove, henceforward, such points of contact between the two nations as might, one day, alter a good mutual understanding, engages not to erect any work of fortification in the establishments to be restored to him, and which are situated within the limits of British sovereignty on the Continent of India, and to place, in those establishments, only the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of the police.

Art. XIII. As to the French right of fishery on the grand bank of Newfoundland, on the coasts of the isle of that name and the adjacent isles, and in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, every thing shall be restored to the same footing as in 1792.

Art. XIV. The colonies, factories, and establishments to be restored to His Most Christian Majesty by His Britannic Majesty or his Allies shall be given up, viz. those in the seas of the North, or in the seas and on the Continents of America and Africa, within three months, and those beyond the Cape of Good Hope within six months after the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. XV. The high contracting parties having reserved to themselves by the 4th Article of the Convention of April 23d, the regulation in the present Definitive Treaty of Peace, of the fate of the arsenals and vessels of war, armed and not armed, which are in maritime fortresses, surrendered by France in execution of Art. 2. of the said Convention, it is agreed that the said vessels and ships of war, armed and not armed, as also the naval artillery, the naval stores, and all the materials of construction and armament, shall be divided between France and the country where

the fortresses are situated, in the proportion of two-thirds to France, and one-third to the powers to whom such fortresses shall appertain.

The vessels and ships which are building, and which shall not be ready for launching in six weeks after the present treaty, shall be considered as materials, and as such divided in the proportion above assigned, after being taken to pieces.

Commissaries shall be mutually appointed to arrange the division, and draw up a statement thereof, and passports shall be given by the Allied Powers, to secure the return to France of the French workmen, seamen, and agents.

The vessels and arsenals existing in the maritime fortresses which shall have fallen into the power of the Allies, anterior to the 23d of April, are not included in the above stipulations, nor the vessels and arsenals which belonged to Holland, and in particular the Texel fleet.

The French Government binds itself to withdraw, or cause to be sold, all that shall belong to it by the above stated stipulations, within the period of three months after the division has been effected.

In future, the Port of Antwerp shall be solely a port of Commerce.

Art. XVI. The high contracting parties wishing to place and cause to be placed in entire oblivion the divisions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise, that in the countries restored and ceded by the present treaty, no individual of whatever class or condition, shall be prevented, harassed, or disturbed in his person or property, under any pretext, or for his attachment either to any of the contracting parties or to Governments which have ceased to exist, or for any other cause, unless for debts contracted to individuals, or for acts posterior to the present treaty.

Art. XVII. In all the countries which may, or shall change masters, as well in virtue of the present treaty, as of arrangements to be made in consequence thereof, the inhabitants, both natives and foreigners, of whatever class or condition, shall be allowed a space of six years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications, in order to dispose, if they think proper, of their property, whether acquired before or during the present war, and to retire to whatever country they please.

Art. XVIII. The Allied Powers, wishing to give his most Christian Majesty a new proof of their desire to cause to disappear as much as lies in their power, the consequences of the period of calamity so happily terminated by the present peace, renounce in toto, the sums which the Government had to re-demand of France, by reason of any contracts, supplies, or advances whatsoever, made to the French Government in the different wars which have taken place since 1792.

His Most Christian Majesty, on his side, renounces every claim which he might make on the Allied Powers on similar grounds. In execution of this article, the high contracting parties engage mutually to give up all titles, bonds, and documents relating to debts which they have reciprocally renounced.

Art. XIX. The French Government engages to cause to be liquidated and paid all sums which it shall find itself bound in duty to pay in countries beyond its territories, in virtue of contracts or other formal engagements entered into between individuals or private establishments, and the French authorities, both for supplies and legal obligations.

Art. XX The High Contracting Powers, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, will appoint Commissaries to regulate and effectuate the execution of the whole of the measures contained in Articles XVIII. and XIX. These Commissaries shall employ themselves in the examination of the claims mentioned in the preceding Article, of the liquidation of the sums claimed, and of the mode which the French Government shall propose for paying them. They shall also be charged with the giving up of the titles, obligations, and documents relative to the debts which the high contracting powers mutually renounce, in such way that the ratification of the result of their labours shall complete this reciprocal renunciation.

Art. XXI. The debts specially hypothecated in their origin on the countries which cease to belong to France, or contracted for their internal administration, shall remain a charge on these same countries. An account shall in consequence be kept for the French Government, commencing with the 22d December, 1815, of such of those debts as have been converted into inscriptions in the great book of

the public debt of France. The titles of all such as have not been prepared for the inscription, nor have been yet inscribed, shall be given up to the Governments of the respective countries. Statements of all these debts shall be drawn up by a mixed commission.

