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## P R E F A C E.

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ON appearing for the first time before the British public in the character of an author, I cannot help feeling a deep and heavy responsibility; and though sensible that if my work has not intrinsic merit no preface can save it from condemnation, still I deem an address to the reader both respectful and proper, in order to explain the motives which have induced me to write a naval history, and to give at the same time a clear statement of the plan upon which it has been commenced, and will be continued, should my life and health be spared to complete the arduous undertaking.

From my first entrance into the service with the late Hon. Admiral William Cornwallis in the year 1789, to my resigning the command of the *Tonnant* in 1815, I have been constantly in the habit of making memoranda of every public event which came under my notice, and of taking sketches of any port in which I have let go an anchor.

Shipwreck, in 1798, deprived me of the collection of nine years, but youth and carelessness soon effaced the accident from my memory, and I began again to replenish my sketch-books, and to note down observations; not however with a view of publishing, but merely for the amusement of myself and friends in the leisure of peace and retirement.

Having by these means; in my professional avocations and voyages, collected a stock of materials, it was suggested by a near relative, that, as the vast field of naval history lay unoccupied by any professional author, I might employ myself while on half pay in a manner useful to myself and to the public, by arranging my literary labours in the form in which they are now, with diffidence, presented to the world.

For three years and a half I have been unremittingly employed on the work ; the vast variety and magnitude of the subjects which have attracted attention, I have endeavoured to condense, but not to abridge. Many of the facts have, no doubt, appeared before in various shapes, and I have borrowed freely from the Annual Registers and other authentic and valuable works, without attempting to conceal the sources of my information.

We have, it is true, had our naval histories, but they have fallen short of the expectation of the profession, and consequently of the public. That by Josiah Burchett is the best which I have seen, as embracing the greatest variety of matter.—Beatson's "Memoirs" are good as far as they go.—Campbell's "Lives of the British Admirals" continued by Berkenhout, are not without merit, but they abound too much in biography of men whose characters, however conspicuous in their day, have long ceased to occupy the attention of the general reader: the same objections apply to the indefatigable Charnock; and the "Chronology" of the ex-



cellent Schomberg, is rather a catalogue than a history of events: seldom venturing to give an opinion, the moral of his work is lost amidst the countless detail of captures and recaptures, killed and wounded, disasters and victories; while two volumes are filled with a list of men and an inventory of ships, the memory of which might have been lost for ever, without the chasm being seen in the records of our navy.

Other writers on the subject, not having the advantage of professional knowledge, have fallen into errors natural enough to them, but which prove their incompetency to the task they had undertaken. It has indeed been the misfortune of our service, that its history has generally been written by men, who, however qualified by classical education, have wanted those indispensable requisites which can only be acquired by professional habits, local knowledge, and constant attention: hence it has arisen that many important events connected with the navy have been improperly stated, and consequently uninteresting to the rising generation, whose improvement should ever be regarded by the historian as *the great object of his labours*. Whether I shall prove more successful than my predecessors, is a question which I am so far from deciding in my own favour, that it leaves me in the most serious doubt and alarming uncertainty.

Although a work professing to relate the deeds of the British navy, it has been impossible to no-

tice every instance of individual valour and patriotism: I have therefore confined myself to the most prominent facts, to the exclusion of local, or partially interesting detail.

My chief wish has been to point out, after giving the history of events the causes of failure or success, with a view to the future benefit of the service and the country; and it is hoped that while the veteran and his family derive amusement from the record of former years, and the gratification of honest pride in the contemplation of those deeds by which his country has been defended, and his own name ennobled, that the young and inexperienced officer, emulating the bright example, will reap advantage from the perusal of the volumes before him; thus rendering, as it should do, the page of history conducive to the good of his country, and beneficial to the human race.

By the fate of the Guardian and the Tribune he will learn, on the one hand, what may be accomplished by coolness and seamanship in the hour of danger; and on the other, what may be lost by ignorance and inattention. Cornwallis's retreat, and the successful boarding of the Gamo by Lord Cochrane, will teach him never to despair; the capture of the Ambuscade by the Bayonaise, never to despise an enemy; and while the attack on the Droits de L'Homme shews the advantage of skill and valour united, other instances will prove the inefficacy of the one without the other.

The danger of taking the law into his own hands

when the sword of justice is held by a merciful sovereign, is clearly shewn in the melancholy stories of some gallant and zealous officers; and although I respect the ashes of the dead, and the sorrows of their surviving relatives, I am compelled, by a sense of public duty, to call the attention of youth to these instances of the misapplication of courage, and the criminal acts to which a man of honour may be led by the indulgence of passion, and by neglecting to study the laws of his country.

From the mutinies on board the *Bounty* and *Hermione*, he will learn to command with caution, vigilance, and moderation; to recollect, that the absolute power with which he is intrusted, is only for the good of his country; that he holds it but for a limited period, and that he must, both in this world and the next, render up an account of "the use or abuse" of it. Let him remember, that seamen may be led, as they have been in a thousand instances, to expose or to lose their lives in defence of their captain; and that in others, though happily rare, they have beheld his lifeless corpse sink in the waves with the most perfect indifference.

In speaking of my superiors I have been as studious to avoid flattery as presumption, ever inculcating the first lesson of a military character, "respect and obedience." In saying this, I mean not to shrink from the charge of having animadverted on the conduct of officers in high stations, and on public service: this was indispensable, and I trust will meet with indulgence.

I have given the official despatches on all general actions as I have found them in the gazettes; they are not, in many instances, remarkable for purity of style, or even perspicuity; but I have not thought it right to alter them. The list of the lords of the admiralty, the supplies for each year, and dimensions of some of the most approved ships of the navy, are arranged in tables at the end of the second volume.

The naval reader may possibly think I have wandered from my subject, in quitting the sea-coast to trace, though with a sparing hand, the operations of contending armies on the Rhine, the Vistula, or the Danube; but a moment's reflection will convince him, that this was necessary in order to connect events, and to shew their reciprocal effect upon each other. The capitulation of Ulm vibrated to the extremes of the British empire; and the politics of Petersburg, Constantinople, Paris, and Madrid, can never be viewed with indifference in London, Copenhagen, Brussels, or Lisbon. The invasion of Egypt was felt throughout Hindostan, and the troops of the India company were escorted from Bombay to Suez by a British squadron. The shores of America, from the St. Lawrence to Cape Horn, and thence to the straits of Juan de Fuca, have been more or less witnesses to our naval operations; while the banks of the Mississippi, the Oroonoko, Amazon, and La Plata, have felt and are still feeling the effects of the French revolution.

There is, perhaps, no situation under the British government, or in the world, which involves in itself more responsibility than that of the captain of a ship of war: the match which by his command is applied to a gun, may, for aught he knows, be the instrument of destruction to thousands of his fellow-creatures. The Leopard and the Chesapeake, the President and the Little Belt, and the memorable shot fired from the Leander which killed, or was said to have killed, John Pearce, are sufficient illustrations of this proposition. A naval officer, therefore, can never be made too sensible of the importance of his trust, and of the desirable union in his breast of courage and forbearance; and if to practical skill and valour he can add political foresight, it is impossible to say of how much importance he may one day become to society.

Much more may be required of our future navy than what has fallen to our lot to witness; "Great as our achievements have been," says Lord Exmouth, in a letter which his Lordship addressed to me on the subject of this work, "they will be far surpassed by our successors;" a prediction which if not verified the nation is lost; for without disrespect to the memory of the gallant admirals (and gallant they certainly were) who commanded our fleets on those occasions, we must see no more such battles as the 1st and 23d of June, nor that of July, 1795, in the Mediterranean. The eyes of the public are now opened, and they are better able to judge of the merit of a naval action, and of

its political consequence, than they were in the days of Keppel and Rodney.

The infidel may possibly indulge a smile at my occasional mention of "Providence" in the frequent triumphs of our flag; but I am content to submit to the utmost limits of his wit rather than be thought an insensible atheist, or the author of such a work as Lord Anson's Voyage, which though recounting the most miraculous escapes and the most brilliant success, has in no instance the slightest allusion to an overruling power: this may have proceeded more from a false shame than a real want of religious feeling, but in either case it is highly reprehensible: and I ever shall, as I am bound, uphold the opinion, that we have been signally distinguished by the hand of Providence in the issue of the late conflict,—that it is only by a thankful acknowledgment of those favours, and an undeviating perseverance in the path of political and individual justice, that we can hope for a continuance of them. Happy if I shall have proved that the duties of a Christian and a warrior are not incompatible, when engaged in the defence of his king, his country, and his altar.

I have endeavoured to shew that while Britain has nobly struggled for her own existence, she has not been unmindful of her suffering neighbours; and we are more proud of her self-denial and generosity to a subdued enemy, than of her deeds in the day of battle. The crafty tyrant whom it was our glory to humble, is said to have derided our

folly in ceding the territory we had acquired by valour, and might have preserved by negotiation; this, from the lips of an implacable enemy, is the finest eulogium perhaps ever pronounced upon a government, proving beyond all doubt, that we contended more for the peace of the world than for our own aggrandizement. The most distant nations are hourly reaping the benefit of the philanthropic endeavours of our countrymen to spread and communicate the blessings which we enjoy. The abolition of the slave-trade by the British legislature is the greatest triumph which freedom and civilization ever gained over avarice and barbarity. The empire has reaped, and will continue to reap, the fruits of the generous sacrifice, and the name of Britain and of Wilberforce will be revered as long as mankind shall retain the records of their ancestors. Arts and civilization are softening the manners and improving the condition of the savage of New Holland and New Zealand; and the Scriptures, by the industry and self-devotion of our missionaries, have been disseminated, not only in those islands, but over the vast countries of India, Tartary, Persia, and Russia. The power of Britain, therefore, has not been used for the destruction, but for the preservation of the human species.

The plan of my work and its object will, I trust, be now completely seen. The second volume contains the naval history of those regions which have not appeared in the first, concluding with the year 1803; the succeeding years will occupy, in

the same order of arrangement, the two last volumes, which I hope to complete in the course of the ensuing summer.

It was not my intention when I published my prospectus to have given engravings; but the advantage of a copious portfolio of original drawings taken by my brother Sir Jahleel Brenton and myself, has induced me to alter my plan, consequently the price of the book is raised, not, it is presumed, without adequate reason; although by this addition the subscribers are released from their engagement. The maps are from the best authorities, the portraits from the most approved likenesses, and the materials and the workmanship of the whole, such as I trust will answer the expectations of the public.

The log of the Queen Charlotte, most remarkable for technical phrases, has rather exceeded in length the originally intended limits; but this it is conceived will be overlooked in the utility of shewing, for once, the nature of the public and authentic records of a fleet in presence of an enemy. This species of writing will not be repeated.

It will be seen that I have never used the term "man-of-war:" observing once to the Earl of St. Vincent that I thought the expression "*She is a man-of-war*" was absurd, his Lordship replied, "True, Sir; but we now say ship of war." Our periodical writers frequently use expressions like the following, "Arrived the Renown, *man-of-war*, and the Spartan frigate," not knowing that even



under the present acceptation of the term both are equally men-of-war, as indeed are all vessels fitted by the crown for offensive operations, and bearing an admiralty commission. The commander of a brig of ten guns, or even one of her smallest midshipmen, would be exceedingly offended if he were told his vessel was *not* a man-of-war.

The term fleet, being a collective, is, generally speaking, indefinite as to number; but a regulation in the admiralty instructions of 1806 has decided, that no less than ten sail of the line are to have that denomination; when they amount to that number, a flag-officer is to be appointed with a *captain of the fleet*, whose duty is somewhat similar to that of an adjutant-general. He regulates the distribution of stores, the issue of public orders, receives all returns, and transmits the abstract to his commander-in-chief and to the admiralty: if a captain, he takes the rank, wears the uniform, and receives all the emoluments, of a rear-admiral.

A supplement will be annexed, with an appendix, to the fourth volume, containing, with the list of subscribers, other matters that may have been overlooked in the body of the history; in the meantime any suggestions tending to its perfection will be thankfully received.

As I have frequently quoted from the letters of the Earl of St. Vincent, it may be right to inform the public how I came into possession of them. The offer was unsolicited from his Lordship; and in a book which I procured to insert them, he

very kindly at my request wrote with his own hand the following note:—

“ Captain Edward Brenton has permission to make extracts or copies of such letters or orders standing in my letter or order book, while commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean and Channel fleets, as he may conceive useful to him.

“ Dated at Rochetts, in the county of Essex, the 16th day of May, 1817.

ST. VINCENT.”

I cannot conclude these prefatory remarks without thanking my numerous friends, not only for their kind patronage of my work, but for the information they have afforded me towards its completion: their names are too numerous to insert here, but I trust they will receive this acknowledgment as a testimony of my gratitude.

I now commit my book to the mercy of my brother sailors and of the public. Launched upon the ocean of criticism, if I may borrow a metaphor from my own profession, it will have to encounter the storms of censure and the attacks of malevolence. Should its shattered frame, after surmounting the one and repelling the other, return safe into port, it will be some proof at least that its construction and equipment have not been neglected by

THE AUTHOR.

GROSVENOR GATE,

Jan. 1, 1823.

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THE  
NAVAL HISTORY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN.

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INTRODUCTION.

**State of Great Britain in 1784—Loss of her colonies—Causes—Effects—View of the continental powers disappointed—French revolution accelerated by the American war—Situation of British commerce in 1782—Reflections on the peace—Revival of trade, and flourishing state of the country—Commercial treaty with France—Debates in parliament on the treaty of Paris—Lord Keppel's resignation—Navies of belligerents—Ministry outvoted—Change in the cabinet—Conduct of the opposition—St. Pierre and Miquelon—Cherbourg—British colonies and settlements—France—Marine—Commerce—Settlements and colonics—Sea-coast and ports—State of the different powers of Europe as to their marine and commerce—Political view and reflections.**

**AFTER** the disastrous war which had been terminated by the peace of Paris, England began to enjoy the blessings of repose; and the British empire, in the year 1784, was gradually emerging from the gloom and despondency with which it had been overcast during the contest with her American colonies: those extensive and valuable possessions had been separated for ever from the parent-state, by the

successful rebellion of her subjects, and the active co-operation of their allies.

The powers of Europe rejoiced at the humiliation of Britain, as a certain presage of her final overthrow; and the persevering malignity with which they had lent their aid to the revolted provinces, proved the deep interest they took in the result of the contest. How short-sighted is man! How incapable of perceiving, that, in the pursuit of his favourite object, he is often working his own destruction! The loss of her colonies, so far from being fatal to Britain, was perhaps the means of consolidating her empire. Had the independence of America been deferred ten years later, it might have proved a serious evil. In 1783 it was of little comparative importance: the princes of Europe were unable to derive any advantage from our embarrassment: their finances were more exhausted than our own, and all the belligerents were equally desirous of peace. The splendour of the British monarchy suffered only a temporary eclipse from her losses; and it soon rose, with renovated vigour and additional lustre. The event so long deprecated and so much dreaded, having taken place and been confirmed by the peace of 1783, produced no unfavourable result. Divine Providence had enabled us to bid defiance, at once, to the most formidable combination in every part of the world, and to crush a dangerous rebellion at home. The spirit of independence, inculcated by our enemies, recoiled upon their own heads; and the French armies carried back from North



America some of those political dogmas, dangerous only to despotic governments, and which proved so fatal to their own. The American rebellion was the harbinger of that tremendous catastrophe, which overturned so many states, and threatened the subversion of many more: when Britain, the friend of freedom, the nation which the confederated powers had sought to humble, was called to their assistance, and held her protecting shield between them and the most frightful despotism the world had ever seen. Thus, by the singular decree of destiny, England became the sheet-anchor of freedom; and the nations and dynasties which had sought her destruction, were compelled to acknowledge, that to her they owed their deliverance and restoration. By her triumphant arm the tyrant was hurled from his usurped throne, and condemned to end his days in a retired and peaceful abode, deprived only of the means of annoyance, and generously permitted to enjoy those comforts of life, which his cruelty and ambition had denied to millions of his fellow-creatures.

During the contest which ended in the peace of Paris, the kingdom had suffered severely; and the distress to which the nation was reduced by the activity and enterprise of the enemy's cruisers, may be estimated by the following extract from the Annual Register for the year 1784:—"Attacked at once in every part of the world, and nearly overwhelmed by the multitude of her enemies, Great Britain was under the necessity of abandoning, in a great measure, the protection of her home com-

merce, and even, at times, the sovereignty of her own seas, in order that her foreign fleets might be sufficiently powerful to cover her numerous distant possessions. This new and untoward state of things reduced the English merchants to difficulties and distresses, with respect to the means of carrying on their trade, which they had never experienced in any other war; foreign vessels were used for the conveyance of their goods, and the protection of foreign flags, for the first time, sought by Englishmen! In short, no shift, that ingenuity could devise, was left untried, in order to evade the dangers of the seas." Hence one of the causes of the sudden but short-lived prosperity of the port of Ostend, in the Austrian Netherlands, which monopolized a great part of the carrying trade of Europe.

At the head of a powerful league, France had little reason to boast of any advantages she had gained by the war; the definitive treaty, though reprobated by party spirit in England, gave her no decided superiority: she had secured Trincomalee to the Dutch, and the Spaniards had retained the island of Minorca and the country of East Florida; but at what an expense had they made these conquests! Of colonies we had as many as we could protect; and however desirable the possession of these places might appear, to have contended for them, would rather have increased the debility, than added to the strength, of the empire.

In the peace of ten years, viz. from 1783 to 1793, we had recovered from the effects of our mercantile

depression; our manufactures had revived; and trade, both foreign and domestic, had increased beyond the expectation of the most sanguine. A commercial treaty had been established in the year 1786 between France and England, to the mutual advantage of both countries, but particularly of the latter: unhappily, this friendly intercourse was interrupted and entirely broken off by the troubles which soon after happened in France, and which overturned the throne and the altar in that ill-fated country, involving both the king and people in one common ruin.

The debates in the British parliament on the subject of the peace were particularly interesting. Lord Keppel was so highly displeased with the terms granted to the enemy, that, in January 1783, he resigned his situation as first lord of the admiralty; alleging, that the naval resources of this country were equal to cope with any force that might have been brought against it. His lordship asserted, that we had one hundred ships of the line fit for active service, while the united force of France and Spain consisted of no more than one hundred and forty sail of the line: the Dutch were stated to have twenty-five ready for sea, besides frigates. Minute inquiry and careful investigation have convinced us, that in the latter statement, at least, there was much exaggeration: yet never, at any time, was the naval power of our enemies so formidable as at this period.

Mr. Pitt, the chancellor of the exchequer, de-

fended the peace; contending, that we had no longer resources to carry on the war. He asserted, that we should have been greatly out-numbered by the hostile and combined fleets; whose force, in the West Indies alone, would have amounted to seventy sail of the line, where Admiral Pigot had only forty to oppose them. Admitting these statements to come very near the truth, there appears to have been little prospect, by a continuation of the war, of obtaining any better conditions than those which had been accepted; yet the ministers were out-voted in the house of commons, and the terms of the peace highly disapproved of. The consequence was, a total change in the cabinet: the whigs returned into office. The Duke of Portland became first lord of the treasury; Lord North and Mr. Fox joint secretaries of state; Lord Keppel returned to the admiralty, and displaced Lord Howe, who had held his seat at that board but a few months.

Whatever might have been the opinion of the new ministers, or the people, as to the terms of the peace, it was resolved to abide by them; and to the honour of Great Britain it may be said, that in her prosperity she never violated the smallest article of the treaty of Paris.

It is curious to observe the speculative opinions of the greatest politicians of the day, on subjects possessing no other importance than that of becoming the object of unfounded clamour against the executive government; which was accused of having, in the late treaty, restored to France the insignificant

islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the coast of Newfoundland. Hence the leaders of opposition drew the most melancholy picture of the probable destruction of our fishery on the Great Banks, by the power and population of these places: the event has proved the futility of such forebodings; but those able statesmen should have known, that neither of these islands possesses a harbour for any thing larger than a fishing-boat; that the French never thought of fortifying or arming them; nor were they ever used for any other purpose than the curing and drying their fish, or carrying on a contraband trade with our American colonies. They surrendered, on the first summons in 1793, to the boat of a frigate; and in 1803 fell again into our hands with the same facility. It is even surprising that their capture should have been thought worthy of notice in a speech from the throne; their population was not much above fifteen hundred, of the most inoffensive people: America, since the acknowledgment of her independence, could no longer have occasion for them, as a depôt for contraband goods; and it is to be regretted, that their industrious occupation should have been interrupted by this useless invasion.\* It was contended in the house of commons, after the peace in 1783, that the works of Cherbourg ought to have been demolished; yet no one could suppose that the French nation, after forcing

\* The Gazette letter, announcing the conquest, 1793, speaks of guns that *might* have been used, *if* they had been mounted: and people that *might* have resisted, *if* they had been armed!

us to relinquish Trincomalee, Minorca, and Florida, and to acknowledge the independence of America, was so much reduced, as to have consented to the destruction of their only naval port in the British channel, on which, though still incomplete, such immense sums and labour had been bestowed.

The following is a general outline of our colonial possessions in 1784: In North America, Upper and Lower Canada, and settlements in Hudson's Bay, where we carried on a valuable fur trade: from Canada we received a considerable quantity of timber for lower masts and yards; and its importation afforded employment to a vast number of seamen. Both these branches of commerce still continue.

The country on the river St. Lawrence was, by act of parliament in 1790, divided into Upper and Lower Canada, and its government settled in its present form. The population of British North America has increased very little since the peace of Paris, and in 1812 was about four hundred thousand.

The province of New Brunswick,—whose shores extend from the bay of Fundy to the gulf of St. Lawrence, including the great bay of Chaleur, intersected with copious streams of fresh water, and abounding with the finest meadow land and timber,—has, within the last twenty years, become one of the most flourishing of our transatlantic possessions. The city of St. John's, its capital, built on the left bank, and at the mouth of the river of that name, has a fine harbour adjoining to it, in which ships of

the line may anchor in safety; and its trade with the mother-country has enriched many of its loyal and enterprising inhabitants.

The province of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, is a large peninsula, nearly surrounded by the waters of the bay of Fundy, the Atlantic, and the gulf of St. Lawrence; separated from the island of Cape Breton by a narrow strait called the Gut of Canso, which is in itself a noble harbour, affording extensive and secure anchorage, and is navigable for the largest ships. Halifax is the principal port of Nova Scotia, and the finest in North America. This country was taken from the French in the war of 1759, and has, in the hands of British subjects, become a prosperous settlement.

Cape Breton, Newfoundland, St. John's or Prince Edward's islands, and the Magdalen islands, in the gulf of St. Lawrence, all belong to Great Britain: they have also (except the latter) fine harbours for shipping, of any draught of water; and the cod fishery, carried on upon their coasts, forms a lucrative trade, and a nursery for seamen. It is, however, to be observed, that since the revolutions which have disturbed the southern states of Europe, the demand for dried fish is not so great, and the fishery has consequently ceased to be as profitable, as it was formerly: the cod having been, till that period, a great article of importation into the Catholic countries; for which the British merchant received in return the produce of France, Spain, Italy, and Portugal, in wine, raw silks, oil, and fruit.

Farther south are the Bermudas, or Somers' islands, admirably calculated either for an advanced post, or a port of equipment in time of war, to guard our West-India trade from the enterprises of the enemy's cruisers, and particularly those of America.

In the West Indies; The island of Jamaica, the Bahamas, and the bay of Honduras to windward, Barbadoes, Grenada and the Grenadines, Antigua, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat,\* and the Virgin islands.

On the coast of Africa; Fort James, the river Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast Castle.

In the East Indies, the greater part of the country within the Ganges, excepting only such parts as were in the territory of Hyder Ally, the Mahratta States, or belonging to the French, Dutch, and Danes; the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel were almost entirely under the control or influence of the British government. The important naval port of Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, had been wrested from us by the French in the late war, and ceded to the Dutch at the peace. The want of this port was severely felt by our admirals on the East-India station, and its relinquishment in the treaty of Paris was the only unaccountable oversight of ministers; who, certainly, were not acquainted

\* These, including the French islands, are commonly known by the name of the Caribee; though, with reference to Barbadoes, they are generally called the Leeward, and, from Jamaica, the Windward islands; relative terms, derived from the prevalence of the trade-winds, which, during the greater part of the year, blow from Barbadoes towards Jamaica.



with its value,\* nor its importance to our crippled squadrons. The settlement and noble harbour of Bombay, on the coast of Malabar, could afford but tardy relief to the disabled ships, on the opposite side of the peninsula; the distance from one station to the other being, on an average, about five weeks' sail in fine weather; but during the south-west monsoon, it is scarcely practicable to work round Point de Galle, or get to the westward, without making a very long run to the southward.

In the straits of Malacca we possessed the island of Pulo Penang, and on the island of Sumatra the settlement of Bencoolen. The best part of the vast country of New Holland was our own. In 1789 we took possession of the Andaman islands, in the bay of Bengal. We had also the little island of St. Helena:—all these places carried on, or were instrumental in promoting, our East-India and China trade.

The rock of Gibraltar gave us, in a great measure, the command of the Mediterranean Sea. In 1812 there were eight hundred pieces of cannon mounted and ready for service; since which time its works have not been diminished. Its garrison consists generally of five thousand good troops: it was taken from the Spaniards by a small force, under the command of Sir George Rooke, in 1704. There was reason to suppose that King George the Second had agreed to cede it to Spain

\* It is remarkable that the opposition members who spoke of St. Pierre and Miquelon, took no notice of Tricomalee, although there is no other harbour on the whole of the eastern coast of India, from the Ganges to Point de Galle, nor westward thence to Bombay.

for some consideration ; but, happily for the honour and interest of his kingdom, the treaty was not carried into execution. It has never ceased, since we have had it, to be an instrument of annoyance to our enemies in time of war, and an object of jealousy in peace. Gibraltar is of so much importance to us, even in a commercial point of view, that it is doubtful whether we could carry on the Mediterranean trade without it; independently of the port and mole, as a place of equipment: the straits are peculiarly liable to calms, irregular and uncertain currents, and baffling winds. The gun-boats of Gibraltar and Algeziras, during the war, were ever on the alert to protect or annoy the convoys as they passed. The Spaniards, on these occasions, often displayed great bravery, and sometimes bore away a prize in triumph; but the British gun-boats, manned from such ships as happened to be in the mole, never lost any honour in contending with them. The bay of Gibraltar is about four miles in width, so that the hostile fleets frequently lay nearly within gun-shot of each other.

France, our ancient rival and most implacable enemy, after having exerted every nerve to destroy us in the late conflict, was now reposing in a state of exhaustion from her fruitless labours: her marine had been powerful, and, we have already observed, she had nearly as many ships as ourselves: her officers were brave and skilful, and her seamen were sufficiently numerous to man their fleets; and as her trade bore no proportion to ours, she had been ena-

bled to allot a greater number of ships of the line to her channel and foreign stations. Her Indian possessions were, the isolated forts of Pondicherry, on the Coromandel coast; Mahee, on that of Malabar; the fort of Chandernagore, up the Ganges; and the country of Orissa, on the right bank of that river, washed by the waters of the bay of Bengal. She had a factory at Surat, to the northward of Bombay; the isles of France and Bourbon, in the Indian Ocean; and some places of trade on the coast of Africa, of which Senegal was the chief. In the West Indies, she had the beautiful islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Tobago, Mariegalante, and the Saints. On the coast of Terra Firma, the country of French Guiana, on the left bank, and near the mouth, of the Amazon river. On the continent of Europe, no power possessed greater advantages in point of maritime situation, having an extent of sea-coast from Dunkirk to Bayonne, and from Cape Creus to Nice, in the Mediterranean; containing some of the finest rivers in Europe, with many good ports, besides the command of the island of Corsica, whence, as well as from the Adriatic, she drew considerable supplies of naval stores: her principal arsenals were, Brest, L'Orient, Rochefort, and Toulon.

Holland was fast declining, both in political and commercial greatness. She had been induced, by the intrigues of the court of Versailles, to join with the confederates in the war of the American revolution, contrary, it must be confessed, to the wishes

of the Stadtholder and his adherents; but a party in that country had succeeded in blinding the people, and forcing them to embrace as friends those whom they should have shunned as their bitterest enemies: so much did she suffer from the capture of her trade, and the conquest of the island of St. Eustacia in the West Indies, that she never regained her former eminence.

Her foreign possessions were, Batavia, and many other considerable settlements, in the island of Java; Sumanap, on the island of Madura; Malacca, on the peninsula of that name; part of the island of Celebes, and some of the smaller spice islands; Masulipatam, on the coast of Coromandel; Cochin, on the coast of Malabar; Trincomalee, Point de Galle, and Columbo, in the island of Ceylon; and the factories of Porca and Quilon, in the Travancore country; in Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, and the settlements of Amsterdam, Acra, and Delmina, on the coast of Guinea.

In the West Indies she had the island of St. Eustacia, which was restored to her by the peace of 1783, and a tract of country of considerable extent, called Dutch Guiana, contiguous to the Oroonoko; with the settlements of Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo. Their navy was not so numerous as it had been in the times of Van Tromp and De Ruyter: yet, in the late contest, they had given proofs of determined valour, and no want of nautical skill. Holland had acquired much wealth, and a considerable supply of good seamen, from her

herring-fishery, her Greenland, Baltic, and East-India trade ; the whole of which were swept away by the war of 1794.

Spain, bounded on three sides by the ocean, Portugal, and the Mediterranean, and on the fourth separated from France by the Pyrenees, is one of the most compact and delightful countries in the world. The kingdom of Portugal, formerly a part of Spain, occupies a great portion of its western frontier. Charles the Third, about the year 1786, attempted to improve his navy ; but, acting by the advice and under the influence of France, with an exhausted treasury, the work never went on with spirit or energy, and was soon laid aside. Charles established an East-India company, under the name of the Royal Philippine, with a capital of 1,300,000*l*. He caused an accurate survey to be made of the coasts of his kingdom, and the opposite shores of Barbary : he sent Don Antonio de Cordova to survey the straits of Magellan, and this officer executed his orders with skill and precision. Nor can we deny the Spaniards the credit of having produced some of the best marine surveys in Europe. The names of Taffino, Coma de Cherusco, and others, are held in high estimation for this branch of science, even by officers in the British navy. The maritime and commercial power of Spain was, previous to the American war, very considerable : her navy consisted of sixty ships of the line, of a superior description in point of size, strength, and construction.\*

\* The Phoenix, of eighty guns, taken by Sir George Rodney, in the year 1780, and called the Gibraltar, was supposed to have been fifty

And although the seamen of Spain never bore any proportion, either in number or skill, to the beauty and strength of their ships, yet, as an ally of France, she was a formidable adversary to Great Britain. The decline of her navy may be dated from the period when ours began to shew its ascendancy in the wars of Europe. The fruitless attempts of Philip the Second and Third, to subdue the United Provinces, and the ill-fated Spanish Armada, would alone have given a death-blow to her power: but when the bigoted ministers of Philip the Third had prevailed on their master to banish the Moors out of his kingdom, her fate was sealed. These people took with them the talents and industry of the country from which they were so unwisely expelled.\*

The foreign settlements of Spain, at the conclusion of the American war, were, the Philippine

years old at the time of her capture. She was built at the Havannah of solid mahogany; and in 1810 she was cruising in the bay as an effective ship. Her sides and her scantling in general were of extraordinary thickness, and she might still have been a favourite in the line, but for the contracted size of her lower-deck ports, which admitted of no greater caliber than a twenty-four-pounder. She had the same metal on all her decks; this, by some, was considered nearly equivalent to the defect below, but experience has proved, that to engage a ship of the line, a thirty-two-pound long gun is indispensably necessary; and this is the general weight of all our ships, from the first-rate to seventy-four, inclusive. The *Britannia*, in the year 1797, had indeed forty-two-pound guns on her lower-deck; but they were removed soon after the action of the 14th of February, being found too heavy.

\* Nine hundred thousand of them are supposed to have embarked for Africa, or were forcibly expelled from their habitations: few comparatively ever reached the inhospitable shore, and their descendants cherish a lasting, but impotent, hatred to the Spanish nation.—Watson, Philip III.

islands, with the flourishing colony of Manilla, in the island of Leuconia: immense tracts of country were obedient to her in America; Mexico and Peru, East and West Florida, the coast of North America, from the Florida cape round the gulf of Mexico, as far as the bay of Honduras: from the British boundaries of that settlement, the whole coast on both sides of the isthmus of Darien,\* and from Panama to the Oronoko, generally known by the name of the Spanish Main; the islands of Cuba, Trinidad, Porto Rico, and the east part of St. Domingo; great part of the east coast of South America, the rich settlements of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, on the Rio de la Plata; part of the coast from that river to Cape Horn: she also claimed the whole western coast, from that cape to the sixtieth degree of north latitude; and the resistance of the British cabinet to these extravagant pretensions, became, in the year 1790, the subject of a discussion which had nearly terminated in a war. In Europe, she had the naval ports of Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthagená; and Mahon, in Minorca, with many others of less note, for her trade;—Minorca, Majorca, and Ivica, or the Balearic islands, and the important fortress of Ceuta, on the coast of Barbary. With all these extensive possessions, Spain was neither happy

\* The Mosketo Shore, extending from Cape Honduras to the river St. John, on the isthmus of Darien, once belonged to Great Britain, but, by the most inexcusable oversight of ministers, in the peace of 1763, was ceded to Spain.—See Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. 5. Appendix, p. 202. Parliamentary Debates, 1787. Annual Register, p. 111.

nor powerful; her riches, her liberty, and even her religion, had been rendered subservient to the designs of France; and, like Holland, she has bitterly paid for the honour of her friendship and protection.

The possession of mines in America, yielding gold almost without labour, destroyed her industry; and thus contributed, with the natural indolence of the people, to render her an easy prey to despotism and bigotry.

Spain, in the year 1783 and 1784, in conjunction with Portugal and Naples, sent two naval expeditions against the city of Algiers; but both of them failed, although there was a very considerable display of valour on the side of the Europeans: the elements were as unfavourable to them as they had been, on the like occasion, to the Emperor Charles the Fifth: the undertaking, though far above their strength, did honour to their generous feelings.

Portugal, a minor power in the scale of European politics, had been our firm and faithful ally since the year 1703; she received our foreign, as well as our domestic produce; and we, in return, took her wines, favouring their importation nearly to the exclusion of those of other countries. With what policy she has been allowed this monopoly, we shall not presume to decide; though we cannot admit that her gratitude has kept pace with our indulgence, nor is there any reason why we should incur the hatred of France for her advantage. It may be a question worthy of consideration, whether a more liberal commercial system could not be devised, by which



the kindness of France might be conciliated, and the wholesome wines of that country received, at least, upon an equal duty with those of Portugal;\* while both France and England would be mutually benefited by the consumption of our manufactures taken in exchange.

The foreign settlements of Portugal were, Madeira; the Azores, or Western islands; the Cape de Verd islands; Goa, on the Malabar coast; Macao, at the mouth of the Tigris, on the coast of China, by which was carried on a great trade with that empire; and a vast tract of country on the east coast of South America, including Pernambuco, Rio Janeiro, St. Salvador, and St. Sebastian's, and from Para to the Rio de la Plata; the island of St. Thomas's, on the Line; and some small trading forts on the coast of Africa, of which Loango St. Paul's was the chief.

The navy of Portugal was never very considerable; her only sea-port for ships of war is the Tagus. Faithful to her treaties, she invariably gave all the stipulated assistance in time of need; and in the course of this history, we shall notice her squadrons cruising with Howe, and performing service in conjunction with Nelson.

Civilization, which had been begun in Russia by Peter the Great, had continued to make rapid advances under his successors: a navy had been the favourite object with that extraordinary man; he laid the first foundation of it; and we find his plans suc-

\* On the 15th of February, 1787, Mr. Pitt, on the debate respecting the commercial treaty with France, moved, that the wines of France be imported into this country upon as low duties as those of Portugal—this was carried.—Annual Register, 1787, p. 82.

cessfully pursued by the Empress Catharine the Second, who drew a number of British officers into her service; and at the head of a northern confederacy, she was no contemptible enemy. Russia had no foreign settlements, though her dominion extended from the gulf of Finland to Behring's Straits. Revel and Cronstadt were her chief naval ports.

Sweden was inferior to Russia in maritime power, but exceeded her in commerce, and in the quality of her seamen, who are amongst the most skilful and hardy in the world. The island of St. Bartholomew, in the West Indies, was ceded to her by France in 1784, and she traded with success to most parts of the world. Her principal ports were Gottenburg and Carlscrona. As we shall have occasion to enter more fully into the naval history of these two powers, we shall say nothing of the extent of their marine at present.

Denmark had a considerable trade, and a very respectable navy, consisting of about twenty sail of the line, with an equal number of frigates, and a proportion of smaller vessels: her foreign settlements were, Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel; four small trading forts on the coast of Africa, and Santa Cruz and St. Thomas's in the West Indies: with these places she found means to carry on a lucrative commerce; and during the American war, her flag covered property to an enormous amount. Her principal sea-ports were, Copenhagen, in the island of Zealand; Christiana, Christiansand, and North Bergen, in Norway. The seamen of Denmark and Sweden have ever been held in high estimation in the British

navy; they are sober, industrious, and brave: but the Norwegians very rarely enter the naval service; they are more of a domesticated people, their chief occupations on the coast being pilotage, fishing, and the coasting trade.

Prussia never could be considered a naval power: Dantzic, after the division of Poland, fell into her hands, and was her only sea-port in the Baltic: she had however the river Ems, and the port of Embden; and in the revolutionary war, her flag, like that of Denmark, covered the foreign produce of our enemies, to our great annoyance and serious injury.

The Venetians, Genoese, Neapolitans, and Sardinians, scarcely deserve to be mentioned as maritime powers. The Turkish navy will claim our attention when we come to speak of the wars of that nation with Russia.

Such was the state of the maritime powers of Europe in the year 1784. We shall proceed, in the next chapter, to unfold the political views and intrigues of the courts of Europe, which at that time threatened a renewal of hostilities; tranquillity was however preserved by the wisdom and good faith of Mr. Pitt, gaining an ascendancy over the weakness and ambition of M. de Vergennes. The elements of discord, subdued for a time by the peace of Paris, were still in ferment; and their explosion produced the French revolution, and that chain of events, which, so far as they are connected with naval transactions, are intended to be the subject of the following history.

## CHAP. I.

Plans of the Emperor for the improvement of Ostend and Triest, and extension of commerce—His ambition—Projects in the Netherlands—Unjust attack on Holland—Origin of union between Belgium and Austria—Long peace between Holland and England—Intrigues and fatal influence of France at the Hague—The Emperor seizes Lillo, and other frontier forts—Attempts to open the Scheldt—Claims Maestricht—Political situation of Holland in 1785—Views of the European powers—Antwerp—Effects of closing the Scheldt—The Emperor sends his flag down that river—Interference of the other powers to bring about a reconciliation successful—Hard conditions imposed on the Dutch—Emperor fails to obtain the freedom of the Scheldt—Disputes in Holland, in 1785, extend to 1787—Interference of France, Prussia, and England—Reflections of the Count de Segur—Conduct of the Count de Vergennes—Reconciliation—Retrospective view of the Dutch marine in 1782—Dutch patriots accuse the Prince of Orange—Conduct of Mr. Fox—Conduct of the court of France at the Hague—Projects on our Indian settlements—Meeting of British parliament—Speech from the throne.

THE depredations committed by the belligerents on the trade of Europe, during the American war, suggested the idea of a neutral free port, and a flag that should cover the property embarked under its protection; in consequence of which, the Emperor Joseph, the most speculative of all the monarchs that had occupied the Imperial throne, determined to make the port of Ostend, in Flanders, an entrepôt for merchandise, and to confer upon it every privilege which might ensure its grandeur and success. The Imperial flag soon covered the ocean; his ships, or rather ships bearing the Imperial ensign, were seen passing to and from every quarter of the

globe; English, Dutch, and French, alike availed themselves of its protection: such was the demand for storehouses at Ostend, that no price was thought too great for them; and the Emperor consented that houses should be built on the ramparts for the accommodation of the merchants who flocked to the great emporium. His Majesty visited the place in person; gave orders for enlarging the basin; advanced the sums necessary for its improvement; consulted with the ablest men, and desired them to give him their respective opinions, as to the best mode of advancing the prosperity of the town. English merchants were generally applied to for this purpose; and had the maritime war continued, it is probable that its increase might have repaid all his cares and expenses: but that which depends on a state of hostility, or on any contingency not natural to man, seldom outlives the cause of its birth; Ostend sunk to its former level the moment the peace of Paris rendered the protection of its flag no longer useful to commercial enterprise. Situated in a swamp, with a bad harbour, at all times difficult of access, and on a coast whose dangers in winter are incalculable; it is not probable that any legislative enactments can again confer on it those riches which it owed to a fortuitous combination of events.

While the Emperor was engaged in his plans\* for

\* For particulars of the plans of the Emperor Joseph, see *Annual Register*, 1783 and 1784; also *Review of the Dutch Republic*, supposed to have been written by Mr. Ellis, who I believe was attached to the embassy with Sir James Harris. London: printed for J. Edwards, Pall-Mall, 1789.

the aggrandizement of Ostend, he did not neglect the opposite side of his dominions; he demanded, about the same time, from the Turks, the free navigation of the Danube and the Black Sea; established a factory at Triest; advanced funds to the merchants for the formation of a capital, and endeavoured, without much success, to establish a squadron of ships of war for the protection of his commerce in the Adriatic. But commerce is the child of liberty, not the puppet of despotism: a Berlin or Milan decree may strangle it, but the breath of a mighty emperor could never rekindle the vital spark; and Ostend, Venice, and Triest, like Antwerp and Amsterdam, have little else to shew than empty warehouses and unfrequented ports.

When the peace of 1783 had restored tranquillity to Europe, the Emperor of Germany, Joseph the Second, restless, ambitious, and fond of innovation, sought to embroil the continental powers by an unjust invasion of Holland. This unfortunate country was doomed to be the victim of France or Germany by land, and England on the ocean. The Emperor had passed through the United Provinces in the year 1781; and in the course of his journey had made such observations on their impoverished state, and the party spirit of the Dutch, as gave him reason to think, he might not only reopen the Scheldt for the benefit of his dominions in the Netherlands, but also obtain other advantages from a nation, already brought to the brink of ruin through the influence of France, at the Hague and Amsterdam.

The Belgic provinces lying on the left bank of the Scheldt, between Holland and France, fell into the power of the house of Austria, in the year 1477, by the marriage of the Archduke Maximilian, with Mary, dutchess of Burgundy; since which time that country has been subject to the tyranny of a distant government of a different religion, and unacquainted with the manners, habits, and language, of the people.

The persecutions of Charles and his successors over the inheritance of the house of Burgundy, are too well known to be here repeated. In 1562, they caused the rebellion, which, after a war of eighty years, ended in the firm establishment of the house of Orange, and the separation of the seven united provinces from the country of Belgium. Holland, though much indebted to England for its independence, soon forgot its benefactor, and, at the instigation of the French, turned her arms against us: the two nations however mutually respecting each other, and discovering even then that the object of France was, by weakening both, to establish her power on the destruction of her rivals, concluded a peace, which, to the honour of the governments, lasted one hundred years; and Holland might still have been prosperous, but for her fatal connexion with France, and the ambition of the Emperor, who, in 1784, seized on the fort of Old Lillo, which stands on the left bank of the Scheldt, opposite to the new fort of that name: the forts of St. Donat, St. Pierre, and Job, were soon after entered by the Austrian troops, and

his Imperial Majesty demanded, at the same moment, the free navigation of the Scheldt, and the cession of Maestricht, the latter claim being founded on an obsolete agreement made with the Spaniards more than a century before.

Such was the political situation of Holland at the commencement of 1785; France pretended to arm in her defence; England sent over Sir James Harris to negotiate; Russia desired peace, and prepared to enforce her command; and the Dutch, when their frontier was invaded, opened their sluices, and laid the country under water in the neighbourhood of Lillo and the Sas de Gand.

The city of Antwerp, which stands on the right bank of the Scheldt, twenty-four miles from Brussels and near eighty from the sea, formerly possessed great commercial and political consequence, particularly during the sixteenth century: but when the Netherlands\* revolted and threw off the yoke of Spain, it was taken by the Duke of Parma, and re-annexed to the Spanish monarchy, and has been ever since in the territory of Belgium, or the Austrian Netherlands, of which it is one of the principal cities, and would have been again a port of naval and mercantile importance but for the jealousy of the Dutch, who, in conjunction with other powers of Europe in the treaties of Munster and Westphalia, determined to shut up the river. This answered the purpose for which it was intended, by diverting the

\* Watson's Philip the Second; also the *Histoire Generale de La Belgique*. By Dewez. Brussels, 1814.



trade of the north of Europe to Amsterdam and the other ports of the republic, to the manifest injury of the Netherlands and the southern parts of Germany, which received their supplies by the canal of Brussels, and thence to the Rhine and Meuse through Maestricht, Liege, Aix la Chapelle, and Cologne. Without entering upon the question of policy, there appears a manifest injustice in denying to a people the use of a river which a bountiful Creator has given to them; and experience has taught us, that whatever is founded in wrong cannot continue; nor is it to be supposed that a nation, so fettered, and debarred the common rights of nature, would submit to its oppressors a moment longer than weakness rendered it expedient.

Had his Imperial Majesty been solely prompted by the love of his people, we might sympathize in his mortification; but an attentive view of the whole of these transactions will enable us to discover nothing but sordid and selfish motives, guided by the narrowest and most ignorant policy: and though we are favourable to the freedom of the Scheldt, we confess the means adopted by his Imperial Majesty to ascertain the extent of his rights on that river, proved his imbecility and want of decision.—He ordered a small vessel, bearing his flag, to sail down the Scheldt from Antwerp; the Captain having passed the fort of Lillo and the guardship without examination, returned the same way in the afternoon, when he was stopped and boarded by the commanding officer of the Dutch guardship, who informed

him that he might depart if he would engage not to renew the offence; the offer was rejected, and the Emperor considered this act of the Dutch government as a declaration of war. It is to be observed, that in this vessel there were some Belgian magistrates, one of which was the bailiff of Beveren, an island on the left bank; this bailiff, in the name of the Emperor, claimed the right of free navigation on the Scheldt, which the Dutch as strenuously resisted. The dispute between these two powers had proceeded thus far, when the other courts of Europe, foreseeing that a war would involve them all, and that the result, always uncertain, might be ruinous to some of them, interfered to bring about a reconciliation. France was neither able nor willing to fight for the Dutch against England and Prussia; and the Empress Catharine, requiring the aid of the Emperor of Germany in the projects which she had in contemplation upon the Ottoman Porte, intimated to the Dutch to accept such terms as they could obtain, under pain of her displeasure. France paid four millions of florins,\* and Holland six millions, as a compensation to the Emperor for his idle and fraudulent claim on Maestricht; in addition to which the Dutch were forced to pay five hundred thousand florins for damages sustained by the Belgians in the late inundation, although done to repel an unjust and cruel invasion, in which they themselves were the greatest sufferers. His Imperial Majesty had the free navigation of the Scheldt, from

\* A florin is about 1s. 8d.

the city of Antwerp as far as Saftlingen, but not the ingress and egress of the river; thus giving up the chief point for which he had entered into the dispute, and the sole object worth contending for. The sum of money which he had extorted from the unhappy Dutch, was no compensation to him for what he had expended in the invasion, or for the millions thrown away on the ports of Ostend and Triest, at the opposite extremes of his dominions. With his golden prospects, the Emperor not only resigned all claim to the free navigation of the Scheldt, but lost also the affections of his Belgian subjects, whom he began to oppress with projects of reform, and which in the following history will prove to have had very serious consequences.

In September 1785, disputes of a different nature occupied the people of Holland, and drew the courts of Europe to side with one party or the other. The Stadtholder, with his friends, were called the Orange party; their opponents, the Patriots; the former was supported by the King of Prussia (whose sister the Stadtholder, William the Fifth, had married), and by the cabinet of St. James's. The patriots were upheld by the court of Versailles, with which they were very honestly plotting (as will be shewn) the invasion of our Indian settlements.\* It was not till the year 1787 that Great Britain took an active part in this dispute, which began to threaten the repose of Europe.

\* Vide Review of the Dutch Republic, p. 128.—See note, p. 23.

Whatever reason there might have been in the claims of the Dutch patriots, they were speedily set at rest by the King of Prussia, who sent the Duke of Brunswick with a large army into the United Provinces, and restored the authority of the Stadtholder: the King of England, at the same time, increased his land and sea forces, in order to support his ally, and to counteract any movement on the part of France. Thirty sail of the line, and a proportion of frigates, were put into commission: this was called the Dutch armament.

The French shewed a great disposition to assist their friends in Holland, but could effect very little, from the embarrassed state of their finances, and readily came into the terms of the pacification with Great Britain and Prussia, reducing her navy to the peace establishment of 1783: this was the cause of their being unable to assist the Turks, who had long been their allies, and who at this time were cruelly oppressed by the united powers of Russia and Austria. The Count de Segur, a Frenchman, in his History of Frederick William, attributes all the misfortunes of the Dutch and the Stadtholder to the craft and envy of England, who could not endure that Holland should prosper under the protection of France.

The French, though an acute and sensible people, seldom give the English credit for one virtue: this arises from want of candour as well as information, and the most inveterate national antipathy. Accustomed to plots from the earliest periods of their his-

tory, they never suppose it possible for any statesman to proceed with an honest and straight-forward course, when, by deviating from it, he might obtain any temporary advantage, either for himself or his country.

Monsieur de Vergennes, the prime minister of France, had gone much farther, in assisting the Dutch patriots, than either prudence or his master's orders could justify: a French army was assembled at Givet, and every assurance of support held out to the patriots, which induced them to commit their cause to the fortune of war, and was the means of sowing a lasting and fatal discord between the prince and the people, which ended in the debasement and ruin of the country. It must, however, be observed, that Holland was too weak to withstand of itself the interference of the neighbouring powers; the whole of whom had some object in view, which they endeavoured to attain by any means, whether justifiable or not was of little importance. England and Prussia desired her neutrality, and the re-establishment of the power of the house of Orange; France wished to have her to herself; Germany to plunder and dismember her, and to re-establish the commerce of Belgium on the ruins of the republic.

The Dutch patriots, silenced rather by the bayonets than the arguments of the King of Prussia, waited with impatience a more favourable season for throwing off the authority of the Stadtholder, and driving him entirely out of their country; and when the opportunity presented itself, it was seized with avidity,

and, with the assistance of France, crowned with complete success.

We have already noticed a discussion in the British parliament, on the probable strength of the Dutch navy at the conclusion of the American war: we are now enabled to lay before our readers some remarks upon that subject, tending to shew that the strength of her marine, at that period, was greatly overrated.\*

On the 21st of September, 1782, the Duke de la Vauguyon, the French ambassador at the Hague, presented to the states-general a requisition for ten ships of the line to join the French fleet at Brest: they were supposed to be in readiness, and were required to join by the 8th of October; but the captains appointed for the service, unanimously asserted the impossibility of complying with those orders, from the total want of provisions, and every description of naval stores: their representations being assented to by Admiral Haltsink, and admitted by the Stadtholder, the expedition did not take place. The refusal of the captains, who were friends of the Prince, was supposed to have arisen more from dislike to the French, than from the inability of the ships; but it is probable both these causes operated together, for where the inclination was wanting, it is not likely that a Dutch ship of war, never remarkable for celerity of movement, could have been speedily equipped; the fact proves

\* See Mr. Ellis's Review of the Dutch Republic.

the general degradation of the Dutch navy. The ships of war of that country are victualled by the captain, who deducts about four-pence halfpenny a day from the pay of each man for that purpose; the want of provisions must, therefore, have rested either with them or the government, there being great abundance in the provinces: but from whatever causes the obstruction arose, the defection of the Dutch fleet is completely proved.

The Dutch sailors, it appears, were not much attached to their own navy; and it was calculated that, in 1781, no less than twenty thousand of them were employed in the trade of England: of twenty-five sail of the line and thirty frigates, their whole force, more than half were unfit for service: those that lay in the Maese, the Y, and other rivers, could not get out without an easterly or a south-east wind; nor even then, unless a spring-tide should concur with the wishes of the commander: so that no events were liable to more uncertainty than the sailing of a Dutch fleet, and its junction with the French. The shoalness of the water, and the want of good ports, must ever confine the ships of Holland to a certain tonnage; and now that those of other nations have assumed a bolder construction, Holland can no longer hold its rank as a maritime power. The complaint raised against the Prince of Orange, by the French or republican faction (for they were soon after synonymous terms), was, that he had ruined the commerce of the country, and that he could not or would not restore it: the first was the work of his enemies, and

over the second he had no control. He was also accused of being partial to England; this was, no doubt, a fact, but was in no wise contrary to the true interest of his people; and the war in which he was engaged, he sought every means to terminate.

The British ministry coinciding in these views in March 1782, opened a negotiation, and finally completed the peace in the following year, but too late to save the Dutch from ruin: and though France supported her interest in the definitive treaty, she was forced to abandon Negapatam, on the coast of Coromandel, her only settlement on that side of the Indian peninsula. Mr. Fox, on coming into office, strongly espoused her cause, and was even willing to surrender up that place with a view to conciliate the Dutch; but another sudden change in the British cabinet threw them back into their former difficulties. Nor did the affairs of Holland occupy the attention of the succeeding minister (Mr. Pitt), until the end of the year 1784. During this interval, Mons. de Vergennes sought to regain the favour of the Dutch, which France had lost by her apparent indifference in the treaty of Paris, and offered to assist them in their quarrel with the Emperor.

While the Stadtholder and the Patriots were thus contending for power (and the former was reduced to the mere shadow of a prince), the cabinet of Versailles had its agents employed at Amsterdam in conjunction with Van Berkel, endeavouring to overturn the court of directors of the Dutch East-India company, and to substitute creatures of their own.



Having, as they conceived, gained sufficient influence to answer their purpose, they proposed to the executive government of Holland, to send out immediately to India, four ships of the line and four frigates, with as many troops as they could carry. They announced a war with England as an early and inevitable event, and they promised that the preparations of France should keep pace with those of the republic. The French agents in Amsterdam were, in the mean while, directed to redouble their activity, in order to persuade the directors to take three thousand French troops into their pay. Such were the kind and charitable intentions of this intriguing party against us, while a profound peace was supposed to be reigning in Europe, and particularly between France and England, who about this time were also more intimately connected by a commercial treaty: the plot, however, failed; the good sense of the Dutch for once took the alarm, and Sir James Harris, our minister, had the credit of defeating the machinations of the secret enemies of his country. The particulars of this formidable project were to the following effect: an alliance was proposed offensive and defensive between the King of Travancore, Tippoo Saib, the Mahrattas, and the Soubah of the Decan. These princes were to be invited, at one and the same time, to undertake a separate invasion of the English settlements; for which purpose, they were to seize the first favourable opportunity, without waiting for a war in Europe; and the operations to be intrusted to each were

traced out in the plan with great accuracy. It also appears, that the Indian confederates were to be assisted by a body of European troops, to be furnished by the French and Dutch. These were to have been smuggled out to India in small numbers at a time.

The establishment of the Dutch in India amounted to eight thousand men, which the directors were required to increase to fourteen thousand: the projectors of this scheme, fortunately for the repose of mankind, possessed neither fidelity to each other, nor finances to carry their plans into effect.

The British parliament met on the 27th of November, 1787, and very satisfactory reasons were given for the early opening of the session.

His Majesty, in his speech from the throne, informed both houses that the disputes in the United Provinces had become so serious, as to endanger their independence, and were likely, in their consequences, to affect the interests of his dominions: he had, therefore, endeavoured to maintain the lawful government, and the house of Orange, against the patriots and the court of Versailles; and his Majesty added, that he thought it right to counteract any interference on the part of France. In conformity to this principle, when his most Christian Majesty, in compliance with the wishes of those who had usurped the government of Holland, signified his intention of assisting them, his Majesty (the King of Great Britain) also declared, that he should not remain a quiet spectator; and had, therefore, given immediate orders for augmenting his land

and sea forces: that the rapid successes of the Prussian troops having re-established the lawful government, and all subjects of difference being thus removed, both parties had agreed to disarm, and place their naval establishments on the footing of 1783. On this occasion Mr. Fox spoke in favour of a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, for furnishing troops in our continental disputes, but strongly recommended *attention to our navy—the natural force of the country.*

The grand or Channel fleet, which was put in commission on this occasion, was commanded by Admiral Pigot.

## CHAP. II.

State of the British navy at the close of the American war—Ships of the line—Sizes increased—Forty-four guns, bad class—Prowess of seamen—Superiority of French and Spanish ships—Improvement of ships—Copper fitting with nails—Causes of failure in former wars—Armaments of 1787, 1790, and 1791, favourable to navy—Royal George and Queen Charlotte—Rate of sailing—Tonnant, Malta, Canopus, Superior ships—San Josef—Egyptienne—Fifty-gun ships—Frigates—Brigs, eighteen-guns—Sloops—Cutters—Hired ships—Transport service—Troop ships—Tonnage varying from 15s. to 2*l.* coppered or not making difference—Mode of raising seamen—Observations on impressment—on the marine forces—on smugglers—State of woods and forests for production of oak timber—Remarks on the consumption of that article.

AT the close of the American war, England had, according to the statement of Viscount Keppel, then first lord of the admiralty, one hundred sail of the line fit for active service ; with a great number of frigates, sloops, and various smaller vessels ; and to man them we had one hundred and fifty thousand seamen, including twenty-five thousand marines.

Ships of the line at that time comprised all from one hundred guns down to those of sixty-four guns inclusive ; and it sometimes happened, that a two-decked ship of forty-four guns was admitted into the line : the last instance of this was in the Dogger-bank action, in 1781, when opposed to the Dutch, whose ships were inferior to ours in point of size and weight of metal. Vessels of such a class, although built after the particular plan of Lord Howe, were deservedly

reprobated by every seaman, and were soon after converted into storeships, transports, and hospitals.

After the battle of the 12th of April 1782, we find the French line composed of such heavy ships, that ours of sixty-four guns were unable to contend with them; and accordingly, since the peace of 1783, no more of that class have been laid down, though many of those which had been previously built, were used and found effective against the Dutch in the subsequent war. It may be adduced as a singular proof of the prowess of our seamen, that the ships of France and Spain were generally superior to those of England, both in size, weight of metal, and number of men, outsailing them in fleets, and often in single ships, carrying their guns higher out of the water, and in all other respects better found in the material of war, particularly in the article of gunpowder.

The most striking improvement in naval architecture, as well as equipment, may be observed between 1783 and 1803; at the former period, many of our ships were not coppered, but *filled*, as it was called, the bottom being covered with broad-headed nails. Copper, which had been adopted in the French navy as far back as the year 1763, came to be in general use in our service in the latter part of the American war, and from this time the sailing of British ships was more upon a par with that of their enemies. Whoever reads with attention the history of our naval actions in the East or West Indies, America, or the North Sea, will readily attribute the

failures of Hughes, Rodney, Graves, Byron, and Parker, to the miserable state of our shipping, though in some instances, no doubt, to the misconduct of the captains: and while Great Britain bore the enormous expenses of her fleet, the nation was seldom gratified with an account of its success; even the triumph of the glorious 12th of April was not unmixed with a feeling of regret, that so few ships had fallen into our hands.

The Dutch, Spanish, and Russian armaments, of 1787, 1790, and 1791, called forth men who applied themselves with much assiduity to the improvement of the marine; the suggestions of officers of experience were attended to; the best and most approved models were selected and built after; and the *Courageux* of seventy-four guns, taken from the French as far back as the year 1761, was the favourite of the service: the *Leviathan* was as near a resemblance to her as the builder of Chatham dock-yard could produce; and in the actions of the 28th and 29th of May, and 1st of June, 1794, under the command of that high-spirited nobleman, the late Lord Hugh Seymour, this ship was one of the earliest in action.

The *Queen Charlotte*, launched in the year 1790, was the largest ship we had yet seen in England; she was at sea in that year, and carried the flag of Earl Howe: her good qualities were very conspicuous, and few of the frigates could sail with her. The *Royal George*, a twin-ship, was nearly as much approved of; and these two ships, by their fast sailing, were the principal causes of the defeat of

the enemy's fleets both in 1794 and 1795. We shall hereafter give at one view the dimensions of a few of the best ships of each class.

There was still much to be done to improve the general rate of sailing of the British fleet, as it was found, that though some of the best sailers in the van could get into action, they were beaten before they could receive assistance from those in the centre and the rear.\*

The Gibraltar and Vanguard, in 1793 and 1794, were only remarkable for being leewardly and dull sailers : both these ships were subsequently so much improved by a different mode of trimming, that they became capital ships ; and the Vanguard was long after the favourite of Nelson. Practice and experience soon gave us a clearer insight into these important questions ; and the hope of glory and riches sharpened the energies of our sailors, and produced the most beneficial effects to their country.

The height of a lower-deck port out of the water is the great criterion by which to judge of the excellence of a ship of the line : some of our old ninety-gun ships carried them no more than three feet eight inches ; but the navy of Britain, like that of Rome, has been improved by copying from their enemies. The capture of some of their ships, and the conviction of their better qualities, induced the naval department to give this subject more serious consideration : the result has been highly favourable to the service ; and our large seventy-fours, on the

\* May 29, 1794.

home station, now carry the sills of their midship-ports six feet above the surface of the water ; when sent on foreign service, they must necessarily leave England much deeper.

The *Tonnant*, *Malta*, and *Canopus*, all eighty-gun ships, taken from the French, are, without doubt, the finest on two decks ever seen in the British navy ; their ports were generally seven feet a-midships, and their qualities in sailing and carrying sail, have rarely, if ever, been surpassed. It is a singular fact, that, though we have copied from the *Courageux*, we have never built exactly after these models ; and some, equally good, have been broken up.

The *San Josef*, of one hundred and twelve guns, taken in the battle off Cape St. Vincent, in 1797, was long admired in the British navy, uniting all the superior qualities of a ship of the line, with the sailing of the fastest frigate : her lower-deck ports were higher out of the water with all her sea-stores in, than was ever known in any other ship of the line ; and she could carry her guns run-out, when few British ships would have ventured to open a port ; she stowed five hundred tons of water, and we had nothing that could be compared to her as a ship of war. It was supposed, that by removing her foremast farther aft, she would have been improved in sailing and working ; but when this alteration was effected, it was discovered that those good qualities, far from being improved, were much deteriorated. She was unhandy, and being found rotten and worn out, was laid up in ordinary, where she remains.



The Victory is one of the most perfect vessels, of her size, we ever had; but we have unfortunately failed in our attempts to produce one exactly similar to her.\* The Boyne was so intended, but, on being launched, was discovered to be *two* feet narrower on the quarter-deck, and found to sail wretchedly. Her bends were afterward doubled with six-inch plank, which improved her considerably; but from the contracted size of her upper-decks, she will never be a favourite in the line.

The *Egyptienne*, a frigate of sixteen hundred tons, taken at Alexandria, in Egypt, in 1800, carried on her main-deck sixteen long thirty-two-pounders on each side, and on her quarter-deck and fore-castle sixteen forty-two pound cannonades, and four long twelve-pounders. This was the finest ship on one deck we ever had; her main-mast and yard were those of a seventy-four. She came up with and spoke to whatever vessel she gave chase, and was never, we believe, outsailed; but, being found as expensive as a ship of the line, she was condemned, just before the affair of the President and the Little Belt occasioned so much sensation, when ships of her class would have been of infinite service: and it has been regretted, that a few frigates of her description were not on the coast of America, instead of the unfortunate little *Guerriere*; the valour of whose captain, officers, and men, was most unequally opposed to a ship nearly double her force.

Fifty-gun ships on two decks were a bad class;

\* Launched in 1810.

few of them existed in 1783 ; those which remained were found serviceable for flags in time of peace, and some few have been built for that purpose. Their ports were seldom more than four feet from the water, and in war time they were generally confined to convoys.

In 1793, frigates of thirty-eight guns, and nine hundred tons, were considered the perfection of naval equipment. At the breaking out of the war, the *Arethusa*, *Latona*, *Melampus*, *Phaeton*, *Thetis*, and others, were commanded by Pellew, Thornborough, Strachan, Douglas, and Hartwell, and prove the estimation in which they were held. This class was soon after succeeded by a larger, such as the *Artois*, *Diamond*, *Diana*, *Seahorse*, and *Apollo* ; these were thirty-eight gun frigates of eleven hundred tons, but had, like the others, fourteen eighteen-pounders on the main-deck, with (latterly) thirty-two pound cannonades on the quarter-deck and fore-castle.

The thirty-two gun frigates, with twelve-pounders on the main-deck, were numerous and defective, sailed ill, and were no match for a French eighteen-pound frigate, with which however their captains eagerly sought an action.

Frigates of twenty-eight and twenty-four guns, and twenty-gun ships with long nine-pounders, were a mixture of bad vessels, fit only for convoys. Some of the "eight-and-twenties," as they were called, were a pretty class of ship, and sailed well. The old ship-sloops were miserable vessels of two hundred and eighty tons.

In 1795 we began to build the eighteen gun brigs of three hundred and eighty tons, carrying sixteen thirty-two-pound cannonades and two long six-pounders, with a crew of one hundred and twenty-five men. These were a very efficient class of sloops, and by their good sailing, weight of metal, and light draft of water,\* rendered great service to the country : many officers obtained promotion and prize-money in them.

The ship-sloops of four hundred tons, built at the same time, were preferred by some for fighting ; in sailing they were in general inferior : their metal was six-pounders on the main-deck, and eighteen-pound cannonades on the quarter-deck and fore-castle : these subsequently had thirty-two-pound cannonades on their main-deck. There were also gun-brigs of twelve guns, drawing eight and ten feet water, for the purpose of pursuing the enemy over the shoals of the Flemish banks and the coast of France ; these were commanded by lieutenants, and did great injury to the coasting trade of the enemy.

Cutters were not numerous, and very few belonged to the government ; some were hired at an enormous expense, but they were always manned and ready for service.

There were also hired armed ships, kept exclusively for the protection of the coasting-trade ; they were usually of the same build as the merchantmen, sailed no better, were sometimes given to commanders, and at other times to lieutenants.

\* About fourteen feet abaft.

In all hired vessels there was much patronage; and it was supposed that the possession of a ship employed under such circumstances in the service of government, was a certain fortune. Accordingly, we find Queenborough, Harwich, Hull, Yarmouth, Scarborough, Whitby, Shields, Plymouth, and other sea-port borough-towns, had a large share in this profitable speculation.

The transport-service became, in the course of the war, one of the most extravagant branches of public expenditure; the hire of these vessels being paid for at a rate very far exceeding the profits which the owners would have obtained by freight in commercial employment; and ships that have lain ten months in port have cost 5000*l.* per annum: the rate of hiring them per ton, per month, was for coppered ships 1*l.* 6*s.*

Subsequently, in 1799, the admiralty discovered, that by fitting old ships of war with reduced masts and yards, and the guns and complement of a sloop, that troops might be carried from one port to another at a far less expense, and with infinitely more celerity and certainty to the service, and comfort to the men, than in the merchant-transports; many of them were fitted for the purpose, and our success in Egypt was owing chiefly to this superior mode of conveyance. The delay of transports following or weighing with their convoy, was occasioned by the want of subordination in them; the officers of the army being often on shore when the ships were about to sail: this inconvenience was entirely obviated by

the adoption of the troop-ships, as vessels so fitted were exclusively called. Hired transports were still continued in the service.

The means of procuring seamen to man our fleets has long occupied the attention of every branch of the administration; no encouragement has been withheld, such as bounties to youth, and provision for old age, far beyond what could be obtained in any other country, or procured by the labouring classes in the common occupations of life: still, with all these liberal measures, men could rarely be induced freely to enrol themselves in the same manner as in the army, whose ranks are filled as fast as they are thinned by disease, or the sword of the enemy.

The government has listened with attention to every suggestion, and many have been offered in hopes of dispensing with the necessity of impressment; but after the most anxious investigation, it has only been enabled to alleviate the evil which it could not cure. Increase of provisions and pay was granted, in the mutiny, equal to the demands of the seamen themselves; since which, pensions have been gratuitously offered to merit and long service, without other recommendation or favour. Greenwich-hospital,—which since the reign of King William the Third had been the asylum of those worn out in the service of the country, or incapacitated from labour by wounds or disease,—has been improved in its establishment, consolidated with the Chest of Chatham, and rendered a comfortable retirement. The out-pension provides for those who

prefer remaining with their families, or who cannot, for want of room, be admitted into the house. The severity of punishment has been mitigated, and every restriction imposed on the captain compatible with discipline and the existence of the navy: and let it be remembered, that when the general mutiny took place in 1797, no complaint was made by the delegates on this subject, nor of impressment; a proof that neither was considered, by a good seaman, as an intolerable grievance. As a proof that the sailors themselves are aware of the indispensable necessity of strict discipline, the punishments inflicted by the delegates themselves, during the mutiny, for neglect of duty, drunkenness, and *insolence* to their officers, exceeded any thing usually ordered by the captains on such occasions.

In 1815 there were no less than thirty-nine thousand seamen and marines on the books of Greenwich hospital:\* we are yet to learn what effect such munificence will produce on the minds of the men in a future war.

A prejudice has, no doubt, been excited against the navy by those interested in the merchants' employment; and a king's ship has been falsely held up as a prison-house of the worst description: this, in some measure, has obtained credit; and the effect has been to produce, not only discontent when on board, but desertion whenever an opportunity has offered.

\* Some of these enjoy pensions to the amount of 35*l.* per annum, and few less than 4*l.*

The bounties given at the commencement of a war are certainly low, compared to what may be obtained in the army ; but this is supposed to be more than compensated by the certainty of prize-money ; and we cannot think its operation prejudicial to the navy, the most unfavourable aspect of which is the indefinite confinement to a ship, and the certainty of remaining in her as long as a man has strength to be of use : this is admitted to be the great evil. Seamen, after a certain period of faithful service, should be discharged, at their option, to merchant-ships, or to remain in the navy upon a new bounty ; and those, who have never served the king, might then be induced to enter by the rewards and prospects which are so generously offered to them.

The quota-bounty given in 1795, 1796, and 1797, we conceive to have been the most ill-advised and fatal measure ever adopted by the government for manning the fleet. The seamen who voluntarily entered in 1793, and had fought some of the most glorious of our battles, received the comparatively small bounty of 5*l.* : these brave fellows saw men, totally ignorant of the profession, the very refuse and outcasts of society, flying from justice and the vengeance of the laws, come on board with bounty to the amount of 70*l.* !\* this must have excited dis-

\* One of these wretched objects, on coming on board a ship of war with 70*l.* bounty, was seized by a boatswain's mate, who, holding him up with one hand by the waistband of his trowsers, humorously exclaimed, " Here is a ——— that cost a guinea a pound." There were few, if any, seamen among them ; and the term " quota-man," or " lord-mayor's man," was supposed to comprise every thing that was base and contemptible among sailors.

content in thorough-bred seamen, and may, in a future war, produce very unpleasant consequences. We have reason to think, that in the years when this law was in force, desertions were more frequent than ever, with a view to obtain the larger bounties.

Impressment, though no doubt a great evil, cannot be entirely dispensed with, until seamen shall have conquered their unreasonable prejudice against the naval service, and be convinced of the important truth, that they are generally better provided for both as to themselves and their families in that, than they could be in any other employment.

Finally, if Great Britain is to be defended by her navy, her seamen must be retained by adequate rewards; for no power of coercion can prevent their flying to France or America; and other British ships, captured by British seamen, may be added to the unfortunate names of the *Guerriere*, *Macedonia*, *Java*, and *Peacock*.

The chief nurseries for our seamen are, the coal, the East-country or Baltic, North-American, and the coasting, trade; these supply the best leadsmen: the Quebec and North-American trade, and the Newfoundland fishery, carried on from the southern and western ports of the kingdom, are also very productive: the West Indies take up a vast number, but the unhealthy climate occasions a serious diminution.

The East Indies and southern whale-fishery are not so productive in seamen as might be supposed; and the northern whale-fishery, though employing some of the best sailors of the country, is little bet-



ter; being protected from impressment (except on the homeward voyage), they could not be prevailed on to enter: returning from the fishery, they usually land on the Shetland and Orkney islands, at Peterhead, or Bamf, to which they belong; leaving the ship to the care of those not liable to impressment. Here they renew their occupations of farming, fishing, and pilotage, until the whalers call for them in the following spring. Ships of war and tenders were sometimes sent to intercept them; but they rarely allowed themselves to be boarded or brought-to: frequently firing at the boats which approached them, and often taking the whale-boats forcibly from their ships, they have been seen to pull away in the wind's-eye and make their escape; yet, when it happened that they were taken, these daring and intrepid mariners have been found the most tractable and obedient, as well as the most skilful, of our crews. The seamen of Shetland, and the north of England, are particularly liable to pulmonary complaints in southern climates.

The Mediterranean trade supplies a small proportion of sailors, compared to the three first enumerated, whence the great body of seamen are procured for manning the navy. Under the navigation act, the carrying trade, in general, has been a very productive nursery.

Our best seamen are from Scotland and the north of England; from these, the non-commissioned officers and leading men are generally selected. Those from Ireland are remarkable for bravery in action; and we have had many good seamen from that

country, but her trade is not sufficiently extensive to afford a fair proportion from her population. The civil powers of London, Cork, Dublin, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, were accustomed to send to our fleets, from their own and the neighbouring jails, a motley group to complete our complements, without adding much to the effective strength of our ships. A vast number of foreign seamen served in the British navy in the late war.

### MARINE FORCES.

The number and efficiency of the corps of royal marines having recently occupied the attention of the board of admiralty, leaves us little to add or to wish on that subject, unless it were a constant attention to their increase, as much as the nature of the service and our finances will admit.

The earliest official account we can obtain of the establishment of this corps, in its present state, is found in the "Naval Transactions," by Josiah Buchett, secretary to the admiralty, in the reign of King George the First. This author informs us,\* that her majesty Queen Anne was pleased to establish six marine regiments: they were placed on a different footing from those which were thought necessary at the beginning, but discontinued "before the close of the last war;" † for, as the soldiers were formerly discharged from the regiments, and were entered on the ships' books as foremast-men (when they had qualified themselves to serve as such), and

\* Folio, p. 615, London, 1720. † The war of the succession.

money was allowed to the officers to raise others in their room; so now, when the marine soldiers died, or were otherwise missing, the companies were only filled up by levy-money to the officers, without any regard to their being *nurseries* for *seamen*, which was one of the principal motives for the first raising such a body of men.

The charge of these regiments was defrayed by the navy, money being issued from time to time by the treasury for that purpose. The whole sum for the pay and subsistence of the six regiments amounted to

## ESTABLISHMENT OF ONE MARINE REGIMENT.

## PAY.

<i>Field and staff officers.</i>	A DAY.			A YEAR.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Colonel, as colonel . . . . .	0	12	0	219	0	0
Lieut.-colonel, as lieut.-colonel . . . . .	0	7	0	127	15	0
Major, as major . . . . .	0	5	0	91	5	0
Chaplain . . . . .	0	6	8	121	13	4
Adjutant . . . . .	0	4	0	73	0	0
Quarter-master . . . . .	0	4	0	73	0	0
Surgeon 4 <i>s.</i> , and one mate 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> . . . . .	0	6	6	118	12	6
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	2	5	2	824	5	10

## ONE COMPANY.

Captain . . . . .	0	8	0	146	0	0
First lieutenant . . . . .	0	4	0	73	0	0
Second lieutenant . . . . .	0	3	0	54	15	0
Two serjeants, each, 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> . . . . .	0	3	0	54	15	0
Three corporals, each, 1 <i>s.</i> . . . . .	0	3	0	54	15	0
Two drummers, each, 1 <i>s.</i> . . . . .	0	2	0	36	10	0
Fifty-nine privates, each, 8 <i>d.</i> . . . . .	1	19	4	717	16	8
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	3	2	4	1,137	11	8

## ONE COMPANY OF GRENADIERS TO COMPLETE THIS REGIMENT.

Captain . . . . .	0	8	0	146	0	0
First lieutenant . . . . .	0	4	0	73	0	0
Second lieutenant . . . . .	0	4	0	73	0	0
Three serjeants, each, at 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> . . . . .	0	4	6	82	2	6
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
Carry forward . . . . .	1	0	6	374	2	6

	A DAY.			A YEAR.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward . . . . .	1	0	6	374	2	6
Three corporals, each, at 1s. . . . .	0	3	0	54	15	0
Two drummers, each, 1s. . . . .	0	2	0	36	10	0
Fifty-nine grenadiers, each, 8d. . . . .	1	19	4	717	17	8
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	3	4	10	1,183	5	2
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
Total of one regiment . . . . .	39	15	8	14,520	18	4
Five more . . . . .	198	18	4	72,604	11	8
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
In all . . . . .	238	14	0	87,125	10	0
	<hr/>			<hr/>		

## SUBSISTENCE.

Each regiment consisting of

One colonel . . . . .	0	10	0
One lieutenant-colonel . . . . .	0	7	6
One major, as captain . . . . .	0	6	6
Nine captains, at 4s. each . . . . .	1	16	0
Thirteen lieutenants, at 2s. . . . .	1	6	0
Eleven ensigns, at 1s. 6d. . . . .	0	16	6
One chaplain . . . . .	0	3	4
One adjutant . . . . .	0	2	0
One quarter-master . . . . .	0	2	0
One surgeon 2s., one assistant 1s. 3d. . . . .	0	3	3
Twenty-five serjeants, at 6s. per week . . . . .	7	10	0
Thirty-six corporals, at 4s. 6d. do. . . . .	8	2	0
Twenty-four drummers, at 4s. 6d. do. . . . .	5	8	0
Seven hundred and eight men, at 3s. 6d. do. . . . .	123	18	0
	<hr/>		
Total a week . . . . .	150	11	0
— year . . . . .	7,828	16	4
Subsistence for the whole six regiments for one year	46,972	18	0
	<hr/>		

Such was the original establishment and intention of the marines.

They were regulated by an order in council, bearing date 1st July, 1702; and Prince George of Denmark, then lord high admiral, gave the command of the whole to Colonel William Seymour, to superintend their regulation, clothing, discipline, and

embarkation. No less a number than fifteen were to be embarked at one time, with an *officer*, whether commissioned or non-commissioned we are not informed.

The services of this corps are too well known, and too intimately connected with the naval history, to require a particular or separate detail. Their motto is *Per mare et terram*—and never was motto more appropriate. The garrison duty of our sea-port towns is usually performed by them; they are the first embarked whenever a ship is commissioned, and by their fidelity and willingness, are particularly acceptable in the early state of equipment.

Desertion is far less frequent from this corps than from the seamen or landsmen. They are bound by an oath, on entering the service, to be faithful to their king; and to their honour be it said, that as a corps this has never been violated.

They were particularly instrumental in the attack and capture of Gibraltar, in the year 1704, and fought in most of the battles on the coast of Spain, where our arms were joined to those of Austria in the war of the succession. Their history, up to the peace of Amiens, has been very ably detailed, with much interesting matter, by Lieutenant Alexander Gillespie: and it will be sufficient for our purpose, having named that officer and his work, to refer our readers to it, and conclude by saying—that in consequence of the steady conduct of the marines, whether landed in foreign countries, engaged with the enemy, or on the more unpleasant

duty of quelling or preventing mutiny, they have ever shewn themselves the undaunted defenders of their king and country. Nor is the government insensible to their merit, or disinclined to reward it. The corps has been placed on a level with its brethren in arms, and was, in 1802, styled "Royal;" its facings changed from white and silver to blue and gold. It consisted, previously to that date, of three divisions; viz. Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham. In 1803 another division was added, and stationed at Woolwich: a general, lieutenant-general, and major-general, are appointed from the list of admirals; and a colonel to each division selected from the senior and most distinguished captains on the list of the navy.

In 1804, when the bombardment of Havre de Grace, Boulogne, Granville, and Calais, gave employment and activity to our bomb-vessels, artillery officers and bombardiers were embarked to manage the mortars; but it was very soon discovered, that these men would not conform to naval discipline, and their officers rather supporting the opposition, they were disembarked, and marines were instructed in the duty, which they performed to admiration. This subdivision was thence named the *Marine Artillery*: all the officers and men were selected from the divisions for talent and general good conduct; and thus this useful branch of a noble stock is productive at once of reward to the corps, and advantage to the country.

The following letters are added, for the purpose

of shewing the public spirit and mutual regard subsisting between a very distinguished naval officer and the royal marine forces in 1803.

*Rochetts, 1st January, 1804.*

SIR,

I was governed entirely by public principles, in recommending you to the King, for the command of the first division of royal marines; and I feel confident you will exert every nerve, to carry into execution the measures framed by the committee of which you were a member, and for which, in a degree, I have made myself responsible to his Majesty, in the statement I had the honour to make, of your thorough good disposition to eradicate the abuses which have crept into the staff department of the corps.

I am, Sir, &c.

*Major-general Barclay.*

ST. VINCENT.

*Rochetts, 1st January, 1804.*

SIR,

In recommending you to his Majesty for the command of a division, I felt that I was performing an act of justice to a brave soldier and an upright man, who would exert himself to correct the abuses which have crept into the staff-department of the royal marines, whereby the embarkation lists have been loaded with heavy debts, and in other instances the public have sustained material loss; and I persuade myself, your attention will be pointed to the charges in the accounts of the deputy-pay-master, barrack-master, and quarter-master, in order to put a stop to unauthorized emoluments, and to the advance of pay on embarkation; a scandalous practice, equally disgraceful to the corps, and injurious to the men.

I am, Sir, &c.

*Major-general Elliott, R. N.*

ST. VINCENT.

*Mortimer-street, May, 1804.*

SIR,

I am highly sensible of the honour which the officers of the Portsmouth division of royal marines do me, in bearing testimony to the efforts I made for the advancement and benefit of the corps; and, although I feel great repugnance to have my portrait taken, I cannot resist the desire they have expressed that I should sit to an eminent artist, and hope they will approve of Sir W. Beechy. With many thanks for the obliging manner in which you have made this communication,

I have the honour to be, &c.

*Major-general Elliott.*

ST. VINCENT.

There is one class of seamen to which we have not adverted, because their services, except as pilots, are seldom attainable in king's ships; we allude to the smugglers on the coast of Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, Suffolk, Norfolk, Yorkshire, and Scotland. These are men as remarkable for their skill in seamaanship, as for their audacity in the hour of danger: they are, beyond competition, our best pilots, and fore-and-aft sailors: their local knowledge has been highly advantageous to the navy; into which however they never enter, unless sent on board a ship of war to serve, as a punishment for some crime committed against the revenue laws: they are hardy, sober, and faithful to each other, beyond the generality of seamen; and, where shipwreck occurs, have been known to perform deeds not exceeded in any country in the world—probably unequalled in the annals of other maritime powers.

However culpable or criminal the conduct of these people may appear, it is impossible to withhold our admiration from the intrepidity with which they carry on their illicit traffic. We have known no less than six luggers, in time of war, lying together on Deal beach in a winter's morning: they had been run on shore in the night in a gale of wind, and every tub and bale safely landed, and deposited in the houses of the town, the doors of which are left in such a way as to afford a ready asylum, on all occasions, to the smugglers and their goods, in case of pursuit. Mr. Pitt was their greatest enemy, and yet dwelt among



them at Walmer in perfect safety : he introduced the act, in 1784, to shorten their bowsprits, and to compel them to carry a jib-stay, like a sloop ; by which they were not only restricted in the size of that commanding sail, but obliged to occupy much more time in changing it from large to small, or *vice versa*, according to the state of the weather. He obliged them to give security in taking out licences, and bound them under heavy penalties, that the vessel should not carry on a contraband trade. No cutter, lugger, shallop, or wherry, was allowed to be of a greater length, in proportion, than three feet and a half, to one foot in breadth ; and none of them were to carry arms without a specific licence for that purpose. In the year 1784, many fine vessels at Deal, built entirely for smuggling, were cut in two ; and all beyond certain dimensions, whenever taken, continued to be so treated. Still the trade was carried on from Dunkirk, Calais, Boulogne, and all the small towns on the coast of Flanders, as far as Ostend. After the restrictions on the Bank, in cash payments, another species of smuggling commenced, with more than usual spirit of enterprise. Boats of forty feet, or more, in length, on a breadth of six and a half or seven feet, rowed by twenty-four or thirty-six men, were continually employed in carrying specie from Dover to Calais ; they were called guinea-boats, and their rate of rowing, in a calm, was from seven to nine miles an hour, so that it was extremely difficult to take them ; but in case of capture, confiscation of

the property ensued, and the men were sent on foreign service in ships of war. In addition to carrying specie out of the country, they frequently, we fear, conveyed intelligence to our enemies, and rendered abortive some of those enterprises which had originated, probably, in their own suggestions. The boats which were constructed for this traffic having been prohibited to be built in England, the artists carried on their employment on the pier of Calais, where the author saw many of them at work.

Legislative enactments, and penal statutes, can never control practices in which the interests of men are so nearly concerned, and the law so easily evaded, more especially with Englishmen. A better order of things brought gold back to England, and restored its equilibrium.

### OAK TIMBER.

The state of our woods and forests, and the sources whence we were to procure oak-timber for the construction and repair of our navy, began, in the year 1788, to excite serious inquiry in parliament. The profuse expenditure of the wood, particularly of what was technically called compass timber, excited well-grounded apprehension that our supply would fall very short of the demand; and this alarm would, in all probability, have been realized, but for the introduction of iron as a substitute; which, in the progress of the war, was brought into various uses hitherto unknown, or deemed impracticable. The extravagant waste of oak-timber

previously to the year 1788, had not only been ruinous to the treasury, but also to the production of the article itself. The trees having been felled in a premature state, and their places, in many instances, not supplied by younger stock, the important consideration was laid before parliament, when certain regulations were enacted, but were not found sufficient; and in the year 1808, the commissioners of woods and forests began their arduous and active investigation, which has already produced the best effects, and will, no doubt, be of incalculable advantage to posterity.

It appears, by their eleventh report, that the average annual consumption of oak-timber for construction and repairs of the navy, in 1788, was above fifty thousand loads per annum;\* and that the woods on private estates could not be relied on for any thing like a regular supply to that amount. Their inquiries led them to conclude, that the quantity of large timber on those lands was in a state of progressive diminution, and would probably be soon exhausted; it not being the interest of individual proprietors to permit their trees to grow to the size necessary for naval purposes. The commissioners therefore recommended, that a sufficient quantity of crown-land should be set apart for the purpose of securing a certain supply; and concluded that forty thousand acres would not be more than sufficient.

\* A load of timber is fifty cubic feet.

Charles the Second and William the Third had enacted laws for the making enclosures in the forest of Dean in Gloucestershire, and the New Forest in Hampshire; and had these wise measures been fully acted upon, there would not now have been any deficiency; but from disuse these laws had become obsolete.

In consequence of this opinion, it was thought advisable to pass the declaratory act of 48 George III, cap. 72, since which, enclosures to the extent intended by Charles and William have been undertaken, and are now nearly completed.

It appears from authentic information, that the tonnage of the navy, in 1806, amounted to seven hundred and seventy-six thousand and fifty-seven tons, which at one and a half load to a ton, the usual calculation, would have required to build the whole one million one hundred and sixty-four thousand and eighty-five loads; and, taking an average duration of British built ships at fourteen years,\* it would take eighty-three thousand one hundred and forty-nine loads a year, exclusive of repairs.

The average annual quantity used, both in building and repairing, or maintaining the navy for seventeen years, from the 1st of January, 1789, to the 1st of January, 1806, has been calculated at eighty-five thousand two hundred and two loads;

\* Mr. Perring says now, only eight years.—See his *Brief Inquiry*, Plymouth, 1812. To this gentleman the public is indebted for much valuable information on the subject of its marine. He was the first who introduced the practice of building and docking ships under cover, in 1812; the original invention, we believe, is from Sweden.

but the average quantity taken in prizes during those seventeen years, exclusive of recaptures, had been twenty-one thousand three hundred and forty-one loads, which being deducted from eighty-three thousand, leaves sixty-two thousand loads.

In 1806 it required, on an average, one hundred and ten thousand loads to keep the navy in its then state, and twenty-seven thousand loads of that were employed in repairs.

If from this total we deduct twenty-one thousand for captured vessels, it will follow, taking it in round numbers, that eighty-nine thousand loads will be required to be furnished by the government annually.

It is recommended by the board, on a supposition that it may be done, that about twenty-nine thousand of this might be supplied in other trees, and in means of economising British oak.

This would leave sixty thousand loads of British oak, as the quantity which would be sufficient annually to support the navy in its present unexampled magnitude: that is, by building twenty ships of the line, which, one with another, would take two thousand tons, each ton a load and a half of timber, making sixty thousand loads.

It is a current opinion, that not more than forty oaks can grow on an acre of land; but it appears from accurate investigation and good management, that more than eighty trees may be produced on an acre.

Adhering, however, to the above average of forty to an acre, and taking the quantity of timber in each tree at a load and a half, one thousand acres

will, at the end of one hundred years, the time required to bring an oak to perfection, produce sixty thousand loads, or one year's consumption on the present scale.

And, according to this deduction, one hundred thousand acres would be requisite and adequate, if so planted and managed, that the timber on each thousand could be felled in successive years, and immediately replanted, for maintaining a navy like the present for ever.\*

Oak-trees planted out when of a size to resist the deer and other cattle, are found, in sixty years, to produce from a load to a load and a half; and within these fifteen years the commissioners have planted forty thousand acres, which, added to the sixty thousand belonging before to the crown, make the one hundred thousand required; and with proper management in the use of iron, the substitution of other woods, and occasional importation, there is no doubt that a proper supply may be ensured.

\* Account of expenses incurred in clearing and planting land with trees, by the commissioners, since 1808, after passing the act of 48 George III.

	£.
Dean Forest . . . . .	59,172
New Forest . . . . .	38,225
Forest of Bere . . . . .	8,778
Alice Holt . . . . .	6,676
Whichwood . . . . .	1,538
Whittlewood and Salcey . . . . .	467
Parkhunt . . . . .	380
Delamere . . . . .	3,565

The author is indebted to the kindness of Mr. William Dacres Adams, in the Office of Woods and Forests, for all the information he has obtained on this head.

The bark is now ordered to be stripped in the spring, and the tree felled in the subsequent winter ; and 5*s.* per load is added to the price, in consequence of this supposed loss in the value of the bark.

The causes of the dry-rot have been so variously accounted for, and the effects so alarming, that we shall reserve our remarks upon that subject to a more distant period.

In 1798 proposals were made for building ships in India of teak wood, a plan which government is now (1822) adopting. The *Cornwallis* and *Minden* of seventy-four guns have been long since sent home, and are much approved ; the *Ganges* of eighty-four guns, which is on her passage, is a model of the *Malta*, with the exception of a round stern. Teak, being too heavy, is not a proper wood for masts and yards ; *poonah* is lighter, and better adapted for that purpose.

## CHAP. III.

History and affairs of the navy—Promotion of flag-officers—Discontent in the navy—Lord Rawdon's motion—Inquiry in parliament—Lord Howe attempts to justify it—Debates and motion in the House of Lords—Lord Hawke's speech—Lord Sandwich—House of commons, the same subject—Mr. Bastard—Mr. Pitt—Mr. Fox—Sir George Osborn—Sir Peter Parker—Remarks—Motion lost—Observations—The inquiry beneficial to the service—Mr. Gifford's account of it—Cases of Captain Sutton and Commodore Johnstone—of Captain Coffin—Lord Howe's opinion.

VISCOUNT Howe had held the situation of first lord of the admiralty since the year 1783. His lordship's administration was as remarkable for economy, in certain branches, as that of his predecessors had been for extravagance. Scarcely an officer returning from a foreign service with an acting order, however great his merit, could obtain a confirmation of his appointment; post-captains returning from India, in the command of ships of the line, were sent back to the cockpit, and many valuable young men withdrew from the service. In stating these facts, we mean not to impeach the judgment or propriety of his lordship's motives. Promotion had been too freely granted, and qualifications not sufficiently attended to; and it became highly necessary to guard the service from becoming a receptacle for idleness, or a source of unmerited patronage. Hence it unavoidably happened, that in the rejection of a vast number, many deserving young



officers were forced to retire, and seek employment with our own merchants, or in foreign navies.

In the leisure afforded by the peace, some occurrences of importance to the British navy occupied the attention of parliament, and the courts of law.

In the month of September a promotion took place, in which sixteen captains were made rear-admirals of the blue, and about five-and-thirty were passed over, the greatest part of whom had the offer made them of being put upon the superannuated list of rear-admirals; but these officers, conceiving themselves entitled to the same rewards and preferments as those junior to them, refused the retirement, and endeavoured to obtain redress from the board of admiralty. The case being considered extremely hard, and the treatment of these gallant officers exciting much commiseration, it was thought a proper subject for parliamentary inquiry; and, on the 20th of February, was brought forward in the house of peers, by Lord Rawdon, who, after stating the circumstances of the promotion, strongly insisted on the acknowledged and indisputable merit of the officers who had been passed over, contrary, he contended, to the established practice of the service, and highly injurious to its best interests. He had no doubt but that their lordships would become the protectors of the brave and deserving officers, injured in their just expectations, and degraded in the eyes of their countrymen: his Lordship therefore moved, that an humble address be presented to his

Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration the services of such captains in his navy as were passed over in the late promotion.

Viscount Howe, as soon as the motion had been seconded, rose to justify his own conduct: his lordship stated, that by an order in council, in the year 1718, they (the board of admiralty) are directed, in the promotion of officers to the rank of rear-admiral, to *have regard* only to such upon the list as are *duly qualified* for the rank to which they shall be promoted; and by a subsequent order of the year 1747, the board was authorized to superannuate such captains of long and meritorious service “as shall be, by age and infirmity, disabled from serving as admirals:” they were to be called superannuated rear-admirals, and afterward obtained the name, in the service, of yellow-admirals; probably on account of that flag being the usual signal for *punishment* in ships of war.

His lordship stated to the house the practice of the board; “supposed that it was not strictly bound to promote captains according to seniority on the list; that he was intrusted with a discretionary power, for which he was doubtless responsible, for the well-being of the service; that it was his duty to make a selection of such only as were fit to serve; that it would be invidious in him to explain the reasons which had induced him to pass others over; that he had acted with the best of his judgment, and

with the strictest impartiality. With regard to the nature of the reasons which might direct the judgment of a first lord to pass over any number of captains in a promotion to flags, the house would have the goodness to recollect that there *might* be several. Those who might be intrusted with the care of our fleets, ought to be men of sound minds and great *bodily strength*, to enable them to endure the fatigue to which they might be exposed. Officers who had served *ably and meritoriously all their lives*, might not appear to the first lord of the admiralty to be fit to command a fleet. The noble lord who brought the motion forward, knew that the same observation applied to the army: a serjeant of grenadiers might be an able and excellent soldier, yet not qualified to command a body of troops on a forlorn hope." In support of his selection, his lordship adduced a precedent of the same kind, made by the late Lord Hawke.

Lord Hawke rose to vindicate the conduct of his father, and denied that it was a precedent in point, because that promotion had taken place with the sanction and approbation of parliament. He reprobated that system of naval distinction which overlooked the veteran officer, in order to get at the longest liver; it was a system which every man, having the honour and interest of his country at heart, must view with indignation: he would therefore give the motion his hearty support.

The Earl of Sandwich supported the admiralty, and thought the house was not aware of the mis-

chiefs that might ensue by its acceding to the motion: his lordship concluded, by requesting the house not to interfere with a promotion of flag-officers, but to leave it where it had been wisely placed by the legislature. This, Lord Rawdon contended, was shutting the door against all inquiry as to the conduct of the admiralty, a principle he hoped he should never see the house adopt; since it was possible for a marine minister, by abusing his authority, to act diametrically opposite to the real interests of his country. The motion was at length negatived without a division.

This did not prevent Mr. Bastard from bringing it forward in the commons, on the following day, when he made a motion to address the King, praying his Majesty to confer some mark of his royal favour on Captains Balfour and Thomson, who had received the thanks of the house for their behaviour on the 12th of April, 1782. These officers, Mr. Bastard said, he had separated from the rest, merely on account of the peculiar circumstances alluded to in the motion; and that he meant to include all the other officers, who had been passed over, in another motion which he would make for that purpose.

Mr. Bastard, after urging the arguments that had been used on the same side in the house of lords, strongly contended that the commons were the peculiar guardians of the interests and honour of naval officers; and he quoted, to this purpose, a speech made in that house on a former occasion, by the present first lord, in which he asserted that the pro-

tection of that house was what officers always looked up to, and what contributed essentially to preserve a spirit of emulation among them. He remarked that public opinion was the principal end and aim of every officer, and that their exertions would always be in proportion to the interest which the nation took in their character and welfare ; and that if the people should ever shew an indifference towards these, the ardour of the service would sink accordingly.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed the motion. Two naval captains, Sir George Collyer and M'Bride, declared that nothing short of ruin in the service could follow such a system of promotion as the last. Rear-admiral Lord Hood and Captain Lord Mulgrave were of a different opinion, and thought that the interference of the house might prove more detrimental than otherwise to the service.

Mr. Bastard finding that the mode in which he had brought forward his motion was not generally approved of, withdrew it ; and gave notice that he should introduce it in some other shape. Accordingly, on the 18th of April, he moved, " That the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to inquire into the conduct of the board of admiralty, touching the late promotion to flags."

As this charge went to a direct attack on the first lord of the admiralty, without at all interfering in the functions of the executive government, it was necessary to meet it upon the distinct merits of the

case. In support of the presumption of misconduct, Mr. Bastard stated the situations of Captains Balfour, Laforey, Thomson, Uvedale, Shirley, and Bray. The two first had particularly distinguished themselves in the war before the last, in cutting out two French ships of the line from the harbour of Louisburgh in North America. The characters of these officers were all unimpeachable for skill and bravery; and Admiral Sir Edmund Affleck declared, that he had been acquainted with Captain Thomson forty years, and knew him to be an honest man, as well as a brave and skilful officer.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted, that the admiralty were responsible to that house for the use of their discretion; but denied, that in this instance, the board had exercised more than an indispensable duty.

In reply to the arguments of Mr. Pitt, it was observed by Mr. Fox, that the rank of admiral might be considered, prospectively and retrospectively, the first, with a view to future service; the second, as an honour and a reward for past services: in the latter view, the late promotion could not be defended a moment; it was most scandalously partial and unjust; and as a proof that the admiralty had considered it a reward for past services, they had promoted Sir John Lindsay, an officer of the highest professional merit, but whose health was well known to be in so deplorable a state, as to afford no chance of his ever being called into active service. As it was then a time of profound peace, and a sufficient

number of admirals on the list, for any probable service that might be required, the promotion could not be justified on any principle of state necessity; he should therefore not hesitate to pronounce it partial, capricious, and oppressive; but he also contended, that when, in addition to negative merit, signal and approved past services could be pleaded, there was a fair claim, even on the former ground, to the highest ranks in the service; at least, he said, a contrary determination would do infinite mischief, by checking the ardour and damping the spirit of enterprise among the officers of the navy.

In this argument he was joined by Sir George Osborn and several other military officers. The house, ought not, observed Sir George, to hear, nor gentlemen to imagine, that men, led by their genius, and qualified to follow the military profession in either service, looked to the number of paltry shillings they were to receive per day as a compensation for their labours and privations: there was not a man, he would venture to say, that ever got a commission in the navy, who did not assure himself, that by a continued series of honourable and meritorious conduct, he should obtain a flag. It could not, therefore, but prove a deep and cutting mortification for any man (conscious that he did not deserve it), to find that he had been set aside in the day of promotion. The power of promotion and appointment to command had been lodged in the board of admiralty; but, if they were wantonly and capriciously exercised, that

house would act wisely, and with becoming dignity, to employ its constitutional functions of inquiry and control.

Admiral Sir Peter Parker remarked, that he saw no reason at present for selection in the flag-promotion : formerly, when we had only nine admirals, selection was necessary ; but now, when the list of admirals was fifty-seven, surely a sufficient number for active employment might be found. He spoke of the peril and fatigue of a marine life, and said, that if neither honours nor emoluments were given to officers who had zealously performed their duty, he feared the thanks of the house of commons would be considered only as an empty compliment.

Several of the country gentlemen supported Mr. Bastard's motion, and declared, that they did not think the paltry saving of a few thousands a year, could at all justify the cruelty and hardship with which these deserving officers had been treated. The question being put, the house divided ; when the motion was lost by the small majority of sixteen votes, with a tolerably crowded house.

Mr. Bastard, undismayed by the opposition he had to encounter, made a third attempt, on Tuesday, the 29th of April. He said, the arbitrary powers claimed by the board of admiralty having in some measure received the sanction of the house, he hoped, that in order to prevent the mischievous consequences that might ensue, they would at least adopt some permanent principle, as a rule of ser-



vice, to which officers might trust. He moved the following resolution:

“That it is highly injurious to the service, and unjust, to set aside from promotion to flags, meritorious officers who are not precluded by the orders of his Majesty in council.” This motion was seconded by Sir William Molesworth, and after a debate of several hours, was lost by a large majority.

On this subject, an able writer, Mr. Gifford, in his life of Mr. Pitt (vol. 3, p. 466), has made the following observations:

“A promotion of flag-officers having taken place in the navy, in which (as is very frequently the case) several captains had been passed over, and junior officers preferred to them, an attempt was made to induce the house of commons to take cognizance of it; the interference, however, with the duty and prerogative of the executive power, was strongly resisted by the minister; but the subject being of a nature to interest the passions of individuals most forcibly, the measure was rejected only by a small majority. This induced the persons who had brought forward the motion to hope for success by a repetition of it; but on a second division, the majority was greatly increased; indeed, it is perfectly evident, that a *discretionary power* must, in such cases, be left to the crown, or to its delegates, the board of admiralty; and that, without some specific charge of unfair dealing, or corrupt motives for the exclusion of individual officers, the interference of the house of commons in naval or military promo-

tions is, to say the least, extremely improper, and pregnant with dangerous consequences."

The only questions affecting our maritime interests, which were agitated in parliament this year, were, the fortification of the West-India islands, the establishment of powder-mills, under the charge and inspection of government, and the debates on the supplies voted for the navy. The first was carried by a small majority, and 200,000*l.* voted for that service; while, at the same time, it was agreed that a squadron of ships of war should be kept on the station. With respect to the powder-mills, it appeared that for the supply of that article, during the American war, we had been obliged to employ contractors, who, preferring their own private gain to the honour and safety of their country, had supplied the navy with an article every way inferior to that of our enemy; it was, therefore, determined to establish additional powder-mills at Waltham Abbey, and to keep them entirely under the control and inspection of government.

Mr. Pitt, before the conclusion of the session in 1788, asserted, that the navy had not been neglected, no less than 7,000,000*l.* having, in the course of four years, been expended on its improvement: he pledged himself to prove, that there were thirty sail of the line, and thirty-five frigates, built or repaired more than there were, in the same space of time, after the year 1763.

The regulation of the slave-trade was brought before parliament this year, with a view to its final

abolition; and from that time to the present day has never ceased to occupy the attention of ministers or their opponents.

In 1783, a trial of great importance to the naval service came before the public:—

Commodore Johnstone, who sailed in the beginning of the year 1782 for the East Indies, with a squadron of ships of war, and a fleet of merchantmen under convoy, reached Port Praya Bay, in the island of St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verds, in the month of April: here he was soon after attacked by a French squadron, under the command of Mons. Sufficin, who was defeated, and forced to abandon his enterprise. Commodore Johnstone, a man of warm temper, but a good officer, conceiving that Captain Sutton, of the *Isis* of fifty guns, had not done his duty in the action,\* placed him under arrest on board his own ship (the *Isis*), and appointing another captain to command her, proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope; where the squadron made some valuable captures, and then went on to the East Indies, where the Commodore applied to Sir Edward Hughes, the commander-in-chief on that station, for a court-martial, to try Captain Sutton; this the Admiral declined granting, and Captain

\* Captain Sutton, eager to get into action, ordered his cable to be cut; this was done, but with such hurry, that they forgot to take off the nippers, which, with the messenger, jammed in the hause, and occasioned the delay complained of. The Commodore should have ordered immediate investigation before a court-martial, or have released the prisoner from arrest; he did neither, and thereby involved himself in a contest which embittered the remainder of his days, and terminated only with his life.

Sutton was ordered to England, still a prisoner on board his own ship. The trial at length took place, on board the Princess Royal, in Portsmouth harbour, in December, 1783, where he was acquitted. In the following year, Captain Sutton brought his action in the exchequer against the Commodore, for his conduct in charging him maliciously with an offence of which he was not guilty; and aggravating that measure, by ordering him to the East Indies under an arrest, instead of bringing him to a trial, as he might have done, on the spot where the alleged offence was supposed to have been committed. Captain Sutton obtained a verdict, with 5000*l.* damages: the Commodore applied for a new trial, and a second verdict was given against him, for 6000*l.* damages. Commodore Johnstone applied, in the year 1785, for a rule to arrest judgment; which, after a solemn argument before the barons of the exchequer, was discharged, and the decision confirmed.

The Commodore still persevered, and in the following year brought a writ of error into the exchequer-chamber, which, in a reference from the Lord-chancellor, was argued on the 2d of February, 1786, before the Earl of Mansfield and Lord Loughborough; and on the 4th of November following, their lordships were pleased to declare, that the judgment in the court of exchequer ought to be reversed. Upon this, Captain Sutton appealed to the house of lords, by whom, in the following year, the verdict of the juries was confirmed, and the opinion of the Lords Mansfield and Loughborough reversed.

When this case was argued before the lords, Viscount Howe observed, that to establish the verdict of the jury, which gave the damages, would be to subvert the good order and discipline of the navy! an opinion in which many great and good officers would have differed with his lordship, and to which none in the present day could be found to subscribe. It was not till the 23d of April, 1799, that Captain Sutton received from Captain Lumley all his prize-money, taken during the time of his arrest, while the latter was acting captain of the *Isis*;\* but his son, Captain Robert Sutton, of the navy, has assured the author, that his father never received a shilling out of the 6000*l.* awarded to him from Commodore Johnstone.†

There had been a practice, in his Majesty's navy, of bearing on the ship's books certain real or fictitious names, as captain's servants, the pay of which went to the captain, and had formerly been considered no more than a fair emolument: this, at last, grew into a double abuse—first, by drawing pay where no services were performed; and, secondly, by enabling young officers to serve their time *at school*, or at home, and thereby obtaining commissions without having the claim of servitude, or the

\* See Schomberg, vol. 3, p. 198.

† With every respect for the wisdom of the learned judge, who decreed that Captain Lumley should refund his prize-money to Captain Sutton, we cannot see the justice of such a decision, inasmuch as Captain Lumley was the captain of the ship, and not Captain Sutton, who, however unjustly deprived of his command, was no longer in office; and if entitled to his prize-money at all, it was from the hands of Commodore Johnstone, and not from the captain of the *Isis*, who, having the entire charge and responsibility, was clearly entitled to the emoluments of his situation.

qualification of experience. To correct this evil, an act of parliament was provided, in 1749, making it a crime, under the name of false muster, and awarding the punishment, on conviction, of cashiering, or dismissal from the service.

With all these precautions it was still practised; not so much with a view to the pecuniary advantage, as for the purpose of the early advancement of a young relative or friend to the rank of lieutenant, and avoiding, what in those days was so justly dreaded—“ a cockpit education.”

It was precisely under these circumstances that a vindictive complaint was laid against Captain Coffin, of the *Thisbe* frigate. This officer had been tried by a court-martial, on the Halifax station, upon the charge just described: the names of two young gentlemen appeared on the books who were actually at school: The fact being fully proved, the court *had it not* in its power to award any other sentence than that prescribed by act of parliament: conceiving, however, that it had a discretionary power, it only adjudged Captain Coffin to be dismissed from the command of his ship.

Lord Howe and the board of admiralty thought, that as the charge had been fully proved, Captain Coffin should have been dismissed from the service, and accordingly struck his name off the list of the navy.

Captain Coffin and his friends considered this a most cruel and arbitrary proceeding; and justly claiming the benefit of an error in the jury, had the case laid before his Majesty, who was pleased to

direct the twelve judges to give their opinion,—whether the admiralty had the power of altering the sentence of a court-martial? and, upon this very important question, the judges came to the following resolution :—

“ TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

“ In obedience to the orders of your Majesty in council, we have taken into our consideration the charge exhibited against Isaac Coffin, Esq. the sentence of the court-martial, and also the resolution of the board of admiralty thereon: and we are of opinion that the said sentence is not legal; and that the punishment directed to be inflicted, by an act of the 22d of the reign of his late majesty King George II, cap. 3, upon persons convicted of the offence specified in the thirty-first article of war, established by the said act, cannot be inflicted, or judgment thereon pronounced or supplied, by any other authority than that of the court which tried the offender,

(Signed)	KENYON.	LOUGHBOROUGH.
	EYRE.	BULLER.
	GOULD.	ASHURST.
	HOTHAM.	WILSON.
	GROSE.	THOMPSON.”

Captain Coffin was accordingly reinstated in his rank as a post-captain; for, although the King has the power of removing the name of an officer from his list, it was not thought advisable to recommend such an exertion of the royal prerogative in this instance.

## CHAP. IV.

Bligh's expedition to the South Seas for bread-fruit—Mutiny on board the *Bounty*—Fatal effects—Arrival at Timor, and return to England—Riou's voyage—Loss of the *Guardian*—*Pandora's* voyage in search of the mutineers of the *Bounty*—Wrecked—Arrival of the mutineers in England—Trial and execution—Pellew islands—*La Perouse's* voyage—Objects of it—Sketch of his track—Misfortunes and loss—Reflections on the formation of coral reefs.

THE merchants and planters of the West-India islands having represented to his Majesty, that an essential benefit might be derived to the inhabitants of those islands, if the bread-fruit could be introduced there as an article of food, his Majesty was graciously pleased to order a ship to be equipped for that purpose. The *Bounty*, a brig of two hundred and fifteen tons, was purchased, and the command given to Lieutenant William Bligh, who had sailed as master with the celebrated Captain Cook, in his voyages of discovery. The crew of this vessel consisted of forty-six men, officers included. On the 23d of December, 1787, she sailed from Spithead, and reached the island of Otaheite on the 26th of October, 1788. Mr. Bligh remained at this anchorage till the 31st of March following; when, having taken on board as many of the bread-fruit plants as the vessel could conveniently stow, he prepared for his departure; and, on the 4th of April, 1789, set sail on his return. From the Society islands he proceeded towards the Friendly islands,



discovering in their voyage the little inhabited island of Wytoo-tackee, in the latitude  $18^{\circ} 50'$  south, and longitude  $200^{\circ} 19'$  east. On the 23d he anchored at Anamooka; and, on the 27th, sailed again, in the execution of his orders. During the long stay which the *Bounty* had made at Otaheite, it appears that the young officers and seamen of the ship had formed attachments with the female Otaheiteans, a race of women, according to the accounts of Captain Cook and other navigators, more remarkable for the beauty of their persons and features, than for the delicacy or correctness of their manners. The day of separation was, therefore, a day of mutual regret; nor had Mr. Bligh any idea that he carried with him to sea the elements of a dangerous and fatal mutiny, which, by a trifling incident, was shortly brought to a crisis.

It had been the custom, in all our voyages of discovery, to unite the offices of commander and purser in the same person. This was done with a view to the better husbanding and more economical management of the ship's stores and provisions; it had however on this, as well as on former occasions, been the cause of serious discontent among all classes embarked in expeditions to the southern hemisphere.

After leaving the Sandwich islands, some coconuts, which had been bought for the use of the ship's company, were taken and consumed in an irregular manner. Mr. Christian, a master's mate, either known or suspected to have innocently taken

one, was called "a thief," by the commander; this, to a high-spirited young man, of a reputable family, was more than he could endure, and various projects of revenge, by turns, presented themselves to his impatient and agonized mind. To wait the arrival of the ship in England, when his character and honour might have been cleared of any imputation, was the only idea which seems never to have occurred to him; the base and cowardly plan of seizing the ship, and converting her to his own purposes, was probably the effects of his Otaheitean attachment, and its successful execution to a similar feeling among the mutineers, and a general dislike of their captain. On the morning of the 28th of April, Christian, with his accomplices, rushed into the cabin of their unfortunate commander while he was asleep; seized him in his bed, bound his hands behind him, and threatened him with instant death in case of his making any resistance. Mr. Bligh called for help, but those who were suspected to be his friends had been previously secured. The launch was immediately hoisted out, and the Lieutenant, with his adherents, was put into her; and with some difficulty the carpenter, with his chest of tools, was allowed to accompany him. The boat was first veered a-stern of the ship, and then cast adrift, the people on board the vessel giving three cheers for Otaheite; some of them, however, called to Mr. Bligh, and desired him to remember, that "they had no hand in the transaction:" this, after what they had witnessed, was rather an insult than other-

wise, and could scarcely have been admitted as evidence in their favour; since, in cases of mutiny, no axiom in the naval service is better or more generally understood, than “that those who are not for us are against us;” and, with few exceptions, is so considered. It is also to be observed, that Mr. Bligh had with him, in the boat, sixteen men and one boy, making eighteen in all; to which, if we add the armourer and the carpenter’s mates, who had just spoken to him, it would make nearly one half of the whole crew: any resistance therefore, in favour of lawful authority, would, most probably, have been attended with success, upon the strong presumption that men are seldom bold in a bad cause.

Mr. Bligh entreated the mutineers to give him some fire-arms, but they refused, though they threw him four cutlasses. His whole stock of provisions consisted of one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, sixteen pieces of pork, six quarts of rum, and twenty-eight gallons of water; a little twine, a quadrant, and some canvas. At the time the boat left the ship, they were about ten leagues from the island of Tofoa, whither they immediately went to procure a supply of bread-fruit and water, having in the boat four small empty casks; but on this island the natives were hostile to him, killed one of his men, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation,—and his nearest port, the island of Timor, now lay at the appalling distance of one thousand two hundred leagues!

In this afflicting situation, Mr. Bligh shewed a

degree of magnanimity, and set an example to his men, not to be surpassed; and to his courage and good conduct they owed their preservation.

He immediately put his crew on an allowance of one ounce of bread and a quarter of a pint of water a day, and bore away for New Holland: his boat was only twenty-three feet long, six feet nine inches wide, and two feet nine inches deep, with seventeen persons on board, and heavily laden. The next day they met with a gale of wind, and shipped so much water, that it was with the utmost difficulty they kept her afloat. Exposed to the vicissitudes of heat, cold, wet, fatigue, and confined space, the sufferings of these poor people are not to be conceived. When the weather became moderate, Mr. Bligh amused them by describing New Guinea and New Holland, adding all the information in his power, that, in case of any accident happening to himself, the survivors might be able to pursue their course to Timor. Their sufferings now became acute from bad weather and privations; their bread was damaged by salt water, and they derived no refreshment from the little rest they could obtain. Mr. Bligh recommended them to strip off their clothes, dip them in the sea, and ring them dry: this produced a very salutary effect, and, in a great measure, relieved the cold shiverings and pains in the bowels, with which they had been afflicted, from constant exposure to the rain. On the 14th of May, they made the New Hebrides. On the 24th, it was agreed still farther to reduce their wretched allow-

ance; and the twenty-fifth part of a pound of bread for breakfast, with the same quantity for dinner, was all they could afford themselves to sustain nature; with this allowance they computed to make their scanty store last forty-three days. On the 25th, they were so fortunate as to take a few sea-birds, which they divided, and ate raw. The weather became more moderate, but the heat was so intense, that many of them were seized with languor and faintness, which made life indifferent. Early in the morning of the 29th, they discovered breakers, and hauled off to avoid the danger,—ran along the reef until they came to an opening, and passing through it, saw a small island, which Bligh called the Island of Direction, as it shewed the entrance of the channel; it is in latitude  $12^{\circ} 51'$  south: advancing within the reef, the coast of New Holland began to appear; they landed in a fine sandy bay, on an island near the main land, and their sufferings were in some measure alleviated by a plentiful supply of oysters, fresh water, and berries, which, to them, were articles of the greatest luxury. After having enjoyed one night's repose, they were preparing to depart, when they observed a considerable number of the natives on the opposite shore of the main land: they were armed with spears or lances, and, by their gestures, seemed to wish our people to join them; but this, Mr. Bligh judged it most prudent to decline; naming the spot where he had been refreshed, Restoration Island, not only on that account, but because it was by them discovered on the 29th

of May, 1789, the anniversary of King Charles's restoration. It lies in latitude  $12^{\circ} 59'$  south. He coasted along the eastern shore of New Holland, touching frequently at the small islands to search for oysters and fresh water, of which they obtained a plentiful supply. On the evening of the 3d of June, they had passed through Endeavour Straits, and launched again into the open ocean, shaping a course for the island of Timor, which they hoped to reach in eight or ten days. A long continuance of wet and stormy weather had so emaciated even the stoutest of them, that many shewed evident signs of approaching dissolution: the gallant Bligh however used every effort to comfort them, with hope of a speedy arrival in a friendly port. At three o'clock in the morning of the 12th of June, they discovered the island of Timor: their joy on this occasion can only be conceived by those who have been in a situation nearly similar; and on the 14th, they reached the Dutch settlement of Coupang. Here they experienced every attention which their forlorn situation demanded; and, by the kindness of the inhabitants, in a short time greatly recovered their strength, though they had the misfortune to lose Mr. David Nelson the botanist, who died of inflammatory fever, on the 20th of July. He was a man of great scientific knowledge, and had made two voyages to the South Seas in the same capacity.

By the good offices and assistance of the Dutch Governor and his friends, Mr. Bligh was enabled to purchase a schooner for one thousand rix-dollars: he

armed her with four swivels and fourteen<sup>1</sup> stand of small arms, with some ammunition, to protect them against the pirates on the coast of Java. On the 30th of August, he sailed for Batavia : with his launch in tow, he reached that place on the 1st of October, and was soon after taken dangerously ill ; in consequence of which, the Governor very humanely sent him to Europe in the packet, promising that his crew should follow him by the earliest conveyance. He arrived in England on the 14th March, 1790. Out of the eighteen who were with him in the boat, twelve only lived to reach their native country. Such is an outline of the escape and sufferings of Mr. Bligh, who was forty-eight days in the boat with his people. It must not be omitted, that had a serjeant's party of marines been embarked in the *Bounty*, it is highly probable that this fatal mutiny would not have occurred ; the men of that inestimable corps having been found, on all occasions, true to their officers, and to their oath.

We shall resume the sequel of this eventful history, as soon as we have dismissed the account of the *Guardian*, of which we are now about to speak.

Although "the din of war" had ceased, there were circumstances connected with the naval history of Great Britain in the ten years' peace which are highly deserving of notice ; and will be found both entertaining and instructive.

The settlements in New South Wales, which were commenced in 1787, having been established in the

following year, the government had decided on sending out to that country all felons, whose crimes had subjected them to the punishment of death; which was thus commuted to a transportation for life, or some definite period. The infant colony, independently of a supply of hands to till the ground, and guard the settlers from the incursions of the savages, required every assistance which the benevolence of the nation could supply. The rich pastures of New Holland were to be stocked with cattle and sheep from the mother-country, together with every tree, plant, and seed, which could be supposed useful in the southern hemisphere. With this view, the *Guardian*, a ship of forty-four guns on two decks (of that class already described as unfit for war), was prepared for the reception of convicts and live-stock for Port Jackson; and the command of her conferred on Lieutenant Edward Riou. We shall enter into the particulars of this miraculous escape, not only with a view of preserving to the memory of the gallant Riou that tribute of admiration, which is so justly due to his coolness, judgment, and professional skill, manifested on this trying occasion, but as an encouragement to young officers to emulate his bright example.

It was with Riou a favourite maxim, that in case of wreck, or other disaster happening to the ship, the captain should be the last man to quit her, nor then, as long as she remained above water: he was shortly doomed to give a practical illustration of this maxim. He had sailed on his voyage in the autumn, and on



the 24th of December, the height of summer in that climate, being in the latitude of  $44^{\circ}$  south, and the longitude of  $41^{\circ}$  east of London, he fell in with an island of ice; and as it was extremely desirable to make any addition to their stock of fresh water, they approached it, hoisted out the boats and collected several pieces. While thus employed, sail was kept on the ship, and she was standing off from the island when she struck upon a tongue of ice which did not appear above water, but projected from the main body. The ship instantly swung round, and her stern coming on the shoal, she knocked off her rudder and beat in her stern-frame. In this situation she became embayed under the island, whose perpendicular height threatening instant destruction, was more than twice the altitude of her topgallant-mast head. With great exertion, the ship was at length extricated from her perilous situation, and began to forge off from the island, when she struck again with still greater violence, nearly a-breast of the main-mast, and at length shot entirely clear, and shortly after lost sight of it. It was very soon ascertained that she had received great injury; the well was sounded, and the carpenter reported two feet water, and fast increasing; the pumps were set to work, the cattle thrown overboard; and the ship lightened of every article that could be spared. Exhausted with labour, in which every officer and man alike partook, it seemed impossible for them to hold out much longer; when, at midnight, she had six feet water in the hold, and blowing, at the same time, a strong

gale of wind : they, however, succeeded in gaining on the leak, and fothered the ship with a sail, which gave them a temporary relief. In the course of his exertions Mr. Riou received a severe hurt, which in a great measure disabled him, and consequently increased the danger.