Art. XXII. The French Government, on its side, shall remain charged with the repayment of all the sums paid by the subjects of the above-mentioned countries into the French chests, whether under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments. In like manner, French subjects, servants of the said countries, who have paid sums under the head of cautionments, deposits, or consignments, into their respective treasuries, shall be faithfully reimbursed.

Art. XXIII. The titulars of places subjected to cautionment, who have not the handling of the money, shall be repaid with interest, until the full payment at Paris, by fifths and annually, commencing from the date of the present Treaty.

With regard to those who are accountable, the payment shall take place, at the latest, six months after the presentation of their accounts, the case of malversation alone excepted. A copy of the last account shall be transmitted to the Government of their country to serve it for information, and as a starting point.

Art. XXIV. The judicial deposits and consignments made into the chest of the sinking fund in execution of the law of the 28th Nivoise, year 13 (18th of January, 1805,) and which belong to the inhabitants of the countries which France ceases to possess, shall be restored within a year, dating from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, into the hands of the authorities of the said countries, with the exception of such deposits and consignments as French subjects are interested in; in which case, they shall remain in the chest of the sinking fund, not to be restored but on proofs resulting from the decisions of the competent authorities.

Art. XXV. The funds deposited by the communes and public establishments in the chest of service and in the chest of the sinking fund, or any other government chest, shall be repaid to them by fifths from year to year, reckoning from the date of the present treaty, with the deduction of advances which shall have been made to them, and saving the regular claims made upon these funds by creditors of the said communes and public establishments.

Art. XXVI. Dating from the 1st of January, 1814, the French Government ceases to be charged with the payment of any pension, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, pension of retirement, or half-pay, to any individual, who is no longer a French subject.

Art. XXVII. The national domains acquired for a valuable consideration by French subjects, in the ci-devant departments of Belgium, on the left bank of the Rhine and of the Alps, without the ancient limits of France, are and remain guaranteed to the purchasers.

Art. XXVIII. The abolition of the droits d'aubaine, detraction and others of the same nature, in the countries which reciprocally stipulated it with France, or which had been antecedently annexed to it, is expressly confirmed.

Art. XXIX. The French Government engages to cause to be restored the obligations and other titles which shall have been seized in the provinces occupied by the French armies or administrations; and in cases where restitution cannot be made; these obligations and titles are and remain annihilated.

Art. XXX. The sums which shall be due for all works of public utility not yet terminated, or terminated posterior to the 31st of December, 1812, on the Rhine, and in the departments detached from France by the present treaty, shall pass to the charge of future possessors of the territory, and shall be liquidated by the commission charged with the liquidation of the debts of the districts.

Art. XXXI. All archives, charts, plans and documents whatsoever, belonging to the countries ceded, and connected with their administration, shall be faithfully restored at the same time with the countries; or, if that be impracticable within a period not more than six months after the surrender of the said countries.

This stipulation is applicable to archives, charts, and plans, which may have been carried off in countries for the moment occupied by the different armies.

Art. XXXII. Within a period of two months, all the Powers who have been engaged on both sides in the present war, shall send Plenipotentiaries to Vienna, in order to regulate, in a General Congress, the arrangements necessary for completing the dispositions of the present Treaty.

Art. XXXIII. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within a fortnight, or sooner, if practicable.

In testimony whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 30th of May, in the year of our Lord, 1814.

(L. S.) (Signed) The Prince of BENEVENTO.
(L. S.) The Prince of METTERNICH.
(L. S.) J. P. Count STADION.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

The High Contracting Parties, wishing to efface all traces of the unfortunate events which have weighed heavily on their people, have agreed explicitly to annul the effects of the Treaties of 1805 and 1809, in as far as they are not already actually annulled by the present Treaty. In consequence of this declaration, his Most Christain Majesty engages that the decrees issued against French, or reputed French subjects, being, or having been in the service of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, shall remain without effect, as well as the judgments which may have been passed in execution of those decrees.

The present additional Article shall have the same force and effect as if it had been inserted in the patent Treaty of this date. It shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged at the same time. In testimony whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 30th May, 1814.

(Signed) (L.S.) The Prince of BENEVENTO.
(L.S.) The Prince of METTERNICH.
(L.S.) Count STADION.