The leak had now gained on them to an alarming degree, and one of the pumps was rendered unserviceable ; the gale increased, the fore and main topsails were blown away from the yards, and the ship, without a rudder, with seven feet water in her hold, was left at the mercy of a tremendous sea. The people began to lose their spirits and quit the pumps, nor could the threat of throwing them overboard induce them to return. The water had got above the orlop-deck, and all seemed to have resigned themselves to their fate : some glimmering of hope still remained by hoisting out the boats (for it appears they were hoisted in after the accident), and endeavouring with them to reach the Cape of Good Hope ; for which purpose they were speedily equipped with such articles as could be found. Riou, who for some hours previous to this had considered the loss of the ship inevitable, determined not to quit her : in vain his officers endeavoured to turn him from what they deemed a fatal resolution : he was however not the less anxious to provide for their safety ; and throughout preserved a magnanimity and presence of mind worthy of imitation ; proving how much may be done by perseverance, seamanship, and courage united. The morning of Christmas-day,

1789, presented a most awful scene; the ship was settling in the water, the people were driven from the lower-deck, and it was agreed by many to have recourse to the boats. While the officers were engaged in consultation, Riou sat down and wrote a letter to the admiralty, in which he appeared to have resigned himself to his fate: he praised the conduct of all under his command, and recommended, in case the boats should ever reach the land, his mother and sister to the protection of the government. With the utmost difficulty the launch and the cutter, with as many people as they could stow, and a very scanty stock of provisions, quitted the ship, under the orders of Mr. Clements, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Crowther, Mr. Tremlett, Mr. Wadman, and others: the jolly-boat had put off without either provisions, water, compass, or quadrant; in vain they implored a supply from the launch, that boat had already fifteen people in her, and a very inadequate stock to carry them four hundred and eleven leagues, the distance to the Cape of Good Hope. The poor fellows in the jolly-boat determined to board the launch, and take from her by force what was denied to their entreaty; but those in the launch perceiving their intentions, made sail, and left them and the ship to their fate: the large cutter and the jolly-boat followed her, but the latter almost instantly filled and went down. About half past eleven they lost sight of the ship, which previously had sunk as low as her upper-deck ports, and the boats shaped a course to the northward, as much as a north-west wind would permit.

We shall not attempt to describe the miseries of the people, who were reduced to the last extremity that humanity could sustain, and almost beyond belief. At the break of day on the 3d of January, after being nine days in this forlorn situation, the gunner, who was at the helm of the launch, discovered a ship at a little distance; both boats made sail towards her, and were received on board with that unreserved kindness and hospitality which seamen of every nation delight in shewing to each other in distress: the ship that took them up was called the *Viscountess de Bretagne*, Martin Dorée, master, from the Isle of France, bound to the Cape of Good Hope, where she arrived on the 18th of January. The master of this ship, as well as his passengers, who were the officers of Walsh's ninety-fifth regiment, were unbounded in their attention and kindness to these unfortunate Englishmen.

In the mean time, forsaken by his boats and part of his crew, the intrepid Riou, with a firm reliance on the goodness of Providence, whatever might be his destination, nobly resolved to share the fate of those who, like himself, had decided to stay by the ship. The boats, it was evident, could not have contained one half of the crew; and had Riou sought his own safety, by going in one of them, the confusion would have been ten-fold, and the destruction of the whole inevitable. At the same time, he would not prevent a limited number from seeking their own safety, in any way which they might deem advisable in such calamitous circumstances; nor was any dis-

grace attached to those who preferred going in the boats to remaining in the ship, the chances of escape appearing nearly equal. Struggling at once with the elements, a sinking ship, and a distracted crew, Riou never, for an instant, relaxed his exertions for the general good: by his firmness and resolution he awed the people into obedience at a time when those infatuated men had threatened his life; these, however, were not British seamen, but mostly convicts. They had madly proposed making a raft of the booms and other materials, and quitting the ship, to commit themselves to the direction of the winds, without the possibility of guiding it to any given point, which must, in a few hours, have produced the fatal consequences they sought to avoid. This raft they had actually completed, when Riou, partly by persuasion and partly by threats, induced them to abandon the project: in the language of a seaman he convinced them of the certainty, at best, of prolonging upon it a miserable existence but for a few days, if the weather was moderate; and otherwise, it could not hold together as many hours; while by remaining in the ship, desperate as was her condition, he had hopes of being able to reach some port of safety, the wind being then favourable. They listened to his reasons, and by the utmost attention he contrived to keep the ship's head in the proper direction, and though sometimes driven from his course, he had the satisfaction to see her going towards the port at the rate of four miles an hour. At length, on the 21st of February, 1790, he made the land of the Cape, and was

safely towed into Table-bay by two whale-boats, which were sent out to his assistance : but notwithstanding she had floated from the time of the accident till her arrival in port, a period of two months, she could not be kept any longer above water, and Riou was obliged to run her on shore on the sandy beach, near the Cape-town.

The preservation of the *Guardian* was effected by the professional skill of her commander; and by the happy union of those qualities of the mind so essential to the character of a perfect naval officer. The lower-deck, before the ship became water-logged, was shored up by means of spars cut to the length, and placed as stanchions; this prevented the decks from blowing up, and enabled them to keep her on an even keel. Riou, after laying his ship on shore at the Cape, returned to England, and was soon after advanced, successively, to the rank of commander and post-captain.

We now resume the history of the *Bounty*. On the arrival of Mr. Bligh in England, the admiralty dispatched the *Pandora* frigate, of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Valentine Edwards, in search of the mutineers. This officer proceeded to Otaheite, where he very soon secured sixteen of them; the others had sailed a few days previously to his arrival, and had taken along with them, in the *Bounty*, some women of the island and their children; nor was it known for twenty years after what had become of them.

The *Pandora*, on her return home, was wrecked,

by striking on a reef of rocks in Endeavour-straits. The crew, except thirty-three and three of the mutineers, got on shore on a small sandy quay; and the boats being saved, an officer was dispatched in one of them to the island of Timor\* to procure assistance. In the mean time, Captain Edwards with his people got on a small island near the spot where the accident happened, and remained there until a vessel came from Timor and conveyed them to Coupang, whence they proceeded to Batavia, and took their passage home in a Dutch ship.

In September, 1791, a court-martial was assembled on board the Duke, in Portsmouth harbour, for the trial of the mutineers, ten in number. The charges of running away with the ship, and deserting his Majesty's service, were fully proved, and the court passed sentence of death upon eight of them, three of whom were executed, the others were recommended to mercy and obtained it, and two were acquitted.

The accounts given by the mutineers who were brought to England, of the farther proceedings of the BOUNTY after Captain Bligh and his companions in adversity were so inhumanly turned adrift on the wide ocean, is as follows:—

They went first to Toobouai, at which place they intended to have settled, but changing their plans, they returned to Otaheite. Here they laid in a stock of provisions, and prevailed on some of the natives to

\* It is singular that this island should twice have afforded relief to the victims of this fatal mutiny.

accompany them; viz. eight men, nine women, and seven boys: with these they once more went back to Toobouai. On their arrival they proposed building a fort, but dissensions sprung up among them, and Christian, as might be anticipated, very soon found that his authority was at an end, and they only agreed to return again to Otaheite, where they arrived on the 16th of September, 1789. Here they separated, sixteen remained on the island, fourteen of whom were taken by Captain Edwards in the Pandora, one killed his companion, and was shortly after murdered by the natives.

Christian, with eight others, put to sea in the Bounty about the 21st of September, taking with them some of the natives, and most of them women. From that time no more was heard of the Bounty until the year 1809, when Rear-admiral Sir Sydney Smith, then commander-in-chief on the South-American station, transmitted to the admiralty a paper which he had received, purporting to be an extract from the log-book of Captain Folger, of the American ship *Topaz*, dated Valparaiso, 16th of October, 1808; and in the year 1813, Rear-admiral Henry Hotham received the following letter:—

*Nantucket, 1st of March, 1813.*

MY LORDS,

The remarkable circumstance which took place on my last voyage to the Pacific Ocean, will, I trust, plead my apology for addressing your lordships at this time. In February, 1808, I touched at Pitcairn's island, in latitude 25° south, longitude 130° west, from Greenwich. On approaching the shore my boat was met by three young men in a double canoe, with a present, consisting of some fruit and a hog: they spoke to me in the English language, and informed me that they were



born on the island, and that their father was an Englishman who had sailed with Captain Bligh.

After discoursing with them a short time, I landed and found an Englishman of the name of Alexander Smith, who informed me that he was one of the Bounty's crew, and that after putting Captain Bligh in the boat with one half of his ship's company, they returned to Otaheite, where part of them chose to tarry; but Mr. Christian with eight others preferred going to a remote place; and after making a short stay at Otaheite, where they took wives and six men-servants, they proceeded to Pitcairn's island, where they destroyed the ship, taking out every thing which they thought would be useful. About six years after they landed at this place, their servants attacked and killed all the English excepting the informant, and he was severely wounded; the same night the Otaheitean widows arose and murdered all their countrymen, leaving Smith with the widows and children, where he had resided ever since without being resisted.

I remained but a short time on the island, and on leaving it Smith presented me with a time-piece and an azimuth compass, which he told me had belonged to the Bounty; the time-keeper was taken from me six weeks afterward by the Governor of Juan Fernandez, the compass I put in repair, and made use of it on my homeward passage, since which a new card has been put to it by an instrument-maker in Boston; I now forward it to your lordships, thinking there will be a kind of satisfaction in receiving it, merely from the extraordinary circumstances attending it.

(Signed) MAYHEW FOLGER.

In the following year another letter was received by Vice-admiral Manley Dixon, the commander-in-chief on the South-American station, from Sir Thomas Staines, knight, captain of his Majesty's ship the Briton, giving farther particulars.

*Briton, Valparaiso, 18th of October, 1814.*

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that on my passage from the Marquesas islands to this port, I fell in with an island where none is laid down in the admiralty or other charts, according to the several chronometers of the Briton and Tagus. I therefore hove-to until daylight, and then closed to ascertain whether it was inhabited, which I soon discovered it to be, and to my great astonishment found that every individual on the island, forty in number, spoke very good English; they proved to be the descendants of the deluded crew of the Bounty, which from Otaheite proceeded to the above-mentioned island, where the ship was burnt.

Christian appeared to have been the leader and sole cause of the mutiny in that ship : a venerable old man, named John Adams,\* is the only surviving Englishman of those who last quitted Otaheite in her, and whose exemplary conduct and fatherly care of the whole of the little colony, could not but command admiration. The pious manner in which all those born on the island have been reared, the correct sense of religion which has been instilled into their young minds, by this old man, has given him the pre-eminence over the whole of them, and they look up to him as the father of the whole, and one family.

A son of Christian's was one of the first-born on the island, now about twenty-five years of age, named Thursday October Christian ; the elder Christian fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of an Otaheitean man, within three or four years after their arrival on the island : they were accompanied by six Otaheitean men, and twelve women, the former were all swept away by desperate contentions between them and the Englishmen, and five of the latter have died at different periods, leaving, at present, only one man and seven women of the original settlers.

The island must undoubtedly be that called Pitcairn's island, although erroneously laid down in the charts : we had the meridian sun close to it, which gave us  $25^{\circ} 4'$  south latitude, and  $130^{\circ} 25'$  west longitude, by the chronometers of the Briton and Tagus. It is abundant in yams, plantains, hogs, goats, and fowls, but affords no shelter for a ship or vessel of any description, neither could a ship water there without great difficulty : I cannot, however, refrain from offering my opinion, that it is well worthy the attention of laudable religious societies, particularly that for propagating the Christian religion, the whole of the inhabitants speaking the Otaheitean tongue as well as English. During the whole time they have been upon the island, only one ship has communicated with them, which took place about six years since, by an American ship called the Topaz, of Boston, Mayhew Folger, master.

The island is completely iron-bound, with rocky shores ; and landing in boats at all times difficult, although safe to approach within a short distance in a ship.

(Signed)

T. STAINES.

Such is the authentic and eventful history of the mutineers of the Bounty, affording an instructive moral to seafaring people of all ranks : first, to captains, who may foment or encourage discontent, either by too great an extension of power, or too

\* No such name appears on the books of the Bounty, he therefore must have assumed it. A gentleman who accompanied Captain Folger informed the author, that he believed this man to be Christianau.

much relaxation of discipline; officers it admonishes, in the most forcible manner, to watch and attend to the conduct of the ship's company, narrowly to inspect whom it is more in their power than can reasonably fall to the lot of the captain; and, lastly, to young people and seamen, who here learn the inevitable fate of all mutineers. Sooner or later the arm of vengeance strikes them; and if the blow is delayed, the torture of the criminal is only prolonged. "I am in hell," were the emphatic words spoken by Christian, after he had secured the person of his captain, and sent him out of the ship: all confidence between himself and his accomplices vanished as soon as, or perhaps sooner than, they reached Otaheite; and we may reasonably infer, that from the fatal morning of the 28th of April, 1789, to the hour of his death, Christian never knew one moment of tranquillity; his peace of mind and self-esteem were gone for ever, leaving the agonizing reflection, that he had dragged twenty-four innocent fellow-creatures into the same abyss, and caused the unutterable misery of as many families in England.

The importation and production of the bread-fruit into the West-India islands, which had been the object of this unfortunate voyage, was not laid aside. Mr. Bligh was again sent out, in a ship called the Providence, and made a successful voyage, bringing back some thousands of the plants, which were distributed agreeably to the original intention; but we have never found that they answered the expectations held out by the projectors

—that of supplying a wholesome and agreeable food to the negroes, in seasons when the crops of yams have failed. The bread-fruit is neither produced in sufficient quantity, nor is it at all desired by the population, who prefer the indigenious vegetables of the islands; and it generally happens, in those years when the yams fail, that the bread-fruit is equally deficient.

In the year 1786, Captain Wilson, in the Antelope packet, on a voyage to China, ran his vessel on shore in the night-time, on a small cluster of islands which had been before discovered, and called by the Spaniards Los Palos, or Pelayos. Captain Wilson named them the Pellew Islands; and though not the original discoverer, appears to have been the first navigator who had ever landed on them.

The natives differ in their manners and customs from all others hitherto discovered. Their kind hospitality to the shipwrecked mariners affords a striking contrast, greatly to the disadvantage of our own countrymen, in similar circumstances, and proves that man, in a state of nature, is not necessarily a savage.

We recommend the narrative to the attention of our young naval readers, who will not fail to admire the character of Abba Thule, the king of the islands, and the seaman-like conduct of Captain Wilson.

Illustrious navigators and naval commanders, of whatever nation they may be, claim the notice of the impartial historian. Mons. de la Perouse, an officer in the French navy, sailed from Brest in August, 1785, in the *Astrolabe*, accompanied by *La Bous-*

sole, under the command of Mons. de l'Angle; the object of the voyage, as laid down in their instructions, was to make discoveries in the southern hemisphere. Mons. de la Perouse, as far as we have been able to trace his biography, seems to have been a person perfectly qualified to fulfil the utmost expectations of his government: and the history of his voyage will be read with an interest inferior only to that of Cook: that he never returned to receive the reward due to his merit, every lover of science must deplore. Neither trouble nor expense was spared in the equipment of his ships; no article that could conduce to the comfort, safety, and health, of his men was omitted; and the vessels were loaded with every description of plants, trees, shrubs, roots, garden and other seeds, the cultivation of which was likely to increase the store and add to the happiness of the people whom they might visit. Learned men were embarked with them, and liberally paid; the rank of the officers employed was advanced; and, by a regulation at once singular and honourable, the pay of those who should die on the expedition was to be continued from the day of their death until the return of the ship to France, and the produce to be shared among the survivors; at the same time, it was ordered that the pay, previous to their death, should be given to the widow or family of the deceased.

Amongst the objects particularly recommended to the attention of Perouse were—

First, To endeavour to ascertain the length of

the pendulum of a second's vibration, in different latitudes.

Secondly, The determination of longitudes, by observations of sun, moon, and stars, as well as by eclipses and the occultation of the satellites.

Thirdly, The phenomenon of the tides on the west coast of Africa, on that of America, the Moluccas, and the Philippine islands.

Fourthly, The variation of the magnetic needle;—the height of the barometer near the equator;—and whether, as some have remarked, the mercury stands an inch higher on the *west* coast of America than on the east?—of changes of winds, and the height at which they differ in the upper and lower regions of the atmosphere by sending up little air balloons;—to observe the aurofa, boreal and austral;—to explain the phenomenon of water-spouts;—to make frequent experiments of the different degrees of temperature of the sea.

Fifthly, To throw a light on the theory of gas, it being of importance to ascertain whether or not the air is purer at the surface of great extents of sea, than elsewhere;—to inquire whether sedative salt is found in the lakes of the countries they visit.

Sixthly, To make observations on the exterior and interior anatomy of the human frame;—to examine whether, in countries where men are of extraordinary stature, there be six *lumbar vertebrae* or only five?—the duration of life,—and the age of puberty.

Seventhly, Natural history,—conchology,—botany,—and mineralogy.

La Perouse went to Madeira, Teneriff, the little island of Trinidad near the tropic of Cancer; the island of St. Catharine, on the coast of South America; passed through the straits of Le Maire, between Staten island, and Terra del Fuego; stood to the south-west, until by his reckoning he had gone over the spot where Drake supposed he saw land, but which La Perouse thought did not exist; and which, in 1820, was seen by a merchant-vessel. He then shaped his course to the northward, and went to Conception-bay, on the west coast of South America: here the Spaniards have a good settlement, and they received the navigators with much hospitality. Having repaired his ships, and recruited his stock of provisions in this abundant country, he sailed, on the 17th of March, 1786, for Easter-island, which he made on the 8th of April. During his short stay among this savage and ungrateful people, this amiable man employed himself in conferring upon them every benefit in his power, and which their wretched poverty required. He remained here only twelve hours, leaving goats, sheep, and pigs, to breed, and planting as many vegetable seeds and roots as the time would permit. Departing thence, he made the cluster of islands called Los Mojos by the Spaniards; thence, he steered to the Sandwich islands, sailed again (after a short stay of three days) for the north-west coast of America, and made Mount St. Elias in the sixtieth degree of north latitude: from this point, he ran down the coast, making some

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new discoveries, and confirming the situations of those laid down by former navigators.

In the latitude of  $58^{\circ} 37'$  north, and longitude  $139^{\circ} 56'$  west, he discovered, and entered a very fine harbour, to which he gave the name of Port des Francais. It lies thirty-three leagues north-west of Los Remedios, the extreme boundary of the Spanish settlements in those seas, two hundred and twenty-four leagues from Nootka, and one hundred from Prince William's Sound.

In completing the survey of this port, La Perouse had the misfortune to lose two of his boats, six officers, and fifteen of his men, a great and irreparable loss in his circumstances: they were swamped in the bore or race of the ebb-tide in the harbour's mouth. From this place, he proceeded along the coast as far as the bay of Monterey, a Spanish settlement in the thirty-seventh degree of north latitude; and having completed his wood and water, he left that place, and sailed, in the fall of the year, to cross the Pacific Ocean. Between the tropics he discovered, in his run, an island, to which he gave the name of Necker; and a shoal a few leagues westward of it, which he named Basses des Fregates Francaises, on which they narrowly escaped shipwreck; made the Ladrones, or Mariana islands on the 14th December, the coast of China on the 1st of January, 1787, and anchored at Macao on the 3d: remaining here only a sufficient time to refresh his crews, and give his ships some necessary repairs, he sailed shortly after for Manilla in the island of Leuco-



nia, thence to the island of Formosa, surveyed and made many observations on the south-west side of it, and leaving it to the westward of him, entered the straits between the island of Nippon, or Japan, and the coast of Corea. Entering the sea of Japan, he discovered an island to which he gave the name of Dagelet, after his astronomer. Having made some observations on the west coast of Japan, which he deemed indispensably necessary in order to determine the limits of the sea of Tartary, he sailed for the western coast of China; and passing along the country of the Manchoux Tartars, he entered the gulf of Tartary, formed by the contiguity to the main land of the islands of Jesso and Segalien. La Perouse had no communication with the Japanese, but confined himself to making discoveries on the Tartary shore; the only part, he says, which had escaped the indefatigable activity of Captain Cook. Pursuing his course northward, he explored the whole coast as high as the bay of Castries, in the latitude of  $52^{\circ}$  north; and having shoaled his water, declared it impossible to pass through the gulf to the northward of Segalien: he therefore came to an anchor in the bay of Castries, so named by himself, obtained a supply of wood and water, and an incredible quantity of the finest fish. The season was too far advanced for him to persevere in his researches northward; and from the best information he could obtain from the natives of the island or peninsula of Segalien, the

isthmus which connected it to the main land was fordable at low water.

La Perouse now returned to the southward along the western coast of this extensive country, until he came to the extreme point, which he named Cape Crillon, in latitude  $47^{\circ} 57'$  north, and longitude  $140^{\circ} 34'$  east. He appears to have been the first European navigator that ever passed through the straits which divide that island from Chicha or Jesso, twelve leagues to the southward of it; and geographers have consented to give that opening into the great northern ocean, the name of Perouse's Straits: From Cape Aniva, he shaped his course to the eastward, and passed between the Company's island and the Kuriles; then, hauling to the north-east, he steered for the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, a Russian settlement on the south-east side of the peninsula of Kamtschatka: whence he sent home, overland, copies of his journals and remarks, and sailed for the Navigator's islands in the Southern Pacific Ocean. In this voyage, La Perouse traversed a space of three hundred leagues of the Pacific Ocean, in the parallel of  $37^{\circ}$  north latitude, in search of land, said to have been discovered by the Spaniards, but saw none. Arriving at the Navigator's islands, by another catastrophe, he lost his second in command, Mons. de l'Angle, and eleven of his men, who were murdered by the savages. He now pursued his voyage to the Friendly islands, lying more to the southward; from these to Nor-

folk island, equi-distant between New Zealand and New Caledonia; and thence to Botany-bay, which he reached on the 26th of January, 1788; from this place, La Perouse sailed soon after, and was never heard of more. He is supposed to have intended going to the Isle of France; but whether he proceeded to the northward, through Endeavour-straits, which divide New Holland from New Guinea, or to the southward, round Van Dieman's Land, is not known. His ships may have been lost in some of the hurricanes which visit the Indian Ocean; or they may have been wrecked on the coral reefs to the eastward of Carpentaria. The order of sailing established by La Perouse was certainly blamable; his ships being so close together, as to endanger their running foul of each other; and if the headmost ran on shore, the sternmost had not time or space to avoid the danger. He was an able and persevering navigator: France has done honour to him by every mark of public respect due to the memory of a great and a good man: no pains have been spared to discover the remains of the ships: vessels were fitted out, and sent in search of him: all nations have been appealed to, and all have furnished their slender contribution of information, but none have ever been able to trace him beyond Botany-bay, or to shed the smallest ray of light on the fate of the brave, but unfortunate, La Perouse.

Previous to quitting Port Jackson, he sent home his journals and remarks, which, with those for-

warded from St. Peter and St. Paul, have been published, and give a very interesting account of his discoveries.

Referring to the probability of this celebrated navigator having been lost on some sunken rock, we think our readers would not deem the following quotation inapplicable to the subject:—

“ Another important branch of the physical history of the globe belongs to zoology ; I mean the nature, origin, and progress, of the banks, reefs, and rocks, of coral, and even the islands which are perpetually arising and accumulating in the inter-tropical seas. These vast masses of calcareous matter are aggregated by the slow, but incessant operations, of countless millions of minute beings, so small, and so simply organized, that they occupy the lowest rank of animal existence ; and indeed have been recognised, only in late times, as falling within the boundaries of the animal kingdom.\* Their works commence in the fathomless depths of the ocean ; they rise towards the surface, forming sunken rocks, dangerous, and often fatal, to mariners ; they reach the level of the water, and then extend in length and breadth. When we see that banks† are formed of miles in extent, that coasts are obstructed, harbours choked, and even new islands formed, the mind is confounded by the contrast between the insignifi-

\* See Flinders's Voyage to the South Seas.

† The Bermudas, or Somers islands, appear to have been the result of these labours in some remote age of the world.

cance of the agents, and the magnitude of the result."\*—*Lawrence's Lectures on Zoology*, p. 56. London, 1819.

\* If the study of geology and natural history among our young naval officers were productive of no other good, it would at least have the merit and utility of occupying a portion of time usually passed in trivial pursuits. Innumerable opportunities are presented to them of acquiring knowledge in these branches of science, without interfering with, and often in prosecution of, their professional duties.

## CHAP. V.

War between Russia and the Porte—Causes—Views of the Empress—Coalesced powers—Death of Frederick the Great—Conduct of the Grand Seignior and of the Turks—Russian minister shut up in the castle of the Seven Towers—Conduct of the Empress on this event—Reflections of the Count de Segur—Hassan Bey recalled from Egypt—Fleet of Russia in the Baltic, and preparations in the Black Sea—Sentiments of the different courts of Europe on the approaching contest—Remonstrance of the republic of Venice—Policy of Great Britain at this crisis—Jealousy of other powers—Gustavus of Sweden hostile to Russia—Causes—Policy of the Emperor of Germany—Turkish forces—Attack on Kinburn—Defeat of the Turks—Death of the Vice-admiral—Farther defeat of the Turkish fleet before Otchakoff, and capture of that fortress—Description of the naval forces of Russia and Sweden—Base conduct of Swedish nobles—Precipitation of the King—He declares war—State of the contending fleets as to officers and ships—Spirited remonstrance of British officers in the Russian service—Hostilities—Drawn battle between the two fleets—Count Horn killed—Alleged treatment of Greig to his officers—He soon repairs his damages, and attacks the Swedes again at Sweaburg, and defeats them—Distress of the Swedish fleet—Death of Greig—Mortification of Gustavus—His activity in recruiting his forces—Successes—Duke of Sudermania attacks Revel—Is defeated—The King attacks Fredericksham, and is successful—Duke of Sudermania's second action with the Russian fleet—Escapes into Biorko—Advice of Sir Sydney Smith—Battle of Wybourg-bay, and total defeat of the Swedes—Narrow escape of the King—British officers in the hostile fleets—Glorious efforts of the King to retrieve his affairs—Defeats the Russian galley-fleet—Gallant conduct of Sir Sydney Smith—Policy of Great Britain and the other powers—Peace—Observations.

A FIERCE and bloody war was at this time raging between the Turks and the Russians in the Black Sea, and on the banks of the Danube.

Catherine the Second,\* a woman of boundless ambition and masculine understanding, had long

\* Annual Register, 1787.

entertained an implacable hatred against the Turks, whom she styled "Infidels." She had gained the assistance of the Emperor of Germany\* in a project which she had formed of driving them out of Europe. Various pretexts were used for going to war, but it is well known that the aggression was entirely on the side of Russia; who, as far back as the year 1783, had seized on the Crimea, and the island of Taman; to which invasion, by a recent treaty through the mediation of France, the Porte had submitted. The Emperor of Germany was engaged in disputes with his Belgian provinces and the Dutch patriots. Frederick the Great of Prussia had also a very large army in a high state of discipline, and kept a watchful eye on all the movements of the neighbouring powers: his death, however, which happened in August, 1786, relieved the Empress from much anxiety; and the subsequent termination of the misunderstanding in the United Provinces, gave her, once more, an opportunity of renewing her favourite project. It was asserted, with some appearance of truth, that she intended to place her second son Constantine on the throne of the Greek emperors. The Grand Seignior, sensible that he was too weak to resist the united efforts of such powerful adversaries, confined himself, at first, to the rigid observance of treaties, the usual refuge of the feeble; but finding that no concession on his part could soften the heart of the Empress, he prepared for war; and,

\* The information which we have obtained from the Annual Register is confirmed by living testimony.

in a noble and manly style, excited the energies of his subjects to meet and brave the coming storm. The Turks, already exasperated to madness against the Russians for their repeated acts of tyranny and encroachment, needed no stimulating power to rouse them into action.

Mr. Bulgakow, the Russian minister at the Porte, being summoned to attend a grand divan, a set of conditions was proposed to him as the basis of an agreement and reconciliation: among them, the restoration of the Crimea was the leading article, and many others which he thought too extravagant to admit of a discussion; to all these he was ordered to affix his name in token of their acceptance. The Russian minister stated his inability to conclude any treaty; and with regard to the cession of the Crimea, he declared that he dared not even name it to the Empress, as he well knew her determination never to resign the sovereignty of that country. Upon this answer Mr. Bulgakow, with his secretary and two of the principal officers of the embassy, was sent to the castle of the Seven Towers.

The Empress, though she intended to go to war, was not quite prepared to meet this decided step. She attempted to negotiate; but the people of Constantinople were not disposed to listen to her sophistry, and even hurried their government to acts of hostility.

The Count de Segur imputes all the political afflictions of France to the machinations of England; and consistently with this doctrine, attributes the Turkish



declaration of war to the intrigues of our ministers. But it was not the interest of Britain to excite a war, in which it was more than probable she would have been called upon to take a part. She had too recently been at the verge of bankruptcy by her American contest. Her commerce was reviving in all parts of the world, and peace was the great object of the British cabinet. France, conscious of her demerits towards us, naturally expected that we should not lose a favourable opportunity of wounding her, by secretly or openly assisting in the destruction of her allies the Turks ; but the king of England was too wise and too virtuous to sacrifice the good of his people for the gratification of his resentment.

The captain pacha, Hassan Bey, was suddenly recalled from Egypt, where he was on the point of subduing the Mamelukes, and forced to relinquish his object just as he had it in his grasp. He gained almost as much by quitting the country as he would have done by the most successful campaign. Before he embarked, he obtained such vast sums of money as the price of his departure, that he left them in a state of poverty, and laid at the feet of his master a treasure sufficient to support the war for a considerable time.

Catherine continued her preparations both in the Baltic and the Black Sea. A fleet of eighteen sail of the line was equipped at Cronstadt, with as many frigates : Admiral Greig, a native of Scotland, was appointed to the chief command. This force was intended to attack the Turkish settlements in the

Archipelago; and it was never once doubted by the Empress that all the great powers of Europe would join with her in the holy war against the infidels. But the spirit of fanaticism which had instigated the crusaders no longer existed; and it appeared that the belligerents of the American war had no inclination to renew their toils for the pleasure of Catherine.

A fleet of light-armed vessels was fitted at the port of Kinburn, at the mouth of the Dnieper, and the command of them given to the Prince of Nassau.

The republic of Venice, though not friendly to the Turks, caused a strong and energetic declaration to be delivered to the Emperor of Germany, on the avowal of his intention of joining Russia in the contest. The Emperor, who had no cause of complaint against the Turks, felt this reproof, perhaps, the more keenly, and expressed great displeasure at the freedom of the senate, which had stated its determination *not* to admit the ships of Russia within their ports. Although, as the price of their alliance, the republic had been offered to be put in possession of the Morea and the island of Candia, the Venetians were too wise to be deceived by such specious offers, which their long and rooted enmity to the Turks rendered the more alluring. They foresaw that the great powers of the north, having once overthrown the Ottoman empire, would, in all probability, soon swallow up the minor states on the shores of the Mediterranean. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was seriously alarmed, but incapable of warding any blow that might be aimed at him. The

republic at Genoa not only granted a considerable loan to Russia, but also the free use of her ports and arsenals to the fleets of that power, and engaged to furnish them with stores and supplies. Sardinia refused its co-operation for the destruction of the Turks.

Naples and Portugal had recently entered into commercial engagements with Russia, but could give no effectual assistance.

Spain entertained a Turkish ambassador in her capital. She was known to be particularly hostile to the power of Russia, and jealous of her acquiring any footing in the Mediterranean. The navy of Spain was at this time more numerous than that of Russia; but would not have sustained a general action with the hardy sailors of the north.

France, for more than two centuries, had been the friend and ally of the Ottoman Porte, and shewed every disposition to resist the aggrandizement of Russia at the expense of Turkey. If she made no active demonstration of her good-will, it was for want of those means which she had profusely and shamefully squandered in America, with the view of subverting the British empire in the new world.

Sweden observed for a time the strictest neutrality, and forbade her subjects entering into the service of the belligerents.

Denmark was supposed to be too much under the influence of Russia to have a will of her own, yet she must have viewed with secret dread the gigantic strides of Russian power.

Frederick the Second, king of Prussia, successor to the Great Frederick, with less ability, pursued the same policy as his predecessor; and his armies kept a check upon those of the confederacy.

The conduct of Great Britain was regarded, at this important crisis, with more than common interest: she might be said to have re-established her dominion in the ocean. The fleets of France and Spain had not recovered from the effects of the late war, and had been left to decay, for want of finances to repair them; while that of England was daily increasing in the number and quality of her ships; and a flourishing commerce ensured her a plentiful supply of seamen at a short notice.

The Empress of Russia had never been popular in England; her government being too arbitrary for the whigs, and her character too unamiable for the Tories.

The arrival of the Russian fleet from Cronstadt was hourly expected in the British ports: pilot-boats waited their approach in order to conduct them into our harbours, where the Empress flattered herself that all their wants would be supplied, and every means employed to facilitate their voyage to the Mediterranean. In the mean time, some merchants in London had been instructed to hire eighteen ships, of four hundred tons each, to serve as tenders to the Russian fleet, to accompany it on its voyage, and to carry whatever supplies it might be likely to stand in need of. Thus far, every thing seemed propitious, when a proclamation appeared in the London Gazette, forbidding the services of any British sub-

jects in foreign fleets. The merchants were at the same time informed, that the transports would not be allowed to proceed, and that the government had determined to maintain the strictest neutrality : nor had it forgotten the rupture of the commercial treaty between Russia and England, by the intrigues of France in 1787, when the trade of the latter was substituted for that of Great Britain.

This disappointment Catherine affected to disregard, and she ordered her agents to hire as many ships at Amsterdam ; but there she likewise failed, which she attributed, and perhaps with reason, to the management of Sir James Harris, our envoy at the Hague. The Empress is said to have felt the highest indignation at this second defeat : in fact, the courts of Europe began to entertain a secret jealousy of her power and encroachment. It was supposed that even the Emperor of Germany had joined her more from fear, than any enmity to the Turks.

It was, however, fortunate for the Empress, that these negotiations had detained Admiral Greig's fleet in the Baltic beyond the period appointed for its departure, as the impatience of Gustavus, the third king of Sweden completely changed its object and its destination ; and, instead of going to seek the Turks in the Archipelago, the Russian Admiral found himself obliged to defend his own ports from the most imminent danger.

Gustavus, an active and enterprising young monarch (though neither a good nor even a fortunate

general), had long beheld the career of Russia with the most anxious concern. Russia, under Peter the Great, had treated some of the neighbouring Swedish provinces with much cruelty; and his successors had heaped many acts of oppression on them. Gustavus was the hereditary ally of the Porte, and affected to take deep interest in the proceedings of the confederates.

France, unable to assist the Turks, endeavoured to avert a war by a negotiation. \*Mons. de Choiseul (her ambassador at the Porte) used all his influence to restore harmony; but the coldness of his government in the cause, had nearly proved fatal to himself. A haughty note was presented to Mons. Herbert, the imperial internuncio, by the minister of the Grand Seignior, demanding, in a peremptory manner, what part his master intended to take in the impending contest. The answer of the Emperor was equally high. His Majesty informed the Porte, that he was bound by treaty, in case of war, to assist Russia with eighty thousand men; that if this were considered an act of hostility, he was prepared to abide the consequences; but that, if on the contrary, they should choose to maintain the *good understanding* already subsisting, he would, with pleasure, undertake the office of mediator. In the mean time the Emperor prepared for war.

The grand vizier, Hassan Bey, whom we have seen recalled from the subjugation of Egypt, had collected an army of two hundred thousand fighting men, on the European side of the Hellespont, and

the fleets in the Black Sea had had some desperate encounters.

On the right bank of the Dnieper, or Boristhenes, and at the mouth of that river, stands the fortress of Otchakof; contiguous to it was the anchorage of the Turkish fleet; opposite to this, and on the extreme point of a serpentine promontory, stand the fort and naval arsenal of Kinburn, of which the Russians had long been in possession. The capture of this fort was to the Turks an object of much solicitude: they attacked it before the break of day with five thousand men. The Russians remained at their posts, until day-light came, and shewed them the number of their enemies, when they sallied forth, and took or destroyed four thousand of them.

Hassan Bey, the Turkish vice-admiral, whom we are not to confound with the Grand Vizier, commanded the naval part of the force employed on this and other occasions. The failure was imputed to dissensions between the land and sea forces.\* England has often suffered from similar causes.

Hassan carried the news of his defeat to Constantinople, and his head\* (struck off without the form of a trial) was placed on the gates of the seraglio as a warning to his successor.

The Turkish fleet at the mouth of the Dnieper, under the command of the Captain Pacha, consisted of frigates and light vessels adapted to the nature of the waters in which they were to contend. The junction of the Dnieper and the Bog forms a large

\* The fact is more certain than the precise date.

lake, known by the name of the Sea of Leman; there the hostile fleets displayed a valour not surpassed in the annals of war; and had the Turks possessed professional skill equal to their courage, Russia must have yielded to them the palm of victory, and the empire of the Black Sea; but, owing to that indolence, so peculiar to the votaries of Mahomet, the Turks were ignorant of the shoals and dangers of a river that had been theirs for ages; and the Russians, with better ships and artillery, added the advantage of good seamen, and expert pilots. The detailed accounts of battles between the polished and modern nations of Europe, are always to be received with caution; still more those of the Russian government, which had denounced the punishment of death against any one (save the official courier) that should dare to convey intelligence from Otchakof to Petersburg. The general statement, however, we believe to be correct.

The fleet of the Turks extended from the fortress of Otchakof to the mouth of the river; that of the Russians occupied the channels between the shoals, in front of their enemy, and extending over to Kinburn.

The Turkish Admiral, finding that he could not get his large ships into action from the shoalness of the water, endeavoured to assail the Russian fleet in smaller vessels; for which purpose he hastily armed all his boats and light craft he could collect: these, with some frigates and galleys, made up a force superior in number, but in all other respects very far inferior, to that of the Russians. The



new Admiral, with eagerness and intrepidity, took the command of this flotilla, and directed the attack in a frigate, with his standard displayed. The Russian fleet was advantageously drawn up in a line near Kinburn; where besides the difficulties of the approach, they were covered by the guns of the fortress. The Turks, from their ignorance of the shoals, soon ran their vessels aground, and became exposed to the well-directed fire of the enemy. The grand Admiral, eager to close with a galling opponent, struck on a shoal, and for many hours remained immoveable, and exposed to the fire of the batteries and the Russian fleet. His ship took fire, but he refused to quit her until she was nearly destroyed: a Russian boarded her, and brought away the standard a few minutes before she blew up. Victory declared for the Russians, and the shattered remains of the Turkish fleet retreated to their former position, before Otchakof.

The Russian army in the mean time, under Prince Potemkin, pressed the siege of Otchakof by land, and in the rigorous winter of 1787 and 1788 carried it by storm, putting all the garrison to the sword. The number of the slain was enormous, but never certainly known; and twenty-five thousand prisoners were supposed to have been marched away in the depth of winter, probably to cultivate the lands of their conqueror.

Sweden and Russia were now to enter the lists: their naval forces were of two descriptions—the grand fleet, and the galley or *in-shore* fleet. The first

were equipped and employed in the same manner as the fleets of other maritime powers, but the galley fleets were composed of vessels of every variety of construction; these were praams carrying fifty guns on two decks, having flat bottoms drawing not more than twelve feet water; frigates of a similar description, carrying twenty-six thirty-two-pounders on a gun-deck under cover of a spar-deck; double and single galleys; polacre ships of a light draught of water, the topsides of which could be let down to a horizontal position, and become stages for landing artillery, cavalry, and ammunition, on the points for disembarkation. With the exception of a very few seamen, for the management of the sails, these vessels were manned entirely by soldiers. The flat-bottomed frigates<sup>c</sup> were attached to the Prince of Nassau, and commanded by the captains Marshall, Dennison, Greig, Green, and Travenion.

The Swedish flotilla was commanded by the King in person: the ships and transports formed one division, under the orders of Colonel Stedinck; the galleys and gun-boats formed a separate division, under the command of Colonel Cronstadt.

The force of the Russians at the battle of Swenkesunde, 9th July, 1790, was, as nearly as can be collected, as follows: two praams, fifty guns each (heavy metal); five frigates, twenty-six thirty-two-pounders; sixteen galleys; several transports and horse-vessels; and one hundred and eighty gun-boats.

The Swedes had two flat-bottomed frigates, of

twenty-six guns, with a very inferior number of other vessels.

The successes of the Empress in the Black Sea, and on the Danube, alarmed the King of Sweden, who eagerly panted for an excuse to go to war with Russia. The Swedish nobles did not participate in the generous feeling of Gustavus, who had dared to give liberty to his subjects in 1773, and they had never pardoned this invasion of their rights. Gustavus relied on their support, and was deceived. He rashly resolved on a war with Russia, while her armies were employed on the Danube; and so precipitate were his measures, that he did not allow Greig sufficient time to quit the Baltic with his fleet. His mediation in favour of the Turks had been rejected by the Empress with scorn and contempt, and the success just related made him instantly decide on war. He, at the same moment, presented a menacing note to the Russian minister, containing a string of demands which he knew would be rejected, and immediately commenced hostilities.

In the size of her ships, and in weight of metal, Russia had greatly the advantage over Sweden; but the want of scientific officers was equally felt by both. Catherine had obtained the services of about sixty British officers; Gustavus of about eight, among whom was Captain Sydney Smith. The British officers in the service of Russia, full of those exalted notions of honour, at once the cause and effect of their country's glory, were disgusted by seeing the noted pirate, Paul Jones, placed in a high situation

in the Russian service. They firmly, but respectfully, protested against serving in the same fleet, still less under the command of such a man, and all tendered their resignation; observing, that the appointment of Paul Jones to a command in the fleet, was the greatest affront that could be offered to themselves or their country. Punctilios of honour at the court of a despot, where the cane of Potemkin is said to have corrected the dissenting opinion of a general officer, could not at any time be graciously received, still less when the exigencies of the state required the utmost dispatch. Dissembling her feelings, Catherine submitted, and the renegade was sent to the Black Sea, where he was appointed second in command, under the Prince of Nassau. Fortunately for the Empress, this dispute still delayed, for some days longer, the sailing of Admiral Greig: in the mean time the intemperate note and measure of the King of Sweden changed all her plans, and disconcerted her projects in the Archipelago.

The fleet of Sweden consisted of fifteen sail of the line, under the command of the Duke of Sudermania, brother to the King; that of Russia, under Admiral Greig, of seventeen sail, and, as already observed, much finer ships; we believe thirteen three-deckers, one of them of one hundred and eight guns. The hostile fleets came in sight of each other off the island of Hoogland, about thirty leagues from Petersburg, and equi-distant between that place and Revel. The scene of action was full of rocks and shoals; both sides were mutually eager to engage;

the battle began at four o'clock on the afternoon of the 17th July, and in two hours the fleets were obliged to lie by to repair their damages. At eight o'clock the fight recommenced, with the most furious obstinacy and resolution : the Swedes, stimulated by the memory of former injuries, the Russians by the hope of reward, and the fear of punishment. The Swedes, notwithstanding their inferiority in point of strength, had much the advantage ; and the gallant Count Horn, at the expense of his life, extricated the Duke of Sudermania from a perilous situation, he being nearly overpowered by some Russian ships. About ten o'clock at night the firing ceased, as if by mutual consent ; both claimed the victory, and it is at least doubtful to which the honour should be given. The *Uladisloff*, of seventy-four guns, and seven hundred and eighty men, was taken by the Swedes, while the *Prince Gustave*, of sixty-eight guns, one of the finest ships in the Swedish navy, was captured by the Russians ; on board of her two hundred men were killed and wounded.

Admiral Greig was so much dissatisfied with his officers, that he is said to have sent no less than seventeen captains,\* with many of inferior note, in irons to Petersburg ; and these unhappy men were sentenced, by the arbitrary Catherine, to pass the remainder of their lives on board the galleys, with an iron collar about their necks. The Duke of Sudermania had no such painful task to perform.

\* Annual Register, 1789.

All seem to have been equally ignorant of the duties of their profession. The powder was said to have been exhausted in some of the Swedish ships; and the Russians, though abundantly courageous, had not science or seamanship enough to take any advantage of their superiority.

The Russian Admiral, from the proximity of his port, was enabled to put in and repair his damages, in a much shorter period than was supposed possible: this accomplished, he fell suddenly upon the Swedish fleet while it lay at anchor in the road of Sweaburg, in Finland. Taken thus by surprise, the best defence the Swedes could make ended in the loss of one ship of sixty-four guns, the *Gustavus Adolphus*, which was burnt. The Russians now held the fleet of Sweden blocked up in their port, and captured or destroyed every vessel bound with supplies for its relief. Admiral Greig was promoted to great honours by the Empress; but it is to be supposed that the harsh and cruel treatment of his captains would have raised him many enemies in Russia, had he not escaped them all, and secured his fame by a timely death.

While the navy of Sweden was thus defeated and blocked up by a victorious enemy, the imprudent King was no less unfortunate by land. The Empress, far his superior both in physical strength as well as political sagacity, though taken by surprise when the war was declared, never lost her presence of mind. She quickly assembled a sufficient body of forces to defend her capital; and to act offensively,

she seduced the Swedish general, Hesco,\* to desert his post, a place of great importance, and thereby created a distrust in his whole army. She also found means to sow the seeds of disunion among his subjects; and, in conjunction with the base and selfish nobles, endeavoured to effect a counter-revolution.

Gustavus, when at the head of a well-disciplined army in Finland, filled the Russian capital with alarm at his near approach; but cowardice and treachery had now paralyzed his forces. At the siege of Frederickstadt he experienced the bitter mortification of seeing his officers refuse to lead on their men; in vain he appealed to his soldiers, they laid down their arms: the Danes at the same time made an irruption into his dominions, on the side of Norway, and ravaged the defenceless country. Gustavus, forced to quit his army, left it under the doubtful command of the Prince of Ostrogotha, and went to oppose this new and formidable enemy.

The exertions of Denmark at this moment were checked by the spirit and energy of Mr. Elliot, the British minister at Copenhagen, who held forth in such forcible language the certain vengeance of Britain, for any hostility committed against the Swedes, that the Danish court judged it most prudent not to proceed any farther in support of Russia.

After the battle of Kinburn, in the Black Sea, the Prince of Nassau was recalled from that coast, and appointed to the command of the galley-fleet in

\* This man, after the war was concluded, was taken and beheaded.

the Baltic. During the winter Gustavus employed himself in repairing the damages which his navy had sustained, in re-manning his fleet, and recruiting his finances. By his popularity with the clergy, and with the middling and lower orders of his people, he soon acquired the most ample means for carrying on the war; and in April opened the campaign, when he boldly advanced with his army into the Russian Savolax, where he carried all before him, and seized three strong and important posts. One of these, named Kaimankoski, was thought of sufficient consequence to send ten thousand choice troops, and a strong train of artillery, to retake it: the command of this force was given to General Ingelstrom, and the Prince of Anholt.

The Swedes, in number not exceeding three thousand men, defended themselves so valiantly, that notwithstanding every effort which numbers, or the most undaunted bravery, could make, the Russians were defeated, with the loss of two thousand men killed, and amongst them the Prince of Anholt: this action was fought at the end of April, or the beginning of May. About the same time the King in person crossed the Kymene and attacked the Russians, who were encamped round a strong fort called the Valkiala, deeply intrenched and well fortified, both by nature and art. The enterprise was thought desperate, but the intrepid monarch and his enthusiastic followers were irresistible: the place was taken, the enemy suffered severely, and a large booty of warlike stores rewarded the victors. No sooner



had Gustavus achieved this conquest than he took possession of Wilmanstrand, and fixed his headquarters at Borgo, where he awaited the junction of his galley-fleet, the command of which he took upon himself, and hoisted the royal standard on board the Amphion. The King had gained great advantages by taking the field thus early, while his enemy was unprepared for him. The grand fleet of Russia was divided into two parts; one of these divisions was at Cronstadt, the other at Revel, where they were laid up for the winter.

The Duke of Sudermania, having sailed with the Swedish fleet from Carlsrona, about the time the land-forces commenced their operations in Finland and Savolax, became thereby, for the time, master of the sea; and seemed to have it in his power to prevent the junction of the Russian divisions, and to intercept their galley-fleet. The Duke determined to make an attack on the harbour of Revel, to destroy the fleet and arsenal with all its stores and magazines.

Revel was very strongly fortified with heavy artillery; ships of the line and large frigates were moored to defend the entrance of the port: undismayed by these formidable defences, the Swedes began the attack with such ardour as to call into action every nerve of their opponents. By the best accounts which we have been able to obtain, the Swedes appear to have penetrated to the centre of the harbour, and surrounded by the fire of the enemy, maintained for several hours a desperate conflict. The most

promising assurances of complete victory were, however, suddenly blasted, as it was said, by a shift of wind, which soon after increased into a gale, and which, towards the evening, obliged them to abandon their object with the utmost precipitation. The difficulty of getting out of the harbour under all these disadvantages was, of course, very great; nor was it accomplished without the loss of two ships of the line being taken, one of them had lost her masts, the other had run aground, a third also got on shore, but by throwing part of her guns overboard, floated off and escaped. Such was the issue of this daring enterprise, which failed only from one of those accidents over which man has no control.

While the Duke was employed at Revel, the King was not inactive: in the *Amphion*, at the head of his galley-fleet, he attacked that of Russia at Fredericksham, where it awaited the arrival of another division from Cronstadt to commence the campaign. The forts and harbours of this place were considered fully equal to its defence: Gustavus attacked it with fury; stormed and forced the batteries; took thirty-eight vessels; sunk ten gun-boats; burnt forty more, together with thirty sail of transports loaded with provisions; destroyed the docks, and burnt a vast stock of timber and other stores, which had been accumulated there for the purpose of building and equipping fleets of this nature.

The fleet and the armies of Russia, in the summer of 1790, began to shew themselves, and to regain all their former losses; they retook the strong places

in the Savolax and Carelia, and compelled the Swedes to recross the Kymene with the loss of many troops, and all their artillery. In the mean time (June the 3d) the Duke of Sudermania fell in with the Cronstadt fleet, under the command of Vice-admiral Kvirse; a severe action ensued without any advantage on either side, the combatants were separated by the night, and on the following day it was recommenced. While the event was doubtful, two Swedish frigates under a crowd of sail announced the approach of the Revel squadron, bearing down on the rear of the Swedish fleet; there appeared no prospect of escape from capture or destruction: but the events of war, at all times uncertain, are particularly so when depending on winds and weather. The Russian Admiral considered the enemy so completely in his power, that he sent off dispatches to St. Petersburg, giving an account of his success: the gazettes announced the capture or destruction of the Swedish fleet, and Sweden trembled for the Duke of Sudermania and his brave followers. From this perilous situation he was delivered by the same casualty that at Revel caused his misfortune; the wind suddenly shifted, and the Duke, with skill and activity, took advantage of it, and gained that evening a secure anchorage under the island of Biorko, where he was joined by the King, with his fleet of galleys and gun-boats, and some frigates. The Russian fleet, in its turn outnumbered, was obliged to seek its own safety, and fly to the protection of Petersburg, an attempt on which

was fully expected by the government. But the King, no sooner extricated from one danger, fell into a greater: he resolved, by the advice of Sir Sydney Smith, on making an attack upon the town of Wyburg, which lay nearly opposite the island of Biorko, and for this purpose landed a body of forces on the neighbouring coast of Carelia; but the measure was ill-calculated to save him from the imminent danger that surrounded his forces on all sides. The grand Russian fleet under the command of Admiral Tschitgahoff, and the galley-fleet under the Prince of Nassau, hastened to the relief of their countrymen, and appeared before the mouth of Wyburg-bay: their number we never could ascertain.

The King had also been induced to take up this anchorage in order to support the right wing of his army, and to prevent the Russian fleet from occupying the position. In adopting this measure, he was persuaded that he was following the example of Lord Hood, who, by a brilliant manœuvre, had deprived the French fleet of their anchorage, in the year 1781, under St. Kitts: but his Swedish Majesty had not, like the British Admiral, calculated his means of retreat, when the object for which he had taken up the position should have been effected. No sooner were the Swedish ships anchored in the bay of Wyburg, than his Majesty was convinced of his error by Admiral Tschitgahoff causing the narrow passage, by which alone the Swedes could have egress from the bay, to be occupied by five ninety-gun ships, whose united fire should be thrown upon a point

over which the enemy must pass in succession. Whatever degree of blame may attach to Sir Sydney Smith, at that time the confidential friend and counsellor of the King in every thing that related to naval operations, it will be lost sight of in the skill and decision with which he planned the means of retreat. He saw the mistake the Russian Admiral had made in the disposal of his force, in keeping the body of his fleet to the eastward, instead of taking up a position to receive the Swedes as they passed through the fire of the ships stationed to annoy them on their passage out; he therefore advised the King to make the following arrangement for his order of battle:—

The Swedish ships were to hold themselves in readiness to cut, on a given signal, which was to be made when a fresh easterly wind should give them the fairest prospect of success: on passing the Russian advance, they were immediately to haul their wind, in a close line, on the larboard tack, in order to give mutual support to each other, and repel the approach of the enemy's fleet. It was justly contemplated, that although the leading ships of the line must suffer considerably in passing the heavy fire to which they would be exposed, the Russian three-deckers must be too much crippled by that of the whole Swedish fleet, to give them much chance of gaining any advantage in the general struggle which was to ensue; and to render this contingency still more uncertain, a fire-ship was ordered to fol-

low the last ship of the Swedish rear, and to run on board the weathermost of the three-deckers. This arrangement was far better planned than executed : the leading ship of the Swedish van lost but seven men in her passage out, and received very considerable injury in her rigging and sails. Instead however of hauling her wind as directed, she made all sail for Sweaburg, and was followed by her second a-stern : the fire-ship, instead of going out the last, took her station as third in the van, and was set on fire in the middle of the narrow passage without touching an enemy : to avoid running on board of her, one Swedish ship sheered over to port and another to starboard ; both took the ground and were destroyed. The Russian ships instantly cut, and joined the remainder of their fleet in pursuit of the routed Swedes : the result was, the loss of seven sail of the line of the Swedish fleet, one of which, the *Sophia Magdalena*, with a rear-admiral's flag, was taken by Captain Crown, an Englishman, who commanded the *Venus*, a Russian frigate, which he had taken the year before from the Swedes in a Russian brig, having run her alongside while she lay at anchor, and boarded and carried her out to two Russian frigates which had been stationed to blockade her. The King narrowly escaped being taken ; he got off in a small boat from his yacht, and reached *Swenskesunde* with much difficulty : the yacht was taken, but, in the ardour of the pursuit, contrived to get away. In the battle of *Wybourg-*

bay, the greater part of the Swedish captains appear to have conducted themselves with far less propriety than on former or subsequent occasions.

The action continued through the night, and part of the next day: each ship as she passed through the channel was closely pursued by the Russians, whose loss was confined to the killed and wounded on board the blockading ships, which were very severely handled, and rendered perfect wrecks.

In this action the post of honour was assigned to the British officers in the service of Russia; they highly distinguished themselves, and some of them fell in the contest. Except by the proclamation which we have noticed, it does not appear that the British government took any steps to prevent its subjects fighting against each other in this war.

Part of the galley-fleet of the King of Sweden fell into the hands of the enemy, six of them were captured, with eight hundred of his guards on board: the navy of Sweden, by this blow, was almost annihilated; but Gustavus preserved his undaunted spirit, though he had lost, in the two last actions, upwards of seven thousand men: he quickly applied himself to repair his damages, and resolved once more to try his fortune. After the disastrous affair of Wybourg-bay, the shattered remains of the Swedish fleet took refuge in Swenskesunde, where the Prince of Nassau, with his galley-fleet, attacked that of Sweden, commanded by the King in person. The main body of the Swedish galley-fleet was commanded by Colonel Stedenck; the right by Colonel

Torringi, and the left by Colonel Heilmstierna: all these commanders were land-officers.

Gustavus, ever foremost in danger, hoisted his standard on this occasion on board the Seraphim galley, and gave the signal for a general engagement, which immediately commenced; and such was the firmness of the Swedes, that they received their enemy with undaunted bravery, and compelled their left wing to give way. The Russians, however, rallied again, and continued the fight until four o'clock in the afternoon, when they were entirely thrown into confusion, and fled with precipitation: the Swedes pursued them till eleven at night, and renewed the attack at three the next morning; a Russian frigate and many small craft were taken, and many more were burnt to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The Swedes took forty-five vessels, with a great quantity of artillery, some of which was of large caliber: these vessels were mostly equipped with howitzers, of from twenty-four to thirty pounds: between four and five thousand prisoners were taken; the number of killed and wounded was never ascertained, but was supposed to have been very great: the loss of the Swedes was comparatively small, considering the close and determined nature of the action.

At sunset the Russians had hauled off out of gunshot, having lost two frigates, one of which sunk, commanded by Captain Marshall, an Englishman, who had been wounded, and went down in his ship with the Russian colours wrapped round him: several gal-



leys and gun-boats were also taken or destroyed. At this juncture Sir Sydney Smith arrived, in a small vessel, from Helsingfen; and on approaching the King, who was contemplating the field of battle from an eminence on the island, Gustavus exclaimed, "Here is a noble victory, Captain Smith."—"It may be made so," replied the Briton, "if your Majesty will allow me to rouse up some of your sleeping heroes, and renew the action." The King acquiesced: Sir Sydney flew on board the squadron, collected all the vessels which could be put in motion by oars, and finding, amongst the Russian prisoners just taken, a great number of Turks, he distributed them in the Swedish flotilla, and led them on against the Russians: the consequence of this unexpected and vigorous attack was, the capture of three more large frigates, with many galleys and gun-vessels, and the destruction of two fifty-gun praams, and the greater part of the flotilla.

This was a mortifying blow to the Russians, who were defeated in that peculiar style of fighting in which they were considered to excel. The Prince of Nassau, hitherto victorious, now sunk in the estimation of his imperial mistress and of his countrymen; his former services were forgotten, and a small pension is said to have secured him from want during the remainder of his life.

Although the galley-fleet of Sweden was greatly augmented by the captures made from the enemy in this brilliant affair, yet the signal defeat, though it occasioned some inconvenience, and mortified the

pride of the Empress, was of little real service to the cause of Sweden, already so much exhausted, that she could ill afford to fight a battle which ended in victory ; her largest ships were destroyed, and her means of continuing the war became daily more limited.

In the preceding year a Russian ship of the line, of eighty guns, was sunk by some Swedish gun-boats, on the coast between Sweaburg and Abo: the crew landed and took possession of a small island with a few guns: here they were attacked by a regiment of Dalecarlians, who put every man to the sword; and their bodies remained still unburied when a British officer, in the year 1790, passed over the ground.

Great Britain saw, with jealousy and concern, the rapid success of the Russian arms, and Catherine felt that the power of England and Prussia together, might add a tremendous weight to the arms of Sweden, and, perhaps, fall on her with an irresistible force. Immediately, therefore, after the last action, a private intercourse commenced between the Empress and Gustavus, in which it appears to have been agreed upon, as a preliminary, that no mediating third power should be admitted. General Ingelston on the part of Russia, and General Baron D'Armfeldt on that of Sweden, were appointed forthwith to confer and settle the terms of peace: a suspension of arms was immediately agreed on, and on the 14th August, 1790, the peace was concluded, which placed the belligerents in the same situation as they stood before the war, except that the Swedes

were to be allowed to purchase corn duty-free in the country of Livonia, whenever it exceeded a certain price in Sweden: Gustavus, who made war without a cause, and peace without honour, was keenly and bitterly reproached by the King of Prussia, and the Ottoman Porte, for having concluded this treaty. To the former the King of Sweden owed nothing: he had seen him sustain defeat after defeat, and struggle with every kind of misfortune, yet, with a vast army on foot, never offered to send a soldier to his relief. From the Ottoman Porte he had received large subsidies, and was bound, by the most solemn treaties, not to make a separate peace; nothing, therefore, could exceed the rage and indignation of the Turks, when informed that they were now left alone to contend with the united powers of Russia and Austria. It is probable that the timely interference of Great Britain saved not only Sweden, but the Ottoman empire, for that time, from impending ruin.

The battles between the Swedes and Russians offer few occasions for instructive reflection. The conduct of Gustavus was heroic, but the interest we take in his success is diminished by the knowledge of his private character. Catherine, who aimed at the subjugation of Turkey, for no other reason than to gratify her own ambition and covetousness, was deservedly checked in her career. The naval reader who forms an idea of these belligerents from what he may have seen between France and England on the ocean, will be greatly deceived. There was nei-

ther science nor discipline, nor any approach to that refinement of manners, which has of late years contributed to the improvement of our service. An Englishman, who had received his education at Westminster-school, entered the Swedish navy in 1788 as a surgeon, and was, agreeably to their custom, called upon to perform the office of ship's barber, and shave the crew: this he declined, and very soon quitted a service where his talents were so little appreciated, and likely to be so much misapplied.

The ships of Russia and Sweden were chiefly built of fir, coppered, and sailed tolerably well; but, in point of neatness, discipline, or manœuvring, bore no comparison to a British ship of war.