The same day, at the same time and place, the same treaty of definitive peace was concluded—between France and Russia; between France and Great Britain; between France and Prussia; and signed, viz.

The treaty between France and Russia:

For France, by M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevento *(ut supra)*; and for Russia, by M. M. Count Rasomouffsky, Privy Counsellor of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, Grand Cross of that of St. Wolodimir of the 1st class; and Charles Robert Count Nesselrode, Privy Counsellor of his said Majesty, Chamberlain, Secretary of State, Knight of the Order of St. Alexander Newsky, Grand Cross of that of St. Wolodimir of the 2d class, Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold of Austria, of that of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of the Polar Star of Sweden, and of the Golden Eagle of Wurtemberg.

The treaty between France and Great Britain.

For France, by M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevento *(ut supra)*:

And for Great Britain, by the Right Hon. Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, Privy Counsellor of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Member of his Parliament, Colonel of the Regiment of Londonderry Militia, and his Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c.

George Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, Viscount Formartin, Lord Haddo, Tarvis, and Kellie, &c. one of the 16 Scotch Peers, Knight of the most Ancient Order of

the Thistle, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty;

William Shaw Cathcart, Viscount Cathcart, Baron Cathcart and Greenock, Counsellor of his said Majesty, Knight of the Order of the Thistle, and of several Russian Orders, General in his armies, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia;

And the Hon. Charles William Stewart, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath, Member of his Parliament, Knight of the Prussian Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and of many others, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the King of Prussia.

The Treaty between France and Prussia;

For France, by C. M. Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevento *(ut supra.)*

And for Prussia by M. M. Charles Augustus Baron Hardenberg, Chancellor of State to his Majesty the King of Prussia, Knight of the Orders of the Black and Red Eagle, and of many other Orders, and Charles William Baron Humboldt, Minister of State of his said Majesty, and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty.

With the following additional articles:

ARTICLE ADDITIONAL TO THE TREATY WITH RUSSIA.

The Duchy of Warsaw having been under the administration of a provisional council established by Russia ever since that country was occupied by her arms, the two high contracting parties have agreed to appoint immediately a special commission, composed on both sides of an equal number of Commissaries, who shall be charged with the examination and liquidation of their respective claims, and all the arrangements relative thereto.

The present additional article shall have the same force and effect, as if inserted verbatim in the patent treaty of this date. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at the same time. In testimony whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 30th day of May, 1814.

(Signed) (L.S.) The Prince of BENEVENTO.
(L.S.) ANDREW Count RASUMOUFFSKY.
(L.S.) CHAS. ROBT. Count NESSELRODE.

ARTICLES ADDITIONAL TO THE TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Article I. His most Christian Majesty, participating without reserve in all the sentiments of his Britannic Majesty, relative to a species of commerce, which is equally repugnant to the principles of natural justice, and the lights of the times in which we live, engages to unite, at a future Congress, all his efforts to those of his Britannic Majesty, in order to cause all the Powers of Christendom to proclaim the abolition of the Slave Trade, in such manner that the said trade may cease universally, as it shall cease definitely, and in all events, on the part of France, within a period of five years; and that besides, pending the duration of this period, no trader in slaves shall be at liberty to import or sell them elsewhere, but in the colonies of the state to which he belongs.

Art. II. The British Government and the French Government will immediately appoint Commissaries to liquidate their respective expenses for the maintenance of prisoners of war, for the purpose of coming to an arrangement on the manner of paying off the balance which shall be found in favour of either of the two powers.

Art. III. The prisoners of war respectively shall be bound to discharge, before their departure from the places of their detention, the private debts which they may have there contracted, or at least to give satisfactory security.

Art. IV. There shall be on both sides, immediately after the ratification of the present Treaty, a removal of the sequestration which, since the year 1792, may have

been placed on the funds, revenues, debts, and all other effects whatever of the high contracting powers, or of their subjects.

The same Commissaries mentioned in Art. II. shall employ themselves in the examination and liquidation of the claims of his Britannic Majesty upon the French Government, for the value of property, moveable or immoveable, unduly confiscated by the French authorities, as well as for the total or partial loss of their debts or other property, unduly detained under sequestration since the year 1792.

France engages to treat in this respect the subjects of England with the same justice that the subjects of France have experienced in England; and the English Government wishing, on its part, to concur in this new testimony that the Allied Powers have given to his Most Christian Majesty of their desire to remove entirely the consequences of the epoch of misfortune, so happily terminated by the present peace, engages on its side (as soon as complete justice shall be done to its subjects) to renounce the whole amount of the excess which may be found in its favour, relative to the maintenance of the prisoners of war. so that the ratification of the result of the labours of the undersigned Commissioners, and the payment of the sums, as also the restitution of the effects which shall be adjudged to belong to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, shall render its renunciation complete.

Art. V. The two High Contracting Powers, desirous to establish the most amicable relations between their respective subjects, reserve to themselves a promise to come to an understanding and arrangement as soon as possible, on their commercial interests, with the intention of encouraging and augmenting the prosperity of their respective States.

The present additional articles shall have the same force and validity, as if they had been inserted in those words in the treaty of this day. They shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time. In faith of which, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed them, and affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th of May, in the year of Grace, 1814.

(Signed) The Prince of BENEVENTO.
(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.
(Signed) ABERDEEN.
(Signed) CATHCART.
(Signed) CHARLES STEWART, Lieutenant-General.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE OF THE TREATY WITH PRUSSIA.

Although the treaty of peace concluded at Basle, the 5th of April, 1795, that of Tilsit of the 9th July, 1807, the convention of Paris of the 20th of September, 1808, as well as all the conventions and acts whatsoever, concluded since the peace of Basle between Prussia and France, are already in fact annulled by the present treaty, the high contracting parties have judged it nevertheless proper to declare again expressly that the said treaties cease to be obligatory, both in the articles that are expressed, and those that are secret; and that they mutually renounce every right, and disengage themselves of every obligation which might result from them.

His Most Christian Majesty promises, that the decrees issued against French, or reputed French subjects, being or having bee.. in the service of his Prussian Majesty, shall remain without effect; as also the judgments which have been given in the execution of those decrees.

The present additional article shall have the same force and validity as if it had been inserted in those words in the treaty of this day It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time. In faith of which the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 30th of May, in the year of our Lord, 1814.

The Prince of BENEVENTO.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS, Baron of HARDENBURGH.
CHARLES WILLIAM, Baron de HUMBOLDT.

A Treaty of Peace and Amity between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America; signed at Ghent, December 24th, 1814.

His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, desirous of terminating the war which has unhappily subsisted between the two countries, and of restoring, upon principles of perfect reciprocity, peace, friendship, and good understanding between them, have for that purpose appointed their respective Plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his Britannic Majesty on his part, has appointed the Right Hon. James Lord Gambier, late Admiral of the White, now Admiral of the Red Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet; Henry Goulburn, Esq. a Member of the Imperial Parliament, and under Secretary of State; and William Adams, Esq. Doctor of Civil Laws.—And the President of the United States, by, and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, has appointed John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russel, and Albert Gallatin, Citizens of the United States, who after a reciprocal communication of their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

Article I. There shall be a firm and universal peace between his Britannic Majesty and the United States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, of every degree without exception of places or persons. All hostilities both by sea and land shall cease, as soon as this Treaty shall have been ratified by both parties as herein after-mentioned. All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this Treaty, excepting only the islands hereafter mentioned; shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery, or other public property, originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the Ratifications of this Treaty, or any slaves or other private property. And all archives, records, deeds, and papers, either of a public nature, or belonging to private persons, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of the officers of either party, shall be as far as may be practicable, forthwith restored, and delivered to the proper authorities and persons to whom they respectively belong.

Such of the Islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy as are claimed by both parties shall remain in the possession of the party in whose occupation they may be at the time of the exchange of the ratification of this Treaty, until the decision respecting the title to the said Islands shall have been made, in conformity with the Fourth Article of this Treaty.

No disposition made by this Treaty, as to such possession of the islands and territories claimed by both parties, shall in any manner whatever be construed to affect the right of either.

Art. II. Immediately after the ratifications of this Treaty by both parties, as herein after-mentioned, orders shall be sent to the armies, squadrons, officers, subjects, and citizens of the two powers, to cease from all hostilities. And to prevent all causes of complaint which might arise on account of the prizes which may be taken at sea after the said ratifications of this Treaty, it is reciprocally agreed, that all vessels and effects which may be taken after the space of twelve days from the said ratifications upon all parts of the coast of North America, from the latitude of 23 degrees north, to the latitude of 50 degrees north, and as far eastward in the Atlantic Ocean, as the 36th degree of west longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, shall be restored on each side; that the time shall be thirty days in all other parts of the

Atlantic Ocean north of the equinoctial line or equator, and the same time for the British and Irish Channel, for the Gulf of Mexico, and all parts of the West Indies; forty days for the North Seas, for the Baltic, and for all parts of the Mediterranean; sixty days for the Atlantic Ocean, south of the equator, as far as the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope; ninety days for every other part of the world south of the equator, and one hundred and twenty days for all other parts of the world without exception.