## CHAP. VI.

Death of the Emperor Joseph—State of the empire, and conduct of Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland—Dispute with Spain on the subject of Nootka Sound—Spain applies to France for assistance—The convention order thirty sail of the line—State of the French navy—Termination of the discussion—Debates upon it in parliament—Ministers' motives for agreeing to the terms of Spain—Russia and the Porte—Ambitious views of the Empress—Russian armament—Perilous situation of Turkey—Defeat of Battel Bey—Siege and capture of Irmaitsoff—Peace of Galatz—Meeting of parliament, January, 1791—Affair of India—Political prospect—Reflections—Comparative state of Turkey in 1791 and 1822.

THE Emperor Joseph died on the 2d February, 1790, leaving the empire embroiled with France, at war with the Turks, and a rebellion in the Netherlands, the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria; while, at the same time, a powerful league was formed by the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, as electors of the empire, to restrain the ambition of the late emperor, and to destroy the dangerous alliance which he had entered into with Russia, the effects of which had already begun to be severely felt in Poland. Holland joined with England and Prussia; but the latter is supposed to have acted a treacherous part, and to have consented to the partition of Poland, upon conditions of receiving a large share of her dominions: if such were really the case (and there is but too much reason to suppose it was), the selfish policy of the King of Prussia soon had its reward; the cause of Poland was avenged in the plains of Jena, when the sword of the great

Frederick was wrested from the feeble hands of his successor, and carried in triumph to the capital of France.

The Emperor's untimely projects of reform in Belgium having excited a rebellion against his authority, induced him to withdraw from the alliance of Russia. The treaty of peace was signed between Austria and the Porte on the 4th of August, 1790; and it is believed, that had not hostilities ceased, the King of Prussia, with his allies, would have declared war against these belligerents in favour of Turkey.

Unwilling to interrupt the narrative of the contentions between the northern powers, we have not hitherto noticed the dispute between Spain and England, which took place and terminated in the year 1790. It will, we conceive, be sufficient to state the simple facts, without bewildering ourselves in the dull collection of state papers, which loaded the tables of both houses of parliament.

Spain, a prey at once to poverty, weakness, and ambition, urged exclusive claims to the whole coast of America, from Cape Horn, to the sixtieth degree of north latitude; or, in other words, as far as they considered it habitable; in this, they comprehended part of the north-west coast which had been discovered by Cook. It was not, however, supposed that the Spaniards would have gone to war, or even have made a remonstrance upon our forming a settlement on this inhospitable shore.

Some enterprising merchants of London had un-

dertaken to establish a trade for fur and ginseng; their chief factory was in Nootka, or King George's Sound.

The produce was to have been disposed of in China, or brought to Europe, as circumstances might require: this trade was undertaken with the sanction of the East-India company. The spot they had fixed upon was far within the limits of our own discoveries. Two vessels were fitted and placed under the command of Lieutenant Meers of the royal navy. The first voyage was successful, and Mr. Meers was enabled to dispose of his vessels and their cargoes in China, and to purchase two others of larger dimensions, named the *Felicé* and the *Iphigenia*; the first he took charge of himself, the other he put under the command of Captain Douglas. The *Felicé* reached Nootka Sound in May, 1789; and in June the *Iphigenia* arrived in Cook's River.

Mr. Meers's first business in Nootka Sound was to purchase from Maquilla, the chief of the district, a spot of ground on which he built a house, and hoisted the English flag, surrounding it with a breast-work, and fortifying it with a three-pounder; this being completed, he proceeded to trade. The *Felicé* went to the southward as far as the latitude of 45° north, and the *Iphigenia* to the northward as far as 60°.

The British captains, in their respective voyages, found means to conciliate the good-will of the natives, from whom they obtained grants of land at Port Cox and Port Effingham, and the country border-

ing on the straits or inlet of Juan de Fuca, between the island of Nootka and the main land ; no European having ever settled in these countries before. The trade thus established was soon found very lucrative, the skins of the sea-otter being the principal object furnished by the natives in return for the various articles which our settlers brought with them : this trade had been pointed out to our merchants by Captain King, who accompanied Captain Cook in his voyage to the Northern Pacific Ocean.

Spain, unable to derive the same advantages on her coast, could not endure a prosperous neighbour and rival ; and jealous at the same time of our acquiring a knowledge of her weakness in that part of the world, sent two ships of war, one of twenty-six, the other of sixteen guns, to Nootka Sound, to capture the traders, and take their fort. Don Joseph Martinez, the commander of the expedition, executed his orders with a degree of rapacious cruelty not usually practised in modern warfare.

The Iphigenia was taken and plundered of every article, even to the wearing apparel of the Captain and crew ; the latter were put in irons, and compelled, by severe punishment, to work at the fortifications. The British flag was torn down, and that of Spain substituted in its place ; while the vaunting Spaniard declared, that all the land between Cape Horn and the sixtieth degree of north latitude belonged to his master the King of Spain. Martinez was a contemptible instrument in the hands of a weak government. Several other British vessels were



captured in like manner, and the officers and crews sent prisoners to St. Blas.

The whole of this transaction, with the correspondence relating to it, was laid before parliament on the 25th May, 1790; when his Majesty was graciously pleased to inform both houses, that not only could no satisfactory answer be obtained from the court of Madrid, but that the King of Spain was preparing considerable naval armaments in his seaports; and his Britannic Majesty recommended to his faithful commons to adopt such means as would best secure the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people: to this message, a dutiful and loyal address was returned, expressive of the determination of both lords and commons to support his Majesty in his just rights, and to maintain the independence of the British flag. Many ships of the line were immediately put in commission: a large naval force was ordered to assemble at Spithead, and Earl Howe appointed commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet.

The Spaniards now began to feel alarmed at the preparations of Great Britain; they applied to France for assistance, agreeably to the terms of a treaty offensive and defensive, long since concluded between those two countries; but France was not at that time in a situation to afford it: the King was in the power of the national convention, and this assembly, after much tumultuous and idle debate, decreed that thirty sail of the line should be immediately fitted, and sent to assist the Spaniards. By

this time, however, the seamen in France had shaken off all ideas of subordination, and equalled the soldiers in every sort of licentious and disorderly conduct: they had refused to serve under any officers, but such as were of their own selection; constituted a committee to report on the nautical skill, as well as the political principles, of their commanders; and, in some instances, cashiered their captains, and appointed new ones. This part of their conduct was entirely conformable to the new order of things in Paris, where the national assembly had treated the King in a somewhat similar manner. The court of Spain now became sensible that no real advantage could be derived from the junction of the French fleet under such a state of discipline; and thought it not improbable, that the Spanish seamen might be induced to follow the pernicious example set them by the French. They therefore endeavoured to evade the just demands of the cabinet of St. James's, and every unworthy artifice that sophistry could devise was resorted to, in order to gain time, and wear out the patience of the British government; well aware, no doubt, of the ruinous consequences to us of fleets and armies kept in a state of inactive suspense.

State papers of an enormous length were continually handed in to our minister at Madrid: in one of them it was asserted, that whatever might be the issue of the question of right, "the capture of the English vessel had been repaired by the restitution that had been made;" as if the insult to the British flag, the

plundering of the ships, and the barbarous treatment of the crews, had been effaced, by the mere restoration of the hull of the vessel after a month's detention, the loss of her voyage for that season, and the utter impossibility of continuing it on the following year for want of those indispensable articles of which they had been robbed by Martinez.

The affair was at length brought to a conclusion in the month of July, when his Catholic Majesty was pleased to declare in a note, signed by the Count de Florida Blanca, that he would make good all the losses sustained, and give satisfaction to his Majesty for the injury of which he complained.

The King of Spain, however, reserved to himself the discussion of his right to any settlement which his subjects might have made in the port of Nootka.

Thus ended this dispute, which, in the navy, is known by the name of "the Spanish armament:" it cost Great Britain upwards of three millions sterling, not uselessly thrown away, since it brought forward the naval service, which, in a peace of seven years, had fallen much into disuse; it turned the attention of the government and the people to its improvement, and in the succeeding years was found to have produced the most salutary effects.

His Royal Highness Prince William Henry, third son of the King, was the only prince of the blood of the reigning family that was educated in the naval service, which he entered at the latter part of the American war, under the care of the late admiral the Hon. Robert Digby. The young Prince went

through all the gradations of the service, and was regularly advanced, as he became qualified, to the respective ranks of lieutenant, commander, and post-captain, and discharged the duties of his profession with zeal and ability. In 1786 his Royal Highness commanded the Pegasus, on the West-India station; soon afterward the Andromeda, of thirty-two guns; and in the year 1790, the Valliant, of seventy-four guns: this ship, at the conclusion of the Spanish armament, was paid off, and his Royal Highness was then promoted, by an order in council, over the heads of the senior captains, to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, a mark of distinction never granted to any but the blood royal. Anxious for active employment, and devoted to his profession, the Prince would gladly have served during the war of the revolution, but was prevented by a difference of opinion with the ministry on some political topics, and we have only seen his Royal Highness hoist the standard once since his promotion; the particulars and the occasion of which will be related in their proper place.

On the meeting of parliament in November following, the state papers relating to the Spanish armament were laid on the table of both houses, and a warm debate ensued on the subject.

His Majesty, in the speech from the throne, informed parliament that the differences with the court of Spain had been brought to an amicable termination; that a separate peace had been made between Russia and Sweden; that in conjunction with

his allies, he had employed his mediation for the purpose of negotiating a definitive treaty between Russia and the Porte, and likewise endeavouring to put an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands. His Majesty adverted to the interruption that had taken place in the tranquillity of our East-Indian possessions, and recommended to parliament a particular attention to the Indian provinces of Quebec.

In the house of lords, Earl Stanhope congratulated the house and the nation on the continuance of peace, which he conceived was principally to be attributed, under Divine Providence, to the French revolution, from which, his lordship said, Great Britain was to derive "immense advantages!" No reply was offered, and the address was carried.

On the 3d of December, when copies of the declaration and counter declaration were laid before the house, an address was moved to his Majesty congratulating him on the success of the late negotiation. The principal topics urged by the gentleman who opened the debate, were, the great commercial benefits to be derived from the stipulations acceded to by Spain, particularly as to the whale-fishery and the fur-trade. These positions were controverted, and very justly treated as delusive, by the opposition. Mr. Fox entered into the merits of the convention, which he termed a treaty of concessions, rather than of acquisitions: he observed that there were two objects to be considered in this convention; first, the reparation for the insult received, and secondly, the arrangement for the prevention of

future disputes. The reparation which had been obtained, he thought insufficient. In the affair of the Falkland islands, in the year 1771, reparation was the only object in view, and it was obtained in its fullest extent: Spain then agreed to put every thing in the same state as it was before the insult was received, which agreement she punctually fulfilled. In that case there was a complete restoration; in the present case there was only a declaration of a disposition to restore: the restitution promised appeared to him at best to be incomplete, nor had even the little that had been promised been performed. On the subject of reparation, therefore, he considered we had little to boast of; the arrangement made for the prevention of future disputes, seemed to him to be equally culpable; it consisted more in concessions on our part than on the part of Spain. Previous to the dispute, we possessed and exercised the free navigation and right of fishing in the Pacific Ocean, without restraint or limitation: but the admission of a part only of those rights was all we obtained by the convention. Formerly we claimed the privilege of settling in any part of South or North America not previously occupied; now we consented to the restriction of settling in certain places only, and even these under various limitations: our right of fishing before extended to the whole ocean, it was now refused us within particular limits of the Spanish settlements: we were allowed, indeed, to form colonies on the *north* of parts occupied by Spain, and to build temporary huts in the

south; but the Spanish boundaries, beyond which such permission was granted, could not be accurately determined: certainty, in his estimation, was of more value than extent of territory; he should therefore have thought it better to have obtained, in the first instance, a precise line of demarkation, even at the expense of a few leagues of territory, from such an account as Spain herself might choose to give of the limits of her occupancy. Upon the whole, he thought we had resigned what was of infinite consequence\* to Spain, and retained what was insignificant to ourselves; and that what we had retained was so vague in its description, so undefined in its limits, and consequently so liable to be again disputed, that we had conceded much more in point of right, than we had gained in point of security.

Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, contended that the reparation for the injury had been complete. In the controversy respecting the Falkland islands, the minister of the time had obtained reparation, but left the claim unsettled; upon the present occasion, by the first article of the convention, we had gained all that could be reasonably expected. On the point of restitution, the Spanish court pledged itself to restore the lands of which we had been unjustly dispossessed; and by the second article our claim of right was acknowledged and adjusted.

Mr. Fox had some reason on his side; sufficient reparation was not made, nor the boundaries pro-

\* Here Mr. Fox was mistaken: Spain neither did nor could make use of the ceded country.—See page 160.

perly defined : but Mr. Pitt too clearly saw the ferment arising in France, and from the state of the political horizon, perceived that questions of far greater moment were about to engage the attention of the British government. He might require Spain as an auxiliary against France ; a war with Russia was not improbable, and under such an expectation, to have weakened her or ourselves by a contention on a subject comparatively trivial, would have been the extreme of bad policy. The address was carried by a majority of 124,—Ayes 247, Noes 123.

The differences between Russia and the Ottoman Porte were not yet adjusted ; Great Britain and Prussia had in vain endeavoured, as mediators, to restore tranquillity. The two latter powers had long since taken the alarm at the successes of Russia on the Danube in the last winter's campaign : the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, however gratifying to the ambition or resentment of Catherine, might have destroyed that balance of power which it had been the ardent work of our ancestors to raise and to cherish. Her plans, it is said, extended as far as the eastern side of the Hellespont, the Ionian islands, and even to Egypt ; and considering the immense population of the empire of Russia, millions might have been called from the regions of the north, to people, at her command, the more temperate shores of the Mediterranean : these were supposed to be her views by the best informed people of that time ; and it has already been hinted, that a new Greek empire was to be founded for her grandson Constantine.



Whether, under such a vast extension of power and territory, even Great Britain herself would have been safe, remains a question. England, however, after what we have already related, had little to expect either from her mercy or her policy.

Ideas of this kind certainly prevailed in the councils of George the Third; when on the 28th of March, 1791, a message from his Majesty acquainted the two houses of parliament, that having, in conjunction with his allies, endeavoured in vain to bring about a reconciliation between the belligerent powers, his Majesty had thought fit, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some farther addition to his naval forces. The fleet, which in the preceding year had been paid off, was again called forward, and a large naval armament was speedily prepared, with a view to compel the Empress to accept of such terms as the coalesced powers might think equitable.

The Empress had, by conquest, wrested a considerable territory from the Turks, who, driven to extremities, were desirous of peace. It was asserted that Great Britain and Prussia, the mediators on this occasion, had insisted that Russia should resign the newly-acquired conquest: this she was willing to do, except as far as regarded Otchakof and its dependencies, the country of the Otchakof Tartars, between the Neister and the Bog; the possession of this conquest she seemed determined, at all hazards, to retain, and it certainly was of much importance to her: that part of Russia which approaches nearest

to Otchakof, was said to be particularly weak and vulnerable; whence, at the commencement of hostilities, the Turks, and their tributary Tartars, had it in their power to overrun and plunder, at their pleasure, the unguarded part of the Russian dominions. The Empress knew that while her enemies were in possession of Otchakof, they had an opportunity of cutting off entirely the whole trade of her subjects on the Dnieper, intercepting all communications between the interior of her dominions and the Black Sea. Otchakof was, moreover, a good naval station, and the key of the Turkish provinces, and therefore indispensable for Catherine's prospective as well as for her immediate purposes; the cession of it would, consequently, have been quite inconsistent with her views and her policy.

The situation of Turkey was, at this period, truly critical: the armies of Russia, during the summer, had been entirely inactive on the Danube, reserving themselves for a winter campaign, when the Asiatic troops, of which the greatest part of the Ottoman army consisted, should, conformably to their annual custom, have repassed the Hellespont, and fled from the rigour of a European winter. The Turks of Rmania and Bulgaria, thus left to contend against the whole force of Russia, were very unequally matched, though not surpassed in bravery by any troops in the world. These unfortunate people were conquered by the cold alone, while the Russians found themselves in the enjoyment of a climate resembling summer, when compared to the corresponding seasons of the north.

On the 10th of October, 1790, Battel Bey passed the river Cuban, and was totally defeated with his army by the Russians under General Herman.

Late in the same month the Russians, under Prince Potemkin, Generals Repnin and Suvarof, advanced to the attack of Ismailow, on the Danube: this was a fortress, according to all accounts, of great strength, and into which the Grand Vizier had thrown a reinforcement of thirteen thousand men, the flower of his army. The artillery was under the management of European engineers, of whom the chief, said to be an Englishman, perished with the rest. The reduction of the place was intrusted to the care of the ferocious and brutal Suvarof, who divided his army into eight columns, and to each assigned the point of attack, the principal being led on by himself in person. The storming commenced on the morning of the 25th December, 1790; human life was set at nought; thousands fell in the course of three hours, and the Russians seem to have felt much reluctance at renewing the attack; when Suvarof grasped a standard, and, rushing forward alone, planted it on a Turkish bastion, then turning to his men, asked them if they would allow it to be taken by the infidels. Upon this the Russians again advanced, and, after a bloody contest, carried the second and the third parapet, and at twelve o'clock at night entered this ill-fated place. The scene of slaughter and pillage which ensued cannot be described; it was disgraceful to humanity; and the authors and perpetrators, so far from being cele-

brated as heroes and conquerors, deserve to be handed down to posterity with execration, as the destroyers of the human race. After this fatal conquest the Turks were every where defeated, and obliged to consent to such terms as their merciless enemy might dictate; and the war between Russia and the Porte ended by the treaty of Galatz, which was signed on the 11th of August, 1791.

Parliament met on the 31st of January, when his Majesty, in a speech from the throne, regretted that he was not enabled to inform the house of the termination of the Indian war, but expressed a hope that, under the direction of Earl Cornwallis, it would soon be brought to an honourable conclusion; and he intimated, that from the friendly assurances he had received from the different powers of Europe, he trusted that he should shortly effect a reduction in his naval and military forces.

Mr. Pitt and his ministry, with all their political skill and foresight, seem to have had an imperfect idea of the source whence the liberties of Europe were threatened. Russia they dreaded the most, and hated for the part she had taken in the armed neutrality. Sweden and the Ottoman empire had narrowly escaped destruction, under the gigantic power and boundless ambition of the Empress Catherine; and whatever she might pretend to the contrary, the armament of Great Britain, in the preceding year, had a powerful effect in bending the obstinate mind of this arbitrary princess. So little did the ministers of George the Third foresee the

effects of the French revolution, that Mr. Jenkinson, now Lord Liverpool, in a maiden speech declared, in the house of commons, that France was then in so deplorable a state, that no change of circumstances could render her a formidable rival, and, therefore, the only power to be dreaded on the continent was Russia.

If such was the conviction of his Majesty's government, it is no wonder that it required all the eloquence of Mr. Fox and his friends, to prevent their plunging the country into a war with that mighty empire. It was asserted in parliament, during the debates upon this important question, that Russia, in the year 1790, had offered to concede the point of neutral ships carrying naval stores; and that ministers unaccountably overlooked this opportunity, which never again occurred, until a naval campaign of immortal brilliancy decided that Great Britain would never tolerate secret and insidious enemies, under a friendly or neutral flag, and proved that she must retain the empire of the seas, or sink to rise no more.

By the treaty of Galatz, Russia acquired the entire possession of Otchakof, and all the disputed country between the Bog and the Neister, with the free navigation of the latter river; and the war terminated just in time to save Turkey from annihilation.

In March, 1791, Captain George Vancouver was sent out in the *Discovery*, a merchant-ship fitted for the occasion. His orders, from the board of ad-

•miralty were, to go to the Sandwich islands, and to make a survey of them; then to proceed to Nootka, to receive from the Spanish officers the lands or buildings to be restored in pursuance of the treaty; to take a survey of the coasts and rivers, and particularly the supposed straits of Juan de Fuca, between the island of Nootka and the main land; to examine, if possible, the western coast of South America, from the south point of the island of Chiloe; and to ascertain what was the most southern Spanish settlement on that coast, and what harbours there were south of it.

Captain Vancouver had the honour of ascertaining and surveying the straits of de Fuca, and determining the boundaries of the island of Nootka. When he met the Spanish commissioners, for the purpose of receiving the settlement of Nootka, the usual evasions were resorted to by those people, and farther reference was found necessary to the respective courts; in the mean while the Spaniards remained in possession; but when, in 1795, Captain William Broughton went out to take possession of this country, he found it entirely evacuated by the Spaniards, as a place not worth holding. Such are the objects for which nations contend, countries are laid waste, and the human race, and their peaceful dwellings, given up to pillage and desolation.

## CHAP. VII.

Death of Gustavus, king of Sweden—Affairs of Poland—Death of Leopold, emperor of Germany—Gloomy aspect of affairs in France—Progress of sedition in England—National convention declares war against the Emperor, as king of Hungary and Bohemia—Affair of Tournay—Decree against privateering—France declares war against Sardinia—French squadron attack Nice—Villa Franca and Oneglia—Emigrants at Coblenz—Policy and measures of the King of Prussia, whose army enters France, and soon after retreats with great loss—Dumourier enters Belgium with a large army, defeats the Austrians at Jemappe, and overruns the whole of Austrian Flanders—The French decree the opening of the Scheldt—Dutch demand assistance from Britain—French party in Holland—Squadron sent to the Scheldt—Death of Louis the Sixteenth—Chauvelin ordered to quit England—King's message to both houses of parliament—War with France—Declaration of the convention—Motives of the King and ministers for going to war—Defection of General Dumourier—France offers to negotiate—Attempt abortive—Lord Gower recalled—Insolence of the French ambassador—Treaty with Russia and Sardinia—Powers of Europe join against France—Duke of York with the guards sent to Holland—State of the public mind in that country—Success of Dumourier—Siege of Williamstadt—Retreat of the French—Death of Lieutenant Western—Conduct of naval officers—League against France—Belgium united to France—Boundaries of the new republic—Success of the Imperial troops—Siege of Valenciennes and Conde—Duke of York turns off to Dunkirk, and defeated—Blame imputed to admiralty and ordnance board—Emperor Francis repairs to Brussels, and joins the army—Squadron sent for the Princess Caroline of Brunswick—Immense armies of France—Disunion of the allies—Emperor takes command of the allied forces—King of Prussia withdraws from the coalition—Emperor returns to Vienna—Losses of the army—Earl of Moira, with ten thousand men, sent to join the Duke of York, is accompanied by a squadron to the Scheldt—Austrians expelled from the Netherlands—Junction of the Earl of Moira with the Duke of York—French enter Antwerp—Lay siege to Sluys—Retreat of British forces from before the French—Emperor threatens to withdraw from the coalition—Is prevented—Anecdote of Captain Savage—Observations on the occupation of Belgium by France—Forces employed—Duke of York and Stadtholder retire to England—Dutch acknowledge the French republic—Disas-

trous retreat of General Dundas and his army—Final embarkation in the Elbe and Weser—French have entire possession of Holland—Fatal effects of it to the Dutch—War declared by England against her—Reflections of the Count de Segur—Rear-admiral Hervey's squadron cruise in the North Seas—Another squadron sent out—Admiral Duncan takes the command in the North Seas—Captain J. S. Yorke, in the *Stag*, takes the *Alliance*, Dutch frigate.

IN the month of March, the unfortunate Gustavus the Third, king of Sweden, was shot at a masquerade, by Ankerstroom, an officer of his guards: his accomplices were Counts Horn and Rubbing, and some others among the nobles, who had never forgiven their king for conferring the common rights of humanity on his people. The Duke of Sudermania, as regent, succeeded to the government during the minority of the young prince, Gustavus the Fourth: the assassins suffered the punishment due to their crimes.

The kingdom of Poland this year became the theatre of war. The Empress of Russia, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Prussia, entered, by mutual consent, into that devoted country, laying waste with fire and sword, and taking to themselves its finest provinces. The constitution of Poland was annihilated, and that brave people subjected to the arbitrary will of their conquerors: in 1794, its final partition was accomplished by the confederated powers.

The Emperor Leopold died the 1st of March: the extensive plans of this monarch and his predecessor, for the better government of his Belgic provinces, produced effects very different from what were in-



tended, and finally terminated in throwing them under the dominion of the French republic. Leopold was succeeded by his son Francis, who, unfortunately for Europe, had a less share of prudence and moderation than his father.

The aspect of affairs in France assumed every day a more threatening appearance. The doctrine broached by the disciples of anarchy, went avowedly to overturn the throne and the altar: the bonds of civil society were loosened, and the internal tranquillity of every country was menaced. England, whose liberty could derive no advantage or improvement from the suggestions of the jacobins, was threatened with internal commotion by the introduction of doctrines subversive of the rights of man, held forth by the violaters of every right, and the invaders and spoilers of every country: to remain at peace with them became impossible, and active preparations were made for war. The royal family of France was confined to the capital; the princes of Europe sought to release them, but the strength of France seemed to increase with the struggles of convulsion, while she bid defiance at once to the laws of God and nature, and deluged her bosom with the blood of innocent victims: she prepared to meet the united powers of Austria and Prussia on the Rhine, and to dare the vengeance of Britain on the ocean.

On the 20th of April, war was declared by the French against the Emperor as king of Hungary and Bohemia. This measure was proposed to the convention by Louis the Sixteenth, contrary to his

own wishes; but, in obedience to the command of the tyrants who composed that assembly, it was received with the loudest acclamations of applause, and was the first war in which France had been engaged since the establishment of her new government.

The acts of his Imperial Majesty, which had drawn on him the anger of the convention, however just and honourable, only accelerated the catastrophe which he sought to avert. A general war involved the whole of Europe, and the first effects produced by the movement of the allied armies, was to hurry the unhappy King and Queen to the scaffold, their son to an untimely grave, and to moisten the soil with the blood of their fellow-citizens.

The Rubicon was passed at the affair of Tournay, where the republicans, under the command of General Dillon, were repulsed by the Austrians, and this favourable result encouraged the allies to hope for greater successes.

One of the earliest edicts of the convention, after the commencement of hostilities, was to forbid the practice of privateering, as it was alleged, from motives of humanity; but, in fact, to retain the seamen to man their Channel fleet, where their services were much required.

September the 16th, the national assembly declared war against the King of Sardinia. On the 26th of September the French army entered the territory of Savoy, and a French squadron, of nine sail of the line, took possession of Nice, Montalban,

and Villa Franca. Admiral Truguet, the commander, sent a flag of truce into the port of Oneglia; the boat was fired on, and several of the people in her killed; in consequence of which, the Admiral drew up his ships before the place, and cannonaded the town, while the troops stormed it by land, and it was taken, and given up to military execution.

The emigrants who fled from France to avoid the persecutions of the jacobins, assembled at Coblenz on the Rhine, and entered into negotiations with the court of Berlin, filling the mind of the King of Prussia with the most extravagant notions of the power of the royalists, the preponderance of public opinion on the side of the king, and the certainty of a general rising in his favour the moment a Prussian force entered France; which ideas, however ill founded, so influenced the mind of Frederick, that he commanded the Duke of Brunswick to advance with a powerful army. His Highness crossed the Rhine, and entered France by Longwy and Verdun. In every point of view, there seems to have been less cause for surprise at the retreat, than at the advance of the Prussian general, who, in a barren country, had far outstepped his commissariat. His soldiers became a prey to disease, which shortly consigned twenty thousand of them to the hospitals or the earth. No movement of the French took place in their favour, and General Dumourier being upon their flanks with a large and enthusiastic force, all idea of delivering the King gave way to the dangers and privations with which the troops

were surrounded, and a secure retreat was all that could be hoped for. There was some impolicy in the Prussian manifesto, and a harshness of treatment towards the unfortunate La Fayette and his friends, which gave the moderate party in France but too much reason to dread the same severity, should the allied armies enter and conquer the country, or restore the authority of the lawful monarch.

While the Prussians were advancing, the rage of the Parisians knew no bounds; and when they retreated (which happened in September, 1792), their cowardice and cruelty were equally conspicuous: the best blood of France flowed in streams through her capital, and the government breathed nothing but rancour and fury against kings, and the friends of monarchy and legitimate government.

With all these menacing appearances, France had yet taken no step to justify the commencement of hostilities on our part; this was not long wanting.

In November, 1792, General Dumourier, released from all fears respecting Prussia, entered Austrian Flanders, and defeated the forces of the Emperor at the battle of Jemappe, near Mons. The loss on the side of the Austrians is said to have exceeded thirteen thousand, that of the French little less: the consequence of this victory was the surrender of the whole of the fortified places in the Netherlands to the conqueror; Mons, Tournay, Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Malines, Charleroi, Louvain, and Ostend, all fell into his hands.

Holding possession of strong places on both sides

of the Scheldt, it was not to be supposed that the national convention, which had hitherto disregarded those venerable monuments of antiquity, the laws of nations, would respect the treaties of Munster and Westphalia, by which the navigation of that river was prohibited under the guarantee of Great Britain; and, as might be expected, the Scheldt was opened, and declared free: this measure was supposed to be fatal to the commerce of the Dutch, and the Stadtholder claimed the assistance of England in virtue of the treaties: such was our ostensible cause of war with France; but it was not the opening of the Scheldt alone that would have induced the King of England to go to war; he plainly saw that no peace was to be had with France, on any other conditions than submission to her arbitrary will, and that the ambition of France would admit of no equal power in Europe, south of the Vistula and the Danube: in pursuance of this plan of aggrandizement, the jacobin leaders of Paris, in the madness of their revolutionary insolence, decreed that Belgium should be added to the departments of the republic. Holland, under the name of an ally, was to be equally dependant; and the subjugation of Great Britain was openly announced in the convention, as an event at no great distance.

The French party in Holland, which in the year 1787 had obliged the Stadtholder to have recourse to the arms of Prussia, to re-establish him in his government, now saw and seized the favourable opportunity of gratifying, at once, its revenge and

ambition : previously, however, to any declaration of war on our part, a small squadron was sent to the Scheldt, to assist the Dutch in repelling their invaders. Every day towards the close of the year 1792 brought farther proof, if proof were wanting, that war with France was inevitable; and the murder of their unhappy king, which took place on the 21st of January, 1793, struck all Europe with horror, and put an end to negotiation. Mons. Chauvelin, the French ambassador, was no longer acknowledged : on the 24th he was ordered to quit England. From the fatal day of the 10th of August, in the preceding year, when the Swiss guards were butchered by the cannibals of Paris, Louis the Sixteenth lost all remains of power, and could not be considered as responsible for any act done in his name.

Previous to this great catastrophe, the common council of the city of London, on the 10th of January, had offered a bounty of 40*s.* to every seaman, and 20*s.* to every landsman, who should voluntarily enter themselves to serve in his Majesty's navy: the King's bounty was offered about the same time—viz. 5*l.* to every able-bodied seaman, 2*l.* 10*s.* to every ordinary seaman, and 30*s.* to every landsman; press-warrants were issued. The Enterprise, an old frigate of twenty-eight guns, was moored off the Tower, to receive volunteers and impressed men, and in a short time vast numbers were procured.

February the 11th, orders were issued to make reprisals on the French, and on the 12th, his Majesty was graciously pleased to communicate to both

houses of parliament, that the French government, without any previous notice, in breach of the law of nations, and on the most groundless pretences, had declared war against his Majesty and the United Provinces: under these circumstances, his Majesty had taken the necessary steps to vindicate the honour of his crown, and the just rights of his people; and his Majesty relied with confidence on the loyalty and bravery of his subjects, in prosecuting a just and a necessary war.

The declaration of war, by the national convention, against Great Britain, was dated the 2d of February; and the following are the causes assigned in a state paper, which, with the King's message, was laid before parliament.

First, That the court of St. James's had endeavoured to impede the purchasers of corn, arms, and other commodities, ordered to be purchased in Great Britain by the French citizens or their agents.

Secondly, That it had prohibited the importation of grain into France, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of 1786, while exportation to other countries was allowed.

Thirdly, That in order still more effectually to obstruct the commercial operations of the republic in England, it obtained an act of parliament, prohibiting the circulation of assignats.

Fourthly, That it had, in violation of the fourth article of the treaty of 1786, obtained an act of parliament, in the month of January preceding, which subjected all French citizens, residing in or coming

into England, to forms the most vexatious and inquisitorial.

Fifthly, That, at the same time, and contrary to the first article of the peace of 1783, it had granted protection and pecuniary aid not only to the emigrants, but even to the chiefs of the rebels, who have already fought against France; that it has maintained with them a daily correspondence, evidently directed against the French revolution; that it has also received the chiefs of the rebels of the French West-India islands; and,

Sixthly, In the same spirit, and without any provocation, and when all the maritime powers are at peace with England, the cabinet of St. James's has ordered a considerable naval armament, and an augmentation of its land-forces; that the object of this armament was not even disguised in the British parliament.

That although the provisional executive government has employed every means of preserving peace and fraternity with the English nation, and has replied to calumnies and violations of treaties, only with remonstrances founded on the principles of justice, and expressed with the dignity of freemen, the English minister has persevered in his system of malevolence and hostility, continued his armament, and sent a squadron to the Scheldt to disturb the operations of the French in Belgium; that on the news of the death of Louis, he carried his outrages to the French republic to such a length, as to order the ambassador of France to quit the British

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territory within eight days ; that the King of England has manifested his attachment to the cause of that *traitor*, and his design of supporting it by different hostile resolutions adopted in his council, both by nominating generals in his land-army, and by applying to parliament for a considerable augmentation of his land and sea forces, and putting ships of war into commission.

To this violent abuse of the British government, they should have affixed their celebrated decree of the 19th of November, 1792, in which the convention encourages all nations to rebel against their legitimate governments: this alone was sufficient cause to unite, as it really did, all these governments against France.

On his Majesty's message being taken into consideration, a very long and animated debate ensued, in which the minister gave such unanswerable reasons for going to war, that the house and the country in general remained convinced that we had no other alternative. Mr. Pitt stated in substance, that there could be no security, either for the British dominions, or her foreign settlements, as long as such men governed France ; and that whether we went to war or not, we must, at all events, have maintained a very large establishment, which, to have kept in idleness, would have been more dangerous to the country, than the utmost rage of foreign hostility.

War was, therefore, resolved on ; never was the British nation more unanimous—never were greater

efforts made—or crowned with more glorious success.

Mr. Dundas, afterward Lord Melville, concluded a very able speech in the house, by declaring that Great Britain entered into the war to secure her best interests, by effectually opposing a system of principles which, unless they were crushed, would finally destroy this and every other country.

The French general Dumourier, after his rapid advance into Belgium, and opening the Scheldt in the preceding year, had, in the spring of 1793, been compelled by the Austrians to retreat and abandon the whole of his conquests in that country: he entered France, and returned with his army to St. Maulde, where, reflecting on recent events, and the probable consequence to himself if he should fall into the hands of the jacobins of the capital, he resolved to turn royalist, and march with the allies against Paris. His plans were, however, suspected, and four commissioners sent to arrest him. Beurnonville, their principal, he attempted to corrupt, and being unsuccessful, he erected the standard of revolt, arrested the deputies, and gave them over to the Prince of Saxe Coburg as hostages for the safety of the royal family. The army did not partake in the feelings of their general, who was forced to fly with a few followers from the camp, and take refuge in the Austrian lines. This feeble effort in favour of the Bourbons, answered no other purpose than to expose thousands of their friends to suspicions which cost them their lives or their pro-

perty. Dumourier, not trusted on the continent, came to England, which he was ordered to quit under the alien act: his farther history belongs not to us.

The King of Spain declared war against France March 23, 1793, and on the 2d of April, proposals for the commencement of negotiations for peace were sent over to Lord Grenville by Mons. le Brun, and *Marat* was to have been charged with the confidence of the convention; but before an answer could be returned, Le Brun, with many others, was cut off by the guillotine. On the French ambassador quitting London, Lord Gower was recalled from Paris. The insolence of Chauvelin on being dismissed, exceeded all bounds of decency and decorum: being no longer acknowledged after the murder of Louis the Sixteenth, he is known to have communicated his official instructions, which stated that the freedom of the Scheldt, and the acknowledgment of himself as ambassador from the French républic, must precede all communication, and he made no secret of declaring, that if he was not received at St. James's according to the tenor of his credentials, it would be the height of his ambition to leave England with a declaration of war.

A treaty of commerce was concluded with Russia, and a large body of German troops taken into the British service. The King of Sardinia was engaged for a yearly subsidy of 200,000*l.* to join the Austrians in Italy with a military force. Alliances were also formed with Russia, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Hol-

land, and Portugal, all of whom agreed, with more or less reservation, to shut their ports against France ; Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland, refused to join in the confederacy. The King of the two Sicilies agreed to furnish six thousand troops and four sail of the line to the common cause. The empire also furnished its contingent of troops to the armies of Austria and Prussia. Three thousand of the foot-guards were sent to Holland under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, to assist, in conjunction with a large body of Hanoverians and Hessians, in the defence of that country : but such was the infatuation of the Dutch in consequence of the unfortunate events of 1787, that no man could be found of sufficient virtue or courage to stand to his post. The gates of the strongest fortresses flew open at the approach of the victorious Dumourier ; he advanced as far as Bergen-op-Zoom, Gertruydenberg, and Williamstadt, fully expecting these places would follow the example of the others ; but the garrison of the latter had been reinforced by a detachment from the brigade of guards, assisted by the Syren frigate of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Manley, and some British gun-boats. This fortress stands on an island in the Hollands Deep, about thirty miles east of Helvoetsluys ; the command of it was intrusted to the brave general Count Botzlaer : every attack was most gallantly resisted, and the French were compelled to raise the siege with great loss, and retreat out of Holland ; they evacuated Klundert, and, with a barbarity unknown

among civilized nations, set fire to the village of Mardyke. In every act, the French soldiers of that period were worthy of their sanguinary rulers, whose cry was blood, and whose object was plunder. At the siege of Williamstadt the French and English came in contact, and Lieutenant John Western, of the Syren, was the first British officer who lost his life in the war of the revolution; he commanded a division of gun-boats, and fell while engaging a battery; he was interred with military honours at Dort; the Duke of York, with all the officers of the army and navy, attended the funeral. The Prince of Orange, as a mark of the high sense he entertained of the services performed by the gun-boats under the command of Captain Velters Cornwall Berkely, presented that officer, as well as Lieutenants Halket and Plampin\* of the royal navy, with gold medals commemorative of the event; the two latter officers, on their return to England, were promoted to the rank of commanders. The British forces in Belgium and Holland were much increased in the following summer, and ministers entertained a hope that the power of France might be kept within bounds, on the northern frontier, by the united forces of England, Prussia, and Austria, with the German contingent. Their expectations and exertions were for a time fulfilled and crowned with success. In the mean while the national convention, as we have observed, had decreed the union of Belgium with

\* Now rear-admirals.

France: this measure, which was proposed in the assembly by Danton, was unanimously adopted, and the boundaries of the republic were declared to be the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the ocean.

The winter of 1793 and 1794 was passed by the French in idle discussions: their military operations were confined to the siege of Maestricht, a very strong fortress on the Meuse, while the allies prepared for a vigorous campaign. The Imperial troops passed the Roer on the night of the 1st of March, and forced the cantonments which the French had established behind that river in the neighbourhood of Aix-la-Chapelle, which the French general, Valence, was forced to evacuate. The Austrians then divided themselves into three bodies, one of which forced Miranda to raise the siege of Maestricht; another corps turned upon Liege, into which the advanced guard of the French army had thrown itself, and was forced to evacuate it. In vain did the French generals, Valence, Lanoue, Stengel, and Dampierre, endeavour to stop the course of the victorious Austrians, or to restrain their troops from flying in every direction. The bloody Robespierre, with his accomplices, Danton and Le Croix, accused the generals Stengel and Lanoue of treason, and they were ordered to account for their conduct before the bar of the national convention; or, in other words, that their fate was decreed. In the course of the next month, the whole of the country of Belgium was again in the power of the Emperor; the French had evacuated every town which they

had gained in the preceding campaign, and Francis appointed his brother, the Archduke Charles, lieutenant-governor and captain-general of the Low Countries. The Prince made his solemn entry into Brussels on the 28th of April, 1794. The allies followed up their success. The Prince of Coburg had his headquarters at Mons, and with Clairfayt defeated the French in a pitched battle on the 8th of May, between Conde and Valenciennes; the siege of those places was in consequence commenced. The famous battle of Farmars was fought on the 23d and 24th of May, where the Duke of York and the British forces distinguished themselves, and compelled the French to take refuge under the walls of these places. Conde made a noble resistance, but surrendered on the 10th of July, to the Prince of Coburg. The siege of Valenciennes was conducted by the Duke of York in person, as commander-in-chief of the combined armies; and, after a bombardment of unexampled severity, by which the place was reduced to a heap of ruins, the garrison capitulated on the 28th July; and his Royal Highness on the surrender, marched towards Menin, to support the Dutch, under the command of the hereditary Prince of Orange, then hard pressed by the French, who occupied a very strong redoubt at Lincelles, which the British guards, under the command of General Lake, stormed in the most gallant style, driving the enemy through the village with great slaughter. From this exploit, his Royal Highness turned towards Dunkirk, which he hoped to take before any assistance could reach it: unfor-

tunately, Marshal Freytag was so completely overpowered by the French at Bergues, that the covering army which he commanded was rendered useless. The heavy artillery did not come up in time, nor did the naval part of the expedition; in consequence of which the Duke was forced to raise the siege and retreat, leaving thirty-eight of his heavy guns behind him.

This want of co-operation became the subject of parliamentary inquiry, and a vote of censure was proposed on the admiralty and ordnance departments, the latter for not having artillery in readiness, but negatived by a large majority. Whether blame was really imputable to these boards, we shall not, at this distance of time, pretend to determine, because adverse winds might have prevented the junction of the naval reinforcements; but of the nature of the sea-force, intended for the siege of Dunkirk, we are enabled to speak with greater certainty, and we can confidently affirm, that more inefficient vessels were never sent upon such service:—they consisted of river barges, fitted with long guns and cannonades—of a floating battery called the Spanker, of the most unwieldy and awkward constructure; and the whole were ill found and badly manned. We have, therefore, little to regret on the subject of their not being in time, since they might, by swelling the numbers of the assailants, without being of use, only have added to the disgrace of our arms. In the mean time, the rage of the revolutionary government knew no bounds; General Curterie, who had



been defeated in Flanders, was dragged to execution, and the murder of the unfortunate Marié Antoinette, in the month of September, completed the measure of their iniquity, and left Great Britain and her allies no alternative but resistance or inevitable destruction.

Whatever may have been the naval preponderance of Great Britain at this period, it is very certain that France possessed an army of enormous and overwhelming power, estimated, according to the most moderate calculation, at seven hundred thousand men; while the forces of the allies, amounting scarcely to half that number, laboured under all the disadvantages of separate interests and consequent disunion. The armies of the republic were commanded by men of the first ability and courage, Jourdain, Pichegru, Hoche, and Moreau; while their soldiers, independently of the enthusiasm inspired by the misapplication of the word "*liberty*," were, from their habits of life, enabled to endure cold, hunger, and privation, to a degree that astonished the most experienced in the art of war.

The separation of the allied armies was fatal to the cause; the Duke of Brunswick resigned the command of the Prussian troops early in January, and the Duke of York refused to serve under Clairfayt; which induced the Emperor to take the command of the armies in person. Negotiations were shortly after opened between the French government at Frankfort on the Maine; the Prussian general, Mollendorf, who commanded the army, was ordered to withdraw

from the territory of Mentz, and take up his headquarters at Cologne; and while the Prussian monarch retired from the coalition, the lukewarm services of sixty thousand Prussians, as an army of observation, were purchased by the British minister at the extravagant price of 2,200,000*l.*

After the fatal battles of Tournay and Fleurus the Emperor returned to Vienna, the allied armies repassed the Rhine, and disunion and dismay took possession of the coalesced powers. It was calculated that the forces of the allies, which had at the opening of the campaign amounted to two hundred thousand men, British, Austrians, Hanoverians, Hessians, and Dutch, were now, from the common casualties of war, reduced one half: the British government, mindful of this fact, had sought every means to reinforce the Duke of York, and sent Earl Moira with a body of ten thousand troops to Ostend. His Lordship, on his arrival, immediately directed the evacuation of that place, and proceeded with his whole force to the Scheldt: he had with him many transports, and some small frigates and vessels of war, and he secured his junction with General Clairfayt on the left bank of that river, while the Duke of York retreated from Tournay and Oudenarde towards Alost, and soon after retired to Antwerp with a view of forming a junction with Lord Moira.

The people of Ostend, fickle as their neighbours, fondly imagined that the expulsion of the English was to secure their property, welcomed the French as their deliverers, and speedily repented amidst

the ruin of their trade and the destruction of their town.

From the plains of Fleurus, the Prince of Coburg retreated to the forest of Soignies, between Namur and Brussels, and resolved to oppose the march of the French army on the capital of the Austrian Netherlands; but after a conflict maintained by his troops with extraordinary valour, he was forced to yield, leaving seven thousand of his men dead or wounded on the field of battle, and the victorious enemy pursued him through Brussels, whose inhabitants were the joyful spectators of the disasters of the house of Austria.

Earl Moira, on his arrival with the army in the Scheldt, proceeded to join the Duke of York: after a most tedious and difficult march he reached the town of Alost on the 5th of July, and was attacked by the French on the 6th, but beat them, and forced them to retreat with loss. After this action his Lordship formed a junction with the Duke, and the British forces occupied the banks of the canal between Brussels and Antwerp: pressed by the enemy, they were compelled to abandon this position and retreat to Malines. Clairfayt was in the mean while at Louvain, where he was defeated with the loss of six thousand men; and thus the allies were hourly losing ground on every side, and falling back to the banks of the Scheldt, where fresh disasters awaited them. The French entered Antwerp on the 23d of July, and Liege on the 27th, but were disappointed of their plunder, the whole having been

removed, and the military stores destroyed to a vast amount: the fort of Lillo was also taken by them, and they experienced no resistance of any consequence until they came to Sluys, whose brave garrison, under the command of Vanderduyn, assisted by a British naval force, held them in check until the 25th of August, when it capitulated. Newport, in Flanders, was bravely defended, but compelled to surrender to the French on the 15th of July: the British squadron under the command of Rear-admiral M'Bride assisted at the defence of this place.

Valenciennes and Conde, with all the towns which had in the preceding year surrendered to the allies, were now retaken by the French.

The Duke, with the British, Dutch, Hessians, and Hanoverians, under his orders, was, in the month of September, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, posted on the Dommel, between Breda and Bois le Duc, with a view to support both these towns, in which he had placed strong garrisons: here he was attacked by Pichegru, at the head of eighty thousand men, and forced, after a severe conflict, to retreat across the Maese, and take up a position near Grave. Holland, now lying open and almost defenceless before them, saw its impending fate; and, while its rulers trembled, the patriots rejoiced at their approaching liberation. The Emperor of Germany, dissatisfied with the conduct of the King of Prussia, had serious thoughts of abandoning the coalition, and in that event England would have had the whole burden of the war to support; but Lord Spencer

and Mr. Thomas Grenville were sent to Vienna, and being armed with full powers, found means to induce his Imperial Majesty to continue his aid a little longer.

While the squadron lay in the Scheldt, co-operating with the army and protecting the transports, a curious incident occurred, highly characteristic of the manners and customs of the British navy. Captain Savage, of the *Albion* of sixty-four guns, lying at anchor before Flushing, in company with the Dutch squadron, under the command of Rear-admiral Van Spangler, a friendly intercourse was kept up between them. Captain Savage was dining with the Dutch Admiral, when the latter received a message which occasioned some agitation; the Admiral went on deck, and returning soon after to his seat, informed Captain Savage that he had caused two of the crew to be taken out of his (Captain Savage's) barge and to be put in irons, as they were found to be Dutch subjects: Captain Savage quietly observed, without interrupting his dinner, "You had better put them back again into the boat, Admiral."—"Why," asked the Admiral in some warmth, "had I better do so?"—"Because," rejoined the British veteran, "if you do not, I shall order my first lieutenant (and he seldom disobeys my orders) to bring the *Albion* alongside the *Utrecht*, and (raising his voice just so much as to harmonize with the subject) d—n me if I don't walk your quarter-deck till he sinks you." It is scarcely necessary to add the men were immediately returned to their boat.

| The occupation of Belgium by the French is an event of much importance to the interests of Great Britain; and as its effects were felt in the farther operations of the war, as well as in the negotiations for a general peace, we trust we shall be excused for tracing a slight sketch of the occurrences which led to this great political change.

It will be remembered that the Stadtholder in 1787, and the Emperor in 1791, both owed the continuation of their government in Holland and Belgium to the interference of military power. The Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussian armies, restored the authority of the house of Orange, but left the elements of discord still rankling in the heart of the country; and the persecutions with which the Emperor Joseph had afflicted the Austrian Netherlands, were fatally avenged under the reign of his successor. Evil counsellors, with ignorance and obstinacy, combined to alienate the hearts of the Dutch and the Belgians from their lawful sovereigns, and the innocent and the guilty suffered in the general calamity. From Strasburg to Nimwegen, in the beginning of 1794, the French armies, of two hundred thousand men, swept the banks of the Rhine as the winter torrent did its bed: the murmuring discontents of the Dutch broke out into open rebellion as the armies of the republic advanced to the Waal and the Leck; the British troops under General Dundas did all that valour and patience could achieve; the Duke of York, whose person was no longer safe in Holland, returned to England; the

Stadtholder abdicated and fled; and the states of Holland, in October, agreed to acknowledge the French republic, and enter into terms of peace and amity with that sanguinary and faithless government. The passage of the Waal was opposed by the British army, and for a time with success; but in the severe winter of 1794 and 1795, the waters of the Waal and the Maese were so completely frozen, that the French army crossed both these rivers, and carried all before them from right to left in an extent of forty miles. Under these circumstances, an enemy in arms against them of ten times their force, and the whole population, either secretly or openly, hostile to them, the British General determined to retreat across the Issel with his sick and wounded in deplorable numbers, to which were added, by the false indulgence of the government at home, a hapless multitude of women and children. The doors of the peasantry, through the barren and desolate country over which they passed in the dead of winter, were invariably shut against them, nor was it without the execution of some of those people that any supply of food could be procured. The cold was intense; the snow lay in drifted heaps, and hundreds fell and ended their wretched lives in a country which they came to save from pillage and slavery; destitute of the commonest means of subsistence, harassed by a victorious army in their rear and on their flanks, the British soldiers never lost their courage, but by firmness and obedience secured their retreat through Deventer, Bentheim, and Rhenen, on the banks of the

Weser, and excited the admiration even of the proud and insolent republicans. A squadron of small frigates and sloops of war, under the command of Captain Sotheby, of the *Andromache*, with a number of transports in the rivers Elbe and Weser, received the gallant remains of this band of heroes on board at Bremen and Cuxhaven. The last division of them were collected and preserved by the attention of Colonel Barnet of the Guards, and Colonel Boardman of the Scotch Greys. Among these were few who had not lost a limb, either from the casualties of war or the inclemency of the weather: many had lost both legs and arms, and numbers of them were reduced to skeletons. This division was conveyed to England by the Hon. Captain Jones, in the *Sybil* of twenty-eight guns. In this disastrous retreat, baggage, artillery, and horses, were left behind.

The Dutch having now received the French as liberators, and expelled the friends of their legitimate government, had soon sufficient cause to repent of their folly, and the contributions levied by the French commissaries often made them look back with regret on the mild and more economical government of the house of Orange. It may with truth be affirmed, that the French party in Holland has caused the ruin of that country. We now proceed to shew the effects of their policy upon the marine commerce and colonies of these once enterprising, industrious, and happy people, which we shall preface with an extract from a modern author.\*

\* Count de Segur's *History of Frederick William*, vol. 1, p. 433.



“Republican France has repaired the wrongs of monarchical France; the liberty the Dutch sought in 1787 was very incomplete, and contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction, by preserving the Stadtholder. At this day, founded on the sacred and *imprescriptible* right of man and of the citizen, it rests on an *immoveable basis*: the new Batavian republic, enlightened by experience, now knows how to distinguish between its friends and its enemies: the English were no less its enemies in preserving the stadholderate in 1787, than they are at the present time, when attempting to invade its territory and *stifle liberty in its cradle*: it has every reason to recognise the identity of its interests with those of the republic of France, and this conviction will doubtless render their union as *durable as the existence of the two nations*.”

The capture of all their foreign settlements by the British fleets and army shortly succeeded the evacuation of the Netherlands, and compensated, in some measure, for the cruelty and injustice which our brave troops and seamen had experienced in those regions; and if the republic of Holland gained her emancipation by the arms of France, it was at a price far above the value of the benefit conferred.

In the month of January, 1795, orders were given to seize all Dutch vessels in British ports; in consequence of which, two ships of sixty-four guns, nine East-Indiamen, and about sixty sail of other vessels, were captured at Plymouth. On the 9th of February a proclamation was issued, authorizing the

detention, by all our ships of war and privateers, of Dutch property found at sea, and also of all neutral vessels bound into the ports of Holland with military or warlike stores. Letters of marque and reprisals were not issued until the month of September following, although the nation was as much at war with that country as it ever had been or could be; but as all captures, previous to a declaration of war, become droits of the crown, there might be some reason for the delay.

In October, 1794, after the reduction of Sluys and Newport, the British squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Henry Hervey, which had been co-operating with the Dutch and British land-forces in the Scheldt, was directed to cruise between Yarmouth and the 'Texel: by a succession of heavy gales, they were driven to the northward beyond the latitude of  $64^{\circ}$  (the meridian altitude of the sun on Christmas-day was  $3^{\circ} 15'$ ); they were short of provisions and stores, and particularly of slops and fuel; the sufferings of the crews were extreme from cold and privation, and their ships, leaky and badly found, could not contend against the heavy seas and violent gales of this most inclement winter. They did not reach a friendly port till late in December, and providentially just in time to avoid the obstructions which a few days later blocked up the entrance of the Thames and Medway. The ice in these rivers had accumulated to a great thickness, and carried vessels from their moorings in Sheerness harbour. The severity of the season rendered the

service in the North Seas peculiarly hazardous and difficult, while there was less chance of remuneration from prize-money than on other stations; the capture, however, of vessels loaded with corn and contraband stores, bound to the ports of France in defiance of British proclamations, frequently rewarded the bravery and perseverance of our cruisers.

On the 8th of March, 1795, Rear-admiral Hervey sailed again from Spithead with the following squadron for the North Seas, viz.—

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Prince of Wales . . . . .	98 . . . . .	J. Bazely
Culloden . . . . .	74 . . . . .	T. Trowbridge
Thunderer . . . . .	74 . . . . .	A. Bertie
Hector . . . . .	74 . . . . .	R. Montague
Russel . . . . .	74 . . . . .	T. Larcour
Leda . . . . .	38 . . . . .	Thomas Woodley
Reunion . . . . .	36 . . . . .	James Alms
Andromeda . . . . .	32 . . . . .	T. Sotheby
Venus . . . . .	32 . . . . .	L. W. Halstead
Dædalus . . . . .	32 . . . . .	T. Williams
Greyhound . . . . .	32 . . . . .	Paget Bayley
Prompte . . . . .	28 . . . . .	William Taylor
Lapwing . . . . .	28 . . . . .	R. Barton
Circe . . . . .	28 . . . . .	P. Halket
Kingfisher . . . . .	18 . . . . .	T. L. M. Gosselin
Hazard . . . . .	16 . . . . .	R. D. Oliver
Albacore . . . . .	16 . . . . .	G. Parker

In April, 1795, Admiral Duncan hoisted his flag in the Venerable as commander-in-chief, and sailed on a cruise in the North Seas with the following squadron, viz.—

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Venerable . . . . .	74 . . . . .	William Hope
Asia . . . . .	64 . . . . .	{ Rear-admiral Pringle { Captain M' Dougal

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Calcutta . . . . .	54 . . .	William Bligh
Leopard . . . . .	50 . . .	William Swaffield
Jupiter . . . . .	50 . . .	William Lechmere
Dedalus . . . . .	32 . . .	G. Countess
Circe . . . . .	28 . . .	P. Halket
Black Joke, lugger . . . .	28 . . .	L. Boorden

A Russian squadron under Vice-admiral Henninghoff, consisting of four ships of seventy-four guns, eight of sixty-six guns, and seven frigates of forty-four guns, joined and obeyed the orders of Admiral Duncan; but, unfortunately, were so defective and incomplete, in every respect, as to render them unavailable for any service in action: they were built of fir, old, and out of repair, but full of men, though with few sailors, and under no discipline: accustomed only to the smooth water of the gulf of Finland, they were incapable of serving with a British fleet on the ocean. The demands of these ships were innumerable, and their wants insatiable; and when supplied, the sea-stores were too often made an improper use of by the unskilfulness or corruption of those intrusted with their expenditure.

The *Suffisante* and the *Victorieux*, two beautiful French brigs of war, of sixteen guns each, and one hundred and thirty-five men, were captured, in June, off the Texel, by Admiral Duncan's fleet: they were bound on a cruise against our Greenland fishery, and were both taken into the service.

August the 22d, 1795, a squadron under the command of Captain James Alms, consisting of the following, viz.—

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Isis . . . . .	50 . . . . .	R. Watson
Reunion . . . . .	36 . . . . .	Captain Alms
Stag . . . . .	32 . . . . .	J. S. Yorke
Vestal . . . . .	28 . . . . .	C. White,

were detached from Admiral Duncan's fleet, and cruised on the coast of Norway, where they fell in with a Dutch squadron, consisting of two frigates and a cutter. At a quarter past four in the afternoon, the Stag got up alongside of the sternmost ship, and commenced a close action, which continued with much spirit for an hour, when the enemy struck, and proved to be the Alliance, Dutch frigate of thirty-six guns and two hundred and forty men. The other frigate the Argo, of the same force, and Nelly, cutter of sixteen guns, notwithstanding every effort was used to cut them off, effected their escape into Egero harbour, where for the present we shall leave them.

## CHAP. VIII.

Mediterranean—Force employed there—Its object in time of peace—Rear-admiral Gell sails with a squadron at the breaking out of the war—Takes the St. Jago—Boyne and Powerful claim—Vice-admiral Hotham sails with a squadron—Lord Hood with another—Hostilities commenced—Cagliari attacked—Description of Toulon—Surrenders to Lord Hood—Accounts of it reach England—Its effect on the government and country—Opinion of Mr. Pitt—Conduct of Spain, and Admiral Langara—Carteau compelled to retreat—Convention resolved to retake the place—Napoleon Bonaparte—Measures of the French—Five thousand French seamen sent away—Royalists not hearty in the cause—Plan pursued by Lord Hood—Arrival of Lord Mulgrave—Approaches of Carteau—Unfortunate step of ordering ships into inner harbours—Court of Naples—St. George engages forts—State of the garrison and public mind at Toulon—Impossibility of keeping it, proved—Lord Mulgrave—Deficiency of British troops—Heights of Pharoah taken—Captain Beresford—Successful sortie—Arrival of O'Hara with reinforcements—Capture of Lyons—Unfavourable to Toulon—Corsica—Alcide and Robust defeated at Forneille—Increased danger of Toulon—Attack on Fort Mulgrave—General O'Hara communicates to the Toulonese the resolution of the British government—Falsehood and treachery of the Toulonese—Perseverance of the chiefs to defend the town—Reflections—Arduous duty of the British troops—Miscrable state of the allies—Error in not withdrawing in time—Fatal sortie and capture of O'Hara—Causes—Rapid advance of the enemy—Supposed amount of forces on both sides—Desertion from the republican army—Desperate state of the garrison—Crisis—Sudden embarkation of the emigrants—Dreadful scenes—Heroic conduct of the British—Number of French on board British ships—Sir Sydney Smith—Destruction of arsenal—Conduct of the Spaniards—Blowing up of powder-ships—Promotion of Gravina—Spanish policy—Cruelty of French—Conflagration—Sir Sydney Smith's letter—Retreat of the British forces, and final evacuation—Hierres-bay—List of ships brought away and supposed to have been burnt—General Dundas's letter to the Secretary at war—Motives of Lord Hood for taking possession of Toulon—British faith—Opinion of Sir C. Grey confirmed—Loss of the royalist cause in the south of France—Reflections—Unanimity of the army and navy—Captain Hood and the Juno—The chiefs propose attacking Corsica.

THE command of the British squadron in the Mediterranean, on the peace establishment, was held by Vice-admiral Corby: the following ships were under his orders, viz.—

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Trusty . . . . .	50	
Resistance (S. S.) . . . . .	44 . . . . .	John O'Bryen
Aquillon . . . . .	32 . . . . .	G. W. A. Courtney
Pearl . . . . .	32 . . . . .	James Alms
Lapwing . . . . .	28 . . . . .	Hon. H. Curzon
Hussar . . . . .	28 . . . . .	Henry Trollope
Eurydice . . . . .	24 . . . . .	George Lumsdaine
Bulldog . . . . .	14 . . . . .	William Swaffield
Zebra . . . . .	14 . . . . .	William Brown
Mutine (cutter) . . . . .	14 . . . . .	H. West

This force was intended chiefly as a check to the Barbary powers, and to guard against the machinations of France and Spain in the south of Europe.