Art. III. All prisoners of war, taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable, after the ratifications of this Treaty as herein after-mentioned, on their paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity. The two contracting parties, respectively engage, to discharge in specie the advances which may have been made by the other, for the sustenance and maintenance of such prisoners.

Art. IV. Whereas it was stipulated by the 2d Article in the Treaty of Peace of 1783, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, that the boundary of the United States should comprehend "all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean; excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of Nova Scotia." And, whereas, the several islands in the Bay of Passamaquody, which is part of the Bay of Fundy, and the island of Grand Menan, in the said Bay of Fundy, are claimed by the United States, as being comprehended within their aforesaid boundaries, which said islands are claimed as belonging to his Britannic Majesty, as having been at the time of, and previous to the aforesaid Treaty of 1783, within the limits of the province of Nova Scotia; in order, therefore, finally, to decide upon these claims, it is agreed that they shall be referred to two Commissioners, to be appointed in the following manner, viz.—One Commissioner shall be appointed by his Britannic Majesty, and one by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; and the said two Commissioners so appointed, shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide upon the said claims, according to such evidence as shall be laid before them on the part of his Britannic Majesty and of the United States respectively. The said Commissioners shall meet at St. Andrews, in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said Commissioners shall, by a declaration or report, under their hands and seals, decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands aforesaid do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said Treaty of Peace of 1783; and if the said Commissioners shall agree in their decision, both parties shall consider such decision as final and conclusive.

It is further agreed, that in the event of the two Commissioners differing upon all or any of the matters so referred to them, or in the event of both or either of the said Commissioners refusing or declining, or wilfully omitting to act as such, they shall make, jointly or separately, report or reports, as well to the Government of his Britannic Majesty, as to that of the United States, stating in detail the points on which they differ, and the grounds upon which their respective opinions have been formed; or the grounds upon which they, or either of them, have so refused, declined, or omitted to act. And his Britannic Majesty, and the Government of the United States, hereby agree, to refer the report or reports, of the said Commissioners, to some friendly Sovereign or State, to be then named for that purpose, and who shall be requested to decide on the differencies which may be stated in the said report or reports; or upon the report of one Commissioner, together with the grounds upon which the other Commissioner shall have refused, declined, or omitted to act, as the case may be. And if the Commissioner so refusing, declining, or omitting to act, shall also wilfully omit to state the grounds upon which he has so done, in such manner that the said statement may be referred to such friendly Sovereign or State, together with the report of such other Commisioner, then such Sovereign or State shall decide, *ex parte*, upon the said report alone; and his

Britannic Majesty and the Government of the United States engage to consider the decision of such friendly Sovereign or State, to be final and conclusive on all the matters so referred.

Art. V. Whereas neither that point of the Highlands lying due north from the source of the river St. Croix, designated in the former Treaty of Peace between the two powers as the north west angle of Nova Scotia, nor the north westermost head of Connecticut River have yet been ascertained; and whereas that part of the boundary line between the dominions of the two powers, which extends from the source of the river St. Croix, directly north to the above-mentioned north-west angle of Nova Scotia, thence along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the north westernmost head of Connecticut River, thence down along the middle of that river to the 45th degree of north latitude, thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, has not yet been surveyed, it is agreed that for these several purposes, two Commissioners shall be appointed, sworn and authorised, to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in the present article. The said Commissioners shall meet at St. Andrews, in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said Commissioners shall have power to ascertain and determine the points above mentioned, in conformity with the provisions of the said Treaty of Peace of 1783; and shall cause the boundary aforesaid, from the source of the river St. Croix to the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, to be surveyed and marked accordingly to the said provisions; the said Commissioners shall make a map of the said boundary, and annexed to it a declaration under their hands and seals, certifying it to be the true map of the said boundary, and particularizing the latitude and longitude of the north west angle of Nova Scotia, of the north westernmost head of Connecticut River, and of such other points of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such map and declaration as finally and conclusively fixing the said boundary. And in the event of the said two Commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, declining or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly Sovereign or State shall be made in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art. VI. Whereas by the former Treaty of Peace, that portion of the boundary of the United States from the point where the 45th degree of north latitude strikes the River Iroquois or Cataraguy, to the Lake Superior, was declared to be "along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie, thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication into the Lake Huron, thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior;" and whereas doubts have arisen what was the middle of the said river, lakes, and water communications, and whether certain islands lying in the same were within the dominions of His Britannic Majesty or of the United States. In order, therefore, finally to decide these doubts, they shall be referred to two Commissioners, to be appointed, sworn, and authorised to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in this present article. The said Commissioners shall meet, in the first instance, at Albany, in the State of New York, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said Commissioners shall, by a report or declaration, under their hands and seals; designate the boundary through the said river, lakes, and water communications, and decide to which of the two Contracting Parties the several Islands lying within the said rivers, lakes, and water communications, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said Treaty of 1783. And both Parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two Commissioners differing, or both or either of them refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and