It was not till the month of April, 1793, that a squadron could be got ready, on the war establishment, to proceed to that part of the world. Rear-admiral Gell sailed in the beginning of the month, having with him the following ships—

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
St. George . . . . .	98 . . . . .	{ J. Gell, Esq., rear-adm. (blue) Captain T. Foley
Boyne . . . . .	98 . . . . .	William A. Otway
Edgar . . . . .	74 . . . . .	A. Bertie
Egmont . . . . .	74 . . . . .	A. Dickson
Gauges . . . . .	74 . . . . .	A. J. P. Motley
Powerful . . . . .	74 . . . . .	T. Hicks
Phaeton . . . . .	38 . . . . .	Sir A. S. Douglas

This squadron, on its way to Gibraltar, captured the *Dumourier*, a French privateer, and recaptured her prize the *St. Jago*, a Spanish register-ship, with

specie on board to the amount of nearly a million sterling. The *Boyne* and the *Powerful*, which had parted company a few hours previously on their way to St. Helena, laid a claim to share for this valuable prize, under the plea, that being within hearing of the guns which were fired by the chasing ships, they had thereby rendered constructive assistance: the case was argued before Sir James Marryat, the judge of the admiralty court, and given against the claimants, upon the principle that they could not in anywise have contributed to the capture: thus setting at rest the question of claims for *constructive* assistance, which from that time have been constantly rejected. Lord Hood, as commander-in-chief, received for this prize 50,000*l.* to his own share; the captains about 30,000*l.* each: and so great was the conviction that gold and jewels were concealed in her lining, that no part of her was left unsearched.

Rear-admiral Gell's squadron arrived at Gibraltar soon after, and was speedily reinforced by other ships, which sailed in the month of May, under the command of Vice-admiral Hotham; they were—

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Britannia . . . .	100 .	} William Hotham, vice-admiral (blue) } Captain J. Holloway
Colossus . . . .	74 . .	
Fortitude . . . .	74 . .	C. M. Pole
Courageux . . . .	74 . .	William Young
Suffolk . . . .	74 . .	Hon. William Waldegrave
Agamemnon . . . .	64 . .	Peter Rainier
Meleager . . . .	32 . .	Horatio Nelson
Lowestoffe . . . .	32 . .	Charles Tyler
		William Wolsey



The *Suffolk* returned to England for another destination, and on the 22d May, Lord Viscount Hood with the third division sailed from Spithead to assume the chief command, and to commence the most active operations against the republic of France. The following ships composed his fleet, viz.—

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Victory (flag) . . .	100 .	{ Lord Hood, vice-admiral (red) Sir Hyde Parker
Captain . . . . .	74 . .	Captain Samuel Reeve
Bedford . . . . .	74 . .	Robert Mann
Berwick . . . . .	74 . .	Sir John Collins
Robust . . . . .	74 . .	Hon. Keith Elphinstone
Leviathan . . . . .	74 . .	Hon. Hugh Seymour Conway
Ardent . . . . .	64 . .	Robert Manners Sutton
St. Albans . . . . .	64 . .	James Vashon
Phaeton . . . . .	38 . .	Sir Andrew S. Douglas
Juno . . . . .	32 . .	Samuel Hood,

This ship returned from Gibraltar with convoy

with many other small frigates and sloops of war, cutters, and small craft.

Hostilities had been begun by the French some time before the fleet under the command of Lord Hood reached the station.

On the 21st of January, the republican squadron attacked Cagliari in the island of Sardinia, of which they wished to gain possession, but the Sardinians were not yet infected with the republican mania; the royalist party prevailed, and after a bombardment of three days (during which they attempted to land), they were beaten off, and obliged to desist.

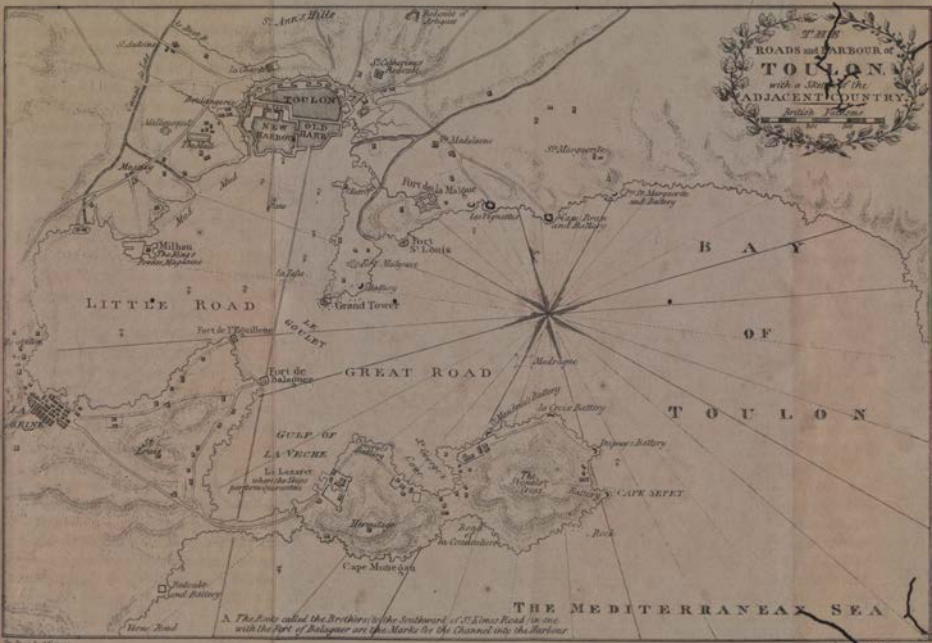
The great and only naval arsenal of France in the

Mediterranean is Toulon ; a place that has been held up as one of the finest ports of maritime equipment in the world, though it falls infinitely short of Portsmouth, either as a harbour or depôt, or of Spithead as an anchorage ; and it is far surpassed by Plymouth with its break-water : we speak after a minute personal inspection of these, and many others, of the most celebrated ports of Europe.

The engineer who constructed the dock at Toulon had great difficulties to encounter ; the ground was full of springs, and constantly undermined his foundation ; he was therefore obliged to make an inverted arch of solid materials, which has answered the intended purpose : the French build their largest and best ships here. Besides the inner harbour which encloses the arsenal, they have an outer harbour and a road. The inner harbour is a work of art formed by two jetties, hollow and bomb-proof, running off from the east and west sides of the town, and embracing a space large enough to hold thirty sail of the line, stowed in tiers very close together, as many frigates, and a proportion of small craft, besides their mast-pond. The arsenal is on the west side, and the ships in ordinary or fitting, lie with their bowsprits or their sterns over the wharf ; the storehouses containing the various articles of equipment, are within fifteen yards of them ; the rope-house, sail-loft, bake-house, mast-house, ordnance, and other buildings, are capacious and good : the model-loft is worth the attention of strangers, but it is seldom they can obtain the indulgence of an admission. The water in the basin



THE  
ROADS and HARBOUR of  
**TOULON**  
with a Sketch of the  
ADJACENT COUNTRY  
British Edition



A The Rocks called the Brothers to the Southward of St. James Road in one with the Fort of Balaguier are the Marks for the Channel into the Harbour

is, of course, sufficiently deep to receive a first-rate with all her stores. The east side is occupied by the victualling department and the gun-boats: the north side is a fine capacious quay, on which stands the tower, extending from the dock-yard to the victualling office; immediately in front of it is the mouth of the basin, formed by the meeting of the two jetties to the distance of about sixty feet, on the easternmost one a pair of sheers is erected for masting the ships; a boom closes the entrance at night, and another runs from the jetty to the town, confining all the small craft and timber on the west side of the harbour; the basin is never ruffled by any wind to occasion damage: the outer sides of the jetties present two tremendous batteries, à fleur d'eau, or nearly even with the water's edge, which we consider the very worst species of fort for a ship to encounter.

The space for the anchorage of ships of war in the inner road is very confined, and probably not more than two or three sail of the line could lie there at a time; the ground is in general foul and rocky. The great road is a good anchorage, but neither extensive, nor secure from the effects of a Levanter, which throws in a heavy sea: it is defended on the south side by a peninsula, terminating at Cape Sèpet: the bay of Toulon, which is eastward of this, is open, and the water deep, therefore not to be relied on as an anchorage in all weathers. The town, which, it has been observed, occupies

the north side of the inner harbour, is fortified with great art, both on the land and sea approaches; but being commanded by the heights with which it is surrounded on three sides, must be dependant on them for protection. A semicircular chain of mountains on the north, extends from the Hieres-road on the east, to the pass of Ojioi on the west; this pass might have bid defiance to any force, had it been guarded by British troops: it is five miles from the town. Strong batteries from the heights command also the arsenal and the anchorage. Fort la Malgue stands on a hill between the little and the great road: Fort Mulgrave occupies the tongue of land continued from this hill into the harbour: opposite to it, and on a point of land which forms the little road, at the distance of half a mile, stand the forts of Aiguillete and Bellaguer; whence to Cape Sepet the shore is one continued chain of forts.

The heights of Toulon are estimated at six hundred yards, and are of the most rugged and difficult ascent: the rocks crumbled under the feet of our daring countrymen as they mounted to the assault, and often precipitated huge masses on the heads of those beneath; the tops are guarded by the redoubts of St. Antoine, Artigues, St. Catherine's, and others: from the battery of La Croix, on the peninsula, to Cape Brun, the distance is two thousand yards, and this may be taken as the extreme breadth of the great road from north to south; westward of this may be about the same distance towards the grand tower

and Bellaguer: this boasted sea-port consequently sinks into insignificance when compared to the capacious anchorage of Spithead, which, including its contiguous roadsteads, affording the most perfect security, extends from St. Helens to Yarmouth, a distance of twenty-five miles, and in breadth, on an average, about one; forty sail of the line, as many frigates, sloops, and small vessels, have been seen at these places at one time, while the Mother-bank, Stokes-bay, Yarmouth-roads, and Southampton-water, have contained between four and five hundred sail of merchant shipping, and have still had space for many more; nor, during the long hostilities recently concluded, have we witnessed any serious accident to a ship of war occasioned by bad weather, and rarely any to other vessels.

It may be observed that France has the bay of Quiberon, and the Pertuis D'Antioche in the bay of Biscay,\* and the gulf of Frejus, and Hieres-bay in the Mediterranean: these no doubt are capacious and good anchorages, but the want of a port of equipment contiguous to them, of docks and arsenals, and other convenience for the repairs of ships, render them of no value to her, and have, in the late war, been found more serviceable to Great Britain.

The Mediterranean, though subject to strong and irregular currents, has no rise or fall of tide: this peculiarity of the inland sea subjects the port of Toulon to difficulties unknown to the rest of Europe, and its improvement, under such natural disadvan-

\* Also Douarnincz-bay near Brest.

tages, is highly creditable to the ingenuity and public spirit of the nation.

They have but one large dock, which, when filled for the reception of a ship, is afterward pumped out by the convicts, who were formerly employed in working the galleys ; but that species of forcè being now disused, these people are kept to such labours only as their crimes have deserved, and their strength will enable them to perform ; they are always in chains, and in 1818, their number amounted to about five thousand.

Lord Hood, on his arrival in the Mediterranean, took his station off Toulon, and having received some intimation of the disposition of the people in the country of Provence, he secretly opened a negotiation with some of the leading men of the provisional government ; they very soon agreed to deliver up the town, arsenal, forts, and shipping, of Toulon to the British forces, in the name of Louis the Seventeenth, who was to be proclaimed King of France, and his Lordship sent the following preliminary address to the inhabitants of Toulon and Marseilles :—

“ If a candid declaration in favour of monarchy is made at Toulon and Marseilles, and the standard of royalty hoisted, the ships in the harbour dismantled, and the ports and forts provisionally placed at my disposition, so as to allow of egress and regress with safety, the people of Provence shall have all the assistance and support his Britannic Majesty’s fleet under my command can give, and not an atom



of private property shall be touched, but protected: having no other view than that of restoring peace to a great nation, upon just, liberal, and honourable terms, this must be the ground-work of the treaty.

“ And whenever peace takes place, which I hope and trust will be soon, the port, with all the ships in the harbour and forts of Toulon, shall be restored to France, with the stores of every kind, agreeable to the schedule that may be delivered.

“ Given on board his Britannic Majesty’s ship the Victory, off Toulon, on the 23d of August, 1793.

(Signed)

HOOD.”

### PROCLAMATION

By the Right Honourable Samuel, Lord Hood, vice-admiral of the red, and commander-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty’s squadron in the Mediterranean.

“ *To the inhabitants in the towns and provinces in the south of France.*

“ During four years you have been involved in a revolution which has plunged you in anarchy, and rendered you a prey to factious leaders. After having destroyed your government, trampled under foot the laws, assassinated the virtuous, and authorized the commission of crimes, they have endeavoured to propagate throughout Europe their destructive system of every social order; they have constantly held forth to you the idea of liberty while

they have been robbing you of it; every where they have preached respect to persons and property, and every where, in their name, it has been violated; they have amused you with the sovereignty of the people, which they have constantly usurped; they have declaimed against the abuses of royalty, in order to establish their own tyranny on the fragments of a throne still reeking with the blood of your legitimate sovereign.—Frenchmen! you groan under the pressure of want and the privation of specie, your commerce and your industry are annihilated, your agriculture is checked, and the want of provisions threatens you with a horrible famine. Behold then the faithful picture of your wretched condition; a situation so dreadful sensibly afflicts the coalesced powers; they see no other remedy but the re-establishment of the French monarchy. It is for this, and the acts of aggression committed by the executive power of France, that we have armed in conjunction with the other powers. After mature reflection upon these leading objects, I come to offer you the force with which I am intrusted by my sovereign, in order to spare the farther effusion of human blood, to crush with promptitude the factious, to re-establish a regular government in France, and thereby maintain peace and tranquillity to Europe. Decide, therefore, definitively and with precision; trust your hopes to the generosity of a loyal and free nation: in its name I have just given an unequivocal testimony to the well-disposed inhabitants of Marseilles, by granting the commissioners, sent on board the

fleet under my command, a passport for procuring a quantity of grain, of which this great town now stands so much in need. Be explicit, and I fly to your succour, in order to break the chain which surrounds you, and be the instrument of making many years of happiness succeed to four years of misery and anarchy, in which your deluded country has been involved.

“ Given on board his Britannic Majesty’s ship the *Victory*, off Toulon, the 23d of August, 1793.

(Signed)

HOOD.

By command of the Admiral,

(Signed) J. M’ARTHUR, Secretary.”

The provisional government of Toulon consisted of a general committee of members chosen from the different sections : these having met, communicated the proposals of Lord Hood to the Toulonese, who, in the true spirit of Frenchmen, flew from one extremity to the other; and after having trampled on the ensigns of royalty, and murdered all the best of their fellow-citizens, determined (to use their own language) “ no longer to submit to the tyranny of the convention which had sworn the ruin of their country. The people of Toulon and Marseilles would therefore rather have recourse to a loyal nation, which has manifested the desire of protecting true Frenchmen against the anarchists who wished to destroy them. They declare to Lord Hood,—

“ First, That the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Toulon is to reject a constitution which does not

promote their happiness; to adopt a monarchical government, such as it was originally in the constituent assembly in 1789; and in consequence they have proclaimed Louis the Seventeenth, son of Louis the Sixteenth, king, and sworn to acknowledge him, and no longer suffer the despotism of the tyrants who, at this time, govern France.

“ Secondly, That the white flag shall be hoisted the instant the English squadron enters the road of Toulon, where it shall meet the most friendly reception.

“ Thirdly, That the citadel and fortifications of Toulon, with the forts on the coast, shall be provisionally given up to the disposal of the British Admiral; but for the better re-establishing the union which ought to exist between the two people, it is requested that the garrison shall be composed of an equal number of French and English; but that nevertheless, the command shall devolve upon the English.

“ Fourthly, The people of Toulon trust the English nation will furnish speedily a force sufficient to assist in repelling the attacks with which they are at this moment threatened by the army of Italy, which is marching against Toulon, and by that of General Carteau, who marches against Marseilles: upon compliance with these and a few other regulations of minor importance, the royalists consent to regard themselves with good heart and will as belonging to the English and the other coalesced powers, by whose succour will be brought about that peace after which they have so long panted.”

Upon the receipt of this paper Lord Hood issued a proclamation recapitulating a part of its contents, and concluding with these remarkable words,—

“ I do hereby repeat what I have already declared, that I take possession of Toulon, and hold it in trust, for Louis the Seventeenth, until peace shall be established in France.

“ Given on board the Victory, off Toulon, 28th of August, 1793.

(Signed)

HOOD.”

This event was in England considered as one of vital importance to the cause of royalty, and supposed by many to be the immediate forerunner of a general peace. The fleet of Toulon was by far the strongest part of the French marine, and its defection a serious misfortune to the republic.

Before Lord Hood with his fleet entered the road of Toulon, it was judged necessary that the forts commanding that anchorage should be put into possession of British officers and men; which was accordingly effected at midnight on the 27th, when one thousand seven hundred marines and seamen from the different ships were landed, under the command of Captain the Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, of the Robust, who received an appointment from the Admiral as governor of Fort la Malgue, commanding, by its situation, both the town and the inner and outer roads. The British and Spanish fleets entered the great road at the same time, the Spanish division under the command of Admiral Gravina. A message

was sent to St. Julien, the French admiral, desiring that he would immediately cause all his ships to proceed into the inner harbour, and put their powder on shore, otherwise that they would be treated as enemies. St. Julien, who was the admiral appointed by the seamen in lieu of Trogoffe, a royalist, had seized some of the forts and refused to admit the English. All the ships except seven complied with the order, the desertion of the crews with their Admiral preventing its completion with the others. The British fleet anchored in the bay, and Rear-admiral Goodall was appointed governor of Toulon, and the Spanish rear-admiral Gravina commandant of the troops; Lord Hugh Seymour Conway and the Hon. Captain Waldegrave were charged with the Admiral's despatches, and ordered to proceed to England by different routes. It is to be lamented that the whole of the French ships capable of being navigated had not been sent, with as many of the inhabitants as chose to embark or could have been conveyed, to the island of Minorca; as it would have borne the appearance of confidence in the Spaniards, and have subjected the general cause to no great danger; for being dismantled, they would always have been at the disposal of Great Britain, even had the Spaniards declared against her: but Lord Hood on this, as on all other occasions, considered the honour more than the temporary advantage of his country.

On the arrival of the despatches in London, a privy council was called, and measures agreed on

which the sanguine mind of Mr. Pitt induced him to believe would secure all the advantages he hoped to derive from the fortunate event. He sent for Sir Charles Grey, and inquired what he supposed would be a sufficient force to defend the place from the attacks of the republican army.—The General replied, fifty thousand good troops would be no more than enough to answer all the purposes: Mr. Pitt shook his head in token of dissent from this opinion, and dismissed this gallant officer with the observation, that “he hoped they should be able to defend it with a much smaller number.”

No sooner had the British Admiral secured the possession of Toulon, than the Spanish admiral, Don Juan de Langara, who with a fleet of twenty-one ships of the line was on the coast of Roussillon, wrote to congratulate him, and offer the services of himself and his forces in aid of the common cause; an offer the commander-in-chief was obliged to accept lest he should offend the court of Spain, whose king was a member of the Bourbon family, and also of the coalition. The accession of the Spanish troops was a real injury to the cause; they never defended the posts intrusted to them; so that the enemy was sure of an entrance wherever these people were stationed to prevent them.

Langara, deeply impressed with a sense of his own importance and the valour of his countrymen, acquainted the Admiral that he had directed the Commander-in-chief of the Spanish army to embark, in four ships which he had left for that purpose, two

or three thousand of his best troops, to be employed as his Lordship might think proper, and concluded his letter by praying that God would preserve the British Admiral a thousand years. His prayers and his soldiers were equally useless.

The republican general Carteau reconnoitred the approaches to Toulon on the 31st of August, the fourth day of our entrance: he had with him seven hundred and fifty men, and ten pieces of cannon. Governor Elphinstone marched out to meet him at the head of six hundred British troops and some Spaniards, and quickly defeated him, taking his guns and colours. The credit bestowed by Captain Elphinstone on the Spaniards for this day's affair, seems to have been more with a view to stimulate their future efforts than from any prowess displayed by them on the occasion.

The national convention, regardless of the effusion of human blood, resolved at once to regain possession of Toulon, and to gratify their revenge by the destruction of the royalists: for which purpose they lost no time in concentrating their forces round this devoted town. The armies of the republic approached it from the east, west, and north; their communication was only open by sea, whence the people received their supplies and derived all their hopes, which were soon to vanish.

It was on this occasion that the celebrated Napoleon Bonaparte first made himself conspicuous: his talents and courage were greatly instrumental in the reduction of Toulon. A captain of artillery, he had



the art and the audacity to command respect and obedience, even from his superior officers, who blindly submitted to be led by him whom they could not instruct—such is the force and power of genius! Upon the history of this extraordinary man it is not our duty to enlarge: his life and his exploits we leave to abler pens; our business with him is temporary and occasional: he knew too well the character of the British navy to trust himself within the reach of its artillery; and he soon after learned that the army was equally to be dreaded.

About the middle of September, Admiral Trogoffe represented to Lord Hood, that the seamen, who to the number of five thousand were still in the town, were very troublesome, and suggested the necessity of disposing of them for the safety of the place: his Lordship caused four old ships of the line having no guns, except two for signals, with a few pounds of powder, to be got ready for their reception, and having embarked them he gave to each ship a passport, and sent them off to Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort. This, under the circumstances by which he had got these men into his power, was a wise, humane, and prudent measure, as far as it regarded Toulon; but it unfortunately enabled the republicans to man their fleet at Brest, and meet us on equal terms the ensuing year in the Channel. It now became evident that we were not to expect much assistance from the royalists, who had no sooner been the means of admitting the enemy than they repented of it; their numbers daily decreased, and the apostates

sought to make their peace with the convention by denouncing their neighbours or their friends. Many however, it must be observed, had on this occasion assumed the name of royalists without the smallest pretension to that honourable distinction.

Lord Hood had certainly taken upon himself a greater degree of responsibility than he was aware of; he had engaged to defend the inhabitants of Toulon and Marseilles against the immense armies of the republic, without having the means of doing so, or knowing the number and strength of the forces he had to encounter.

Early in September Lord Mulgrave arrived at Toulon, and, at the request of Lord Hood, took upon him the command of the land-forces. One of the advanced posts towards Marseilles had been ordered to be abandoned, as being of no importance; but before this measure could be carried into execution, Carteau attacked it with a large body of troops, and drove in the French and Spaniards who had charge of it, their retreat being covered by the British, who received no injury. This was the manner in which the royalists and auxiliaries always acquitted themselves; and the English soldiers were invariably called in to their rescue, even from an enemy of inferior force.

It appears inexplicable that the French fleet, which at our first coming was lying in the outer road of Toulon, should have been ordered to take out their powder and proceed into the inner harbour. The first injunction not having been disputed, it would seem that the second was unnecessary, and the com-

pliance with it no more than what the convention must have devoutly wished. The allies now flocked into the town to consume the provisions, without contributing to its security, thus adding to the confusion and miseries of the unhappy Toulonese, the victims at once of a mistaken policy, and their own treachery and cowardice.

As soon as the court of Naples was informed of the surrender of Toulon, a body of two thousand Neapolitan troops, with two ships of the line, and two frigates, were despatched to join Lord Hood; a supply of two thousand more soldiers was promised within three weeks, and on the 24th of September the *Colossus* brought a corps of Sardinians from Cagliari.

On the morning of the 18th October, the republican troops, whose valour and vigilance were seldom surpassed, opened two mortar-batteries at the head of the inner road at La Petite Garenne, and kept up an incessant fire on our advance during the whole of that day. A frigate and a gun-boat were ordered up to cover the magazine; another battery was opened upon our works on the 19th, from Les Geux; the *St. George*, of ninety-eight guns, and a gun-boat, were sent to silence it: they lay in the inner road, and succeeded, but with very severe loss: the gun-boat was sunk, the crew saved, the *St. George* had a gun burst on her lower deck, which killed and wounded twenty-two men.

On the 20th, a small force, consisting of one hundred and fifty British, and three hundred and fifty

Spanish troops, under the command of Captain Brereton, were taken across the harbour from Toulon, and landed at Fort Bellaguer, whence they marched immediately forward to reconnoitre the heights of La Grasse, which consist of a ridge divided at the top into three distinct knolls or heads, with deep ravines between them rising considerably in land, terminating with a rapid descent on the west, and commanding a complete view of the whole extent of the enemy's position on that side of the town. The little band having taken its station on the lowest and eastermost of these hills, was attacked in the afternoon by a body of about seven hundred French, whom they put to flight, with great loss on their side and very little on ours: this gave us an opportunity of seizing the western hill, on which a battery of three twenty-four-pounders was instantly established, and a deep trench traced out by Lords Hood and Mulgrave, in company with the Spanish admiral Gravina: the guns were got up by the seamen under the command of Captain Charles Tyler, when the post, being supposed in a perfect state of defence, was unfortunately intrusted to the care of the Spaniards. In the mean time, the exertions of the enemy were persevering, and while the republicans laboured without, the garrison within was a prey to treachery and discord. The duties devolving on Lord Mulgrave, and his handful of British troops, became every day more arduous and difficult; in short, it ought now to have been perceived, that the defence of the place was impossible, and there-

fore it was time to prepare for the evacuation, and to secure the fleet, as well as the lives of such of the royalists as chose to avail themselves of the protection of the British flag, and who knew that they had no chance of making their peace with the national convention: but the Admiral and the General having submitted the state of Toulon to their government at home, waited for instructions, cautious of assuming a discretionary power, which might have blasted their own characters, and disappointed the hopes of their king and country. For want of sufficient troops the important pass of Oliol on the west, and the road leading from Nice to Toulon on the east, were not secured; a fact which proves, beyond all doubt, the correctness of the information supplied by Sir Charles Grey, in the early part of the campaign; British troops could not be spared to defend these advanced posts, and the allies were not to be trusted with them.

On the 1st of October the enemy gained possession of the heights of Pharon, and a very strong post above these heights had been stormed and taken by the republicans. Its recovery was thought indispensable, and Lord Mulgrave led out a body of men to the attack; he was accompanied by Admiral Gravina, Governor Elphinstone, and Captain Beresford, of the sixty-ninth, with his grenadiers. The latter officer, on this occasion, distinguished himself in a remarkable manner; while Lord Hood remained at Toulon, and with the seamen and marines under his command took charge of the garrison and fort La

Malgue. In the attack the enemy was routed, the fort retaken, and the guns spiked; but the republicans, notwithstanding this advantage, continually contracted the limits of the out-posts on the land-side.

On the 13th, the garrison made a sortie, and did very considerable injury to the enemy's works, spiking their guns, &c.; another battery was then opened on the town from the heights, and many heavy shot and shells thrown into it, when a sortie succeeded in dislodging them, and again spiking the guns and mortars. In this way the troops were hourly harassed, and a serious diminution of their forces announced the approaching calamity. A reinforcement arrived on the 27th of October, from Gibraltar, with General O'Hara, who took upon him the chief command; at the same time, intelligence was received of the capture of Lyons, by the republicans; and it was rightly conjectured that the termination of that important siege, which had held the forces of the convention so long in check, would admit of a large body of troops being sent to assist the army before Toulon. Lord Hood had, about the 6th of October, received a pressing solicitation from General Paoli, the royalist governor of Corsica, to send him three ships of the line. This requisition he immediately complied with, and added two frigates. The command of the squadron was given to Commodore Linzee, who, on his arrival on the coast of that island, made an unsuccessful attack on the tower and redoubt of Forneille, but received so much damage from one of the myrtillo towers, that he was forced to haul off: his

ships were, the Alcide, Courageux, and Robust, of seventy-four guns, and one or two frigates. The Commodore imputed his failure to want of co-operation on the part of the Corsicans, who had agreed to storm the batteries in the rear, while the ships engaged them in front.

We now return to Toulon, where the enemy still pressed on, and carried the defences on the heights of Cape Brune, which look down upon Fort La Malue, and are nearly within gun-shot of it on the eastern side of the harbour: they were retaken by the British troops, on the same day, with little loss. On the 15th of November, the republicans made a most determined attack on Fort Mulgrave: they were repulsed with great loss, and the British troops behaved with much bravery.

On the 20th, General O'Hara assembled a deputation of the inhabitants of Toulon, and informed them, that the engagements which had been entered into by Lord Hood had received the sanction of his Britannic Majesty, who had commanded him to assure the assembly, that they should be punctually fulfilled: his Majesty was sensible that the possession of the town had laid him under the most sacred obligation, and presented objects of the highest importance; and that his Majesty had already taken, and would still continue to take, such measures as were necessary to provide for the safety of the town and the inhabitants; and to this end he had appointed three commissioners, under the great seal of England, viz. Lord Hood, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and

himself, who were authorized to act in his Majesty's name, not only in the direction of the civil affairs and interests of Toulon, but of any other places in France, which might be occupied by his Majesty's arms.

The General farther informed them, by a declaration which he read to the assembly, of his Majesty's anxious desire for the happiness of France, and of the restoration of the legitimate monarchy, as the surest means of securing that happiness, though he by no means wished to force a government on the French people; and, on the restoration of a general peace, his Majesty pledged himself to give up the arsenal and the ships at Toulon.

The whole of the transactions relative to this ill-fated place, seem to have sprung from the same source as the misfortunes of the Prussian army,—namely, the falsehood and treachery of a set of men calling themselves royalists, in the south of France, and the emigrants in England; the first, by being instrumental in the surrender of the town,—the second, by filling the minds of the British government with the most unfounded accounts of the anti-revolutionary spirit which pervaded the territory of the republic.

To those who are acquainted with the local situation of the British troops and their allies, surrounded by commanding heights, on which an overpowering military force was hourly approaching the focus with irresistible fury, it would seem wonderful that at the very period when the General was haranguing



the assembly, that he and his auditors were not actively employed in hauling the ships out of the basin, embarking the women and children, securing the naval stores, spiking the guns on the sea-batteries, or throwing them and all the ammunition into the water. These seem to have been the wishes of many brave and prudent officers employed on the expedition; but such thoughts never entered the minds of the gallant chiefs, who considered a retreat disgraceful to themselves and their country, and fatal to the lives and properties of the Toulonese. We, who are calmly looking back on these events, are apt to form very different judgments to those who held the responsibility of command, and who bravely faced every danger, without the means of repelling their enemies, or providing food and shelter for the soldiers and the inhabitants who still clung to them for support. Toulon suffered in reality all that fable has related of Troy. In justice, however, to the commissioners, it must be observed, that infinite difficulties presented themselves in proposing an evacuation of the town: a great change had taken place in the sentiments of those who had at first clamorously invited the assistance of the British Admiral: they were armed, wore the national cockade, and made no secret of their intentions the moment they could execute them: the order for an embarkation was expected to have been the signal for universal confusion, massacre, pillage, and revenge.

The duties of the garrison, and the extensive works on all sides of the town, devolved on a small body

of British troops, augmented by a miserable collection of Spaniards, Sardinians, and Neapolitans, never to be relied on, and all exhausted with fatigue and privations. Cowardice, treachery, and famine, within, a daring and merciless enemy without, whose repeated assaults, however gallantly repulsed, were always sure to weaken the ranks of the English, the only defenders of the garrison, and the only men who deserved the name of soldiers.

It has been asserted, that the faith of the King and the nation was pledged to keep possession of the place, and protect the people from the fury of the convention. This we admit; though we cannot see how either would have been compromised by withdrawing, in time, from an untenable post, and thereby securing the lives and property which we were pledged to protect. We may remark, that in this, as in all other subsequent events, wherever the forces of Britain have been lent to the cause of the royalists, they have invariably been deceived and blamed by both parties, as the instigators of civil war for the destruction of France.

November the 30th, the enemy opened a heavy battery on the heights of Arenes, and from Malbousquet and Pharon at the same time, which greatly annoyed our out-posts. Major-general Dundas, with a mixed force of two thousand three hundred men, marched out to attack it, under every disadvantage of stony ground, deep ravines, and broken bridges. He succeeded in surprising the post, and had won the day with trifling loss; but the ardour of his

troops led them to pursue their flying enemy far beyond the object of the sortie. Instead of forming on the heights, which they had gained, they descended into a valley and ascended other heights, where they were checked by superior forces, thrown into confusion, and driven back far within the fort they had taken. General O'Hara, who had entered the battery on its capture, was involved in the consequences of the defeat—surrounded, wounded, and taken prisoner. The loss on our side was very severe. This enterprise failed, first, from the want of previous arrangement; secondly, from the foreign troops dispersing in quest of plunder; and, thirdly, because our soldiers, unaccustomed to war, and led by their own natural ardour, could not be restrained from the pursuit of their flying enemy: they had fallen into an ambuscade, from which they were obliged to retreat in disorder, with the loss of seven hundred men, including the General and some of our best officers, in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

December the 13th, the approaches of the enemy were still rapidly advancing, his batteries stronger, and more numerous. The number of their troops was supposed to amount to fifty thousand, ours to about fifteen thousand, of which four thousand were sick in the hospitals. Deserters from their camp, sent no doubt by the French General, conveyed some truth with much false information, spread reports of an immediate attempt to storm, and having gained all the intelligence they wished for, soon disappeared and regained their own camp. These men should

invariably have been sent to the fleet as soon as they came within the lines: no soldier of any experience could suppose, that a deserter, the most despicable of all cowards, would fly from a victorious army, to share the imminent danger and certain privations of a blockaded town. If we were not detailing events which happened in our own time, in which we have every opportunity of obtaining the most correct information, we should not expect to gain credit for the sequel which we are about to relate; but the facts are too well attested in the history of the revolutionary war.

After the capture of General O'Hara, the command of the garrison and troops devolved on General Dundas: from that time till the 18th of December, the republican army advanced with rapid strides, and in a dark and tempestuous night (always the favourite seasons of their enterprise) they attacked Fort Mulgrave, and carried it. The situation of the town and its unfortunate inhabitants now became desperate; and the crisis, long foreseen by a few, burst upon them like a great convulsion of nature: no imagination can picture the horrors attending the sudden order for the evacuation of Toulon: no proposals, however humiliating, could gain a moment's attention from the ferocious and blood-thirsty Carteau, and his savage army,—death, vengeance, and plunder, were their cry and their watch-words.

The French ships of the line, which had either not entered the basin when that fatal order was given, or had been timely withdrawn from it, were,

the Commerce de Marseilles of one hundred and thirty guns, the Pompeé of eighty, and Puissant of seventy-four; these, on the first alarm, were quickly filled with emigrants of all ranks, ages, and sexes, flying from inevitable destruction; every boat, every shallop, however decayed or forlorn, had its freight of woe; parents separated from their children, husbands from their wives, all property abandoned, the love of life overcame, as usual, every other consideration. The officers and crews of the British ships of war, ever foremost in danger, as in the work of humanity, rendered every assistance in their power to these unhappy fugitives, and, to save them, were willing to sacrifice their own lives, and cheerfully resigned every comfort for their accommodation. The Princess Royal, of ninety-eight guns, had on board, at one time, nearly four thousand people, and the Robust three thousand, besides their own crews: they were as speedily distributed into different ships, as time and circumstances would admit; and we fear no contradiction in saying, that, under such pressing emergency, "none but the brave English" would have done so much. The ships lying in the inner road were, by the greatest exertions, brought out of the reach of the guns on the west side of the anchorage, sustaining for some time a heavy and galling fire. Part of the artillery-stores, with the troops and emigrants, were huddled off in the greatest confusion. This service was performed under the direction of Captain Keith Elphinstone, assisted by Captains Hollowell and Mathews; and

the important charge of destroying the arsenal, and ships of war, was intrusted, by Lord Hood, to Captain Sir Sydney Smith. This officer happened, at that time, to have arrived at Toulon from Smyrna, where he had been on his travels. Don Juan de Langara, the Spanish admiral, was appointed his coadjutor. The whole service was, from the hurry and extreme hazard, very imperfectly executed, particularly that part of it which fell to the Spaniards, who gave up the advanced post at which they were stationed, and admitted the enemy before the trains were complete, or the embarkation effected; and instead of scuttling the powder-ships, according to the orders they had received, blew them up, by which they destroyed a gallant British officer and some seamen, and very greatly and uselessly damaged the town, doomed to suffer as much from the indiscretion of its friends, as from the violence of its enemies.

Six weeks previously to the evacuation of Toulon, Lord Hood received a letter from Don Juan de Langara, acquainting him that his Catholic Majesty had promoted Admiral Gravina, in consequence of *his gallant* conduct, to the rank of lieutenant-general, and appointed him commander-in-chief of the combined forces at Toulon! This is the more remarkable, as the capitulation was solely made to the British government; it was, however, received as the warning of an approaching rupture between Spain and England.

\* Lord Hood paid no attention to the letter: Lan-

gara, though an honourable and a good man, paraded his fleet, of twenty-one sail of the line, in a menacing position, before that of Britain, of only half the number; and complained of the unequal distribution of power between the Spanish and English forces; but at length quietly submitted, knowing that resistance would only have brought destruction on himself and his fleet. The detention of the property captured in the St. Jago, which we have related, was one of the causes which Spain assigned for her hostility; but it should be remembered, that this act of our government was preceded by the condemnation of an English transport in the Spanish courts, though not of equal value, yet under exactly similar circumstances.

We pass over in haste the horrors which succeeded the entry of the republicans into the fortress of Toulon; both here as well as at Marseilles, every one suspected of loyalty, or of having had any connexion with the English, was either butchered or thrown into the sea and drowned; many were disposed of by the infernal Marseillois weddings,—a man and his wife, a brother and sister, or any people of different sexes known to be dear to each other, were tied back to back and thrown into the harbour from the quays, while the brutal rabble, with hellish malignity, sported with their dying agonies. These scenes had, we believe, been before practised at Nantes and other places, by the regicide Carrere.

The catastrophe at Toulon was not finished; and the last touch was yet wanting to complete the pic-

ture of desolation, of which the citizens of civilized nations of the eighteenth century were at once the authors and the victims.

The letter of Sir Sydney Smith to Lord Hood will give a much better description of that fatal night than any words of ours could convey : it is dated the 18th of December, and is in substance as follows :—

“ Agreeably to your Lordship’s orders I proceeded to the arsenal with the *Swallow*, tender, three English and three Spanish gun-boats, and immediately began to make preparations for burning that place and the fleet. We found the dock-gates well secured by the judicious arrangement of the Governor, although the workmen in the dock-yard had already substituted the tri-coloured cockade for the white. The galley-slaves, to the number of six thousand, shewed themselves jealous spectators of our operations : their disposition to oppose us was evident ; and being unchained, which was not usual, made it necessary to keep a watchful eye over them on board the galleys, by pointing the guns of the *Swallow* and one of the gun-boats in such a manner as to enfilade the quays on which they must have landed to get at us ; and they were kept in order by the continued fire of shot and shells into the dock-yard by the enemy from Fort Malbousquet and the surrounding heights, which looked down upon us and our labours : the fire therefore which was intended for our destruction operated in our favour, by keeping the republican party in the town confined to their



houses, while it gave little interruption to the work of preparing and placing the combustible matter in the storehouses and on board the ships. The enemy, in great numbers, were seen coming down the hills towards the town, and dock-yard wall which joins it; and as the night closed in, poured upon us a heavy fire of musketry from the Boulangerie, and cannon from the heights: we kept them at bay by continued discharges of grape-shot, which prevented their approaching so near as to discover the insufficiency of our force. To repel a closer attack, a gun-boat was stationed to flank the wall on the outside, and two field-pieces within at the wicket-gate, to guard against the workmen, of whom we were apprehensive. About eight o'clock Lieutenant Gore towed in the Vulcan fire-ship, and Captain Hare, her commander, placed her, as I directed him, across the tier of ships of war, while the additional force of her guns and men abated our apprehensions of the rising of the galley-slaves; the tumultuous debates of whom ceased on her appearance, and we heard the noise of their hammers while knocking off their fetters, which humanity forbade my opposing, that they might be more at liberty to save themselves from the intended conflagration. In this situation we waited most anxiously for the signal from the Governor to light the trains;" the British troops, it must be observed, being still in possession of the town.

"The moment the signal was made, the flames arose in every quarter. Lieutenant Tupper, charged with the burning of the general magazine; the pitch,

tar, tallow, and oil stores, succeeded most perfectly;\* and the hemp storehouses were involved in the destruction. Lieutenants Middleton and Pater, of the *Britannia*, set fire to the mast-houses: the retreat of the latter had nearly been cut off by the enemy. As soon as the blaze of light enabled them to direct their guns, their fire redoubled on us. Lieutenant Ironmonger, of the royals, remained with his guard at the gate to the very last moment; the Spanish guard being withdrawn, he was brought safely off by Captain Edge, of the *Alert*, who covered our retreat and collected our detached parties, that were saved to a man. Captain Hare, of the *Vulcan* fire-ship, who gallantly put the match to the train, was blown overboard and much hurt, as was Lieutenant Gore.

“ The guns of the fire-ship going off as they became heated in the direction given to them, checked the career of the enemy, who attempted to force their way in upon us: their shouts and republican songs were heard until we were all thunderstruck by the explosion of some thousands of barrels of gunpowder, which had been most injudiciously set on fire by the Spaniards on board the *Iris* frigate, lying in the inner road, and consequently outside of us; and we narrowly escaped destruction from the concussion and the falling shower of burning timber and other articles around us. Lieutenant Patey, of the *Terrible*, and his boat’s crew, had nearly perished,

\* We have great reason to doubt this perfect success. The storehouses were all standing in 1795; and it is supposed that they suffered very little damage. Of the ships we can give a tolerable account.

the boat being blown to pieces: the people were saved. I had given it in charge to the Spanish officers to fire the ships in the basin before the town, but they reported it impracticable: we attempted it together, as soon as I had completed the work at the arsenal, but found it impossible to cut the boom which runs from the town quay to the batteriè royal, whence a heavy fire of musketry was kept upon our boats; the guns on that fort had fortunately been spiked by order of the Governor."

Sir Sydney Smith expresses himself satisfied with the conduct of the officers and men in the three Spanish gun-boats, and complains of being too much reduced in his means to perform all he intended.

"We now proceeded (he continues) to burn the Heros and Themistocles, two ships of seventy-four guns lying in the inner road. We had hitherto been prevented approaching them in the boats, as the prisoners who had been left in the latter ship had shewn a determination to resist any attempt to board them: terrified, however, by the scene of conflagration and the explosion of the Iris, they thankfully accepted my offer to land them in a place of safety, and this was happily effected. They shewed us every mark of gratitude for our humanity in not burning them with the ships, which, as soon as the people were removed, we set on fire. This was scarcely done, when a second explosion of a powder-ship, even greater than the first, and equally unexpected, exposed us to the most imminent danger; and considering that we were within the sphere of the fall-

ing timber, it is next to a miracle that none fell in our boats: Lieutenant Ralph Willet Miller, of the royal navy, highly distinguished himself on the occasion. Having now set fire to every thing within our reach, and exhausted our combustible preparations and our strength to such a degree as that the men dropped upon their oars, we steered our course to join the fleet, receiving a few ill-directed shot from forts Bellageur and Aiguillete, on the peninsula, proceeding first to the place appointed for the embarkation of the troops, and took off as many as we could carry.

“ We can ascertain that the fire extended to ten ships of the line: I am sorry to be obliged to leave any, but your Lordship will, I hope, admit, that we did as much as circumstances and our *limited means would allow*.”

The military and naval reader must now judge for himself why Sir Sydney was limited either in time or means. If there was any breach of faith in taking away the ships and stores out of the naval arsenal, which we think cannot be maintained, there was surely much greater in setting fire to the ships and storehouses, which occasioned the ruin of thousands, and the destruction of lives and property of friends as well as foes: it is indeed wonderful that the whole town of Toulon did not share the fate of the arsenal which joined it.

Lord Hood, after the night of the 18th of December, retreated with his fleet to Hieres-bay, a fine anchorage about ten miles east of Toulon: he was

accompanied by the French admiral, Trogoffe, and his three ships of the line bearing the white flag. In the course of the following year they arrived in England, and were taken into the British service, but all their officers and crews were previously discharged. A list of the ships brought away or destroyed will be given; but the reader is not to be surprised if he should hereafter find some that were supposed to be included in the conflagration taking their stations in the French line of battle at sea. We do not mean to impute blame to Sir Sydney Smith, who certainly performed as much as any officer could have done similarly situated; but the ships had not time to burn before the active enemy extinguished the flames in many of them, and even those that were the worst damaged were repaired. No sooner had the British Admiral effected his retreat from the road of Toulon, and moored his fleet in Hieres-bay, than a gale came on from the eastward, which, had it occurred two days sooner, might have proved disastrous. Our fleet, confined in the road of Toulon, exposed to all the batteries of the enemy, would not have found the means of eluding such powerful adversaries; and the consequences cannot be contemplated without a grateful sense of providential interference in our favour.

*List of ships of the line, frigates, and sloops, in the road when the British fleet entered Toulon.*

*Ships of the line now with the British fleet, commanded by  
French officers.*

	Guns.		Guns.
Le Commerce de Marseilles	120	Le Pompee . . . . .	74

*Ships said to have been burnt at Toulon, by Sir Sydney Smith.*

Le Centaur . . . . .	74	Le Commerce de Bour-	
Le Destin . . . . .	74	deaux . . . . .	74
L'Heros . . . . .	74	Le Lys . . . . .	74
Le Du Guay Trouin . . . . .	74	Le Themistocles . . . . .	74

*Sent into the French ports on the Atlantic, with French seamen, &c.*

Le Patriote . . . . .	74	L'Apollen . . . . .	74
L'Orient . . . . .	74	L'Entreprenant . . . . .	74

*Burnt by accident at Leghorn.*

Le Scipion, of 74 guns : most of the crew perished.

\* *Left at Toulon.*

Le Genereux . . . . .	74	L'Heureux . . . . .	74
Le Tonnant . . . . .	80		

*Frigates with the British fleet, commanded by French officers.*

Le Perle . . . . .	40	L'Arethuse . . . . .	40
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*Fitted out by the British—put into commission by order of  
Lord Hood.*

L'Aurora . . . . .	32	La Topaz . . . . .	38
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*Remained with the Sardinians.*

L'Alceste . . . . .			32
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*Sloops with the British fleet.*

* La Poullette . . . . .	26	Le Tarleston . . . . .	14
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*Burnt at Toulon.*

La Caroline . . . . .	20	L'Auguste . . . . .	20
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*Fitted out by the British.*

* La Bellette, Capt. Secombe	26	† La Proselite, Capt. Sericold	24
La Sincere, Capt. Shields .	20	La Mulet, Capt. Bullen .	20
La Mozelle, Capt. Bennet	20		

\* Burnt afterward at Ajaccio, being unserviceable.

† Burnt by red-hot shot from the enemy's batteries at Bastia.

*Fitted out by the Neapolitans.*

	Guns.		Guns.
* L'Emperor . . . . .	20	Le Pluvier . . . . .	20

*Fitted out by the Spaniards.*

La Petite Aurore . . . . .	18
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*Fitted out when the British fleet entered Toulon.**Ships of the line burnt at Toulon.*

Le Triomphant . . . . .	80	† La Serieuse . . . . .	32
Le Suffisant . . . . .	74		

*With the British fleet.*

Le Puissant . . . . .	74
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*Left at Toulon.*

Le Dauphin Royal . . . . .	120
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*In the harbour in want of repair.**Burnt.*

Le Dictateur . . . . .	74	L'Iphigenie . . . . .	32
Le Courageux . . . . .	32	L'Alerte . . . . .	16

*Blown up by the Spaniards, with powder on board.*

Isis . . . . .	32	Montreal . . . . .	32
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*Fitted out by the British as a bomb-ketch.*

La Latine, Capt. M'Namara . . . . .	32
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*Left in the harbour.*

La Couronne . . . . .	80	§ Le Censeur . . . . .	74
† Le Languedoc . . . . .	80	§ Le Guerrier . . . . .	74
§ Le Mercure . . . . .	74	§ Le Souverain . . . . .	74
† Le Conquerent . . . . .	74	La Bretonne . . . . .	18

*Left in the harbour unfit for service.*

L'Alcide . . . . .	74
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\* Sent to Bourdeaux.

† This ship was only partially burnt, and soon after refitted.

‡ Intrusted to be burnt by the Spaniards, but saved.

§ Set on fire, but not destroyed, and soon after repaired.

*Ships in commission before the British fleet  
entered Toulon.*

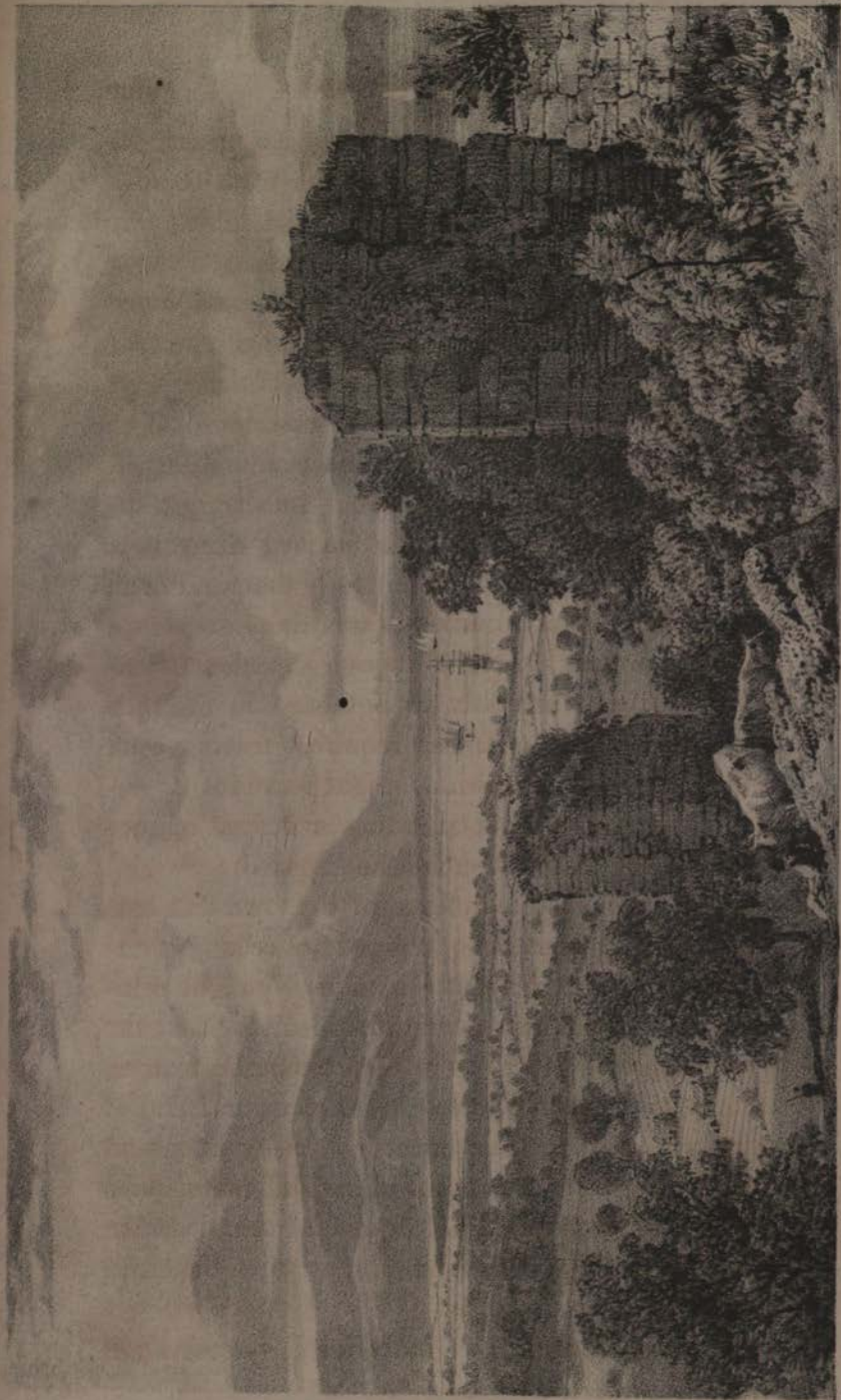
<i>In the Levant.</i>	
Guns.	Guns.
Le Duquesne . . . . . 74	La Sensible . . . . . 36
La Sybil . . . . . 44	La Fortunée . . . . . 32
La Melpomene . . . . . 40	La Fleche . . . . . 24
La Minerve . . . . . 40	La Fauvette . . . . . 24
<i>Taken by the British.</i>	
L'Imperieuse . . . . . 40	L'Eclairc . . . . . 22
La Modeste . . . . . 36	
<i>At Villa Franche.</i>	
La Vestal . . . . . 36	La Badine . . . . . 24
Le Hazard . . . . . 30	
<i>At Corsica.</i>	
La Mignon . . . . .	32
<i>At Cete.</i>	
La Brunc . . . . .	24
<i>In ordinary at Toulon.</i>	
La Junon . . . . .	40
<i>Building at Toulon.</i>	
One ship of . . . . . 74	Two frigates of . . . . . 40

From on board the Victory in Hieres-bay, the chiefs had now full leisure to contemplate the fatal effects of an over-confidence in French promises, and a mistaken notion of British faith. In every action of his life Lord Hood was guided by a sense of honour, from which no consideration could induce him to depart; and grievous as our losses and misfortunes were on this occasion, still we prefer the evacuation of Toulon, to the violation of the treaties of St. Elmo and El Arish.

Lieutenant-general Dundas, on whom the com-







*From an original drawing by Capt. K. P. Brattle.*

H I E R E S .

*See Note by J. D. Herdeng.*

mand had devolved in consequence of the capture of General O'Hara, addressed a letter to the Secretary at war, in which, after detailing the noble exertions ~~of his~~ troops, and the events which brought himself and his companions in arms to that humbled and mortifying situation, he gives such an account of the strength and resources of the enemy, compared with his own, as leaves us astonished at the magnanimity which could persevere under such insurmountable difficulties : "From concurring testimonies (says the General) the enemy's army now amounted to between thirty and forty thousand men, and an attack upon our posts was daily expected ; these from their essential, though detached situations, had been severally strengthened in the proportion their circumstances required, leaving such central force in the town as might serve for its immediate guard, and for affording a degree of succour to any point that should be attacked.

"For the complete defence of the town and harbour, we had been long obliged to occupy a circumference of at least fifteen miles, by eight principal posts, with their several intermediate ones ; the greatest part of these were of a temporary nature, such as our means allowed us to construct ; and of our force, which never exceeded twelve thousand men bearing arms, composed of five different nations and languages, near nine thousand were placed in or supporting these posts, and about three thousand remained in the town.

"On the 16th, at half past two in the morning,

the enemy, who had before fired from their batteries upon Fort Mulgrave, now opened two new ones, and continued a heavy bombardment and cannonade upon that post till day-light; the works ~~suffered~~ much, and the number of killed and wounded was considerable: the weather was rainy and the fatigue very great. On the morning of the 17th, the enemy made a most determined attack upon this fort, and in spite of the gallant resistance of Captain Conolly of the eighteenth regiment, finally carried it; the garrison of seven hundred men retreated upon Bel-laguer, a most important post for the preservation of the harbour, and with which we had no communication except by water. These heights had been occupied for some time past by two thousand two hundred men, and were reinforced the preceding day by seven hundred more: the firing on the peninsula ceased, and we waited in anxious expectation of day-light, when a new scene presented itself; all our posts on Pharon heights, which are immediately in the rear of the town, were attacked and carried, except on the east side, where they were repulsed: here was our principal force of seven hundred men, commanded by the brave Colonel de Jernagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who died at his post. The back of the mountain, eighteen hundred feet high, steep, rocky, and nearly inaccessible, the enemy found means to ascend, during a thick fog in the night-time, and to penetrate between our posts, which occupied an extent of two miles, guarded only by four hundred and fifty men, and in a very short space of

time we saw great numbers of troops crowding the heights which overlook the town. A council of flag and field officers was immediately called, and it was *then decided that the place was untenable*, the troops were withdrawn from the heights of Bcllaguer, and the army was concentrated in and about the town; on the 18th the sick and the artillery were embarked; and on the 19th, by day-light in the morning, were followed by the whole of the troops."

In taking possession of Toulon, Lord Hood was actuated by the purest patriotism and philanthropy; and as a nobleman, endowed with the highest sense of his own and his country's honour, he acted with becoming caution in guarding both from the imputation of bad faith. The pledge that he had given was sanctioned by the King and his ministers; and those who best knew the upright and undeviating principles of George the Third, will be convinced, that to abandon the cause he had once espoused, was no part of his character. The implicit confidence placed by Lord Hood in the promises of men, whom he measured by the standard of his own integrity, was the great cause of his failure. He was taught by them to believe, that with the assistance of British troops, he might bid defiance to the power of the republic. His representations to his government gained the same credit that he gave them himself; and Mr. Pitt, as we have seen, quite ridiculed the ample estimate of Sir Charles Grey, when that officer spoke of fifty thousand men, as a force not too great to answer all the purposes of

defending the conquest. The character of Lord Hood ranks among the highest of our naval commanders; and it is no disgrace to him to say, that he was imposed upon, and that he unconsciously transmitted the error to his court at home, who sent out to him such orders and instructions as led to the disastrous defence and sudden evacuation of the place. The treacherous conduct of the Toulonese, after the capitulation, and their openly assuming the tri-coloured cockade, would have abundantly justified the commander-in-chief in withdrawing the fleet, and securing the persons and property of those who had sincerely embraced the cause of the Bourbons.

With the fall of Toulon to the arms of General Carteau, fell all hopes of the royalists in the south of France: all the flattering prospects of counter-revolution vanished ere the flames of the arsenal were extinguished. The conventional commissioners in the south, Freron, Record, the younger Robespierre, and Salicetti, in announcing the evacuation to the convention, observed, that their first despatch should be dated "*from the ruins of Toulon,*" and the convention passed a decree on the 24th of December, on the motion of Barrere, for changing the name of that rebellious city to Port Mountain, and for levelling all the houses which it contained with the ground, leaving nothing standing but the naval and military establishments.

The greatest oversight committed at Toulon, was not securing the powder-ships, and allowing the fleet to go into the inner harbour.

We cannot agree with the learned and respectable author of the *Life of Mr. Pitt*, in throwing all the blame of this unfortunate event on the commanders-in-chief; want of foresight, if imputable to any one, must attach to the cabinet, who asked and rejected the advice of experienced men. The General and the Admiral felt themselves bound, from the orders and instructions they had received, to maintain their post to the last; and even certain destruction to themselves would never have compelled them to act contrary to the dictates of an upright mind, and true military feeling. We are bound to contradict a note of the same author (vol. 3, p. 491), in which it is stated, that during the hurry of the evacuation, a boat *is said* to have been stowed with wine to the exclusion of the supplicants. What may have been the conduct of individuals, either in the transports or in foreign ships of war, we cannot pretend to determine. We shall only state, that no captain in the British service would have tolerated such a disgraceful and inhuman proceeding: the author should either have substantiated or abandoned this foul charge—we do not believe it.

It is a subject of congratulation to observe on this occasion, remarkable for privations and hardships of every description, the cordial unanimity between the army and the navy, alike honourable to officers and men, and so different from what we had been accustomed to see in former wars, when the mutual jealousies of the two professions were sometimes as fatal to the state as the sword of the enemy.

This favourable change we consider as the result of superior education, the beneficial effects of which we shall have occasion to notice when speaking of more fortunate enterprises.

A few days after the British fleet had quitted the great road of Toulon, and retired to Hieres-bay, the *Juno* frigate of thirty-two guns arrived, and being quite ignorant of the recent events, entered the inner road at night, ran a-ground, got off, and tailed again upon the rocks, with which that anchorage abounds: she was immediately boarded by a French boat full of officers and men, from whom Captain Hood learned, though they endeavoured to conceal it, that the English were no longer masters of the place, when instantly ordering all the Frenchmen below, who drew their swords and attempted to resist, he set his sails, cut his cable, and worked out of the anchorage, in defiance of every obstacle of shoals or batteries. In passing the fort on the point of Bellaguer, he indulged his ship's company by firing some broadsides at it; but this was not a measure sanctioned by prudence, since the firing had the effect of lessening the breeze, already too light, and taking the attention of officers and men from the trimming of the sails, an object of more importance to them, than even the certainty of killing a thousand Frenchmen. Captain Hood, however, deserved and gained great credit for his conduct.

Driven from the continent, the two commanders-in-chief next considered where the forces under their orders might be the most beneficially employed for



the advantage of the public service; when the island of Corsica, a colony of France, and not more than eighty miles from the anchorage they now occupied, appeared to them to afford the fairest prospect of success. This romantic spot had, in the year 1789, at the request of the Corsicans, through General Paoli, been declared the eighty-third department of France; but in consequence of the events of the revolution, which was felt to the utmost parts of the world where the French had any influence, the Corsicans, like all half-civilized people, became restless, revolted again from their new masters, and Paoli, at their instigation, sent an invitation to Lord Hood to come and take possession of the island.

The Admiral, too happy to have at once an object to divert the attention of his people from the late disastrous events, and to annoy his enemy at the same time, bent his whole united force upon the acquisition of the island for his country.

## CHAP. IX.

Channel—Nymph and Cleopatra—Crescent and Reunion—Sailing of Lord Howe, and chase of the French squadron in August and November—Sir John Warren takes the Pomone—Swiftsure takes the Atalante—Castor taken with convoy—Lord Howe sails with the grand fleet, and four hundred sail of convoy—French fleet sails under Villaret—Observations on the state of both fleets, as to officers and men—They meet—Log of the Queen Charlotte—Battle of the 1st of June—Logs of the Royal George and Orion—Narrative of the Brunswick—Lord Howe's letter—List of captured ships—List of British and French fleets, with killed and wounded—Rear-admiral Montague's squadron meets the French off Brest—They chase him—He returns into port—Arrival of the French convoy—General observation—Anecdote of Trowbridge.

IF we except the co-operation of the navy at the defence of Williamstadt, Sluys, and Newport, there was no naval action of any importance, till the question for maritime superiority was in some measure decided by the gallant action between the Nymph and the Cleopatra.

The Venus had indeed engaged a French frigate, but the ships had parted by mutual consent. We therefore may be excused giving the details of an action which has no particular claim to our notice.

The Scourge brig had also captured a French privateer of equal force, and carried her into port.

The convention in the year 1793, at the instigation of Robespierre, passed a decree forbidding quarter to be given to the English or their allies; and in one or two instances in our conflicts in Holland the republicans obeyed their orders, and some

of our brave countrymen were surrounded on the field of battle and put to death in cold blood. But this detestable act was soon so wofully retaliated, that the French discontinued the practice under their usual plea of humanity. We have no well-authenticated instance of similar conduct being pursued at sea.

In the month of June, 1793, Captain Pellew, in the *Nymph* of thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, and two hundred and fifty men, fell in off the *Lizard* with the *Cleopatra*, a ship in weight of metal and number of guns of nearly equal force, but with a more numerous ship's company. The action began with a mutual desire, and being the first of the kind since France had assumed the republican flag, was fought by both parties with equal courage and zeal for the honour of their country: the enemy displayed valour and good conduct, but after a severe contest was compelled to surrender, with great loss; among others, Citizen Moulon, the captain. Nor did the *Nymph* escape without injury; her number of killed and wounded fell little short of that of her enemy.

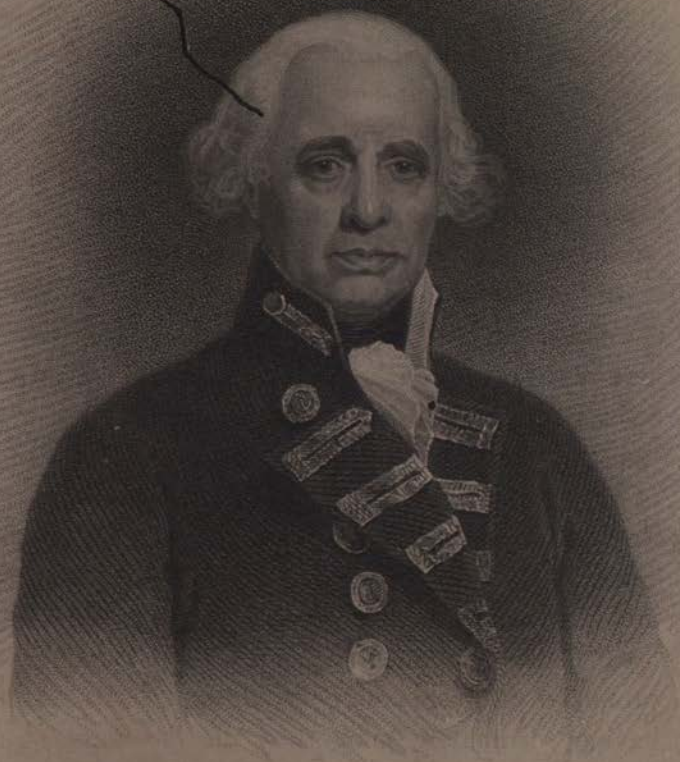
The *Nymph* took her prize into Plymouth. Captain Pellew received the honour of knighthood; his first lieutenant was promoted to the rank of commander and captain; Israel Pellew, who was serving as a volunteer with his brother, to the rank of post-captain. The decided superiority shewn by the British officers and seamen on this occasion, had no doubt a wonderful effect on the subsequent ac-

tions at sea, where the French seemed as conscious of their inferiority as they were of their own skill and bravery on shore, compared to other troops of the continent.

The Channel fleet sailed from Spithead under the command of Earl Howe in August, with the union flag at the main, and on the 18<sup>th</sup>, his Lordship got sight of the French fleet, to which he gave chase but without success, as the ships were ordered to preserve their stations in the line of battle, and consequently the best sailers were retarded by the worst.

In the month of October, Captain Saumarez, in the *Crescent*, of thirty-six guns, fell in, off Guernsey, with the French frigate *La Réunion* of the same force, and after a short action took her, with the trifling casualty of one man wounded on board of his own ship by the recoil of a gun: the enemy lost about one hundred and twenty killed and wounded. Captain Saumarez brought his prize into Portsmouth, and received the honour of knighthood; his first lieutenant, Mr. George Parker, was promoted to the rank of commander. The *Crescent* having fortunately shot away the fore-topmast of her enemy, took her position in such a manner as not to receive any damage. This instance may be fairly adduced in support of the proposition, that a long list of killed and wounded is not always a certain criterion of the merit of an action.

In the month of November, the Channel fleet was collected in Torbay under the command of Earl Howe, and soon after put to sea. His Lordship fell in with



*Admiral Earl Howe.*

*Engraved by R. Cooper, from a Picture by Maguignon,  
in the possession of Capt. E. P. Brenton.  
the Original by Copley.*



a French squadron, of five sail of the line and some frigates. Chase was given, but the shortness of the days prevented his coming up with them, and unfortunately the Defence, Montague, and Vanguard, three of our most advanced ships, carried away their topmasts in chase. Two of our frigates, the Latona and the Phaeton, exchanged some broadsides with them, but were unable to arrest their flight. This squadron was bound on a cruise, in which it succeeded in doing much injury to our trade.

December 1, 1793, Rear-admiral M'Bride sailed with a small squadron of frigates, having a body of troops on board under the command of Earl Moira, to make a diversion on the coast of Normandy, but without any favourable result.

A very brilliant action was fought on the 23d of April, 1794, by the squadron of frigates under the command of Sir John B. Warren, off the island of Guernsey. The British force consisted of the

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Flora . . . .	36 .	Commodore Sir J. B. Warren, K. B.
Arethusa . . .	38 .	Sir Edward Pellew
Melampus . . .	38 .	Thomas Wells
La Nymph . . .	36 .	George Murray
La Concorde . .	36 .	Sir Richard J. Strachan, Bart.

At day-light, in the morning, the enemy was perceived, five in number, standing out from the land; they formed a line of battle on the larboard tack. Sir John formed his on the starboard, and crossing each other on opposite tacks, the enemy began a distant and harmless fire, and then put

about. The wind at this time fortunately shifted, and enabled the British ships to weather the enemy and bring them to close action, and at the same time to cut off their retreat from the coast of France. A gallant fight was sustained for three hours, when two of them struck to the *Flora* and *Arethusa*, while the *Melampus*, *Nymph*, and *Concorde*, pursued the others. The *Melampus* was so fortunate as to capture a third ship; the others effected their escape. The names of those taken were,

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Pounders.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
<i>Pomone</i> . . . . .	44 . . . . .	24 . . . . .	400
<i>L'Engageante</i> . . . . .	36 . . . . .	18 . . . . .	300
<i>Le Babet</i> . . . . .	22 . . . . .	9 . . . . .	200

The *Pomone* was one of the finest frigates ever seen in this country: she was immediately fitted for Sir John Warren, and sailed inimitably well. The *Endymion* was built after her: both had a long and successful run. For this action Sir John Warren deservedly gained great credit, as did Sir Edward Pellew, and Sir Richard Strachan; the other captains, owing to the bad sailing of their ships, did not get into action.

On the 7th, the *Swiftsure*, of seventy-four guns, captain C. Boyles, captured, after a chase of thirty-nine hours, *L'Atalante*, of thirty-eight guns and two hundred and seventy-four men, commanded by the celebrated Monsieur Linois, who did not surrender to such superior force until he had ten men killed and thirty-two wounded.



On the 10th, Captain Trowbridge, in the *Castor* of thirty-two guns, with fourteen sail of ships and brigs under convoy, bound from Guernsey to Newfoundland, was captured with the whole of the vessels, by a French squadron under the command of Admiral Nieuilly, in the *Sans Pareille*, of eighty-four guns.

The Channel fleet, during the winter, remained very much in port. Torbay, Plymouth, or Portsmouth, were the usual rendezvous. The frigates kept the sea, under the command of Pellew, Warren, Strachan, Keats, and others, and made an incredible number of prizes.

On the 2d of May, Lord Howe sailed with the fleet, consisting of thirty-two ships of the line, and about four hundred sail of convoy, for different parts of the world. The French fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line sailed from Brest nearly at the same time, under the command of Admiral Villetre, an officer of great merit of the old school; he had been selected by Robespierre, and was, under pain of the guillotine, required to take the command and put to sea at all hazards.

The French fleet was no longer manned and officered as in the splendid times of Louis the Sixteenth. The high-spirited men who were the companions of De Grasse, Suffren, and D'Orvilliers, had all fallen beneath the axe of the guillotine, or fled from their country to avoid it: most of the seamen had been marched to the Rhine and the Moselle, to fill the ranks of the army, and their places were sup-

plied by wretched conscripts and fishermen. The captains of the ships of the line were men totally unqualified from their habits for such a station; they had been, with few exceptions, masters of merchantmen, and knew nothing of the signal-book, or the mode of conducting a ship of war. On board the Montagne was the representative of the people, Jean Bon St. Andre, a sort of spy upon the conduct of the admiral and captains, sent for the purpose of seeing that they did their duty, and reporting the transactions of the fleet to the national convention.

Most of the ships composing the French fleet were of their finest classes, possessing in a very superior degree the qualities of sailing and carrying their lower deck ports: their weight of metal was superior to ours, as fourteen to twelve, being nearly the difference between a French and an English pound. The ships of the British fleet were all smaller than those of a comparative class in the French service, and consequently of a more diminished scantling, an object of immense consequence when closely engaged.

The hostile fleets had been at sea about three weeks, and England awaited the account of a naval action as of an event that was to decide her future destiny.

Lord Howe, after seeing the convoys to the southward of Cape Finisterre, detached Rear-admiral Montague, with six ships of the line, to protect the trade still farther, while his Lordship

returned and cruised one hundred leagues to the westward of Ushant; and having intelligence that a fleet of merchantmen, richly laden, was daily expected home from America under the escort of four French ships of the line, the Rear-admiral had orders to endeavour to intercept them after having seen his own convoy in safety.

The object of the French government was to bring this supply into port, France being at that time menaced with a famine.

The fleet expected home from America consisted of the whole of the French West-India trade, which in the month of July, 1793, had put into the Chesapeake under the convoy of the *Jupiter* of eighty guns, and *L'Amérique* of seventy-four guns, reinforced by two more ships of the line. Here many of the merchant vessels, either transhipped their cargoes into American bottoms, or obtained false or simulated papers; but this flimsy covering would not have availed them: accepting the protection of a French convoy must, under such circumstances, have constituted them enemy's property, and ensured them condemnation.

This fleet was joined by a numerous collection of American vessels loaded with flour; and considering the dreadful state to which France was reduced that year from a defective harvest, the friend of humanity will rejoice that they reached the ports of that unhappy country in safety.

The British fleet was remarkably well manned, but the officers were generally deficient from want of

practice, the natural consequence of ten years' retirement; some of them had little idea of keeping a ship in her station, either in line of battle or order of sailing, during the night, and in blowing weather. Habit, however, soon conquered this difficulty; so that had the enemy been discovered at day-light in the morning, the Commander-in-chief might have formed his line of battle with perfect facility from his three lines in the order of sailing. The exercise of great guns was not sufficiently attended to during the cruise. Much time was employed in manœuvring the fleet, and putting the ships through the various evolutions that might most probably never be executed in presence of an enemy. This branch of naval science had been then recently introduced into our service by the ingenious Mr. John Clerk of Eldon, in a work he published for the first time about the year 1782: of the performance we shall reserve our opinion to a later period of this history; certain it is that our sea-officers, before its appearance, were extremely deficient in that part of the duty of their profession, to which they never seem to have attached any importance, until the theory of Mr. Clerk proved that many of our disasters at sea were attributable to a want of system; and it is a singular fact, that since the days of the *Pere La Hoste*, no work on this subject had ever been attempted; and a landsman has now the credit of having instructed our admirals, and of being the founder of a system by which we have acquired the empire of the seas. To this notion

we cannot entirely subscribe, though much honour is no doubt due to the learned author, who certainly called our attention to the correction of those errors which had, in some instances, been the cause of our failure. We are far from wishing to advocate the formal undeviating line, the preservation of which was so disastrous to Mathews and Lestock, and so fatal to Byng. The line of battle, however, was rigidly adhered to by their successors; and we believe Lord Howe to have been the first naval commander that ever applied the theory of Mr. Clerk to practice: how far it was successful we shall have occasion to shew. In the mean time we strongly recommend to our naval readers the attentive perusal of this work, although some of the deductions are erroneous, and some of its propositions are unsupported. That part of it has been copied from the *Pere La Hoste*, takes little from its value: few authors possess the merit of originality; and he that finds a treasure which has been hidden a hundred years should be considered the legal owner.

In giving the copies of logs on this occasion, we do not pledge ourselves to the continuation of the practice in relating general actions; the reasons for having done so in this instance are obvious: our readers are better enabled to form an opinion and obtain a correct idea of the nature of a sea-fight; and being the first in the war, and therefore one of peculiar interest and importance, it demands a more careful and elaborate explanation.

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks on Wed. May 28, 1794.
8	4	6			Fresh gales and cloudy. Fleet in their stations: the frigates upon the look-out a-head. At 9 saw a strange fleet S. S. E.
9	5	2			
10	5	4	Tacked ship.		Cleared ships for action. At 10 set topgallant-sails, and gave chase to windward: quarter past 10 in topgallant-sails, very squally.
11	4 — 1				
12	4		W.b.S.	S.b.W.	The strange fleet forming in line of battle to windward, S. W. from us four or five leagues. Counted thirty-one sail. Strong gales and cloudy. Fleet in their stations in chase under a press of sail. Van of the enemy S. W. centre S. S. W. rear S. by E. nine or ten miles.
Course.	Dist.	Lat. observ.	Longitude in.	Bearings, &c. at Noon.	
N. 84° E.	99	47° 34'	13° 39'	Ushant N. 81° E. 116 leagues.	

H.	M.	General Occurrences.
9	45	Discovered the strange fleet to be an enemy forming in line of battle on the larboard tack.
	46	The Russel made signal they were ships of the line, in number twenty-two. Phaeton brought-to a brig.
10	22	Observed the Majestic with three reefs in her topsails, her fore-topsail-yard bending like a bow.
10	35	The enemy's line back their main-topsails. Queen Charlotte made the signal to prepare for battle.
11	14	Some of the enemy's ships interchanging stations in the line.
11	50	Counted thirty-one sail of the enemy. Signal that the people may have time to dine.

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks on Thurs. May 29, 1794.
1	4	11	West.	S.S.W.	Fresh gales and squally—split the jib in a squall—bent a new one, and set it occasionally—a great head-sea.
2	3				
3	4	2			Tacked ship—double reefed the topsail—very squally.
4	4	4	E.S.E.	South.	Carrying a press of sail to fetch up with the enemy, which was formed close to the wind on the starboard tack.
5	7		S.E.b.E.	S.b.W.	Bellerophon firing on their rear ship, three-decker. Russel, Marlborough, and Thunderer, backed their main-topsails, and fired at the enemy's rear, at a great distance.
6	5				
7	5				
9	5				Fresh gales—enemy's lights on the weather bow.
10	5	2			Half-past 10 spoke to the Niger, who informed us that the rear ship of the enemy's line was beat out, and supposed to be taken possession of by the Audacious.
11	5				
12	5				Ditto weather.



H.	M.	General Occurrences.
1	10	Enemy filed and made sail. Observed four of the enemy's ships on the starboard tack, some distance to windward and astern of their fleet, two of them with their main-topsail-yards lowered down.
1	30	Russel made the signal the enemy had made sail.
1	40	Ditto, that part of the enemy's fleet were on the starboard tack.
1	50	The enemy began to tack in succession, and came to the wind on the starboard tack.
2	3	The Russel hoisted her colours, and fired at the enemy, which returned the fire.
3	20	Observed all the enemy's fleet on the starboard tack.
3	25	Royal Sovereign made her own signal to tack—the Thunderer clewed up her main-topsail.
4		Russel made the signal the enemy consisted of twenty-six sail of the line—Thunderer set her main-topsail.
5	35	Bellerophon made the signal had sprung a mast or yard.
10		Saw the enemy's signal-lights on the weather bow—four lights vertical at the ensign-staff, and one at the mizen peak.
10	24	Bellerophon made the signal the enemy had shortened sail.

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks on Thurs. May 29, 1794.
1	4	4	S.E.b.E.	S.b.W.	
2	4				
3	3				Enemy in sight to windward—the Audacious not in sight.
4					A strange sail of the line stretching into the enemy's fleet on the larboard tack.
5	5				
6	5				
7	6				Tacked ship, a great head sea, our fleet tacking in succession, the Cæsar a-head followed by the Queen—the Russel bore down and took her station in the line a-stern of the Queen.
8	6		West.	S.S.W.	
9	3				Up main-sail and backed the mizen-topsail to keep our station—the ships a-head shortening sail—filled and backed occasionally, as did the ships a-head.
10	3				
11	3				The enemy firing on our van ships at a great distance.
12	3				The enemy keeping up a brisk fire, and our van returning it. At noon our van in action with the enemy's van.
Course.	Dist.	Lat. observ.	Longitude in.	Bearings, &c. at Noon.	
East.	48	47° 34'	12° 29.	Ushant N. 80° E. 100 leagues.	

H.	M.	General Occurrences.
10	53	Russel backed her mizen-topsail. Bellerophon engaged with the rear ship of the enemy. Russel the same, although far a-stern.
7	2	The Thunderer hauled her courses up.
	50	The Marlborough yawed and fired, as did the Thunderer at a great distance.
7	55	Hailed the Alfred, and ordered her to take her station a-stern of the Admiral.
8	30	Observed the rear ship of the enemy on fire, and shortly after her mizen-mast fell, and she wore round on her heel before the wind.  A.M. At day-light the Audacious not in sight—observed the enemy's ships about five miles to windward.
7	48	The enemy began to wear and steer large.
7	57	The van of the enemy began firing on our heading ships.
8	15	The Cæsar and Queen returned the enemy's fire.
8	45	The leading ship of the enemy having passed the rear of their fleet, they hauled close upon a wind about three miles to windward of us, as did their ships in succession.
8	50	All our fleet abreast, and formed on the larboard tack.
	54	The enemy's van made sail and steered large.
10	20	The enemy's van began firing on our van, which was not returned—observed the Cæsar bending her main-topsail.
10	43	Our van began firing at a great distance.
10	45	Hoisted the union flag and colours—observed a line-of-battle ship join the enemy's line, which now consisted of twenty-six sail of the line.

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks on Friday, May 30, 1794.
1	3		West.	S.b.W.	Fresh gales.
2			E.S.E.	South.	Tacked ship and kept close to the wind, endeavouring to close with the enemy, and cut their line, which we effected a-head of their fifth ship; then tacked and gave chase to a three-deck ship. Shipped a great deal of water in the lower deck ports.
3					
4					Fresh gales and hazy, our fleet forming on the larboard tack, the enemy forming on the same tack to leeward. Employed knotting and splicing, and repairing damages received in action.
5					
6	2		West.		
7	2				
8	2				Half-past 7 the body of the enemy's fleet bore N. W. nine or ten miles. Fresh gales and thick weather. The enemy's fleet N. W. nine or ten miles. Bent a new main-topsail.

H.	M.	General Occurrences.
1	13	Observed the <i>Cæsar</i> on the starboard tack keeping large—did not answer the signal which was then flying.
1	30	Observed the <i>Queen</i> , <i>Orion</i> , <i>Invincible</i> , and <i>Valiant</i> , on the contrary tack: we then tacked, followed by the <i>Bellerophon</i> , keeping our wind main tack on board. Passed to leeward of the French Admiral, and stretched along the enemy's line, receiving and returning the fire as we passed, until we cut their line; then tacked and gave chase to a three-deck ship (bearing an admiral's flag), leaving two disabled ships to leeward to be brought-to by our ships a-stern. The above three-decker obtained the centre of the enemy's fleet before we could bring her to action: they had got on the starboard tack, and were stretching on to support their disabled ships, which obliged us to wear and run down to cover the <i>Queen</i> , which was much disabled. The enemy's disabled ships joined their fleet, which we could not prevent, as our ships were not near enough to support us. As soon as we arrived within random shot of the enemy, they wore round, and stood large on the contrary tack to rejoin their rear ships, firing at us as they passed. We wore also and formed on the larboard tack.

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks, Friday, May 30, 1794.
9	2				Fresh gales and hazy.
10	2				
11	2				
12	2	2	W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	S.b.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	Seven sail in sight.
1	2				
2	2				
3	1	6			
4	2				Thick foggy weather.
5	2				Got down the mizen-yard and fished it. Employed repairing sails and other damages received in <sup>a</sup> action.
6	2				
7	2				
8	2				Got a spare topsail-yard out for a spritsail-yard—twenty-seven sail in sight.
9	2		W.b.N.	S.W.b.S.	Saw part of the enemy's fleet in the N. W. on the starboard tack. Upon discovering our fleet they tacked.
10	1	7			Set the foresail and bore up towards enemy—out reefs.
11	— 2		N.W.b.W.		Lost sight of the enemy's fleet.
12	3		W.N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	At noon a thick fog.
Course.	Dist.	Lat. observ.	Longitude in.	Bearings, &c. at Noon.	
S. 13° W.	23	47° 41'	13° 1'	Ushant N. 81° E. 107 leagues.	

H.	M.	General Occurrences
7	30	N. B. Most of the time we were in action, the lower deck full of water, and the pumps constantly at work.

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks, Saturday, May 31, 1794.
1	1	6	West.	S. S. W.	Fresh gales and thick foggy weather—sail-makers employed making cots for the wounded men.
2	1	6			
3	1	4			
4	1	4			Ditto weather—two sail in sight.
5	1	6			
6	1	7			Ditto weather—spoke the Russel, the only ship in sight.
7	2		W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.	S. S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	
8	1	7			Moderate and thick foggy weather, with drizzling rain.
9	2		W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.		
10	2		West.	S. S. W.	Sail-makers still employed as above—carpenters making frames.
11	1	6			
12	1	6			Ditto weather—no vessel in sight.
1	2				
2	2	1	W. b. S.	S. b. W.	
3	2		W. S. W.	South.	
4	2	1			Ditto weather—only two ships in sight, one the Pegasus.



H.	M.	General Occurrences.
		Thick fog.
		Thick fog.

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds. .	Remarks, Saturday, May 31, 1794.
5	2	2	W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	S. b. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	
6	2	4			
7	2	4	W. b. S.	S. b. W.	
8	} 1	2	W. b. S. off W. S. W. off	W. N. W. W. b. N.	Half-past 7 laid main-topsail to the mast.
9		Up			
10		6	E. S. E.		Filled and wore. Spoke the Latorna, who informed us the body of our fleet bore E. b. S. Half-past 9 wore again. The fog cleared up a little—saw twenty-seven sail.
		6	W. b. S. $\frac{1}{2}$		
11	1	4			
12	1	4			Moderate and thick foggy weather. Brunswick alone in sight.
Course.	Dist.	Lat. observ.	Longitude in.	Bearings, &c. at Noon.	
S. 85° E.	44	47° 37'	14° 5'	Ushant N. 82° E. 121 leagues.	

H.	M.	General Occurrences.
8	12	The Brunswick made the private signal that she had discovered the position of the Admiral.
8	43	The Pegasus made the signal that she had discovered the Admiral S. b. W. and stood towards the body of the fleet.
9		The fog cleared away a little—saw the Queen and Latona on the starboard tack.

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks on Sunday, June 1, 1794.
1	2		West.	S. b. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	The Pegasus spoke us, and informed us that all the fleet were in company. Three quarters past 1 saw part of the French fleet bearing north. Made sail and bore up.
	1	4	West.		
2	2	4	W. N. W.		
3	3	4			Thirty-two of the enemy's ships in sight, bearing N. b. W.
4	3	4	N. W. b. W.		Let a reef out of the topsails. All the fleet in sight.
	1		W. N. W.		
5	4	1			Observed the enemy forming to leeward on the larboard tack.
6	4	1			Beat the retreat, the people having been at quarters great part of the day. The van ship of the enemy's fleet N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. the rear N. N. E. five or six miles.
8	3				The van ship of the enemy N. W. b. W. the rear N. E. b. N. the centre or flag ship N. W. b. N. about five miles.
	2	4	W. S. W.	South.	Committed the body of James Roger (seaman), deceased, to the deep.
10	2	4			Hauled down the jib, and kept the wind on the larboard tack.
11	2	4			
12	2				All the fleet in company.

H. M.	General Occurrences.	H. M.	Signals.	Signification.
	Bellerophon made the signal for the enemy's fleet.	1 1 1 25	Leviathan, No. 47. General, No. 73.	To come within hail. Make sail after lying by.
1 46	Russel for having sprung a topmast.	29	Ditto, 18, and compass flag, N. b. W.	Alter course to N. by W.
3 14	Russel made the signal, ready.	35	General, 18, and compass flag, N. W. b. N.	Ditto, N.W.b.W.
3 24	Observed the Thunderer's main-topsail a-back.	42	General, 19, and compass flag, N. W.	Ditto, N.W.
3 40	Hailed the Cæsar, informed Captain Molloy the Admiral intended bearing away with the lee division.	3 4 15	General, No. 84, with preparative. One gun to enforce the above.	Fleet to prepare to tack together.
	Spoke the Gibraltar, Latona, Phaeton, Venus, and Southampton.	31 45	General, No. 61, with a blue pendant. Larboard division, No. 18, with W. N. W. flag.	Ships to close to the van. Alter course to W. N.W.
7 7	Hailed the Southampton, and desired Capt. Forbes to inform the larboard division, that the Admiral means to carry the same sail, if the weather permit, all night; to let as many reefs out of the topsails as possible, without endangering the mast, the fifth sternmost more particularly.	4 25 4 28 4 9 5 6 5 7 14 6 20	General, No. 19. Do. and hauled down not answered. Van squadron, No. 40, with preparative. Centre squadron, No. 39, with preparative. General, No. 19, with N. W. b. W. flag. Rear squadron, No. 41, with preparative. Latona and Phaeton, No. 47.	Alter course to port together.  Engage the enemy. To engage the centre of the enemy. Alter course to port. To engage enemy's rear. Come within hail.
7 36	Hailed the Gibraltar.	6 27	Venus and Southampton, No. 47.	Ditto.
7 39	Hailed the Latona.	6 34	General, No. 139.	Carry a light during the night.
7 49	Hailed the Phaeton.	6 46	Ditto, No. 83.	Come to the wind on the larboard tack.
2	The Culloden under our lee quarter.	7 13	Ships a-stern, No. 68.	Make more sail.
		A M		
4	Culloden regained her station. All the fleet in company, and nearly in their stations.	3 45 3 51	Venus, No. 47. General, No. 61, with white pendant at the main.	Come within hail. Close to the van.
4 6	The Latona signal for a fleet, west.	4 26	General, No. 61, with blue pendant at the main.	

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks on Sunday, June 1, 1794.		
1	2	4					
2	3						
3	3				Half-past 3, hauled down the main-topmast-staysail.		
4	3	4			Fresh breezes and cloudy, the fleet in company. Saw the enemy's fleet to leeward.		
5	3	4			At 5 bore up together with the fleet, per signal.		
6	5	2	N.W.		Counted twenty-six line-of-battle ships, six frigates and corvettes, thirteen ships a-stern, and twelve a-head of the French Admiral.		
7	4				Hauled up. Hove-to, main-topsail to the mast; the enemy's fleet from N.W. to N.E. about four miles distant.		
8	4		N.b.E.		At twelve minutes past 8, filled and bore down on the enemy, as did the fleet per signal.		
9	5		N.W.b.W.	S.b.W.	At half-past 9, the third ship a-stern of the French Admiral began to cannonade us: we reserved our fire, and set the foresail and top-gallants, passing the second ship: received and returned the fire, and run close to the French Admiral's stern, when we began to engage; but his second a-stern made sail and closed with his Admiral, which prevented us getting alongside to leeward—immediately put our helm up and raked him fore and aft, keeping up a most tremendous fire right into him and his second a-stern, who bore up and ran away to leeward: we then sheared to port and got between him and his Admiral, engaging on both sides. In luffing up alongside the French Admiral we lost our fore-topmast; he then made sail and ranged from us, leaving us engaged between his two seconds, not being able to keep way with him. We soon dismasted one of his seconds on the larboard side.		
10	3		W.b.N.				
11	3						
12	3		N.W.				
			Course.	Dist.	Lat. observ.	Longitude in.	Bearings, &c. at Noon.
			N. 9° W.	67	47° 40'	15° 41'	Ushant, N. 86° E. 143 leagues.

H. M.	General Occurrences.	H. M.	Signals.	Signification.
4 30	Observed the enemy to leeward.	4 43	General, No. 18, with preparative and N. W. compass flag.	Alter course.
7 24	Backed the main-top-sail.			
9 24	Van ships of the enemy began to engage. Culloden backed her fore and main topsails.	4 48	Shewed a white pendant at bowsprit end. (One gun), General, No. 19, and no flag.	Ships a-head keep closer order. Alter course to port together.
3 4	She filled, but did not comply with the signal No. 67. The Montague did not steer the same course as the Admiral.	6 46	Van division, No. 61, with white pendant, main. *	Close to the van.
3 6	Cæsar under her three topsails only. The Russell, main-top-sails a-back. The Barfleur repeated 67, and made sail directly.	7 4	General, No. 84, with preparative.	To tack.
		7 16	General, No. 49.	To form in order of battle.
		7 25	(One gun), General, No. 34.	To engage.
9 47	The Cæsar's main-top-sail to the mast, although not within gunshot of the enemy.	8 1	Van division, No. 61, with white pendant at main.	Close to the van.
		8 12	General, No. 73.	Chase.
		8 27	(One gun), General, No. 36, with preparative.	Tack ship, to engage her opponent.
9 52	We began to engage.	8 38	(One gun), and hauled down the preparative.	
		9 5	Gibraltar and Culloden, No. 67.	Make sail.
		6	Brunswick, No. 67.	Ditto.
		9 8	Royal George made her own signal to make more sail.	
		9 30	General, No. 5, with red pendant over.	Engage.
		35	General, No. 67.	Make sail.
		55	Gibraltar, 67.	Ditto.
		10 13	General, No. 7.	Chase.
		11	Ditto, 102.	Close round the Admiral.
		11 5	Frigates, 47.	Come within hail.
		19	General, 55.	Form line of battle a-head.
		23	Gibraltar, 47.	Come within hail.
		39	Majestic and Brunswick, No. 55.	Form the line.
		56	General, No. 84.	To tack.

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks on Monday, June 2, 1794.	
1			W.N.W.		Fresh gales. In hot action. Several of the enemy's ships dismasted, and lying mere wrecks all round us; the remainder of their fleet forming to leeward on the starboard tack. Wore ship towards the enemy—action ceased—found our fore and main-topmasts gone, topsail yards and spritsail—fore and main yard wounded in several places, all the masts and running rigging very much shot, signal halliards all shot away. Saw the Brunswick to leeward of the French line steering to the northward. No mizen-mast standing.	
2						
3			East.			
4						
5	}				Employed knotting, splicing, and repairing damages—bent a new foresail.	
6					Lying-to, up E.S.E. off E.N.E.	Got fore and main-topgallant-masts up for jury-topmasts.
7						
8						Enemy's fleet totally out of sight.



H.	M.	General Occurrences.
12	34	Hailed the Phaeton and ordered her to bring-to.
12	50	The Phaeton was ordered to lie by the Defence. Hailed the Pegasus, and desired Captain Barlow to take the Queen in tow.
1	10	The general fire ceased, when we saw nine of the enemy's ships totally dismasted.
3	46	Gibraltar made No. 30 private.
4	22	Thunderer and Culloden ditto, ditto. Took possession of seven line-of-battle ships, the enemy making off in a very shattered and disabled state—two ships totally dismasted, in tow—also two three-deckers going off with only a foremast standing.
4	50	One of the French prizes sinking in our possession.  Ramillies made the signal for immediate assistance.
4	44	Made the Venus's signal to go to the Ramillies. Enemy's fleet E. b. N. three or four leagues.

H.	K.	F.	Courses.	Winds.	Remarks on Monday, June 2, 1794.
9	}		Lying to, up E. S. E. off E. N. E.		Light airs. Prizes in tow.
10					
11					
12					
1	}		Ditto.		Ditto weather.
2					
3					
4					
5	}		Ditto.		Frigates and boats employed shifting prisoners, securing the masts and rigging of our fleet. Found the greatest part of the fleet had received material damages in their masts.
6					
7					
8					
9	}		Ditto.		Light airs and variable—inclinable to fog. Most of our fleet in their stations. Threw overboard, to make room in the main hold for French prisoners, eighty-nine butts with eight hundred and ninety hoops.
10					
11					
12					
<b>Course.</b>	<b>Dist.</b>	<b>Lat. observ.</b>	<b>Longitude in.</b>	<b>Bearings, &amp;c. at Noon.</b>	
North.	25	48° 5'	15° 41'	Ushant N. 86° E. 140 leagues.	

H.	M.	General Occurrences.
6	16	Lost sight of part of the enemy's fleet, one of their frigates reconnoitring us.

We perceive that on the 28th of May, when the French fleet was first discovered, that it was blowing extremely hard, with a heavy sea; the chase was therefore arduous and difficult, the enemy being four or five leagues to windward. The van of the British fleet succeeded in bringing on an action that night; and the Audacious and Revolutionaire having disabled each other, parted company. The following day the action was renewed, when Lord Howe cut through the enemy's line from to leeward; and had he been supported by more of his own fleet, would have decided the victory. His Lordship imputed no blame to any one but Captain Molloy, of the Cæsar. The fog on the 30th and 31st of May separated the fleets, and kept the British Admiral in much anxious suspense. At length the sun rose clear and bright on the glorious 1st of June: it was Sunday; the weather was more moderate and the sea smoother than they had been on the preceding days. In the interval between the 28th and the 1st of June, a ship of the line had joined the French fleet, and replaced the Revolutionaire, making their number twenty-six, and leaving ours twenty-five. At half-past seven Lord Howe directed his people by a general signal to have their breakfasts. About half-past eight, A. M. his own fleet was formed in such compact and excellent order, that as he looked to the right and left, to starboard and to port, his ships were in a perfect line parallel to the enemy, with the wind S. b. W. on the larboard quarter, running north-west under

their single reefed topsails at the rate of five miles an hour. The French fleet about two miles to leeward of ours, with their ships' heads to the westward, waiting the attack with great resolution, supported no doubt in some measure by the fear of the guillotine. We wish not nor do we mean to detract from the merit of an enemy whose valour we have always respected; but this being the first instance on record of the French waiting for a general action upon comparatively equal terms, and their ships not being all commanded by naval officers, we are confirmed in our opinion; and we are moreover certain, that many heads would have fallen on the return of their fleet to Brest but for the timely fate of Robespierre: this we say on the authority of Admiral Villaret.

The signal No. 39 had been made and answered; its purport was, "that having the weather gage of the enemy, the Admiral means to pass between the ships of their line and engage them to leeward; or *being* to leeward, to run through and engage them to windward:" but it is added in a note, "the different captains and commanders, *not being able* to effect this intention, are at liberty to act as circumstances may require." This was an excuse for a fault before it was committed: the explanation was useless to a good officer, and fatal to a bad one; it disconcerted the plan so ably laid down by the Admiral, and left him with the bravest of his followers to bear the heat of the battle. Those who nobly disdained to avail themselves of this indulgence, and passed through the line, proved that with them every con-

sideration vanished before the honour and safety of their king and country.

When the hostile fleets were in the position just described, and not many minutes previous to the action, Lord Howe, turning to Bowen the master, said, "I now shut up my signal-book, and I trust I shall have no occasion to reopen it to-day." This was the language of an officer confiding in the valour of his captains; and determined, after having obtained a proper situation for commencing the action, to do his own duty, and to set an example to his followers. The words were scarcely spoken ere one of his ships on his larboard beam brought-to, in direct disobedience to the signal which enjoined him to run through the line and engage his opponent to leeward: it is true, he had a discretionary power, but only in the event of his finding it *impossible* to execute the intention of the signal, and not otherwise. This conduct was both mortifying and alarming. The firing had begun; the signal was immediately thrown out for the ship to make sail, but it was not obeyed; and this, we are sorry to say, was not the only instance of misconduct which occurred in the battle of the 1st of June. At fifty-two minutes past nine the Queen Charlotte opened her fire; some British ships went through the line and engaged to leeward, others hove-to to windward and fired into friends and foes alike, and one or two fell on board of their opponents, and continued to engage them. In going down to the enemy some of our ships had been much disabled from their fire, particularly the Queen Charlotte, the Queen, the Brunswick, and others. Lord

Howe walked on the front of the poop, attended by Sir Roger Curtis the captain of the fleet, Sir Andrew Douglas the captain of the ship, and the signal officers: the men were falling fast around them, which the veteran Admiral beheld with perfect composure and without returning a shot. At length, after much persuasion, he consented that they should fire from the main and quarter deck guns only, meaning to reserve the middle and lower deck for closer action. The officers at those batteries hearing the firing over their heads, supposed they were at liberty to begin, and gave the whole broadside, reloading however with great celerity. The Montagne was still the object of the British Admiral, the largest, perhaps the finest, ship at that time in the world. Lord Howe desired Bowen to lay him as close alongside of her as he could: Bowen, a steady, brave, and determined seaman, knew his duty and did it: he conducted the ship so close under the stern of the Montagne, that the fly of the tri-coloured ensign brushed the main and mizen shrouds of the Queen Charlotte as she poured her larboard broadside into her opponent's starboard quarter. The Montagne does not appear to have been prepared for action on that side; her ports were down, and it was some time before she returned a gun: the effect upon this unfortunate ship was the loss of three hundred\* men killed and wounded. Jean Bon St. Andre, the representative of the people, was standing near the French Admiral when the firing began; but he in-

\* So Villaret assured the Author.

stantly disappeared, and remained in the cockpit during the rest of the action. At this moment the Jacobin, second a-stern of the Montagne, either by accident or design, ran so close up under the lee of his Admiral, that there was not room for the Queen Charlotte to take the position intended by Lord Howe on the lee beam of his opponent; and in consequence of this failure the Queen Charlotte's helm was kept a-port, and she passed between the stern of the Jacobin and head of her second, raking them both at the same time: the Jacobin then made sail, and the Queen Charlotte immediately came to the wind on the larboard tack to engage the Montagne, in doing which her fore-topmast fell over the side. The French Admiral instantly taking advantage of this accident, moved off, leaving the Queen Charlotte engaged with the two ships second and third a-stern of the Montagne. At ten minutes past one the action had ended with the centre, and Villaret was forming with his disabled ships to leeward, but the firing did not entirely cease till four o'clock; when the French Admiral having collected his ships, five sail of which were dismasted, made sail to the north-east, leaving Lord Howe master of the field of battle with seven sail of prizes, one of which sunk before the prisoners could be removed: two hundred and eighty men were all that could be saved out of seven hundred, with which she began the action; the rest were killed or drowned. There was no cry of "Vive la nation," so falsely stated in the convention. The French colours were struck, and she



sunk with the English jack over the republican flag. The boats of the British fleet were very active in saving the men, who implored their mercy: this ship was named *Le Vengeur*, and was the same that had engaged the *Brunswick*.

At five o'clock the British ships with their prizes were closing round their Admiral. The damage sustained by our fleet was inconsiderable, except with a few ships. Those that were most distinguished in the action were the

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Queen Charlotte . . . . .	{ First captain, Sir Roger Curtis. Second captain, Sir A. Douglas.
Royal George . . . . .	{ Vice-admiral Sir Alexander Hood. Captain William Domett.
Royal Sovereign . . . . .	{ Vice-admiral Graves. Captain Nichols.
*Queen . . . . .	{ Rear-admiral Allan Gardner. Captain John Hutt.
Barfleur . . . . .	{ Rear-admiral Bowyer. Captain C. Collingwood.
Bellerophon . . . . .	{ Rear-admiral T. Pasley. Captain W. Hope.
Leviathan . . . . .	Capt. Right Hon. Lord Hugh Seymour.
Defence . . . . .	Captain James Gambier.
Invincible . . . . .	Captain T. Pakenham.
Marlborough . . . . .	{ Captain the Hon. George Berkley, and after his wound by Lieut. (now Rear-admiral) Monkton.
Brunswick . . . . .	Captain John Harvey.
Ramillies . . . . .	Captain H. Harvey.
Valiant . . . . .	Captain T. Pringle.
Russel . . . . .	Captain John Willet Payne.
Alfred . . . . .	Captain Bazeley.
Orion . . . . .	Captain J. T. Duckworth.
Montague . . . . .	{ Captain Montague, and on the death of that officer, who fell in action, by Lieut. (now Rear-adml.) Ross Donelly.

The *Audacious*, Captain William Parker, was not in the action of the 29th of May or the 1st of June,

\* This ship was of all others the most distinguished for her gallant conduct on the 29th of May and the 1st of June.

having parted company in his gallant attack on the Revolutionaire on the night of the 28th.

We have shewn that there were after the action fifteen sail of the line ready to renew it; and we are sorry to think that the securing of the prizes should have delayed or impeded the pursuit of "the beaten and flying enemy." The consideration of taking a few old ships into port as trophies, seems to have been an object of greater importance at that period of the war, than the final and complete destruction of the enemy. The capture of a ship of the line, whether she arrive safe or not, should always be paid for at a certain ratio, without any deduction for *repairs* of damages sustained in the action, and the captors honourably remunerated for the loss of their prizes, should it be necessary to destroy them. Had Lord Howe burnt his captured vessels, and followed up his advantage, he might have completed the greatest naval campaign recorded in history: this is no speculative opinion; the facts are clear, and the most undoubted proof shall follow the assertion.

*Extract from the Royal George's Log, 29th of May and 1st of June, 1794.*

"Wednesday, 28th of May, wind S. S. W. light winds and cloudy: bore up in order of battle. At nine o'clock A. M. the signal was made for a strange fleet being in sight.

"29th. Fresh breezes and thick weather—carrying a press of sail to come up with the enemy. At

forty-three minutes past one the signal was made to attack the enemy's rear; at fifty minutes past one the same signal repeated with two guns, and to chase; at fifty-six minutes past one, to engage the enemy as they came up with them; at four minutes past three the Bellerophon and Russel hoisted their colours and fired at the enemy, who returned it; at twenty minutes past three the Queen Charlotte made the signal to tack; at forty minutes past three got down topgallant-yards, and housed the middle and lower deck guns; at four o'clock the enemy's fleet S. E. b. S. our fleet under a press of sail; at six the Queen Charlotte S. E. b. E. three miles, the body of the enemy's fleet on the weather beam, wind S. S. W. six or seven miles: made and shortened sail occasionally. At two minutes past four A. M. the Queen Charlotte N. half a mile: at eight tacked in succession, Queen Charlotte east, one or two miles. Our van passing the enemy's rear, engaging each other: at nine the enemy's fleet wore in succession, and hauled to the wind on the larboard tack: at half past ten the enemy's van ships began to fire: they edged down and brought our van ships to action; at noon the whole fleet in action.

“ May 30th. P. M. Wind S. S. W. the action nearly general—tacked according to signal, passing along the enemy's line to leeward: at half past two, having passed the enemy's rear ship, ceased firing. We found our yards and rigging much cut, and several dangerous shot-holes between wind and water, from having engaged the weather side. The action still

continuing, our rear having cut through the enemy's line and gained the weather gage, we were employed in repairing and refitting damages, the ship making a good deal of water.—The enemy having wore, a few ships still continued engaging, as they seemed inclined to steer for the Queen Charlotte, who lay disabled. The Admiral made the signal to form the line as most convenient; and having got sufficient sail made to keep the ship under command, we bore up to form the line. The enemy instantly wore, and hauled to the wind on the larboard tack. Our fleet wore according to signal, and came to the wind on the larboard tack: the enemy's fleet N. N. E. four miles. Unbent and bent new sails; employed refitting and making ready for action. Main-mast shot through in two or three places, also bowsprit. Lost in the action Lieutenant G. Needham, Mr. Hughes, midshipman, and eleven men killed, many wounded. At eight A. M. Admiral made the signal for enemy's fleet being in sight; saw them to the northward. At nine a tender came from the Admiral to ask if our leaks were stopped; answered they were, and we ready for action: employed fishing the main-yard, and getting up an anchor-stock to fish the bowsprit.

“ Sunday, 1st of June, [i. e. Saturday noon, when the nautical day began.]—Moderate breezes with thick foggy weather: employed making wads and every preparation for renewing the action; kept constantly striking the bell; one or two ships seen now and then: all the fleet counted at intervals of

fog. Discovered the enemy N.W. as fog cleared, wind south. Admiral made signal to alter course to starboard in succession: bore up accordingly, keeping line of bearing. At half past twelve Admiral made the signal to haul to wind on the starboard tack; at seven on the larboard tack; the French fleet N.N.W. three or four miles.

“ A. M. At four enemy's fleet N. b. W. Queen Charlotte made the signal to steer N. W.; at six enemy's fleet from N. W. to N. E., wind S. b. E.: at seven hauled to the wind on the larboard tack. Enemy's fleet in order of battle to leeward three miles distant: at forty-three minutes past seven Admiral made signal to engage by passing the enemy's line: at twenty-five minutes past eight Admiral made signal for each ship to bear down to take her station alongside of her opponent: at twenty-five minutes past nine van in action; shortly after Admiral made signal for close action: at thirty-eight minutes past nine opened our fire running down, which was returned by the enemy: ran through the enemy's line after changing stations with the Montague: brought the enemy to close action. At noon in close action, wind S. b. E.

“ P. M. In close action, latitude  $47^{\circ} 56'$ : at half past one ceased firing. Passed several of the enemy's ships which had struck: twelve or thirteen of the enemy formed line to leeward. Our wheel rendered useless, and tiller-ropes shot away in early part of the action. Admiral made signal to form line as most convenient. Masts, yards, and rigging,

much cut. Enemy towing away two or three disabled ships: we took possession of seven dismasted ships of the enemy: employed setting ship to rights. At daylight twenty-nine sail in sight, fleet and prizes in company. Lost in action first-lieutenant, master, two midshipmen, and about eighty men killed and wounded.”

*Extract from the Log of the Orion, 29th of May.*

“ At twenty minutes past eight the signal was made for the Cæsar to make more sail, and in five minutes more the signal was again repeated. The Cæsar was a new ship of eighty-four guns, twenty-four-pounders on her main-deck, thirty-two-pounders on the lower deck, and seven hundred men, the only one\* of her class in the navy: she had been given to Captain Molloy under circumstances of peculiar favour.

“ At eleven o'clock the signal to tack in succession; at twenty-five minutes past twelve the signal to tack in succession again; and at five minutes past one the Cæsar made the signal of inability to tack: at twenty-five minutes past one the signal was made to pass between the enemy's line to obtain the *weather* gage, † and at twenty-two minutes past two to tack in succession. Instead of obeying this signal, the Cæsar *wore* and passed under the *lee* of the *van* of our fleet which was between her and the enemy:

\* The Gibraltar was equally large, but carried only twenty-four-pounders on the lower-deck.

† Vide Clerk, p. 167, Edin. edit. 1804.

this was the moment when the conduct of Captain Molloy drew on him the severest animadversions.

“ The Queen, Admiral Gardner’s ship, the second in the van, and now become the leader, *tacked*, and was followed by the Russel, who wore; the Valiant wore also, and passed under the lee of the Orion, the seventh ship from the van; the Royal George tacked: the Invincible and the Orion wore, and followed the Queen: the Russel, the Royal George, Invincible, and Orion, passed part of the centre and the whole of the enemy’s rear, excepting the last ship, which we (Orion) passed to windward of; observed the Queen Charlotte pass through the enemy’s line to windward of us. At thirty-five minutes past two the Queen, Russel, Royal George, and Invincible, were to leeward of us: the Queen and Royal George made the signal to lie by and repair damages: at fifty minutes past two the Royal Sovereign’s signal was given to tack in succession, and at fifty-five minutes past two for the fleet to chase: the Orion being in too disabled a state to obey the signal, and observing a French line-of-battle ship in an ungovernable state to leeward, bore up and gave her two broadsides, placing herself under the French ship’s lee-quarter, with the maintopsail a-back: from this position she was obliged to retire, by the Barfleur, Rear-admiral Bowyer, coming up under a press of sail. The Orion being on the larboard tack was forced to bear up, and the Barfleur took her place alongside the Frenchman. The Orion was unable to regain this position.” Thus

ended the affair of the 29th of May, which by the ministers of the day was called a victory,\* although it had no decided result.

*Narrative of the Brunswick's action, by an officer on board of her.*

“ 1st of June.—The Brunswick was in her station close to the Charlotte's stern all night, when the signal was made for each ship to bear up and engage her opponent; the Brunswick's helm was directed to be put up at the same time with the Charlotte's, and both ships ran down for the centre of the French line together. In this position the Brunswick intercepted the fire of the enemy's centre and rear directed at the Charlotte, and suffered very considerably in sustaining this post of honour. The French ships a-stern of the Montagne were, 1st. the Jacobin, seventy-four; 2d. the Pelletier, eighty; 3d. the Patriote, seventy-four; 4th. the Vengeur, of seventy-four; Lord Howe cutting the line close under the Montagne's stern, and raking the Jacobin a-head with his starboard guns. It was Captain Harvey's intention to have run between the Jacobin and the next ship, and to engage his opponent following the Admiral; but finding the enemy in very close order, he bore up for an opening which he perceived between the Patriote, the third ship from the Montagne, which the Vengeur observing, gallantly shot up to close the interval, Captain Harvey then kept his helm a-port, which brought

\* See Lord Spencer's letter with medals, in Schomberg, vol. 2, p. 269.



the ships alongside of each other; the Brunswick's starboard anchor hooking the Vengeur's fore-channels and fore-rigging, held her fast, when the master asked whether they should cut clear from the Vengeur. Captain Harvey replied, "No, we have got her, and we will keep her."\* In this situation both ships payed off, and went away to leeward of the French line together, hotly engaged. It was about one hour and forty minutes after hooking the Vengeur, and that we had run a mile to leeward of the French line, that one of the enemy's ships perceiving the situation of our antagonist, bore away to her assistance, and approached us on our larboard quarter. We instantly turned over from the five aftermost guns on the starboard side of the lower-deck to those on the larboard side. She was within musket-shot, and had her gangways and rigging manned with her boarders ready to throw upon our decks: it was a time for great exertion and steadiness: the guns were treble shotted, still engaging the Vengeur. After about five or six rounds, the masts of our new antagonist went by the board, and many of her people called to us for assistance, which it was not in our power to afford. About half an hour after this, a ship under British colours was seen standing for us, which we soon perceived to be the Ramillies: word was instantly passed that "the brave Captain Henry Harvey was come to the support of his gallant brother:" the loudest cheers resounded fore and aft, and the sound must have been appalling to our enemies, the

\* This should be the family motto.

seamen lying out of the ports to see her as she ranged up on our larboard quarter. The Ramillies waved to us to cut the Vengeur adrift: at this period the two ships swinging off, tore the anchors of the Brunswick from her bows, and caused their separation forward: as the Vengeur dropped, we split her rudder, and stove her stern-post into shivers; we saw the water pouring into her counter by tons: the Ramillies was yet waiting for her to settle more from us before she gave her broadside. Looking out of the stern ports, we could perceive her men training their guns clear of our stern, and pointing them for the Frenchman's quarter; her fire was tremendous; every shot struck—and as she was within forty yards' distance, the effect must have been terrible: I think this was repeated once or twice; but being very desirous to add what we could before the Vengeur dropped quite from alongside, we were too busy to remark more. Soon after the Ramillies suddenly filled and made sail from us. It has since appeared that another fresh ship of the French line (the *Citoyenne*) was bearing down for us, which Captain Henry Harvey observing, instantly hauled up to engage, being satisfied of the sinking condition of the Vengeur, whose masts fell soon after. Each of our lower-deck guns had three thirty-two-pound shot in them; sometimes we drove home our coils and depressed the mettle beneath her water-line, watching the roll to fire into her bottom, then again withdrawing the coils to elevate the muzzles and rip up her decks; this alternate mode of firing lasted nearly

the three hours that we were lashed alongside of her, and the silence of their fire for the last hour shews that her people were employed at their pumps; but all their efforts could not preserve the ship from sinking, *they called to us when they struck*, and displayed English colours, but we could not lend them assistance, nor after the villanous shot they fired did they deserve any quarter; their langrage was old nails, and pieces of iron.

“ The Brunswick was on fire three times, and the Vengeur twice, from our wads, though not intentionally, as it might have been equally fatal to both ships. Captain Harvey was first wounded early in the action by a musket-shot through his right hand which tore away three of his fingers. The conduct of the people of the main-deck not pleasing him he went below to speak to them, when he returned to the quarter-deck a splinter knocked him down on the larboard side (this wound was supposed to have been the cause of his death); he was however soon on his legs again, and grasping his sword ordered the first-lieutenant to collect fifty men from the fore-castle to board the Vengeur and haul down her colours. Lieutenant Cracraft went forward, but finding the men mostly dead in that part of the ship, returned and told the Captain, who brandishing his sabre said, ‘ Never mind, the lower-deck is digging their graves:’ very soon after a double-headed shot split, and one of the crowns struck his right arm; he then told the master, Mr. Stewart, he found himself very faint and his head affected, and

desired the first-lieutenant might be called; when that officer came to him, he ordered him to fight and preserve the king's ship, and that the Brunswick's colours were *never* to be struck; assistance was offered to take him below, but he said he would have no man leave his quarters, 'he had two legs yet left to go to the doctor.' Soon after, when below, he was heard to say he was sorry he could do no more for his king, 'his glorious king,' and hoped his officers would defend the ship to the last, or meet their fate like men prepared to die in her defence.—At sunset he suffered amputation of his arm with the most intrepid resolution.

“ The two ships while they were engaged kept before the wind (probably it was not in the power of either to come to the wind); this, in the course of the action, led them very far to leeward of the contending fleets. About one P. M. the firing of the Brunswick had ceased, and she had dropped clear of the Vengeur, but was completely separated from the British fleet. In this situation Mr. Cracraft, the first-lieutenant (the Captain being disabled), called a council of the officers to decide what was best to be done. All were unanimous in wishing to rejoin the Admiral, but the enemy was between them and our fleet, and the mizen-mast of the Brunswick being gone, she was too much disabled to admit of coming to the wind without the certainty of losing her other masts: there appeared to be twelve or thirteen sail of the line of the enemy's dismasted and struck, and to windward of them fifteen or sixteen sail of the

British line in good condition. The Queen, Rear-admiral Gardner, at this time between the two fleets, had been exposed to their broadsides as they passed her, she on the larboard, they on the starboard tack, when the officers of the Brunswick conceiving they should be next attacked, sent to inform Captain Harvey of it. His answer was, that the Brunswick must stand her fate, and that he expected the officers were prepared to defend her to the last extremity ; but it appearing that the French fleet hauled away to the eastward, and took no farther notice of the Brunswick, the officers were of opinion that they should make the best of their way into port : they therefore kept before the wind, steering to the northward. Besides her lower masts and bowsprit being shot through in many places, three of her anchors were torn from her bows, the best bower was towing under her bottom, forty-three of her seamen lay dead, one hundred and twenty-one were wounded, many of them very severely, by the cannonades and musketry from the poop, forecastle, and tops, of the enemy. Captain Saunders with a company of the twenty-ninth regiment doing duty of marines on board, himself and twelve of his men were killed, and Ensign Vernon with twenty-one more wounded." Captain Harvey died soon after his arrival at Portsmouth. A very bad monument in St. Paul's cathedral to the memory of himself, and Captains Montague and Hutt, commemorate their exploits and the gratitude of their country.

The engagement between the Brunswick and the

Vengeur stands unrivalled for valour on both sides. The Brunswick being a smaller ship was overlooked, and consequently much exposed to the grape and musketry of the enemy. On the other hand it has been shewn by an officer of the Brunswick, that she was assisted by the Ramillies: without this assistance, however, it is very evident that while the Brunswick was beaten on her poop, quarter-deck, and forecastle, the lower-deck was victorious, and had completed the destruction of the enemy.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Wednesday, June 11, 1794.

*Admiralty Office, June 10.*

Sir Roger Curtis, first captain to the Admiral Earl Howe, arrived with a despatch this evening from his Lordship to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is a copy.

*Queen Charlotte at sea, June 2, 1794.  
Ushant E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. 140 leagues.*

SIR,

Thinking it may not be necessary to make a more particular report of my proceedings with the fleet, for the present information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I confine my communications chiefly in this despatch to the occurrences when in presence of the enemy yesterday.

Finding on my return off Brest on the 19th past, that the French fleet had a few days before put to sea, and receiving on the same evening advices from Rear-admiral Montague, I deemed it necessary to endeavour to form a junction with him as early as possible, and proceeded immediately for the station on which he meant to wait for the return of the Venus.

But having very credible intelligence on the 21st of the same month, whereby I had reason to believe the French fleet was then but a few leagues farther to the westward, the course before steered was altered accordingly.

On the morning of the 28th the enemy was discovered far to windward, and partial actions were engaged with them that evening and the next day.

The weather-gage having been obtained in the progress of the last-mentioned day, and the fleet being in a situation for bringing the enemy to close action, on the 1st instant the ships bore up together for that purpose between seven and eight o'clock in the morning.

The French, their force consisting of twenty-six sail of the line opposed to his Majesty's fleet of twenty-five (the Audacious having parted company with the sternmost ship of the enemy's line captured in the night of the 28th), waited the attack with their customary resolution.

In less than an hour after the close action commenced in the centre, the French Admiral, engaged by the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, and was followed by most of the ships in the van in condition to carry sail after him, leaving with us about ten or twelve of his crippled or totally dismasted ships, exclusive of one sunk in the engagement. The Queen Charlotte had then lost her fore-topmast, and the main-topmast fell over the side very soon after.

The greater number of the other ships of the British fleet were at this time so much disabled, or widely separated, and under such circumstances with respect to those ships of the enemy in a state for action, and with which the firing was still continued, that two or three even of their dismantled ships attempting to get away under a sprit-sail singly, or smaller sail raised on the stump of the fore-mast, could not be detained.

Seven remained in our possession, one of which however sunk before the adequate assistance could be given to her crew; but many, however, were saved.

The Brunswick having lost her mizen-mast in the action, and drifted to leeward of the French retreating ships, was obliged to put away large to the northward from them. Not seeing her chased by the enemy in that predicament, I flatter myself she may arrive in safety at Plymouth. All the other twenty-four of his Majesty's ships re-assembled later in the day, and I am preparing to return with them as soon as the captured ships of the enemy are secured for Spithead.

The material injury to his Majesty's ships I understand is confined principally to their masts and yards, which I conclude will be speedily replaced.

I have not been yet able to collect regular accounts of the killed and wounded in the different ships. Captain Montague is the only officer who fell of his rank in the action. The numbers of both descriptions, I hope, will prove small, the nature of the service considered; but I have the concern of being to add on the same subject, that Admiral Graves has received a wound in the arm, and that Rear-admiral Boyer and Pasley, and Captain Hutt of the Queen, have each had a leg taken off; they are, however, I have the satisfaction to hear, in a

favourable state under those misfortunes. In the captured ships the number of killed and wounded appears to be very considerable.