such reference to a friendly Sovereign or State shall be made, in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art. VII. It is further agreed, that the said two last mentioned Commissioners, after they shall have executed the duties assigned to them in the preceding article, shall be, and they are hereby authorised upon their oaths, impartially to fix and determine, according to the true intent of the said Treaty of Peace of 1783, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two Powers, which extends from the water communication between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, to the most north western point of the Lake of the Woods; to decide to which of the two parties the several islands lying in the lakes, water communications and rivers forming the said boundary, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said Treaty of Peace of 1783, and to cause such parts of the said boundary as require it, to be surveyed and marked. The said Commissioners shall by a report or declaration, under their hands and seals, designate the boundary aforesaid, state their decision on the points thus referred to them, and particularize the latitude and longitude of the most north western point of the lake, of the woods, and of such other parts of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two Commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly Sovereign or State shall be made in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art. VIII. The several boards of two Commissioners, mentioned in the four preceding articles, shall respectively have power to appoint a Secretary, and to employ such surveyors or other persons as they shall judge necessary. Duplicates of all their respective reports, declarations, statements, and decisions, and of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, shall be delivered by them to the agents of his Britannic Majesty, and to the agents of the United States who may be respectively appointed and authorised to manage the business on behalf of their respective Governments. The said Commissioners shall be respectively paid in such manner as shall be agreed between the two Contracting Parties, such agreement being to be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty. And all other expenses attending the said Commissions shall be defrayed equally by the two parties. And in the case of death, sickness, resignation, or necessary absence, the place of every such Commissioner respectively, shall be supplied in the same manner as such Commissioner was first appointed, and the new Commissioner shall take the same oath or affirmation, and do the same duties.

It is further agreed between the two Contracting Parties, that in case any of the islands mentioned in any of the preceding articles which were in the possession of one of the parties, prior to the commencement of the present war between the two countries, should, by the decision of any of the boards of Commissioners aforesaid, or of the Sovereign or State so referred to as in the four next preceding articles contained, fall within the dominions of the other party, all grants of land made previous to the commencement of the war by the party having had such possession, shall be as valid as if such island or islands had, by such decision or decisions, been adjudged to be within the dominions of the party having had such possession.

Art. IX. The United States of America engage to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present Treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom they may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively, all the possessions, rights and privileges which they may have enjoyed, or been entitled to in 1811, previous to such hostilities. Provided always, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against the United States of America, their citizens and subjects, upon the ratification of the present Treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

And his Britannic Majesty engages on his part, to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present Treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or na-

tions of Indians with whom he may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively, all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in 1811, previous to such hostilities. Provided always, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against his Britannic Majesty and his subjects, upon the ratification of the present Treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

Art. X. Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcileable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both his Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the Contracting Parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object.

Art. XI. This Treaty, when the same shall have been ratified on both sides without alteration by either of the Contracting Parties, and the ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding on both parties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington in the space of four months from this day, or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof we the respective Plenipotentiaries, have signed this Treaty, and have thereunto affixed our seals.

Done in triplicate at Ghent, the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

(L.S)	GAMBIER.
(L.S.)	H. GOULBURN.
(L.S.)	WM. ADAMS.
(L.S.)	JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.
(L.S.)	J. A. BAVARD.
(L.S.)	H. CLAY.
(L.S.)	JON. RUSSEL.
(L.S.)	ALBERT GALLATIN.

The Ratifications of the above Treaty were duly exchanged at Washington, at eleven P.M. on the 17th ultimo.

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5. Saltmarket, Glasgow.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER

TO PLACE THE PORTRAITS.

The Emperor Alexander I.	to face page	82
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Prince Schwartzenberg	do.	451
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