Though I shall have, on the subject of these different actions with the enemy, distinguished examples hereafter to report, I presume the determined bravery of the several ranks of officers and the ships' companies under my authority, will have been already sufficiently denoted by the effect of their spirited exertions; and I trust I shall be excused for postponing the more detailed narrative of the other transactions of the fleet thereon for being communicated at a future opportunity, more especially as Sir Roger Curtis, who is charged with this despatch, will be able to give the farther information the lords commissioners of the admiralty may at this time require. It is incumbent on me, nevertheless, now to add, that I am greatly indebted to him for his counsels as well as conduct in every branch of my official duties; and I have similar assistance, in the late occurrences, to acknowledge of my second captain, Sir Andrew Douglas.

I am, with great consideration, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

HOWE.

*List of French ships captured, &c. on the 1st of June, 1794, with the killed and wounded.*

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>
Le Juste . . . .	80 . . . .	100 . . . .	145
Le Sans Pareille . . . .	80 . . . .	260 . . . .	120
L'Achille . . . .	74 . . . .	36 . . . .	30
L'Amerique . . . .	74 . . . .	134 . . . .	110
Le Northumberland . . . .	74 . . . .	60 . . . .	160
L'Impétueux . . . .	74 . . . .	100 . . . .	75
		690	580
Total . . . .			

Le Vengeur (sunk) . 74 . . . . 320 of her crew perished.

Upwards of three hundred men, by the French accounts, were killed or dangerously wounded on board *Le Montagne*.

*British fleet in order of battle, June 1, 1794.*

Van Squadron,

Under the Commander in the second post.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>
Cæsar	80	700	Capt. A. J. P. Molloy	18	37
			T. Pasley, Esq. rear-admiral of the white Captain William Hope	4	27
Bellerophon	74	615			



<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>
Leviathan . .	74	650	Capt. Ld. Hugh Seymour	10	33
Russel . . .	74	600	Capt. Jno. Willet Payne	1	26
Marlborough .	74	600	Capt. Hon. G. Berkeley	29	90
Royal Sovereign	110	875	{ T. Graves, Esq. admiral of the blue . . . . } Capt. N. Nicholls . . }	14	44
Defence . . .	74	600	Capt. James Gambier . .	18	39
Impregnable .	98	765	{ Benjamin Caldwell, Esq. rear-adm. of the red . } Capt. G. B. Westcott . }	7	24
Tremendous .	74	600	Capt. James Pigot . . .	3	8
Invincible . .	74	600	Capt. Hon. T. Pakenham	14	31

## Centre Squadron,

Under the Commander-in-chief.

Culloden . . .	74	600	Capt. Isaac Schomberg . .	2	5
Barfleur . . .	98	765	{ G. Bowyer, Esq. rear- admiral of the red . } Capt. C. Collingwood . }	9	25
Gibraltar . . .	80	700	Capt. Thos. Mackenzie . .	2	12
Queen Charlotte	110	900	{ Earl Howe, Union 1st capt. Sir R. Curtis, Kt. } 2d capt. Sir A.S. Douglas . }	14	29
Brunswick . .	74	600	Capt. John Harvey . . .	44	115
Valiant . . .	74	620	Capt. T. Pringle . . . .	2	9
Orion . . . .	74	600	Capt. J. T. Duckworth . .	5	24
Queen . . . .	98	765	{ A. Gardner, Esq. rear- admiral of the white . } Capt. John Hutt . . . }	36	67

## Rear Squadron,

Under the Commander in the third post.

Ramillies . . .	74	600	Capt. Henry Harvey . . .	2	7
Alfred . . . .	74	600	Capt. John Bazely . . . .	0	8
Royal George .	110	875	{ Sir Alexander Hood, K.B. admiral of the blue . } Capt. William Domett . }	20	72
Montague . . .	74	600	Capt. James Montague . .	4	13
Majestic . . .	74	600	Capt. Sir Charles Cotton .	3	5
Glory . . . .	98	750	Capt. John Elphinstone . .	13	39
Thunderer . .	74	600	Capt. Albemarle Bertie . .	0	0
Total . . . .	25	1,938	16,810	277	789

The Audacious, Captain William Parker, parted company in the night of May 28th. The return of killed and wounded was four killed, and eighteen wounded. Consequently the whole loss sustained was two hundred and eighty-one killed, and eight hundred and seven wounded.—In all one thousand and eighty-eight.

*Frigates attached to each squadron.*

Van.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Niger, to repeat signals . . .	32 . .	Capt. Hon. A. K. Legge

Centre.

Latona . . . . .	38 . .	Capt. E. Thornborough
Pegasus, to repeat signals . . .	28 . .	Capt. Robert Barlow
Phaeton . . . . .	38 . .	Capt. U. Bentinck

Rear.

Aquilon, to repeat signals . . .	32 . .	Capt. Hon. R. Stopford
Southampton . . . . .	32 . .	Capt. Hon. R. Forbes
Venus . . . . .	32 . .	Capt. W. Brown
Incendiary . . . . .	(F.S.) . .	Capt. John Cooke
Comet . . . . .	(F.S.) . .	Capt. W. Bradley
Charon . . . . .	(H.S.) . .	Capt. G. Countess
Rattler . . . . .	(cutter) . .	Lieut. Winne
Ranger . . . . .	(cutter) . .	Lieut. J. Cotgrave
Kingfisher . . . . .	(brig) . .	T. le M. Gosselin.

*French fleet in order of battle, June 1, 1794.*

Van Squadron,

Under the Commander in the second post.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Division.</i>
L'Amerique . . . . .	74	700	Second
Le Revolutionnaire . . . . .	120	1000	
Le Gasparin . . . . .	74	700	
L'Indomptable . . . . .	74	700	First
Le Terrible . . . . .	120	1000	
L'Impétueux . . . . .	74	700	
Le Mutinus Scævola . . . . .	74	700	M. Bouvet, commander in the second post
L'Éole . . . . .	74	700	
Le Tourville . . . . .	74	700	

## Centre Squadron,

Under the Commander-in-chief.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Division.</i>
Le Pelletier . . . . .	74	700	} Second
Le Tyrannicide . . . . .	74	700	
Le Juste . . . . .	80	800	} Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, commander-in-chief
Le Montagne . . . . .	120	1,100	
Le Jacobin . . . . .	80	800	
L'Achille . . . . .	74	700	
Le Vengeur . . . . .	74	700	} Third
Le Northumberland . . . . .	74	700	

## Rear Squadron,

Under the Commander in the third post.

L'Entreprenante . . . . .	74	700	} Second
Le Neptune . . . . .	74	700	
Le Jemappe . . . . .	74	700	
Le Mont Blanc . . . . .	74	700	} First
Le Convention . . . . .	74	700	
Le Republicain . . . . .	120	1000	} M. Nieuilly, commander in the third post
Le Scipion . . . . .	74	700	
Le Montagnard . . . . .	74	700	} Third

*Frigates, &c. attached to each squadron.*

## Van.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Brutus, Rasee . . . . .	50	Le Courier (cutter) . . . . .	14
La Thames . . . . .	32	L'Atalante . . . . .	38
La Diligent (brig) . . . . .	14	La Gentile . . . . .	40
La Jean Bart . . . . .	20		

## Centre.

L'Insurgente . . . . .	36	La Seine . . . . .	40
La Precieuse . . . . .	36	La Proserpine . . . . .	36
La Societe Populaire . . . . .	18	La Mutine . . . . .	20

## Rear.

La Bellone . . . . .	36	La Furet . . . . .	20
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*The following ships joined between the 28th of May and the 1st of June.*

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Le Sans Pareille . . . . .	80 . . . . .	800
Le Trajan . . . . .	74 . . . . .	700
La Patriote . . . . .	74 . . . . .	700
Le Temeraire . . . . .	74 . . . . .	700

Le Revolutionaire parted company on the night of the 28th of May, and it is said was towed into port by L'Audacieux\* of seventy-four guns.

We now return to the squadron which had been detached from the grand fleet under the command of Rear-admiral George Montague, with orders to see the East and West India convoys to a certain distance, and then go in pursuit of the French squadron and a fleet of merchantmen expected home from America. The Rear-admiral cruised in the Bay of Biscay, made many captures, retook the Newfoundland convoy, and also a great number of Dutch vessels from the Mediterranean; but in the midst of this road to fortune they came so close upon the track of the French fleet, that the Admiral expected every moment to meet with them; and deeming it imprudent to remain longer at sea he returned into Plymouth-sound, where he arrived on the 30th of May: the Audacious came in soon after, and gave an account of the action between the two fleets, in consequence of which every ship that could be got ready was instantly ordered out under the com-

\* If this be true, it is a curious coincidence of name with the ship she engaged.

mand of the Rear-admiral to cruise off Brest, and to intercept the shattered remains of the French fleet. Nine sail of the line and some frigates were at sea in a few hours, and reached Ushant the next day. The following is a list of the ships, viz.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Hector (flag) . . . . .	74	{ Admiral Montague Captain Halstead
Theseus . . . . .	74	R. Calder
*Bellona . . . . .	74	George Wilson
Colossus . . . . .	74	C. M. Pole
Alexander . . . . .	74	Capt. R. Bligh
Ganges . . . . .	74	William Truscott
Minotaur . . . . .	74	Thomas Lewis
Ruby . . . . .	64	Sir R. Bickerton
Arrogant . . . . .	74	William Lucas

*Frigates.*

Pallas . . . . .	32	Hon. H. Curzon
Concord . . . . .	36	Sir R. J. Strachan

On the 8th of June the Rear-admiral chased eight sail of the line into the harbour of Brest, one of them a three-decked ship. Our squadron at sunset finding the enemy had gained their port, stood off for the night with light airs and an easy sail. At daylight on the 9th they discovered the fleet of Admiral Villaret standing in for the land, from which the British fleet was about fourteen leagues distant, and the enemy outside, or to the westward of ours about three leagues farther off.

The Rear-admiral now felt himself very unpleasantly situated: the force which he commanded he considered not sufficient to justify his attacking that

\* Author a midshipman on board of her.

of the enemy; neither did he think himself warranted in quitting his station. As the two fleets approached each other, both cleared for action—the water was smooth—the day most beautiful. The French Admiral had his fleet in compact order, his five disabled ships were taken in tow by the more effective ones, and all in the British squadron anxiously expected the signal to engage: our ships could have weathered them had they kept their wind (then about north), but at nine o'clock Admiral Montague bore up and stood to the southward.

The French Admiral kept on his course for some time, but detached two ships from his rear in chase of ours, and when his van came into the wake of our squadron, his whole fleet bore up in chase. By this undecided manœuvre he shewed no disposition to engage: his effective ships out-sailed ours, and his advance came very nearly within gun-shot on our starboard quarter.

The Ganges and Alexander sailed so ill on that day that with all the canvas they could crowd they were unable to keep up with the other ships; the Bellona particularly had her topsails on the cap, her courses hauled up, and her yards braced by, it being the determination of the Admiral not to forsake them. Villaret, however, about twelve o'clock, afraid of being decoyed to leeward of his port with his crippled ships, hauled his wind, and the British squadron a short time after followed his example.

We do not mean to say that the Rear-admiral was bound with this disparity of force to bring on a

general action, although many officers under similar circumstances might have so acted. Had the fleet under Lord Howe been in sight, even at any distance, there could have been no doubt of the line of conduct that would have been pursued: unfortunately the time lost in securing the prizes was about thirty-four hours; and the British fleet, on the morning of the 9th of June, was just fifteen leagues from that of France, which had a strong British squadron between it and its port. We trust our naval readers will be convinced from this statement, that a more glorious opportunity was never so unfortunately lost; and that we have redeemed the pledge we gave of proving that Lord Howe might have completed the greatest naval campaign recorded in history.

Rear-admiral Montague after this event quitted his station and returned to Plymouth; and on the day, or nearly about the time, he took this unfortunate step, the French squadron of four sail of the line, with their convoy of one hundred and seventy sail, made the land, and got safe into the ports of the republic.

Dazzled by the victory of the 1st of June, the eyes of ministers and the people either could not or would not see these mistakes. Lord Chatham and the board of admiralty expressed some displeasure at the conduct of the Rear-admiral, and he was ordered or permitted to strike his flag: Earl St. Vincent in 1803 acknowledged that he had been hardly dealt with, and gave him the command at Portsmouth. It is

certain that on the 9th of June the Rear-admiral was not supported as he should have been by an addition to his squadron.

It has been stated\* that the *Montblanc*, the *Montagnard*, and the *Audacieux*, of seventy-four guns each, foundered on their return to Brest after the action: this is an error; the *Vengeur* was the only ship in the French fleet which foundered on that occasion. The number of ships we fell in with on the 9th was nineteen sail, which exactly answers to the number (twenty-seven) with which they began the action, viz. six taken, one sunk, and the *Revolutionnaire*, which arrived in port after the action of the 28th. The *Jacobin*, it has been said, was sunk, but it was not the fact—nor was the *Revolutionnaire* taken by the *Audacious*.<sup>1</sup> Villaret assured the author, some time after this event, that he was most anxious to avoid an action with Admiral Montague: and he attributed his defeat to the Captain of the *Jacobin* allowing his line to be broken; he was the second a-stern to Villaret, but the line was broken in other places, nor could the *Jacobin* have prevented it. Before we close the subject of the 1st of June it will be necessary to make a few remarks.

Had every commanding officer behaved like Lord Howe on that day, the whole French fleet would have been captured; but his Lordship, after taking his fleet into action, did the duty of a private captain only; as an admiral and commander-in-chief,

\* *Naval Chronicle*, 1799, p. 21.



we see no more of him till he arrives at Spithead. His orders were but partially executed; and those who did and those who did not obey, with the exception of being mentioned in the public letter and receiving a medal from his Majesty, met with nearly the same treatment.

We have ever held an opinion, in which history and experience have confirmed us, that the Commander-in-chief should not be the first in action, but should remain at a proper distance to give directions by signal; to see his intentions carried into effect, and to be ready with a select corps de réserve to carry aid to any part of his line which might require it. An order to this effect must however originate with his superiors; for no admiral would subject his honour and courage to suspicion, even with the certainty of a victory; though it is to be supposed that the government who employed him must have had ample proof of both before he was intrusted with such a distinguished command. The loss of the Queen Charlotte's topmasts, and the consequent inability to make a signal with the volumes of smoke that enveloped her during the early and most interesting part of the day, prevented the Admiral giving such farther directions to his ships as the continual change of position rendered indispensable. His mode of communication was extremely defective, his code containing not more than three hundred day-signals, and those very confined in their meaning and obscure in their explanation: the other

code called tabular, addressed by private ships to the Admiral, amounted to sixty-eight, which were still more objectionable, and liable to misinterpretation.

The cold reserve and distant demeanour of Lord Howe's character and disposition, deprived his captains of that advantage which those officers possessed who served under Nelson, who kept up a constant intercourse with them whenever the weather permitted, laying before them all the plans which it might be necessary to carry into execution according to the variety of circumstances incidental to naval warfare. These habits had rendered the ideas of that great man so familiar to his captains, that they adopted them as their own, cheerfully following him to every part of the world ; and above all, were never far from him in action.

We have no desire to praise Nelson at the expense of Howe, who was the best officer of his rank we had seen since the days of Hawke, under whom he had served and distinguished himself. St. Vincent and Nelson, by the union of science with practical skill, brought the navy to the rank it now holds. Great allowances are to be made for Howe ; his advanced period of life, and early inveterate habits of formal tactic, had rendered him cautious ; his recalling the advance on the 28th proceeded from a feeling of this nature. Rodney, in the latter part of his life, was more fortunate, but never equal to him in coolness and judgment. Had Howe been twenty years younger on the 1st of June, he would pro-

bably have given a very different termination to that day, and not left the enemy to boast of having gained all the fruits, while we had only the laurels, of the campaign. Worn out with five successive days of fatigue, two of which were passed in severe fighting, it is not surprising that at the age of seventy he should have felt incapable of farther exertion; we are therefore bound to applaud his achievements rather than condemn his omissions, of which we have reason to think he was made sensible when too late, and probably regretted for the remainder of his life, that he had permitted a beaten and a flying enemy, with an inferior number of ships, to rescue five sail of the line, which, if they had not surrendered, required no more than a summons from a frigate. The gallant Harvey in the Brunswick was abandoned to his fate; and reached a British port by the exertions of his surviving officers and crew. After these great oversights the rendezvous of the British fleet should have been off Brest, where it was obvious to the youngest officer that an important blow was to be struck. The great convoy had not arrived, and even that was insignificant to us compared with the extinction of their Channel fleet, the capture or destruction of which would have released us for a period from the labour and expense of watching Brest; for one ship of the line we might have manned three frigates, and thus protected our own trade, and in an equal degree annoyed that of the enemy.

Our navy however, improving by every conflict,

under the guidance of its illustrious leaders, soon drove our enemies into their ports, and left Great Britain mistress of the seas.

Lord Howe arrived at Spithead with his fleet and prizes on the 13th of June : he was received with all that enthusiasm and joy which his victory deserved. The royal family came down to Portsmouth and went on board the Queen Charlotte, where his Majesty on the quarter-deck presented his Lordship with a diamond-hilted sword, valued at three thousand guineas ; and suitable marks of royal approbation were bestowed on the admirals and captains : to the former he ordered gold medals, commemorative of their services, to be worn round their necks with a gold chain; to the latter, the same medals to be worn suspended from the button-hole of the coat by a blue and white riband. Admiral Graves was created an Irish peer with the title of Lord Graves ; Sir Alexander Hood, Lord Viscount Bridport, Vice-admiral Gardner, and Rear-admirals Pasley, Curtis, and Bowyer, were created baronets : all the first-lieutenants of the ships of the line were promoted to the rank of commanders : many lieutenants were also promoted to that rank out of the Queen Charlotte, and from the other flag-ships in proportion ; a precedent ever since established in the service. Rear-admirals Pasley and Bowyer having each lost a leg, received a pension of 1000*l.* a year in addition to their honours.

On the 30th of November 1796, more than two years after the action, every officer mentioned in

Lord Howe's letter received a gold medal from his Majesty: on which occasion Schomberg, who commanded the Culloden and was omitted, makes the following remark:—See his work, vol. 2, p. 269.

“ The meritorious conduct of these officers, was no doubt highly deserving of so distinguished a mark of royal favour; how far such selections may be consistent with the well-being of so important a service as that of the British navy, in which every officer is supposed on like occasions to act to the best of his abilities, needs no comment. If in the presence of an enemy, or in action, a commander appears deficient either in courage or conduct, it is more candid and decided in a commander-in-chief to have such conduct investigated before a public tribunal, rather than leave a doubt on the minds of his country by such oblique insinuations, that some have fallen short in their duty.”

Schomberg was an excellent man, and personally known to the author of this work; his bravery was never doubted, but he was the slave, and we might say the victim, of punctilio: while the fleet was running down to the enemy on the 1st of June, he with the azimuth compass on the poop kept his relative bearings to his seconds on either beam, and when the firing began, lost sight of his antagonist, and never found her again. Often attempting to get alongside of an opponent, but by some accident or other being constantly baffled, he at length took his station near his commander-in-chief, and there remained for the rest of the action.

A liberal subscription was made by the merchants at Lloyd's for the relief of the wounded, as well as the widows and orphans of those who fell in the action: the cities of London and Edinburgh, and the corporation of the Trinity-house also, contributed very largely.

His Majesty was graciously pleased to direct the following proportion of prize-money to be immediately paid, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
To each of the warrant officers . . . . .	25	0	0
To each of the petty officers . . . . .	10	0	0
To each seaman, marine, or soldier . . . . .	2	2	0

And as a farther mark of encouragement and favour the legislature repealed the duty of five per cent. on all prize-ships taken, as far at least as related to ships of war and privateers.

In offering an account of these actions, we are far from the arrogance of supposing it can be exclusively correct; we have followed the best guides and living witnesses. The naval reader knows too well the confusion of a sea-fight to think that any officer can make himself master of the subject; on this occasion even Lord Howe and Sir Roger Curtis were not perfectly informed: Bazely and Collingwood were not mentioned in the public letter, yet they did their duty; the latter not only in that, but in two subsequent actions, and was in fact a very distinguished officer: nor is there any situation of life in which the judgment of the wisest of men is more liable to error, or less capable of appreciating

individual merit, than between two contending fleets in the day of battle.

The action of the 1st of June was fought farther from the land than any sea-fight between fleets recorded in history.

We find it asserted in the Annual Register for 1795, that the French, in this engagement, lost ten thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners: we have no wish to gratify national vanity by exaggerating the losses of our enemies; nor any delight in detailing the destruction of the human species. The seven ships taken, at a fair average of seven hundred or seven hundred and thirty each, might have contained five thousand; and it is impossible to suppose that the fleet which escaped, took away with it more than two thousand killed and wounded; which would give the enormous number of one hundred and six to each ship: we therefore calculated their loss at between six and seven thousand men.

A curious scene occurred on board the *Sans Pareille* on the morning of the 1st of June. Captain Trowbridge, who had been recently taken in the *Castor* with his convoy bound to Newfoundland, was a prisoner on board the French ship above named, where Rear-admiral Nieuilly had his flag flying: after Lord Howe had obtained his position, and had drawn his fleet into a line parallel to that of the enemy, he brought-to, as we have stated, and made the signal to go to breakfast. Trowbridge knew the purport of the signal, and telling it to the French Admiral, they took the advantage of the time.

allowed them for the same repast. Trowbridge, whose appetite never forsook him on these occasions, was helping himself to a large slice from a brown loaf, when the French Captain observed to him by an interpreter (for Trowbridge never would learn their language), that the English Admiral shewed no disposition to fight, and he was certain did not intend it. "What!" said the English hero, dropping his loaf, and laying his hand almost too emphatically on the Frenchman's shoulder, while he looked him furiously in the face, "not fight!—stop till they have had their breakfasts:—I know John Bull d——d well, and when his belly is full you will get it." In a few minutes after this the British fleet bore up to engage. Trowbridge was sent into the boatswain's store-room, where for a length of time he leaned against the foremast, and amused himself in pouring forth every invective against the French, and the man appointed to guard him. Suddenly he felt the vibration of the mast, and heard it fall over the side; when grasping the astonished Frenchman with both his hands, he began to jump and caper with all the gestures of a maniac.<sup>1</sup> The Sans Pareille soon after surrendered, and Trowbridge assisted in setting her to rights and taking her into port.



## CHAP. X.

West Indies from 1783 to 1793—Effects of the peace—Cause of the distress of the colonies—Navigation act—Impolicy of the British government—Fatal effects—Conduct of Nelson—New laws for their protection—Account of the islands' population, produce, and revenue—French settlements—St. Domingo—Origin of the civil war, and events which led to the destruction of that island—Conduct of the Captain of a French ship of war—the assembly embark for France—Mauduit and Ogé—Policy of the British government towards St. Domingo—Destruction of Port au Prince—Reflections on the slave-trade—Anecdotes—Description of the West Indies—Yellow fever—Mode of prevention—Station preferred by seamen in general.

THE peace which in 1783 had restored tranquillity to Europe, left the West-India islands to enjoy a small portion of that repose for which they had so long panted.

The active and almost exterminating warfare carried on in the Caribbean seas and islands during the American and preceding contests, kept the colonies in a constant state of alarm, and had reduced their inhabitants of every description to the most deplorable wretchedness : peace however being restored, it was hoped that plenty would have followed ; but in this hope they were disappointed.

The Americans, who from subjects of the British empire had now become an independent people, could no longer be permitted to trade under the laws of the mother country ; and the navigation act particularly excluded them from all commerce with our colonies, where the commodities which they im-

ported had become indispensable necessities of life ; nor could the trade of the West-India planters be supported without the lumber which was grown in America and exchanged for the overplus of the colonial productions.

In 1783 Mr. Pitt saw and immediately provided for the wants of the islands, by bringing a bill into parliament for their relief, enabling them to trade as before the separation. The limitation imposed regarded the size and description of vessels, which were to be sloops or schooners not exceeding eighty tons burden, without topmasts, and having no deck farther forward than a small cabin for the accommodation of the master and crew.

This was an act of justice and sound policy due to a part of the empire remarkable for its attachment to the government, and now threatened with famine by the rigid enforcement of laws rendered by change of circumstances no longer expedient. Unfortunately the administration of Mr. Pitt terminated in the course of a few months after the definitive treaty ; and his successor, influenced by the representations from the colonies of North America which still retained their allegiance, caused the acts of his predecessor to be repealed, under the impression that we were favouring the trade of America at the expense of our own, and destroying the nursery for our seamen by admitting the United States to participate in the benefits of the carrying trade.

No arguments, however sound and convincing, could gain attention in favour of the planters ; and

the most unjustifiable means were resorted to in order to deceive both the government and the people. It was pretended that Canada and Nova Scotia could supply provisions and lumber sufficient for all our islands in the West Indies! It were scarcely more absurd to say, that Scotland and Ireland should receive their nourishment from Iceland, yet the iniquitous or senseless proposition obtained belief; and fifteen thousand negroes fell a sacrifice by famine to the misguided councils of the mother country. Mr. Pitt, on his return into office in 1784, lamented the state of the colonies; but, unable to obtain for them the boons they so urgently demanded, he referred their claims to a council of trade, and they were rejected.

The governors of the plantations had however the discretionary power, under particular circumstances, of relaxing the severity of the law, and admitting temporary importation; this afforded little relief: the trade of the islands declined because they were forced to cultivate food for their own support, instead of employing their capital in more profitable speculations: at the same time their produce was not only heavily taxed, but placed under restrictions which in some instances tended to its annihilation. From 1780 to 1805 droughts and hurricanes multiplied their distress, and with the causes already mentioned almost drove the unfortunate planters to despair.

In the mean time the squadron of his Majesty's ships stationed for their protection increased their

calamity, nor was it in the power of the captains, without a dereliction of duty, to afford them the smallest relief.

Rear-admiral Edwards commanded on the Leeward-Island station, and our hero Nelson was at the same time captain of the *Boreas* of twenty-eight guns.

The Commander-in-chief, either ignorant of the navigation act, or not comprehending its meaning, allowed it to remain a dead letter; but Nelson, whose whole soul was for his country and his profession, fancied he saw the United States rising into power by the supineness or false indulgence of our government; he therefore seized many American traders, and prosecuted them in the vice-admiralty courts. The planters opposed him, because their existence was at stake; the Admiral, for the same reason, espoused their cause; and Nelson, though in the performance of his duty, was exposed to insult, and not safe from personal violence. The judges of the vice-admiralty courts, however they might view the error of the government at home, could indulge no private feeling; and a violation of the law was necessarily followed by condemnation of the property: appeals to the courts at home were ruinous to the claimants, while it deprived the captors of any benefit from their exertions, the property being locked up to await the final decision. Nelson went to England to encounter prosecutions which hung over him, and it was long before he was assured of protection and exoneration from the govern-

ment. The colonies in the mean time were suffering under every privation; and endured, in time of profound peace, most of the evils of a vigorous blockade, inflicted by British laws, and relentlessly executed by British cruisers.

At length, after the colonial governors had long held the discretionary power of admitting or rejecting importations from America as they might deem expedient, a bill was in 1806 brought into parliament, empowering his Majesty in council to authorize, under certain restrictions, such importations as might seem needful. Neutrals were by this bill restrained from importing any commodities, lumber or staves excepted, which were not the growth and produce of their own country, and not permitted to export from the colonies any sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa, or indigo. This bill, limited and guarded as it was, met with the most strenuous opposition from Mr. Canning, Lord Castlereagh, Sir Charles Price, Sir William Curtis, and Mr. Rose; in favour of it, were, Mr. Fox, Lord Temple, Lord Henry Petty, Sir Francis Baring, Dr. Lawrence, Sir John Newport, and the Attorney-general: it was at length carried through both houses, and received the royal assent. In the upper house it met with some opposition from Lords Hawkesbury and Eldon.

To indemnify the planters for their losses by the stagnation of trade, occasioned by the Berlin and Milan decrees, in 1806 and 1807, distillation from sugars was permitted at home, which had at once the effect of lowering the price of grain, and con-

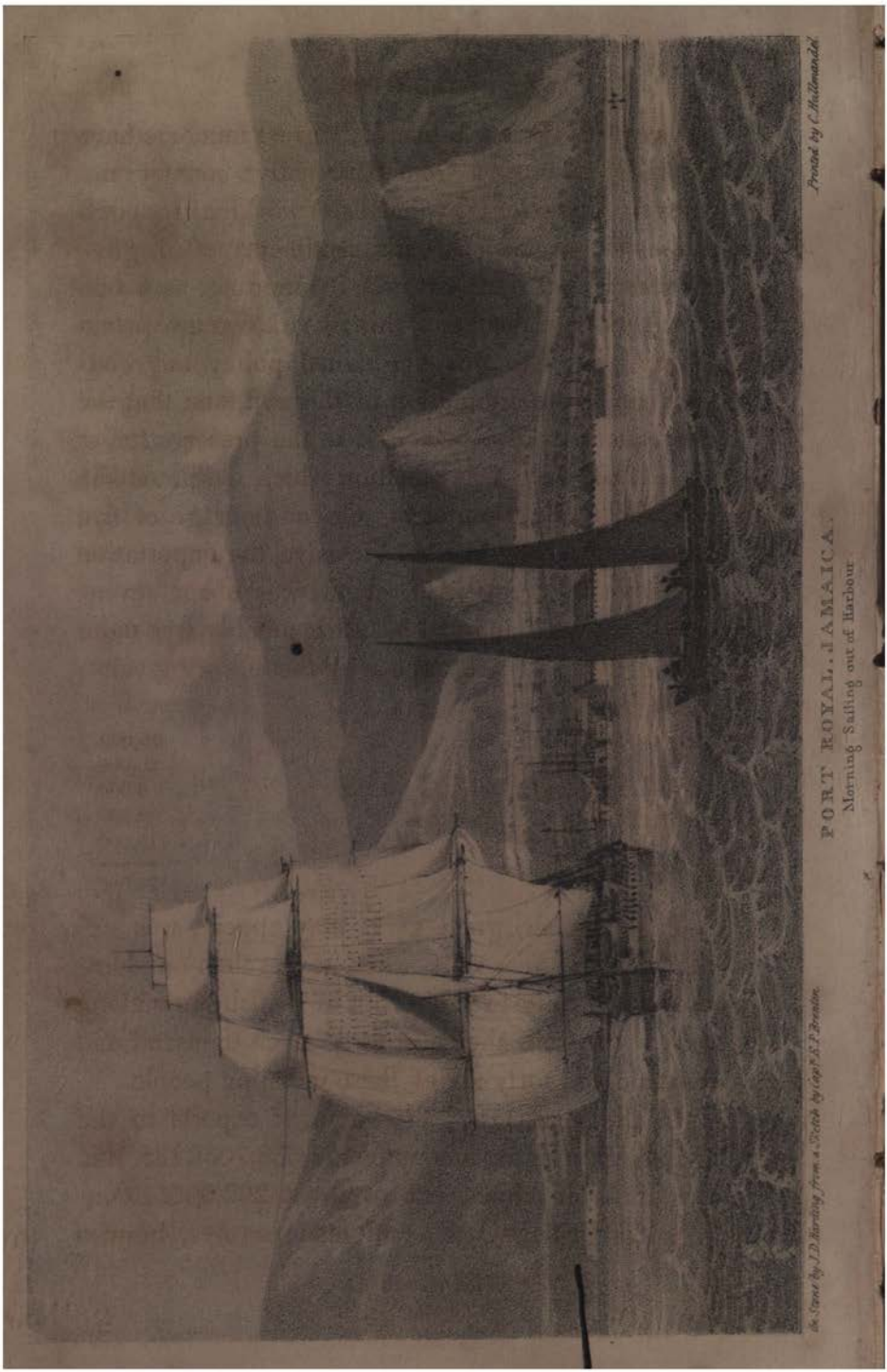
suming the West-India produce, with which the warehouses were loaded and the markets overstocked: an additional bounty was also given on the exportation of sugars, and an increased duty laid on foreign spirits. In the following year a very material decrease of duty on coffee enabled the West-India planters, by successful competition, to share the profits of the neutral carrier in the sale of that article. During the operation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and our orders in council, colonial produce rose to an enormous price in France, and was consequently smuggled into that country in such quantities, and in such a manner, as to baffle the vigilance of the whole corps of Douaniers in the pay and under the influence of the French government on the sea-coast of Europe, from the Vistula to the Danube; and thus, under the most apparent difficulties, and the most forbidding appearances, the distress of the West-India colonies was in some measure relieved, and the British navy and nation partook of the fruits of their industry and success.

The British West-India islands are,

Jamaica,	Antigua,	Virgin islands,
Barbadoes,	St. Christopher,	and the
Grenada,	Nevis,	Bahamas, or
St. Vincent,	Montserrat,	Lucayos.
Dominica,	The Grenadines,	

The population of these islands in 1791 was estimated at sixty-five thousand whites, and four hundred and fifty thousand blacks or slaves; of the lat-





*Printed by C. H. Townsend.*

**PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA.**

Morning - Sailing out of Harbour.

*the Street by J. D. Harding from a Sketch by Capt. A. P. Brant.*



ter, says Mr. Brian Edwards, "great numbers have assuredly been torn from their native country and dearest connexions by means, on which no good mind can reflect but with sentiments of disgust, commiseration, and sorrow." Admitting, as we do most fully, the justice of this remark, we are proud to say, that a more enlightened policy has contributed to the diminution of this evil, and that the consequences have been felt in the preservation of our islands from that rebellion which desolated the unfortunate St. Domingo. On an average of five years, from 1783\* to 1787 inclusive, the importation of slaves in the British islands was about seventeen thousand; and in 1801, that number was more than doubled, as will appear by the following statement: viz.

By the British	. . . . .	38,000
French	. . . . .	20,000
Dutch	. . . . .	4,000
Danes	. . . . .	2,000
Portuguese	. . . . .	10,000
		<hr/>
		74,000

This number, great as it may appear, was exceeded in the year 1771, when no less than one hundred and ninety-two ships out of British ports alone took away from the coast forty-seven thousand one hundred and forty-six of these unhappy people.

In the year 1787, the value of exports to the British West Indies amounted to 1,638,703*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* the whole of which, except about 200,000*l.*, consisted of British goods and manufactures, besides

• Edwards, vol. 2, page 67.

668,255*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* in exports to the coast of Guinea for the purchase of slaves. All this is exclusive of the Irish trade, the wines of Medeira and the Azores, purchased for the colonies with British capital, and the employment of British shipping and seamen, in which our North-American colonies took a very active part.

The result of Mr. Edwards's statement is as follows: viz.—

	£.	s.	d.	
Exports from Great Britain direct	1,638,703	13	10	
Ireland . . . . .	277,218	0	0	
	<hr/>			
	1,915,921	13	10	
Add 20 per cent. for freight . . . . .	383,184	6	2	£.
	<hr/>			2,299,106
Exports to Africa for the purchase of negroes . . . . .				668,255
Madeira and the Azores . . . . .				30,000
United States of America . . . . .				720,000
British America . . . . .				100,000
	<hr/>			3,817,361

The value of the imports from the West-India islands in 1788 amounted to 6,488,319*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* exclusive of bullion, which might be taken at an average of 320,000*l.* a year.

The imports from the sugar islands into Ireland and America for the same year, taken from official documents, amounted to

	£.
Ireland . . . . .	127,585
United States . . . . .	196,460
British-American colonies . . . . .	100,506

So that the amount of the whole yearly value of the produce of these islands was above seven millions, besides supporting their own population, which

might fairly be taken at half a million; and Mr. Edwards calculates the productive labour of each white person at 111*l.* and of each black man, woman, and child, throughout the West Indies, at the sum of 13*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

The revenue received, on this calculation alone, amounts to the sum of 1,800,000*l.* exclusive of the Barbadoes 4½ per cent. : 1,037,000*l.* was paid out of the gross proceeds for freight and insurance; and the balance reduced, as it must be, by these and other charges, is paid over to the planters or their agents, by whom it is employed in extending cultivation, encouraging industry, and supporting the credit of the British funds. It was therefore declared with great truth by the planters and merchants in the house of commons, that the sugar colonies, and the commerce depending on them, had become the most considerable source of navigation and national wealth.

The following are the particulars of freight, insurance, and commission homewards, given by George Hibbert, Esq. before the house of commons in 1788.

	£.
Freight . . . . .	560,000
Insurance . . . . .	160,000
Commissions . . . . .	232,000
Wharfingers, &c. . . . .	95,000

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1,047,000

By a report laid before the privy council the value of these islands, considered as British capital, was estimated at seventy millions sterling, viz.

Four hundred and fifty thousand negroes at 50l. } a head	22,500,000
Lands, buildings, utensils, crop on the ground, } double the value of the negroes	45,000,000
Value of the houses, &c. in the towns, the trading } and the coasting vessels, &c. &c. &c.	2,500,000
	<hr/> 70,000,000

The number of English vessels which in the year 1787 cleared from the British West-India islands was six hundred and eighty-nine, containing one hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and seventy-six tons, and navigated by thirteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-six seamen.

In 1785 an account of the French sugar islands was published, by which it appeared that there were employed in the trade about six hundred ships, on an average of three hundred tons each, navigated by fifteen thousand seamen: the value of the produce was estimated at about 6,400,000l. sterling, by which it would appear that the great rival powers had nearly an equal stake in the western hemisphere; and let it be observed, that while France and England flourished by the industry of their colonies, and obtained gold in return for their labour, Spain gradually declined while she obtained from her colonies gold without labour; and with the sinews of war in her possession, her marine and commerce were nearly annihilated.

After enumerating the advantages of the West-India islands, it will seem incredible that it should ever have been a question in the house of commons whether they ought not to be entirely abandoned by

the mother country. (See Parliamentary Debates for 1795.) The powerful eloquence and sound reasoning of the late Lord Melville withstood this unaccountable error, and decided the government to use every effort in defence of those important colonies.

The most considerable settlement of France in the West Indies is in St. Domingo. This immense island had been for many years the joint property of the French and Spaniards, the former having the west end, and the latter the east; the line of boundary taking a serpentine course from the river Massacre on the north, to the Ance á Petre on the south, and giving to Spain nearly two-thirds of the island. The chief city of France in St. Domingo was Port au Prince; that of Spain is called St. Domingo, and the island they name Hispaniola. It is a most singular political phenomenon that while the French side of the island has been a prey to rebellion, that of Spain has remained perfectly tranquil, although peopled by the importation of blacks, and the offspring of African women and white men. This we account for by the Spaniards not cultivating the sugar-cane to the same extent as the French, and consequently not requiring so great a majority of black population.

From the peace of 1783 there was no occurrence of a maritime nature to interest us on the Jamaica station, more than what had happened to windward; occasioned by the enforcement of the navigation act against American importations. The affairs of

the western hemisphere were, however, soon to undergo a woful change. The national convention, which polluted by its breath whatever it approached, having destroyed the authority of the king in Europe, next proceeded to undermine his power in America.

The loss of St. Domingo to France is an event of vast importance to her marine and commerce; and, in an inverse ratio, of almost equal advantage to Great Britain and America, who now enjoy the carrying trade of that island. French writers,\* with their usual want of candour or information, have imputed the insurrection of St. Domingo and its consequences, to the arts and machinations of the English. This charge we might naturally expect, but we have too much regard for the honour of our country to allow it to pass unrefuted; nor will the subject, we trust, be deemed irrelative to our history, particularly when it is considered how greatly the navy of England was instrumental in saving the unfortunate victims of the rebellion.

The author † from whom we derive our knowledge of the events in the West Indies, has given so full and clear an account of them, that we follow him with confidence, having proved in our subsequent experience, that all his statements are founded in fact.

From the moment the States General were summoned (1788), and the court of France had decided on the new and extended mode of represen-

\* Among others a Mons. Bail.—*Hist. des Révolutions Françaises*, Paris, 1821.

† Mr. Bryan Edwards.

tation, the French part of the island of St. Domingo resolved to have its representatives in the great assembly of the nation: accordingly eighteen deputies were elected, and appeared at Versailles just one month after the States General had declared themselves the National Assembly: six of them only, and that after much debate, were admitted to take their seats; these were supported by the society formed some time before in Paris, called *Les Amis des Noirs*.\* From the moment of the departure of the deputies from Cape Francois, all subordination was at an end among the mulattoes, and the contagion soon spread to the blacks, whose number, in the year 1789, amounted to four hundred and eighty thousand. The national assembly, in March 1790, after a solemn debate, came to the resolution that the colonies were not to be included in the constitution which they had framed for the mother country, nor was it intended to subject them to laws which were incompatible with their local establishment; they therefore authorized them, in few words, to frame a code for themselves, and to signify their wishes to the national assembly. Thus did the unfortunate inhabitants of St. Domingo, step by step, become a prey to discord and rebellion by the effect of laws made in the mother country; and their final ruin was completed by the folly and wickedness of the colonists themselves.

The general assembly which met at St. Marc

\* *La Fayette*, *Abbe Gregoire*, *Brissot*, *Robespierre*, and others.

16th April, 1790, by its intemperance still added fuel to the flames. The arrival of the Chevalier Mauduit, an agent of the Count d'Artois, and, by the strangest inconsistency, at once the friend to counter-revolution and the declared advocate of mulatto emancipation, produced another extraordinary sensation in the island. The whole system fell rapidly in pieces, and civil war approached with more than usual horror, inasmuch as the blacks were to be let loose with unbridled fury upon the lives and property of their masters. About this time *Le Leopard*, a French ship of seventy-four guns, lay at anchor in the harbour of Port au Prince; Mons. Galisoniere, the captain, with more zeal than prudence, chose to interfere in the disputes, and to support Mons. Peynier the governor against the assembly. He gave a grand entertainment on board his ship to the friends of that party; Mauduit was one of the guests. The officers having set the example of becoming a deliberative body, it was very naturally followed by the crew, who espoused the popular side: the Captain, instead of resorting to every means for regaining his authority, resigned the command; and the *ship's company* immediately appointed one of the lieutenants to succeed him! For this effort of patriotism they were thanked by the assembly, who required them to detain the ship in port till farther orders! If the folly of these proceedings was not manifest from the beginning, its effect was soon too fatally felt by the colony.

The Governor in the mean time dissolved the as-



sembly, and proclaimed them all traitors, and Mauduit was directed to arrest their persons: the enterprise failed, and he returned with no other trophy than the national colours which he had seized from the guard, an act that soon after cost him his life. The disputes became daily more violent, when suddenly the whole was turned for a while into the most ridiculous farce by the unanimous determination of the assembly to go to Europe, and justify their conduct to the King. Accordingly eighty-five of them, of whom sixty-four were fathers of families, embarked on the 8th of August on board the Leopard, and sailed for Brest.

It is related of Bonaparte that he reproached the American minister at the court of Paris with the acts of the congress at Washington, and observed, that he should have expected more good sense from a Jamaica assembly. We are at a loss to discover in the records of either of those respectable bodies, any act equal in folly to this of the representatives of St. Domingo; or any instances of cruelty and insanity parallel to what are to be found in every sitting of the national convention.

One of the first victims of the new order of things in St. Domingo was a mulatto of the name of Ogé. This unhappy man was sent out by the Amis des Noirs furnished with letters of credit to New England, where he procured arms and ammunition, with which he secretly landed on the island in October, 1790, and by an insolent letter to the Governor announced at once his arrival and the object of his

voyage. He openly demanded the rights of his fellow-citizens the people of colour; and having collected a few followers, among whom were his two brothers, and a man of the name of Chavanne, they began that work of destruction which ended in the utter ruin of themselves and of every white and mulatto in the colony. The career of Ogé was short: attacked by a regular force sent against him, many of his partisans were killed, others taken, while himself and brothers with Chavanne fled to the Spanish government for protection.

Colonel Mauduit had so much influence with the mulattoes, that in every place where they had risen in arms, he found means to quiet them; and it was supposed that he only prevailed upon them to delay the meditated blow under the assurance that the King was favourable to their projects.

Mons. Peynier resigned the government of St. Domingo in November, 1790, and was succeeded by Mons. Blanchelande, a field-marshal in the French army.

The Governor-general of the colony of St. Domingo was absolute, commanding both the army and navy, and holding in his hands the entire control over the civil administration of justice. On one occasion the Prince de Rohan, who held the supreme command, sent the whole council prisoners to France. The history of St. Domingo from 1789 to 1804 is nothing but a tissue of crimes, follies, ignorance, and tyranny.

Mons. Blanchelande began his career with rigour

and cruelty : he demanded of the Spanish government the persons of Ogé and his associates, who were immediately given over to him and brought to trial : one of the brothers of Ogé with nineteen conspirators were condemned to be hanged, while Ogé, and his lieutenant, Chavanne, were sentenced to be broken alive upon the wheel, and left to perish in that situation. Chavanne met his fate with firmness ; but the fortitude of the miserable and deluded Ogé forsook him : he implored mercy, and offered to make important disclosures in hopes of averting the sentence ; he was accordingly respited for twenty-four hours, and his depositions were taken before two commissioners appointed by the Governor. His disclosures were not divulged till long after the terrible explosion which he foretold ; and it has been conjectured that Mons. Blanchelande had reasons for this concealment which could not be justified, and which the event proved to have been fatally erroneous. After his confession, drawn up by a notary, and signed with his own hand, Ogé was hurried away to execution.

In the mean while the Leopard with her cargo of senators arrived at Brest, where they were received with acclamations, and their wants amply provided for by subscription. On reaching Paris, however, they experienced a very different reception. Peynier and Mauduit had contrived, by their agents, to gain the ear of Barnave, the president of the colonial committee : they were peremptorily ordered to attend at the bar of the national assembly ; thence, after

a single audience, they were indignantly dismissed, their conduct as a body censured, all their decrees reversed, and each member declared ineligible as a future representative. This was what might have been expected from the convention, more regardless of the rights of men, which it pretended to support, than any legislative body that ever assembled.

The ships of the line *Le Fougex* and *Le Borée* arrived from France on the 3d of March, 1791 : they had on board two battalions of the regiments of Artois and Normandy. The seamen and soldiers on board of these ships having had communication with the crew of the *Leopard*, expressed the utmost abhorrence at the conduct of Colonel Mauduit and his regiment, who, in attempting to seize the refractory members of the colonial assembly, had taken away and insulted the national colours. Mauduit offered an humble apology which it was agreed to accept, and his soldiers had promised to protect him from violence ; but one of them, before a crowd of spectators assembled on the occasion, cried aloud, that he must ask pardon on his knees : this he refused, at the same time exposing his bosom to the sabres of his regiment, fell dead with a hundred wounds, inflicted by those who had sworn to defend him with their lives. The cruel act was followed by tearing his body to pieces ; and a scene followed so shocking to humanity, that the amiable author of the *History of the West Indies* has thought it right “ to veil it in a learned language.”\* The regiment which perpe-

\* Edwards's *History of the West Indies*, vol. 3, p. 60.

trated this horrid act, far from regaining by it, as they expected, the favour of their brethren in arms, were still treated with scorn and contempt, and were soon after embarked for Europe, where their services were required for similar occasions.

Such were the folly and inconsistency of the national convention, that while it disclaimed the right of interference in the local concerns of the colony, it passed a law declaring the mulattoes or people of colour born of free parents to be entitled to all the rights of French citizens, and to be eligible to seats in the colonial assemblies; thus in one moment, at the instigation of the Abbé Gregoire, destroying the whole legislative code, and violating every feeling and established usage in the island, to the certain destruction of that, and the imminent danger of every neighbouring colony.

So far indeed was the British government from giving any countenance to these factions, that it trembled for the fate of Jamaica while the flames in St. Domingo were visible from Point Morant; and such was the indignation of the French planters when they received the decree just mentioned, that in their fury they proposed a separation from the mother country; an embargo was laid on French shipping in the ports, and a motion was made in the provincial assembly to pull down the national colours, and hoist the British standard in their place.

The Governor plainly foresaw the effects of this fatal decree, which he had not the power to conceal,

and wrote home to the King's ministers, stating that it would prove the death-warrant of thousands: the whites and mulattoes were set at variance by it; and the blacks, instigated against both, committed the most horrible excesses, being supplied with arms and ammunition by American merchants, who received in return sugar and rum from the burning plantations. We cannot enter into the particulars of this unheard-of collection of cruelties and human suffering; only let us observe, that the negroes, when reproached by the English for their barbarity to the French, answered, "It was the French who taught us." Facts have come to our knowledge while serving on that station which we wish to disbelieve, and had rather not relate.

The ferment excited by the decree of the 15th of May had just begun to subside, and it had obtained the sanction of the colonial assembly, when it was repealed by the national convention, which once more by this impolitic interference threw the whole colony into inextricable confusion; each party accused the other of treachery; and the blacks setting fire to the town of Port au Prince, one third of that city was reduced to ashes.\* From that time till the final extermination of the French, the island was one continued scene of pillage, murder, and conflagration.

We shall conclude this sketch of the West-India colonies with a few remarks on the slave-trade,

\* Edwards, vol. 3, p. 97.

which we have been enabled to make in the course of our professional duties.

Agreeing with Mr. Brian Edwards in the observation, that a continuance of that traffic must inevitably have led to the destruction of the colonies by a redundancy of black population ; and feeling, in common with our countrymen, the horror and iniquity of the trade, we may still observe, that the poor African, after having once landed in the West-India islands, becomes a being of more importance to himself, and more useful to the community. It has been asserted, and probably with truth, that the slave-trade is productive of those wars which fill the coast with the captives who are sold to the traders ; yet without this motive for hostility among the natives, some other would not be wanting to excite them to their habitual customs. The blacks, living under the most arbitrary tyrants, are subject to so much violence and cruelty from their masters, that scarcely any change can fail of improving their condition ; and even death itself is often welcomed, as a release from unmerited and intolerable suffering. With this conviction on our minds, and a knowledge of the general kindness and humanity with which they are treated in the colonies, we have no hesitation in saying, that the condition of the slave is very considerably meliorated by the change of masters, and that they are better provided for in point of personal comfort and convenience, and much happier in their humble cottages, than they were in their native land, or than the lower orders

in any country which we have visited on the four continents of the world.\*

In relating an instance of cruelty which came under our inspection, we mean not the most distant insinuation against the planters; we design only to shew how the slave-trade was conducted by British subjects, and to prove its effects in debasing the human mind.

A ship arrived in Port-Royal harbour in June 1802 which had on board four hundred slaves: the officer † of the guard, whose duty it was to examine and report her arrival to the Admiral, found as many as five or six negroes lying dead and perfectly naked on her deck; others appeared in the last stage of disease, and great part of them labouring under the complicated miseries of dysentery and famine. The mate being questioned as to the cause of the mortality and squalid appearance of the slaves, replied, that “yams and rice were very dear when they left the coast;” not denying that those articles might have been procured, but alleging the high price of them as the only obstacle to their purchase. The ship was not only crowded with a greater number of slaves than she could conveniently carry, but, still more dreadful, with a greater number than there was food to support during the voyage. Who can help applying to this

\* The reader who wishes for farther information on this, or any subject, relating to the West Indies, is referred to the accurate and intelligent work of Mr. Brian Edwards. London: printed for J. Stockdale, 1801.

† The Author.



instance of avarice and barbarity the beautiful lines of Virgil,

—————*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis*  
*Auri sacra fames?*

Notwithstanding the heat of the climate, there is something in this station with which seamen are generally pleased; and few places exhibit more cheerfulness among all ranks of society than our West-India islands, particularly Jamaica and Barbadoes.

While the ships remain in port, and wherever the duty will admit, the love of amusement pervades every class from the captain of a ship of war to the humblest slave. The constant arrival of prizes, or vessels from England bringing news of their friends or beloved country, enlivens the scene and diffuses a cheerfulness, which not even the frequency of death occasioned by the yellow fever can dissipate.

For this dreadful malady we know of no other preventive (independently of medical aid) than keeping at sea as much as possible; and when the wants of the ship demand a return into port, the utmost care should be taken never to anchor (if it can be avoided) in the neighbourhood, or to leeward, of a swamp or marshy ground; these are to be particularly guarded against at Martinique, in the neighbourhood of Trois Islets; at St. Lucia; at Dominica, in Prince Rupert's bay; at Curacoa, off the town of Amsterdam; at Jamaica, near Rock Fort; and at Vera Cruz. Temperance in this climate

is particularly conducive to health, also bathing morning and evening, but never remaining long in the water: when at sea, a sail, if the weather will admit of it, should be got over for the men to swim in; at sunset they should be clothed in flannel shirts, with woollen jackets and trowsers, and prevented as much as possible from lying about the decks, or sleeping exposed to the night air: they should invariably be kept at three watches, and from eleven o'clock in the forenoon until two should not be allowed to work. These precautions may do much, but even these may fail; and in spite of every care we have seen the bloom of youth and the maturity of manhood sink alike under this dreadful disorder.

The islands as we sail among them exhibit nature in her most vivid colouring, and most alluring attire. At dawn of day the rays of light infinitely surpass in brilliancy those of more northern climates; and no painting or description can do justice to a tropical sunrise.

Both officers and men delight in this station, from the chance of promotion and prize-money, and the facility with which a ship is kept in order. There are few sights more gratifying to seamen, than a well-regulated ship of war with her people at quarters in the West Indies. The straw hats made by themselves from the beautiful leaf of the palmetto, the white dresses of the seamen and marines, the admirable cleanliness and good order in every department (the bags and bedding being shaken and aired every morning in fine weather),

the regularity and order in the store-room, the thorough ventilation of the ship from the pump-well upwards, the neatness of the sails and rigging, and the perfect readiness with which every manœuvre is performed, render her a picture which a British officer will gaze on with delight, and a foreigner with awe and admiration.

## CHAP. XI.

State of the East-India command in 1784—Shameful corruption—Piracy—Sailing of Commodore Cornwallis—His force—Arrival at Rio Janeiro—Remarks—Departure—Arrival in India—Object of his voyage—Trincomalee—Andaman islands—Contention with the savages—War with Tippoo—Affair of Phoenix and Resolute—Observations—Return of Commodore Cornwallis—Hostilities in India seas—Cape Newcome and Sechelle islands—Cape of Good Hope attacked by Sir George Elphinstone and General Craig—Arrival of General Alured Clarke—Surrender of the settlement—Terms too mild—Farther reduction—Capture of Dutch squadron in Saldanha-bay—List of Dutch and British ships—Correspondence between the two Admirals—Claim of the lords of the admiralty for capture of Cape—Resisted—Also that of army to share with fleet in Saldanha-bay—Arrival of Admiral Rainier in India—Capture of all the Dutch settlements.

No sooner had the news of the definitive treaty of peace reached Madras in the year 1784, than Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, and Vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland, returned to England with the ships of war on that station, leaving the Bombay marine to contend against the pirates, and protect the extensive coasts and trade of India.

There is frequently a singular contrast between the extravagance of Great Britain in war and her penurious economy in peace; of this the present is one of the most glaring instances on record: half a million had been recently squandered away in an abortive attempt to blow up some rocks in Bombay harbour,—while under the eyes of the executive authorities abroad, immense fortunes had been amassed by individuals, and the most shameful corruption of the public servants, countenanced and supported

with greater effrontery than in America, as much as the distance was exceeded from the seat of government at home.

Our naval hospitals, if such they could be called, were disgraceful to the name, and served only to enrich the contractors, and to disgust the seamen with a service in which no encouragement or kindness was shewn them, no compassion for their sufferings, to compensate for the numerous privations and hardships under which they laboured in defence of their country.

The surveys on the public stores of the navy were held by three masters of ships of the line, well known to have been in the interests and confidence of the Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief: they condemned every article\* which was brought before them; and while the government was charged with the purchase of a fresh supply, the old stores were left to answer the purposes for which they had been declared unfit. By these and other means equally fraudulent, one person (not the Admiral) returned home with 300,000*l.* nor did we ever hear that any inquiry on the part of the Attorney-general, disturbed him in the enjoyment of his ill-gotten wealth.

Left to its own resources, the trade of India became in some measure a prey to the pirates which infested the coast of Malabar; their principal rendezvous was the fort of Mulwhan, to the southward of Bombay; nor could the company's marine con-

\* Instances could be given (if required) which would scarcely be believed by the greatest enemy to corruption.

tend against them with a certainty of success : their attacks, either in ships of war, or merchant vessels, were always conducted with spirit and skill, and the regular succession of calms during the fine weather monsoon, afforded them every facility to manage their gun-boats to the best advantage: these were proas or undecked vessels of about sixty feet in length, carrying one twenty-four pound gun in the bow upon a non-recoil principle. On one occasion they ventured to attack the *Asia* of sixty-four guns, and did her very considerable injury. Merchant vessels were constantly taken by them, and the crews put to death ; and we have instances of very bloody actions between them and the company's cruisers. Six or eight of our best frigates would have found ample employment on the coast to resist and control the ravages of these barbarians : but until the arrival of Commodore Cornwallis in the year 1789, we had no ship of war between the gulf of Persia and the straits of Malacca, or, more comprehensively speaking, not a pendant flying to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

The squadron sailed from England in February, 1789: the ships were, the *Crown*,\* of sixty-four guns, the Honourable William Cornwallis, James Cornwallis captain ; the *Phoenix*, thirty-six guns, George Anson Byron ; the *Perseverance*, thirty-six guns, Isaac Smith ; the *Ariel*, sixteen guns, Robert Moorsom ; and the *Atalanta*, sixteen guns, Maurice Delgamo : he arrived at Madras in September following.

\* In this ship the Author went out a midshipman.

Nothing deserving of historical notice occurred on the passage out, except the incident of the squadron putting into Rio Janeiro, where it was received by our allies, the Portuguese, with every outward mark of respect, and watched during its continuance in port with the most careful and jealous circumspection: perhaps the Viceroy felt himself incapable of resisting any attack on our part, as the force which we brought might have been more than sufficient to have laid the town of St. Sebastian in ruins; but the act of perfidy, though suspected by the Portuguese, was never contemplated by the British government. The wants of the squadron were relieved, and a timely check given to that dreadful disorder, the sea scurvy, which had already begun to make its ravages among the men, owing to the quality of the provisions put on board in England: these consisted chiefly of the beef and pork which remained from the American war, and which, after lying five or six years in store, were, from a false principle of economy, supplied to ships bound on a long voyage, and requiring every attention to preserve the health of the crews. Thus we see a continuation of those practices, which had been so fatal to Lord Anson's expedition, and which have gradually disappeared under the enlightened and improved notions of modern naval discipline.

Our ships reached the harbour of Rio Janeiro in May, and for three weeks enjoyed all the luxuries of that abundant and delightful country, than which it is impossible for the human mind to conceive any

thing more enchanting. The scene which presents itself at sunrise on a clear morning, surpasses all the powers of description, and bids defiance to the imitative pencil. Mountains of stupendous height occupy the whole circle of the horizon, tinted with a bluish mist, and assuming the richest verdure, as they decline towards the sides of the river whose banks are overgrown with plantations of orange-trees, and other tropical fruits; and so plentiful was the produce, that our seamen in their walks were gratuitously permitted to gather whatever they required for their own immediate use.

The harbour is one of the largest in the world, and therefore not so secure an anchorage; the holding ground is however good. The town of St. Sebastian is on the south side, and well adapted for commerce; the north side is covered by the hand of nature and the industry of man, with every object that can fascinate the eye, particularly of those who had endured the confinement of a three months' voyage. The centre of the river is thickly studded with little romantic islands highly cultivated, and having monasteries upon them for the reception of the religious of both sexes.

All communication with the interior of the country was strictly prohibited; and happy we believe was the executive government when it beheld the departure of the squadron.

On his arrival in India the Commodore took immediate measures for reforming the abuses, which had been one of the objects of his voyage: he went



to Calcutta in a frigate for the purpose of consulting with his brother the Earl of Cornwallis, then governor-general; on his return he proceeded to Bombay, where having rejoined the Crown he went to the Andaman islands in the bay of Bengal, which since the loss of Trincomalee were the only places of refuge left to our ships on the east side of the peninsula. The singular fact seems to have been unknown to our ministers, that the coast of India, from Pulo Penang to Cape Comorin, has not one harbour (we except of course Diamond harbour in the Ganges), that the island of Ceylon has only Trincomalee, and that on the coast of Malabar there is no port for ships of war nearer than Bombay.

The loss of Trincomalee was entirely forgotten in the definitive treaty, and though of vital importance to the safety of our Indian possessions, seems never to have been an object of discussion in parliament. Upon this subject the periodical writers of the day were not silent: from the Annual Register of the year 1784, we make the following extract, to shew the importance our enemies attached to the possession of that settlement.

“The French now experienced the vast advantages which they derived from the possession of Trincomalee, as the English did the full extent of those evil consequences which resulted from its loss. The former, instead of being exposed to the rigours of the monsoon, before they had yet well recovered the effects of the late action, and being besides obliged to abandon the scene of action, and

to return to the African islands, as well for safety as equipment, were now fully at ease, and in the greatest security, thoroughly refitting their ships at that place. By being thus immediately upon the spot, they became the uncontrolled masters of the Indian seas as soon as the season for action began to open, and were thereby enabled, at a most critical period, to interrupt with great effect, and much mischief to the English, the trade and intercourse between Bengal and Madras. In the intermediate time, they proceeded to Achen on the coast of Sumatra, probably to procure some articles of supply which the island of Ceylon was not competent to furnish. As they were in expectation of being joined, as soon as the season admitted, by the Marquis de Bussy, and the last division of his troops from the Mauritius, which were estimated at about five thousand men; and as he was to be accompanied by a strong reinforcement of fresh ships of war, which were newly arrived from France, and were to bring a vast supply of all manner of naval and military stores and provisions, together with the most formidable train of artillery that had ever been sent to India at any one time, they entertained no doubt, but that the tide of war, both by sea and by land, would, in the ensuing season, be turned entirely in their favour."

In 1788, the supreme government at Calcutta, perceiving the distress to which our navy and commerce were likely to be reduced for want of a harbour on the coast of Coromandel, attempted to make a settlement on the Andaman islands; and in pursu-

ance of this plan sent over a small force to take possession of a place which they named Port Cornwallis, a good harbour with a sufficient depth of water and a safe anchorage. Here a block-house was built, and the place fortified : the Crown was the first British ship of the line that anchored in it ; and the Commodore, after making some observations, proceeded to another place farther north on the Great Andaman, called North-East harbour : this appeared to be better adapted for the purpose than the first, and effective means were taken for establishing a dock-yard and forming an extensive settlement. The islands abounded in the finest timber and fresh water ; and by cultivation any other article might have been produced. The only obstacles were, the distance from the coast, and the difficulty of crossing the bay of Bengal in the south-west monsoon.

The inhabitants of the Andaman islands were few in number, but their hostility was at first troublesome ; they were very expert with the bow and arrow, transfixing, as they wandered along the shore, the small fish with great certainty ; and the wild hog seldom escaped from the dexterity of his pursuers. Their bows and arrows were about six feet long, and made in a style of neatness which, compared to their savage state, was truly surprising : the use of iron was little known among them, being never applied to any other purpose but that of heading their arrows : these were made of reeds pointed with fish-bone or iron, and never without

a barb. At North-East harbour our boats rowed along the thick jungle, which projecting some feet from the land, grew over and touched the water, forming an impenetrable thicket, whence the savage shot his arrow in security with almost unerring aim : the boats returned with four men wounded, and disappointed in the object of their search to find fresh water. The Commodore with a strong party of officers and marines landed on a small island, to which three canoes had been seen to go early on the same morning : on this spot the trees were, as on the main land, so thick, that our men could not penetrate ; and as they walked round the sandy beach in search of an entrance, eleven of them received severe wounds from the arrows of the savages concealed in the woods. Some hours elapsed before they were discovered ; at length when seen in the tops of the trees, the enraged marines quickly despatched seven of them, and three were taken with their canoes. Never was man found in a more perfect state of nature : they were all males, without a vestige of clothing ; their woolly heads smeared with a red ochre, their bodies tattooed ; their stature under the middling size, or about four feet seven inches : they exhibited the utmost degree of terror when brought on board, with their hands tied behind their backs, and attempted to bite all who came near them, but were pacified by kindness, and soon became so familiar as to dance in their style to our drum and fife. We had strong suspicions of their being cannibals, some of the Governor's people at Port Cornwallis having

been found murdered, and slices cut out of them, as if intended for food; they appeared apprehensive they were to meet a similar fate, and at night one of them jumped overboard and escaped, the other two on the following day were lauded, and we saw them no more. On the recapture of Trincomalee in 1795 the possession of the Andaman islands was no longer of that advantage which they had promised to be in 1788, and the proposed naval establishment at North-East harbour was laid aside. The small settlement of Port Cornwallis was retained in order to preserve the British right to the islands, and in the course of the war our ships frequently resorted to them. Admiral Rainier brought away some of the natives, whom he caused to be instructed, but they afforded very little information as to the state of the islands or of their countrymen, and expressed no desire to return to them. The Andaman islands appear to have been inhabited by the casualty of a slave-ship from Mosambique having been cast on shore: we never discovered that the people upon them possessed any sense of a Deity, or that there was any worship among them; a fact which, if established, will, we should hope, form a singular exception in the history of the world.

The East-India company was in the year 1790 engaged in a war with Tippoo Saib, which ended only with his life, and the destruction of Seringapatam, his capital. In this war the navy had little to do, the operations of the campaign being chiefly confined to the interior of the peninsula; but as the

French and Dutch were known to be favourable to our enemies, and suspected of supplying them with warlike stores, it became the duty of our naval commanders to watch the port of Mangalore, on the coast of Malabar, a small harbour with little depth of water in possession of Tippoo. A few leagues to the southward is the British fort and anchorage of Tellicherry, and about seven miles farther south the French factory of Mahée.

In October, 1791, Commodore Cornwallis lay at anchor in the road of Tellicherry: having his broad pendant flying in the *Minerva* of thirty-eight guns, the *Phoenix* and *Perseverance* being in company, a French frigate of thirty-six guns weighed from Mahée, and with a convoy of patamars or vessels of the country was proceeding to Mangalore. As we have already stated that piracy was practised on the coast, there was no reason why these vessels should not have availed themselves of such protection; but the well-grounded suspicions of our government demanded a rigid investigation, and having the power we justly assumed the right of search.

The port of Ostend had a very extensive intercourse with this part of India, and the Imperial flag was lent to cover the most insidious designs against our settlements in time of peace. The *Phoenix* and *Perseverance* were ordered to chase and examine the convoy; Sir Richard Strachan, who commanded the *Phoenix*, and was the senior officer, ran alongside of the French ship, and informed her captain of the

nature of his orders, and of his determination to execute them, which he immediately proceeded to do by sending an officer in a boat to search the merchant vessels, while the *Perseverance* was employed in bringing them to. The Frenchman resented this affront to his flag by firing first at the boat, and then pouring a broadside into the *Phoenix*. Sir Richard, perfectly prepared for this event, instantly commenced a close action, and in the course of twenty minutes silenced his opponent. She proved to be the *Resolue*, and had seventy-two of her men killed or wounded. It was not the intention of Sir Richard Strachan to take possession of the frigate; but the French Captain declined having any farther charge: he had resisted, he said, the insult offered to his flag to the utmost of his power, and surrendered to superior force. The English frigates then proceeded to search the convoy, but found no article contraband of war, and allowed them to depart; after which, by order of the Commodore, who was in sight during the whole transaction, they conducted the *Resolue* into the road of Mahée, where they moored her, struck her yards and topmasts, and left her, having first provided for the cure and comfort of the wounded men. The object of the French marine in India, though ostensibly to protect the trade against piracy, was clearly hostile to Great Britain, and a tacit renewal of the armed neutrality. France had no right to cover with her flag the trade of a power at war with England while she was at peace with us; such a proceeding

is contrary to every known law of nations; and its admission would involve the best rights and security of the empire: Commodore Cornwallis was therefore perfectly justifiable in the attack on this frigate, and his conduct was approved of by the government at home. At any other time this might have been the cause of war; but on the arrival of the despatches in Europe the government of France was in great confusion, the King had no power, and the national convention did not deem it safe to make an enemy of Great Britain, and so add to the number of those who were arming against her; they therefore dissembled their feelings, but did not forget the injury.

Commodore Cornwallis remained in India until the capture of Pondicherry, when, having been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, he quitted his command, without leaving any force on the station but an old twenty-gun ship, and arrived in England in the summer of 1794: he was nevertheless well received by the government and the East-India company; his services had been honest and faithful; he had stemmed with success the torrent of corruption which he found on his arrival; and it might be truly said of him, that he seldom allowed his personal convenience to interfere with his public duty.

The naval history of the East Indies presents little worthy of our notice until the arrival of Admiral Rainier, who sailed from England in May, 1794, and reached Madras about the month of November following.



Previously to his arrival Captain Newcome, in the *Orpheus* of thirty-two guns, fell in with and captured *Le Duguay Trouin*, of thirty-four guns and four hundred men (partly troops), after a very severe action : the prize being in a disabled state, and the ships sickly and in want of water, Captain Newcome put into the *Sechelle* islands, on one of which, called also *Mahée*, the French had recently formed a settlement, but unwisely refused, even to the necessities of their own countrymen, those refreshments which they had not the power to withhold. This want of humanity met with its merited punishment: the place was taken, all the artillery and military stores were destroyed or brought away, the sick and the prisoners landed, and such supplies as the place afforded easily obtained. Justice was satisfied with this wholesome correction, and the generous victor spared and restored to the infant colony the cargo of a French brig, consisting of implements of agriculture and carpenters' tools for the construction of human habitations. We feel a particular pleasure in recording this act of benevolence, far more grateful to the philanthropist than the tales of blood which unfortunately stain our pages. Contrast the conduct of Captain Newcome, on this occasion, with that of *Richery* the French Admiral at *Newfoundland* in 1796, who laid waste with fire and sword the defenceless settlement of the *Bay of Bulls*, and left the wretched inhabitants almost without a home at the approach of a North-American winter.

The moment the Dutch had admitted the French

armies into their capital, and the abdication of the Stadtholder was known in England, the British government began to prepare for the reduction of the Batavian colonies: with what rigour it acted, will be seen by the event which immediately followed the arrival of our forces.

In August, a squadron was sent out under the command of Sir George Keith Elphinstone and a body of troops under General Craig: a landing was effected at Simons-town, and the forces proceeded to attack the intrenched camp of the Dutch on the heights of Muysenburg. The army as it marched along the shore was attended by a gun-boat, and the launches of the fleet were armed with cannonades; two battalions of seamen, about one thousand in number, under the command of Captain Hardy of the *Echo*, and Spranger of the *Rattlesnake*, with a strong party of marines, were landed, and rendered important service.

A light breeze springing up about twelve o'clock, Major-general Craig, by a preconcerted signal, put his army in motion, and at the same moment Commodore Blanket in the *America*, with the *Stately* of sixty-four guns, and the *Echo* and *Rattlesnake* sloops of war, got under weigh, while the gun-boat and armed launches preceded about five hundred yards the march of the troops along the shore: at one o'clock an advanced post of two guns belonging to the enemy was abandoned on our firing a few shots, and a second with a gun and a mortar was silenced; at length the camp itself was left in the same man-

ner. The *Echo*, commanded by Lieutenant Todd of the *Monarch*, led, and anchored in two fathoms and a half, followed by the *America*, which anchored in four fathoms and a half; the *Stately* and *Rattlesnake*, according to their draught of water, approached the works, which began to fire on them, and was returned with great spirit, when the enemy fled, taking with them all their field-pieces. At four o'clock the Major-general entered the fort. The surf began now to run so high that no farther communication could be had with the shipping. The *America* had two men killed and four wounded. Four large Dutch East-Indiamen laden, and one which had landed her cargo, rewarded the captors. Notwithstanding these successes, General Craig and Sir George Elphinstone found themselves in too limited circumstances to attempt any very important measure; they therefore kept merely on the defensive, while the Dutch Governor secretly prepared to burn the town at Simons-bay, a design which the vigilance of the British General compelled him to abandon.

A reinforcement from St. Helena of three hundred and fifty men, with a small quantity of ammunition and some field-artillery, arrived on the 9th of April, and the seamen of the Indiamen volunteered to draw the guns under the command of Captain Ockland of the honourable company's ship *Brunswick*.

Although our forces had gained a footing, and were tolerably secure of holding it, the Dutch were far from resigning themselves to the power of their in-

vaders ; they collected a formidable body of troops, consisting of the burghers and trained Hottentots, with some irregular cavalry ; these harassed our men in their march through a heavy and sandy country, in a sultry climate, loaded not only with their arms, but also with subsistence for many days : this was the only mode they had of transporting provisions, oxen or other beasts of draught having been carefully driven far beyond their reach.

On the morning of the 1st of September, the enemy, having lined the mountains above the British camp with Hottentots and burgher militia, commenced an ineffectual fire of musketry upon our men : this was at first little attended to, until they poured in with such considerable numbers as to force our people to retire with loss, when Captain Brown, with the seventy-eighth grenadiers, advanced to the support of his countrymen, recovered the ground, and drove them down the hill again. In this affair Major Money Penny of the seventy-eighth was wounded.

On the 2d the enemy drew out his whole force from Cape-town, and advanced to attack the British troops with eight field-pieces ; but finding our forces too strongly posted, and being fired upon by the guns which they had left in our power, they deemed it prudent to retire.

Captain Hardy of the *Echo*, Lieutenant Coffin of the *Rattlesnake*, and Major Hill of the marines, were highly conspicuous at the head of a battalion of seamen and marines crossing the water under a

heavy fire, which they received without returning a shot, and manœuvred with a steadiness that would not have discredited veteran troops.

The situation of our forces now became very critical; all the strength that could be mustered was scarcely sufficient to keep the enemy in check; the Dutch seemed disposed for an obstinate resistance; and our commissariat was not so well supplied as to warrant a protracted warfare.

Under these circumstances, Sir George Keith Elphinstone and General Craig agreed that they would wait six days for reinforcements, then hourly expected; and if they did not arrive at the end of that period, the army should advance, and try the fortune of war under any disadvantage.

On the 3d the enemy meditated a general attack upon our camp, and advanced in the night with all the force they could muster, and eighteen pieces of cannon: their intention was however anticipated; for at day-light large bodies of troops began to make their appearance, when at that moment the signal was given for a fleet, and fourteen sail of ships, which anchored in Simons-bay, induced them to relinquish their enterprize and retire to their posts.

The fleet was from England, but last from St. Salvador in South America, and had brought General Alured Clarke and a reinforcement of troops, which soon changed the face of affairs.

The General found the forces under the command of Major-general Craig, amounting to nineteen hundred men, encamped on the heights of Muysenburg,

and the Rear-admiral at anchor with his squadron in Simons-bay six miles from the camp. The troops and artillery were instantly disembarked, and every disposition made for laying siege to the capital in Table-bay called Cape-town; provisions, artillery, and all the heavy stores, were moved forward by manual labour. The army advanced to Wynberg with the loss of only one man killed and seventeen wounded: here the enemy was in force with nine pieces of cannon; in the mean time Commodore Blanket with three ships had gone round to Table-bay, and by his appearance there had contributed greatly to embarrass the operations of the colonists.

Our troops advanced through swampy ground, loaded with their own provisions, and labouring under every disadvantage, while the enemy retired before them: night coming on the General halted till day-light, when an officer arrived with a flag of truce, and a letter from the Governor demanding a cessation of arms for forty-eight hours, to arrange a capitulation and surrender of the town. The General granted twenty-four, in which time every thing was settled. The Dutch troops became prisoners of war, and the King's forces were put into full possession of this valuable colony. A great quantity of naval and warlike stores fell into their hands, together with the ship of war, *Castor*, and the brig, *Star*: the latter was taken into his Majesty's service.

The terms of the capitulation were the same as those usually granted by our commanders to con-

quered settlements, the lenity of which is with few exceptions highly blamable. The colonial laws of the Dutch were guaranteed to them, and a more oppressive and ignorant code was never framed by a despotic government. As a just return for such unmerited concessions, our own people are groaning under the pretended administration of *justice*, in the Dutch language, the encouragement of slavery, and the practice of every vice that can serve to disunite society. Experience has at length convinced us of the impolicy of such indulgence; and it has been found necessary, for the advantage of the Dutch as well as the English settlers, to depart, in some degree, from the terms of the capitulation, in consequence of which the colony is now more freely partaking the benefits of the British constitution; and under a governor selected for talent, probity, and worth, we might reasonably expect that the Cape of Good Hope would become one of our most valuable foreign possessions: as a key to our India territories it ought to be held with as much jealousy of foreign intrusion as the Isle of Wight or Gibraltar.

The disasters which had attended the British arms in Holland at the commencement of the war, were, in the prosecution of it, severely retaliated upon that country. By the reduction of the Cape she was prevented in a great measure from sending succour to her other colonies: the fortune and tide of war were changed, and the capture of a Dutch fleet immediately succeeded that of the Cape; while their settlements in India, in the island of Ceylon, and the

Spice islands in the eastern seas, were compelled to submit to the dominion and implore the protection of George the Third.

Early in September the British Admiral at the Cape gained intelligence of an enemy's fleet being on the coast, and immediately went in pursuit. His object was impeded by bad weather, and its inevitable consequence, so that he did not get sight of them until the 16th, when he entered Saldanha-bay, and found the Dutch Admiral lying there with his fleet, completing their water and repairing their damages. Night came on as the British Admiral advanced into the bay, and took a birth within gun-shot of the enemy, who was surprised in an anchorage from which there was no retreat; and Sir George Elphinstone having a very superior force, sent a summons demanding the surrender of the fleet: when he was informed that a positive answer would be given at day-break. Sir George, fearing the enemy might attempt to destroy their ships, immediately despatched an officer to the Dutch Admiral to desire that he would consider himself under a truce, and abstain from doing or suffering any damage to his ships, otherwise it would be out of his power to treat the prisoners with that humanity which had ever been his study. On the 17th, at nine in the morning, an officer came on board the *Monarch*, under a flag of truce, with proposals from his chief to capitulate, and at five in the afternoon the arrangement was completed, by which the Dutch squadron, consisting of three



ships of the line, two large frigates, two of twenty-eight guns, a sloop of eighteen guns, and a store-ship deeply laden, were surrendered to his Majesty's arms. The Dutch government had sent out this force with two thousand troops to retake the Cape of Good Hope, to which it was inadequate; but they reckoned no doubt upon an active co-operation on the part of the settlers, wherein they were deceived; for, independently of eight thousand British troops, the colonists, from motives of self-interest, had become more reconciled to our government, under which they had tasted the sweets of security and protection, and were unwilling to subject themselves to another invasion, which they well knew would be the consequence of a recapture by the Dutch. It appears also that the Dutch seamen were extremely disaffected to the new government of their country, and shewed no inclination either to defend their ships or to set them on fire, as intended by their Admiral, in order to prevent their falling into our hands.

The surrender of this squadron with the troops and supplies confirmed our possession of the Cape; no attempt was afterward made to regain it, though it was restored at the peace of Amiens.

The names of the enemy's ships taken, and their force, are as follow, viz.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Dordrecht . .	Rear-admiral Lucas . . .	66
Revolution . .	Captain Rhuebende . . .	66
Admiral Tromp . .	——— Valkenburg . . .	54

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Casthor . . .	Captain Claris . . .	44
Braave . . .	——— Zoulmans . . .	40
Bellona . . .	——— Valk . . .	28
Sirenne . . .	——— De Cerf . . .	26
Havik . . .	——— De Bezener . . .	18
Marine store ship		

The British ships were as follow, viz.,

Monarch . . .	{ Vice-admiral Hon. George Keith Elphinstone . . . }	74
Tremendous . . .	{ Captain John Elphinstone Rear-admiral T. Pringle } { Captain J. Aylmer }	74
America . . .	Commodore Blanket . . .	64
Stately . . .	Captain Billy Douglas . . .	64
Ruby . . .	——— J. Waller . . .	64
Trident . . .	——— E. O. Osborne . . .	64
Jupiter . . .	——— G. Losack . . .	50
Crescent . . .	——— E. Buller . . .	36
Sphynx . . .	——— A. Todd . . .	24
Moselle . . .	——— C. Brisbane . . .	16
Rattlesnake . . .	——— Edward Ramage . . .	16
Echo . . .	——— John Turner . . .	16
Hope . . .	——— Thomas Alexander	

The correspondence which led to the capitulation of this fleet, is worthy of being placed in a history of the achievements of the British navy : it displays a spirit of humanity to a fallen enemy, and at the same time a scrupulous regard to national honour. It is as follows :

To his Excellency the Rear-admiral commanding the fleet of the united states of Holland now lying in Saldanha-bay.

SIR,

It is unnecessary for me to detail the force I have the honour to command, because it is in your view, and speaks for itself; but it is for you to consider the efficacy of a resistance with the force under your command.

Humanity is an incumbent duty on all men; therefore, to spare an

effusion of blood, I request you to surrender the ships under your command, otherwise it will be my duty to embrace the earliest moment of making a serious attack on them, the issue of which it is not difficult to foresee.

G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

*H. M. S. Monarch, Saldanha-bay,  
August 16, 1796.*

To this letter the Dutch Admiral returned a verbal answer, stating, that a positive one should be sent by day-light in the morning. The British Vice-admiral then wrote as follows to the Dutch Rear-admiral.

SIR,

I am this instant honoured with your verbal answer to my letter of this date by Lieutenant Coffin of the *Monarch*; and if I understand him right, it is, that a truce subsists between your Excellency and myself in the name of our respective governments, which truce continues till day-light in the morning. It is therefore my duty to require a positive assurance that no damage shall be done to any of the ships or vessels of war, public stores, or effects, placed under your command, otherwise I shall not consider myself bound to restrain an immediate attack, or to treat such prisoners as may fall into my hands in a manner suitable to my general inclination, and to the orders of his Majesty in similar cases.

G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

*H. M. S. Monarch, Saldanha-bay,  
August 16, 1796.*

Rear-admiral Lucas immediately replied by the following letter to the Vice-admiral.

EXCELLENCY,

The two letters delivered to me by your officer from want of an interpreter have taken a long time to translate.

Your Excellency may rest assured of receiving a positive answer to-morrow morning; and that during the intermediate time no damage shall be done to the vessels of my squadron, which I promise you upon my honour.

This time is necessary to call to my aid the captains of the frigates

detached at the bottom of the bay, in order to hold a council of war, which I am obliged to assemble on account of responsibility.

I am, &c.

ENGELBERTUS LUCAS.

*On board the Dordrecht,  
August 16, 1796.*

To his Excellency Rear-admiral Lucas.

SIR,

I have had the honour to receive your letter with the proposals of capitulation; and I have now the honour to enclose you my letters and answers thereunto, which I hope will be acceptable. I have mentioned to Captain Claris my inclination to accommodate your Excellency and the other officers inclined to return to Europe upon their parole with the *Maria* store-ship, or in British vessels, of which there are many at the Cape: but I dare not presume to allow of your departure in any of the public armed ships. Your Excellency may rest assured of every good office within my reach.

Should the enclosed articles not meet with your approbation, you will be pleased to order the flag of truce to be hauled down, as a signal that either party may commence hostilities.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

The admiralty put in a claim for the Dutch ships taken at the Cape in June 1795 *prior* to the declaration of war reaching that colony; they were demanded as droits; but the allegation was refused by Sir William Scott upon the principle, that the order in council of Charles the Second did not extend beyond the dominions of the crown. The Admiralty also claimed to share for the capture of the Cape of Good Hope in virtue of several non-commissioned East-India ships which assisted at the enterprise. The claim in behalf of those ships was rejected by Sir William Scott, who decided that, however meritorious their conduct, they had no military character; they were entitled to the grati-

tude of their country, but not to share for this valuable capture. It was also decided by Sir William Scott, in 1799,\* that the army, which had a small detachment in sight of our fleet, had no claim whatever to share with the navy for the capture of the ships taken in Saldanha-bay.

In March, 1796, Rear-admiral Rainier, with the squadron under his command in the East Indies, took on board a body of the company's troops, and proceeded to the attack of the Spice islands belonging to the Dutch in the eastern seas. Amboyna and Banda, with their dependencies, surrendered on the first summons.

In the treasury at Amboyna the Admiral found eighty-one thousand one hundred and twelve rix dollars; and in store, five hundred and fifteen thousand nine hundred and forty pounds weight of cloves. In the treasury at Banda, sixty-six thousand six hundred and seventy-five rix dollars; and in store, eighty-four thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven pounds of nutmegs, and nineteen thousand five hundred and eighty-seven pounds of mace; besides merchandise, and other valuable articles, which had not been valued.

As soon as the declaration of war reached India, the French settlements of Chandernagore, Mahée, and Pondicherry, surrendered to the British forces with very little resistance.

In the mean while, the most ample preparations were making for the reduction of the Dutch settle-

\* Schomberg, vol. 3, p. 294.

ments in India—the smaller places on the peninsula were soon taken. In December, 1796, Cochin Quilon Porca and Quilon Quilon, in the Travancore country, were summoned, and surrendered to our land-forces; while Captain Alan Gardner and Lieutenant-colonel James Stewart, attacked and made themselves masters of Colombo, in the island of Ceylon.

These settlements in the eastern seas we shall hereafter notice; the whole of them in the course of a few years were to add to our wealth and our national glory. Not more in the conquest than in the restoration to their former masters, when Europe, by British valour, had once more under Providence attained the blessings of peace.

## CHAP. XII.

Exertions of the enemy at sea—Their success, and our want of energy—Activity of light squadrons and cruisers—Recapture of the *Castor* and convoy—Capture of the *Revolutionnaire*—of the *Alexander*—Accident befalls the Channel fleet, by meeting in the night with the *Indiamen*—*Impetueux* burnt—French fleet sails—Sir Sydney Smith reconnoitres Brest—Activity and success of Sir John Warren—Lord Howe sails—Joined by a Portuguese squadron—Dangerous situation of the British fleet in Torbay—Lord Howe retires, and is succeeded by Lord Bridport—Reflections on anchorage of Torbay—Molloy's trial—Burning of the *Boyne*—Cornwallis's retreat—Miscellaneous—Bridport's action of 23d of June—Debates in parliament on naval affairs—Success of our cruisers—Patriotic fund—Present a sword to Sir John Warren—Remarks on this association—Important discussion on the subject of soldiers subjected to naval discipline—Sailing of Admiral Christian's fleet, and fatal consequences—Captures from the enemy—Cornwallis sails for the West Indies, and puts back—Trial and acquittal—Loss of the *Leda*—Capture of *L'Unité* and *Virginie*, *Tamise*, *Tribune*, and *Proserpine*, with other successes—*Rasé*, or cut-down ships—Action of Sir Edward Pellew with *Droits de L'Homme*—*Amphion* blown up—Gloomy prospects of the British empire—Peace of Campo Formio with France and Austria—State of Ireland—Sailing of French fleet with army under Hoche—Disasters attending it—French convicts landed in Wales—Sailing of Lord Bridport—French fleet returns with some loss into port—Capture of the *Resistance* and *Constance* by Sir H. Neale.

THE defeat which the marine of France had sustained in the summer of 1794 had not subdued their spirit; and their losses by sea were so carefully concealed from the nation, that few among them knew of its extent, and the generality of the people believed they had gained a great naval victory. Their fleet remained in port during the remainder of the year; but squadrons of ships of the line, large fri-

gates, corvettes, and privateers, covered the ocean, and met with too much success : nor can we, without a violation of truth, compliment the naval profession for activity or exertions proportioned to the necessities of the state. Our ships of the line, after an action or a six weeks' cruise, were allowed to remain too long in port to refit ; captains were indulged with leave of absence ; and the duty went on with that relaxation ever attendant on the absence of the chief. Spithead, Portsmouth-harbour, Plymouth-sound, and Hamoaze, were crowded, while the enemy's cruisers were committing havock and depredation with comparative impunity : this censure was not merited throughout the service ; the squadrons of frigates in the western and foreign stations were more alert, and not only recaptured many of our valuable merchantmen on their way into the ports of the enemy, but also took their frigates and corvettes as they passed along their own coast with the trade of France under their protection.

Captain Laforey, in the Carysfort of twenty-eight guns, after a gallant action recaptured the *Castor* of thirty-two guns, which, we have before observed, was taken when conducting the trade to Newfoundland. The merchant vessels were recaptured a few days after by the squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Montague, together with a French corvette called *La Mere Guitton*. This ill-fated convoy and corvette were again taken by the French fleet previously to the action of the 1st of June, and again retaken, with the exception of the corvette, by Lord



Howe, who ordered them to be burnt, not choosing to man them on the eve of a general action.

The navy board claimed the *Castor* as a recapture; but it was proved that, although she had not been in an enemy's port, she had been fitted and fought as a French ship of war, and she was wholly adjudged a prize to the captors.

In October, Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Arethusa*, with the *Artois*, *Diamond*, and *Galatea*, fell in off Brest with *La Revolutionnaire* of forty-four guns and three hundred and fifty men: the squadron chased, but Captain Edmund Nagle in the *Artois*, from superior sailing, brought her to action, and she surrendered, having eight men killed and wounded: for this action Captain Nagle received the honour of knighthood.

Captain Bligh in the *Alexander*, and Captain C. P. Hamilton in the *Canada*, both of seventy-four guns, were fallen in with off Cape Clear by a French squadron of five sail of the line and three frigates: against such superior numbers valour was unavailing; the captain of the *Canada* was directed by Captain Bligh to provide for the safety of his ship, himself in the *Alexander* being determined to make the best defence he could, and thereby ensure the escape of his consort. The action soon began, and was kept up by the *Alexander* with great spirit, until the two ships which had gone in pursuit of the *Canada* were recalled to assist in the attack. Captain Bligh perceiving that the *Canada* was safe, and his own ship so much disabled in her rigging that she became unmanageable, decided on surrendering: to

have continued the fight would only have caused a sacrifice of brave men, without the probability of gaining any advantage; accordingly the colours were hauled down, and the ship, having forty men killed and wounded, was taken and carried into Brest. Here the population insulted the prisoners as they marched to the place of their confinement: officers and men shared the same lot; they were denied the commonest rations of provisions, and reduced to starvation. A wretched dog that had crept into the cells was killed, and his head alone sold for a dollar to satisfy the cravings of nature: a prisoner, in a state of delirium, threw himself into the well within the prison walls, and his dead body, after lying some time, was taken out, but no other water allowed to the people to drink: an English lady and her daughters, confined along with the men, had no separate apartment, and all their privacy was supplied by the generous commiseration of the British sailors, who, standing side by side close together, with their backs towards the fair captives, formed a temporary screen while they changed their garments.—These facts were supplied to the author by the officers who were present.

Captain Bligh on his release was tried by a court-martial for the loss of his ship, and honourably acquitted. He was at the time of her capture a rear-admiral, but had no official account of his promotion; consequently the French did not, as they boasted, take a British flag.

In August, 1794, the *Impetueux*, one of the prizes taken on the 1st of June, took fire in the harbour,

and was burnt to the water's edge : she was by great exertion towed clear of the ships in ordinary, and got on shore in the west mud.

In January, 1795, the French fleet of thirty-two sail of the line and some frigates put to sea. Sir Sydney Smith, in the *Diamond*, disguised his ship and crew so well as to pass for a French frigate, and with an easterly wind turned up into Brest water, and spoke a French ship of the line which had lost her topmasts. Sir Sydney offered assistance, which was civilly declined ; he however obtained information that the disabled ship had parted from the fleet three days before in a heavy gale. After passing four-and-twenty hours turning to windward at the harbour's mouth, and frequently within musket-shot of the enemy, Sir Sydney rejoined his commodore, Sir John Borlase Warren, who with his active squadron soon after chased a French frigate and her convoy, consisting of twenty sail of vessels, into the *Pertuis D'Antioche*, and captured and drove on shore the greatest part of them. The frigate called the *Nereiade*, of thirty-six guns, escaped but for a short time.

On the 14th of February Earl Howe put to sea from Spithead with the Channel fleet ; on the following day he was joined off Plymouth by Rear-admiral Parker, and a squadron of Portuguese ships of war consisting of five sail of the line and three frigates : these ships cruised with the fleet until one of them, the *Princess de Biera*, a seventy-four, in a squall lost her foremast, bowsprit, and main-topmast,

and the others appeared so very ill managed, that Lord Howe gave them permission to return to Lisbon, which they soon after did. In the course of the three following years they greatly improved in nautical skill. The gales were heavy this winter, and the French fleet which had sailed in January sustained much damage ; it is said that one of their first-rates foundered, and all hands perished : they met with other disasters, and were glad to get back to Brest. Let it be observed, that the French had equipped this immense fleet within seven months after the action of the 1st of June. They were, it must be confessed, sent to sea in a state in which no British ship would have ventured, unless in a case of emergency. “

In the month of February, Lord Howe, who was much too partial to that miserable anchorage Torbay, was surprised there with his fleet of thirty-six sail of the line, in a heavy gale at south-east. The fate of England now depended on our anchors and cables ; to a seaman and a friend of his country the scene was awful. The Queen Charlotte was dipping the sea into her wardroom windows, and every pitch was expected to break adrift ; nine sail of the line parted their cables, but providentially brought up before they got foul of any other ships, or in shoal water ; and the fleet rode out the gale without farther damage. The aged and gallant Admiral, incapable of sustaining the anxiety of his charge, soon after resigned the command, and was succeeded by Lord Bridport.

Officers in his Majesty's service are now generally agreed, that it is a safer and better plan, meeting with a westerly gale, to run to the Portland-roads or even to Spithead, rather than bear up with a convoy for Torbay, where in the winter season an easterly wind suddenly comes on and often confines them. The merchant vessels being incapable of working out to weather the Start Point, and the fair wind, which from Spithead or the Downs would have conveyed them into the trades, is sometimes the cause of their being wrecked in Torbay.

In March, 1795, Captain Burlton, cruising in the *Lively* of thirty-two guns, captured the *Tourterelle* of thirty guns and two hundred and fifty men: the action took place off Ushant; the enemy fought three hours, but with very little effect, and surrendered, after having lost sixteen killed and twenty-five wounded.

On the 7th of the same month, Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Indefatigable*, with the squadron of frigates under his command, chased a convoy of twenty-five sail near the Penmarks, and captured and destroyed fifteen of them, some of which were richly laden.

April the 16th, Rear-admiral Sir John Colpoys, in the *London*, of ninety-eight guns, returned to Spithead, from a cruise in the Bay of Biscay, and reported that, on the 29th of March, the *Cerberus* and *Santa Margareta*, under his command, had captured the *Jean Bart* French corvette, of twenty guns; that the *Astrea*, Lord Henry Powlett, had captured

La Gloire, a French frigate, of thirty-six guns, twelve-pounders, and two hundred and seventy-five men, after a smart action of fifty-eight minutes; and that the Hannibal had taken La Gentile, another French frigate, of thirty-six guns.

April 24th, Sir John Warren, in his Majesty's ship La Pomone, reported the capture of another Jean Bart, of twenty-six guns, and one hundred and eighty-seven men, by the Artois, one of his squadron. The Galatea also captured L'Expedition corvette, of sixteen guns; and Captain Nagle, of the Artois, chased a ship and a brig near the rocks of Hedic, on which they were both lost.

Captain Coates, of his Majesty's ship the Thames, by a letter dated May the 9th, from Gisors, in France, acquainted the admiralty of the capture of that ship by three French frigates: he had previously, however, sustained a most severe action with another frigate, which had escaped from him, and left him in so shattered a condition, that he had no alternative but to surrender, on the firing of the first broadside from one of the fresh ships. On his release from prison, he was tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted: he had ten men killed and twenty-three wounded.

Sir Richard Strachan, in the Melampus, cruising off Cape Carteret, near Cherbourg, fell in with a convoy of eleven sail, escorted by one gun-brig and one lugger: they all ran on shore, but Sir Richard made the signal for the boats manned and armed from the ships of the squadron, viz. Dia-

mond, Sir Sydney Smith ; Hebe, Niger, and Syren : they assembled on board the Melampus, which ship worked in to cover the attack, and to silence the batteries ; the whole succeeded admirably ; the enemy fled in every direction ; the two escorts and ten merchantmen, loaded with naval stores, were brought away : we had about twenty wounded, but none killed.

Captain Anthony James Pye Molloy, of the *Cæsar*, whose conduct on the 29th of May, and 1st of June, 1794, had been severely censured by Lord Howe, was, at his own particular request, tried by a court-martial, on charges of not having brought his ship into action, nor exerted himself to the utmost of his power, in the engagements with the enemy on those days. The court was composed of the following officers :—

Admiral JOSEPH PEYTON, President.  
 Vice-admiral SIR RICHARD KING, Bart.  
 Vice-admiral CHARLES BUCKNER.  
 Rear-admiral JOHN COLPOYS.

Captains.

FRANCIS PARRY.  
 CHARLES POWEL HAMILTON.  
 ALEXANDER GRÈME.  
 CHARLES M. POLE.  
 CHRISTOPHER PARKER.  
 Lord CHARLES FITZGERALD.  
 ANDREW MITCHELL.  
 Sir ERASMUS GOWER, Knt.  
 JAMES RICHARD DACRES.

The prosecution was conducted by Rear-admiral Sir Roger Curtis, first captain of the fleet. The trial lasted three weeks, and excited an uncommon interest in the naval circles, when the court came to the following resolutions : viz. " That the charges have *been made good* ; but having found that, on the 29th of May, as well as the 1st of June, and former occasions, the courage of the said Captain Molloy had been unimpeachable, the court is of opinion that he should be dismissed from the command of his ship."

We are perfectly aware of the delicacy of discussing the sentence of a court-martial, while any of the members who composed it are living ; our remarks will therefore be concise on a subject over which our private feelings would have induced us to pass in silence. Sir Roger Curtis displayed ability as prosecutor, and Counsellor Fielding, who defended the prisoner, appears to have rescued him from the imputation of cowardice ; misconduct was, however, *proved*, and the sentence was given accordingly.

A personal knowledge of many of the officers who sat on the trial, has left us no reason to suppose, that a more honourable and correct tribunal was ever formed ; nor was there any appeal from its judgment. Captain Molloy was most blamable for not breaking the line on the 29th of May. The discretionary power given by the last part of the signal No. 39, on the 1st of June, places the conduct of those officers who did not go through



the line, in a far more favourable point of view than it would otherwise have appeared; still we think the example of the Queen Charlotte should have been implicitly followed; and we cannot attempt to palliate the act of disobedience, which we hope will never be imitated.

In May, the Boyne of ninety-eight guns, the flagship of Sir John Jervis, took fire at Spithead, and burnt five hours and a quarter, when she drifted on shore on the east end of the Spit, and blew up: few lives were lost, but some injury was done to the houses in the town by the explosion; two men were killed on board the Queen Charlotte by a shot from one of the main-deck guns of the Boyne, which went off as they became heated. The cause of this accident was never perfectly ascertained, though it is generally supposed, and with great reason, that she caught fire in the Admiral's cabin from the funnel of the wardroom-stove (which passed through the decks) being overheated. By this accident Sir John Jervis lost many valuable papers and much property.

Every ship lying to the eastward of the Boyne, at the time of the accident, weighed or slipped her cables, and run down to St. Helens, nor did they return till she had drifted on shore: a white buoy now shews the situation of the wreck.

The blowing up of her fore magazine offered one of the most magnificent sights that can be conceived: the afternoon was perfectly calm, and the sky clear;

the flames which darted from her in a perpendicular column of great height were terminated by an opaque white cloud like a round cap, while the air was filled with fragments of wreck in every direction, and the stump of the foremast was seen far above the smoke descending to the water.

While his Majesty's ships were detained at Portsmouth by the trial of Captain Molloy, the French had, with unparalleled industry, equipped and sent out a fleet of thirteen sail of the line, and as many frigates; and if the republican Admiral had shewn as much energy at sea as he did in harbour, the effects might have been very serious to our naval glory.

In June, Vice-admiral the Hon. Wm. Cornwallis, commanding a squadron off Brest, fell in with a convoy of merchantmen, under the protection of three ships of the line and eight frigates, which escaped from him by superior sailing, and got under the protection of Belleisle. The Phaeton fired several shots at them, which they returned from their sterns: he succeeded, however, in capturing eight of the convoy, loaded with wine and brandy, from Bourdeaux,

On the 16th, the Vice-admiral remaining on this station, stood in near the Penmarks; Captain Stopford, in the Phaeton, being sent a-head to look out, at ten o'clock made the signal for seeing a fleet of superior force to ours, and soon after thirty sail were counted hull\* down to leeward: the Vice-admiral kept his wind on the starboard tack, with

\* The hull or body of the ship being invisible from the British squadron.

all sail set, and Captain Stopford informed him by signal, that the enemy's fleet consisted of thirteen sail of the line, fourteen frigates, two brigs, and a cutter; in the afternoon the wind, which had failed very much, came round to the northward, when one half of the enemy's ships that had tacked and stood in shore, now laid up to fetch our ships, so, indeed, by this change of wind, could the others; they were seen on either quarter of the squadron before day-light, and at nine A. M. their van-ships began to fire upon the Mars; their frigates ranged up abreast of our squadron to windward, except one, which kept to leeward, running up under the larboard quarter of the Mars, yawing and firing into her; this was the only frigate that attempted any thing: the line-of-battle ships came up in succession, and, at a great distance, kept up an ineffectual fire the whole of the day. Towards the evening, they made a show of a more serious attack upon the Mars, which had fallen a little to leeward, and obliged the Admiral to bear up for her support; this was their last effort, if any thing they did deserved the name: several shots were fired for two hours afterward, but they gradually drew off, and before sunset their whole fleet had tacked, and were standing away from ours. The Mars and Triumph, being the two sternmost ships, were of course the most exposed; and the spirited conduct of their captains, Sir Charles Cotton and Sir Erasmus Gower, was very conspicuous. Lord Charles Fitzgerald, in the Brunswick, also kept up a very good fire from

his aftermost guns ; but that ship, from bad sailing, was forced to carry every sail. The *Bellerophon*, the Admiral says, he kept as a treasure in store, to support him in case of need, knowing the great character that ship had acquired in the action of the 1st of June, the preceding year. Lord Cranstoun, her captain, shewed all the zeal and ardour that could be desired. The Vice-admiral pays the customary compliments to the officers and men, and concludes by stating, that “ could common prudence have allowed him” to let loose their valour, “ he hardly knew what they might not have accomplished!” Many officers similarly situated might have thought they had done well by sacrificing the two sternmost ships, to have ensured the safety of the other three ; but Cornwallis disdained any such compromise : he retreated with his ships in the form of a wedge, of which the *Royal Sovereign* was the apex ; and whenever the enemy approached sufficiently near, they were soon taught to keep at a safer distance. This action was commonly known by the name of “ Cornwallis’s retreat,” and was justly considered as one of the finest displays of united courage and coolness to be found in our naval history : the thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the Admiral and his brave followers.

The ships in general received but little damage except that their sterns were very much shook from the firing of the guns. The *Mars* had twelve men wounded, none killed, and was considerably cut up in her masts, yards, and rigging. The *Triumph*

shifted a few of her sails, but the damage she received in the action was so trifling, at least in the estimation of the officers, that Sir Erasmus Gower did not think it necessary to make a report: "Indeed," says the Admiral, "such was the cool and firm conduct of that ship, that it appeared the enemy dared not approach her."

How it happened that the British navy, with one of its most valiant leaders, was subjected to this insult from an enemy which the year before had received such signal chastisement, is a question which we cannot determine. It certainly did require some explanation, but parliament was silent upon the subject, though many of its members took occasion to annoy ministers upon far less important questions; this, however, ought not to have happened: the safety of a valuable squadron, and the honour of the country, were compromised; and it is not to be concealed that, after the action of the 1st of June, a supineness pervaded our navy, as if we had no more enemies to conquer. The retreat of Admiral Cornwallis was the fruits of Lord Howe's unfinished battle of the 1st of June, 1794. It, however, gave the Admiral an opportunity of shewing that obstinate and determined valour with which he was so uncommonly gifted. It is very remarkable, that this was the only occasion in which he ever came in contact with the enemy: during the remainder of the war his perseverance was equal to his bravery, and perhaps neither was ever surpassed. The enemy did not long enjoy his superiority off Ushant;

Lord Bridport was soon at sea, with a fleet of equal force.

On the 12th of June, his Lordship sailed from Spithead with fourteen sail of the line, five frigates, two fire-ships, and an hospital-ship; that none of these should have been in condition to have cruised off Brest, in the summer season, was truly unfortunate: and, while the brave Cornwallis, with only five sail of the line, sullenly and reluctantly retreated before a superior force, merely holding it at bay, the ports of the British Channel were crowded with loitering ships, refitting at perfect leisure, their captains absent on admiralty leave, and one half of their officers and men idling their time on shore. Lord Bridport reached the station off Ushant soon after, and on the 22d of June, at four o'clock A. M. being fourteen leagues to windward of Belleisle, a strange fleet was seen between them and the land. At six o'clock the Admiral made the signal for the *Sans Pareille*, *Valiant*, *Russel*, *Colossus*, *Orion*, and *Irresistible*, to chase; and, at seven, *for a general chase*. Why this signal was not given immediately on the discovery of the strange fleet, we have never been able to learn. There was still lurking in the navy the fatal leaven of caution, which was perceivable in all our operations requiring the fleet to be brought up against even an inferior force in regular line of battle.

The ships of the enemy, with all sail set, endeavoured to escape; ours continued in chase until three the next morning, with very light airs, sometimes

calm. Sir Andrew Douglas, the captain of the Queen Charlotte, had, with becoming zeal for the service, and that constant attention to his duty by which he had risen in his profession, used the utmost exertion, during the night, to keep his ship's head directed towards the enemy, well knowing that with the motion of the sails, occasioned by the swell of the sea, a ship *will forge a-head*. In consequence of this precaution, at day-light he was one of the nearest ships, when a breeze springing up, he very soon had the distinguished honour of being again closely engaged on both sides. He that commands a well-appointed ship of the line in action with the enemies of his country, and is doing his duty, need not envy the fame of any conqueror of ancient or modern times: such was the situation of the brave Sir Andrew Douglas, and well did he avail himself of it. The fire of the Queen Charlotte surpassed even her deeds in the preceding year, as much as her crew had been improved by constant training: from the smoothness of the water, and the magnitude and near approach of the objects, no shot was fired in vain. The headmost ships, and consequently the first in action, were those already named, and who owed their good fortune, in a great measure, to being the first sent in chase. The French ship *La Formidable* was so ill-treated, that she took fire in her poop; her mizenmast fell over the side; she bore up, struck, and was secured by the ships of the British fleet coming up. She was a large seventy-four, and was afterward well known in our navy by the

name of the Belleisle. The Sans Pareille and the Colossus brought the Alexander to action, which very soon struck ; this was the ship in which Rear-admiral Bligh had been taken the preceding year.

The Royal George had, by this time, got close up alongside of Le Tigre, which, of course, surrendered to such a powerful adversary. She had three hundred men killed and wounded, having engaged other ships before the Admiral came up with her : the rest of the French fleet escaped into L'Orient, the British ships pursuing them, ours being between that place and the isle of Groix. Our loss was very trifling compared to that of the enemy, or to the service rendered to the state. The officers who were most fortunate in getting into action, in addition to those already mentioned, were, Sir James Saumarez, Lord Hugh Seymour, Captain T. Browel, J. Larcom, R. Grindall, and J. Monkton.

This victory would have been more complete, if the Commander-in-chief had not recalled the fleet from action ; there could be no danger in one three-decker following another : it is true the coast was not so well known to our officers, at that period, as in the subsequent part of the war, when we were accustomed, by way of exercising our great guns, to run between Groix and the main land, the distance from one side to the other being three miles ; consequently, by keeping in mid-channel, we avoided shot, though shells sometimes went over us. We doubt whether there is *now* sufficient water in the port of L'Orient for a first-rate, or even



for a seventy-four, except at the top of the tide: that port has long been filling up, and was, perhaps, much deeper in 1795 than in the year 1810, when the author was acquainted with it. If the French fleet, as Captain Domett stated, did get into the harbour, they must either have had a fortunate high tide, or have lightened the ships, by starting water and throwing their guns overboard.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

*Admiralty-office, June 27, 1795.*

The following despatch was this morning received from Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B.

*Royal George at sea, June 24, 1795.*

It is with sincere satisfaction I acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his Majesty's squadron, under my command, attacked the enemy's fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, attended with eleven frigates, and some smaller cruisers, on the 23d instant, close in with Port L'Orient. The ships which struck are, the *Alexander*, *Le Formidable*, and *Le Tigre*, which were with difficulty retained. If the enemy had not been protected and sheltered by the land, I have every reason to believe that a much greater number, if not all the line-of-battle ships, would have been taken or destroyed.

In detailing the particulars of this service, I am to state, that on the dawn of day, on the 22d instant, the *Nymph* and *Astrea*, being the look-out frigates a-head, made the signal for the enemy's fleet. I soon perceived that there was no intention to meet me in battle, consequently I made the signal for four of the best sailing ships (the *Sans Pareille*, *Orion*, *Russel*, and *Colossus*), and soon afterward for the whole fleet, to chase, which continued all that day, and during the night, with very little wind.

Early in the morning, on the 23d instant, the headmost ships, the *Irresistible*, *Orion*, *Queen Charlotte*, *Russel*, *Colossus*, and *Sans Pareille*, were pretty well up with the enemy, and a little before six o'clock the action began, and continued till near nine. When the ships struck, the British squadron was near to some batteries, and in the face of a strong naval port, which will manifest to the public, the zeal, intrepidity, and skill, of the admirals, captains, and all other officers,

seamen, and soldiers, employed upon this service, and they are fully entitled to my warmest acknowledgments.

I beg also to be allowed to mark my approbation, in a particular manner, of Captain Domett's conduct, serving under my flag, for his manly spirit, and for the assistance I received from his active and attentive mind. I feel, likewise, great satisfaction in doing justice to the meritorious conduct of all the officers of every class, as well as to the bravery of the seamen and soldiers in the Royal George, upon this event, and upon former occasions.

I judged it necessary, upon the information I had received of the force of the enemy, to put the Robust, Thunderer, and Standard, into the line of battle; but from their distance from my squadron, and under the circumstance of little wind, they could not join me till after the action was over.

I shall proceed upon my station, as soon as I have ordered a distribution of the prisoners, and made other necessary arrangements for the squadron. It is my intention to keep at sea, in order to fulfil every part of my instructions.

I have judged it necessary to send Captain Domett with my despatches, who will give their Lordships such farther particulars as shall have occurred to him on the victory we have gained.

You will herewith receive a list of the killed and wounded, with the ships they belonged to, and the commanders' names.

Fam, &c.

BRIDPORT.

N.B. I am happy to find by the report made to me, that Captain Grindall's wounds are not dangerous.

Note.—Captain Domett reports that the remainder of the enemy's fleet made their escape into L'Orient.

*French fleet.*

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Le Peuple . . . . .	120	Le Formidable (taken) . . . . .	74
Le Nestor . . . . .	80	Le Jean Bart . . . . .	74
Le Redoubtable . . . . .	80	Les Droits de l'Homme . . . . .	74
Le Mutius . . . . .	80	L'Alexandre (taken) . . . . .	74
Le Tigre (taken) . . . . .	80	Name unknown . . . . .	74
Le Fougueux . . . . .	80	Le Braave, rasé . . . . .	56
Le Zele . . . . .	74	La Scævola, rasé . . . . .	56

*Frigates.*

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
La Virginie . . . . .	44	La Regeneré . . . . .	44
La Fidelle . . . . .	44	La Naute . . . . .	44

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
L' Insurgente . . . . .	44	La Fraternité . . . . .	44
La Fortitude . . . . .	44	La Dryade . . . . .	36
La Proserpine . . . . .	36	Le Renard . . . . .	36
La Cocade . . . . .	36		
<i>Corvettes.</i>			
La Constance . . . . .	22	La Sangsue . . . . .	22

*A List of the fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Bridport, June 23, 1795, with the number of killed and wounded.*

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>
Royal George . . . . .	110	{ Lord Bridport, admiral of the white . . . . . Capt. Domelt . . . . . }	—	7
Queen Charlotte . . . . .	110	— Sir A. S. Douglas . . . . .	4	32
London . . . . .	98	— E. Griffiths . . . . .	—	3
Queen . . . . .	98	{ Sir Allan Gardner, bart. vice-adml. of the white . . . . . Capt. William Bedford . . . . . }	—	—
Prince of Wales . . . . .	98	— J. Bazely . . . . .	—	—
Prince George . . . . .	98	— W. Edge . . . . .	—	—
Barbeur . . . . .	98	— J. Richard Dacres . . . . .	—	—
Prince . . . . .	98	— C. P. Hamilton . . . . .	—	—
Sans Pareille . . . . .	80	{ Lord Hugh Seymour, rear-adml. of the blue . . . . . Capt. H. Brouel . . . . . }	10	2
Orion . . . . .	74	— Sir Jas. Saumarez . . . . .	6	18
Valiant . . . . .	74	Jos. Larcom (acting) . . . . .	—	—
Russel . . . . .	74	Capt. Thos. Larcom . . . . .	3	10
Irresistible . . . . .	74	— Richard Grindall . . . . .	3	11
Colossus . . . . .	74	— J. Monkton . . . . .	5	30
Revolutionaire . . . . .	44	— F. Cole . . . . .	—	—
Thalia . . . . .	36	— Lord H. Powlett . . . . .	—	—
La Nymphe . . . . .	36	— George Murray . . . . .	—	—
Aquilon . . . . .	32	— Robert Barlow . . . . .	—	—
Astrea . . . . .	32	— Richard Lanc . . . . .	—	—
Le Babet . . . . .	22	— Edw. Codrington . . . . .	—	—
Mægara (F. S.) . . . . .	14	— J. Ballard . . . . .	—	—
Incendiary (F. S.) . . . . .	14	— T. Roger . . . . .	—	—
Charon (H. S.) . . . . .		— Walter Lock . . . . .	—	—
Argus (lugger) . . . . .		Lieut. R. Clarke . . . . .	—	—
Dolly . . . . .		A. Watson, master . . . . .	—	—
Total,			31	113

In July, Sir William Sydney Smith, in the *Diamond*, and Sir Richard Strachan, cruised off Cherbourg, Havre, and St. Marcou, where they greatly annoyed the enemy, taking and destroying many of their convoys.

At the meeting of parliament, on the 7th of January, the vote for eighty-five thousand seamen, and fifteen thousand marines, proposed by Admiral Gardner, being carried, Mr. Robinson remarked the superiority of the French over British ships of war, in point of construction and quick sailing; Captain Berkeley admitted they *were better* built, but denied their superior rate of sailing. Admiral Gardner set him and the house right, by observing, that the French ships had the advantage in point of sailing, which he ascribed to their superior construction, and to premiums given by their government for the best models, which were regularly submitted to the examination and decision of the Academy of Sciences; but, he added, “copying from the ships *lately* taken, had been the means of considerable improvements;” improvements we suspect intended rather than effected at that time. Mr. Fox observed, “that the knowledge and experience of the people of this country, in naval affairs, ought long ago to have enabled them to surpass their French rivals, in a point of such importance to the honour and security of the nation; it was neither creditable to the ministry, nor to the admiralty, to have so long suffered this degrading inferiority. The sooner it was remedied the better at this critical period.

which required uncommon exertions of skill and valour in every department, but particularly in the naval, on which the safety and glory of the nation so visibly depended. He complained that, considering the decided superiority of the British navy, its achievements had not been adequate to the expectations which the nation had a right to form. Our exertions at sea, he observed, had been greatly impeded by the extensive efforts made to strengthen the service on land. The bounties given to recruit the army took off numbers of able men from the navy; on which, however, every judicious man placed more reliance against an invasion of this country, than upon its land-forces.

“ The navy was the bulwark of the realm, and it were criminal, at the present juncture, not to pay it a much higher attention than military operations on the continent, which the experience of three campaigns had shewn to be ineffectual for the main object of the contest—the reducing France to submit to our terms.”

Mr. Dundas stated, “ that no efforts had ever been made superior, if equal, to those which had taken place since the beginning of the war. The number of seamen, at that period, amounted to no more than sixteen thousand, but was, at this day, no less than ninety-five thousand: he was convinced, from good information, that our active naval force was double that of the enemy. Much, he observed, had been said of the superior skill of the enemy in naval architecture, but we were confessedly the superior in

action; and while we possessed this superiority, the collateral advantages of construction and expeditious sailing would be of little avail to the enemy." Mr. Sheridan also reprobated the supineness of ministers, with regard to the navy, in not attending to the better construction of vessels for sailing. Mr. Pitt confessed that extraordinary efforts had been made by the French to increase and strengthen their navy; but, like their exertions on land, they would not be of a durable nature,—they were too hurried and precipitate to last.

Government listening to the voice of the people, expressed both in and out of parliament, at the close of the year 1795 made an effort to bring about a peace. Mr. Wickham, the British envoy at the Swiss cantons, ascertained the sentiments of the directory through their agent Mr. Barthelemy, the French minister at Basle. In the month of October, 1796, Lord Malmsbury was sent to Paris as minister plenipotentiary, and discussions immediately ensued between his Lordship and Mr. Delacroix which lasted two months; the same unyielding arrogance was displayed throughout. France required every thing, and would concede nothing. England offered to resign all she had gained from France in India, provided the latter would give up her conquests on the Rhine, in Germany, and Belgium. Lord Malmsbury also demanded an equivalent for the acquisition made by France in the treaty of Basle, of the Spanish part of St. Domingo: the whole of his Lordship's propositions were haughtily rejected, and late in



December he received an order to quit Paris in forty-eight hours. England and Europe then became convinced that with such a government nothing was left but the most vigorous prosecution of "a just and necessary war."

Signal stations were established this year on the coasts of England and Scotland; the late Lord George Murray, bishop of St. David's, first introduced the land telegraph, which was adopted by the admiralty; in our chapter of signals we shall give a description of this instrument.

The coast of France from Dunkirk to Bayonne was kept in a constant state of alarm by the skill and activity of our cruisers; among the most distinguished of which were those officers who soon after shone with splendour in the higher ranks of the navy; Saumarez, Pellew, Strachan, Keats, Warren, Reynolds, Durham, Nagle, and many others, who will claim a place in the course of this history, seized every occasion of pursuing the enemy's trade into their harbours; and by practice had acquired so complete a knowledge of their ports and anchorages, that the protection of shoal water seldom secured more than their persons, and frequently the crews were drowned in attempting to save themselves from capture. In consequence of his numerous successes, Sir John Warren received a valuable sword from the merchants at Lloyd's, who had formed an association denominated the "Patriotic Fund," and very justly assumed a title to which their actions gave them the clearest right. They were men of honour,

education, talent, and industry; and for love of their king and country were never exceeded. The propriety of their conduct, though not the purity of their motives, was questioned in the house of commons, as arrogating to themselves a power of rewarding merit, which it was contended belonged exclusively to the crown; but in behalf of the naval profession we beg with humility to say, that where our actions undergo the rigid scrutiny of men of unbiassed judgment, a mark of their approbation is, next to that of the king, the parliament, or the admiralty, our highest gratification. The merchants at Lloyd's did not confine themselves to rewarding the merit of officers; the more needy and not less meritorious lower classes of all arms were liberally noticed, and amply compensated for wounds or for exertions; while the widow, the orphan, or the destitute relative, found relief and comfort under their affliction from this generous association.

In the autumn of this year a discussion arose between the army and navy, which but for the superior good sense and education of the officers in both professions, as compared to their predecessors of the seven years' war, might have produced serious injury to the service and to the empire. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, as commander-in-chief, had been advised to object to soldiers embarked on board his Majesty's ships, whether serving as marines or only passengers, being subject to naval discipline; but required that in case of being guilty of any offence, they should be put on board some other



vessel, and sent into port to be tried by military court-martial. A proposition more subversive of naval discipline was never conceived in the height of mutiny. The seamen and marines, when they subsequently obtained the command of the fleet, never demanded exemption from punishment, well knowing that if the captains were deprived of the power of coercion over the idle and the disorderly, the loss of the ship must ensue, or the labour would fall only on the well disposed; and that a body of men serving in the fleet should claim exception from the articles of war, excited such a feeling among all classes, and particularly the admirals and captains at Spithead and St. Helens, that a meeting was called by these officers, and a representation made to the admiralty; nor could the fleets proceed to their various destinations until the important question was finally decided. Their memorial was laid before his Majesty in council, who was pleased to direct that no alteration should be made in the established rules of the navy, which subjects every person *in* or *belonging* to the fleet to the laws provided for their government by act of parliament.

The power of the captains of his Majesty's ships to inflict punishment on soldiers had been questioned in the American war; and some military officers had gone so far as to assemble a court-martial on board to try offenders: in one instance the captain of the ship dismissed the court, and his conduct was approved of by his superiors; in another the trial was allowed to proceed, and the captain was censured

for permitting it, and, being a commander, lost his promotion for many years.

The illustrious Duke, in issuing such an order, had doubtless no other view than the good of the service, and the protection of the soldiers from a punishment which had been falsely represented as too wantonly and too frequently inflicted : but his Royal Highness was deceived ; the right of punishment rests, and must ever rest, with the officer who is responsible for the safety of the ship ; the power is seldom, perhaps *never*, abused towards the army, since the captain is accountable for any undue exertion of it ; and we think officers both naval and military will admit, that in every instance where the necessity of punishment has appeared, it has been stated to the commander of the troops on board, and his acquiescence obtained on a full conviction of the propriety of the measure.

A discussion of such an unpleasant nature, it might have been feared, would have engendered dissension between the two professions ; happily it had not that effect : the late war was as remarkable for the harmony and unanimity of the army and navy, as it was for their glorious deeds when united against the common enemy in every part of the world.

Much time was consumed in deliberating on this question, during which an opportunity for the fleets and convoys to get down Channel was lost ; and it was not till the 16th of November that the squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Christian, with

a convoy of two hundred vessels, and having on board sixteen thousand troops, sailed for the Leeward Islands. A constant succession of gales of wind and bad weather retarded and dispersed the ships: never since the hurricane of 1782 was a fleet more unfortunate than this; some of them put into Torbay, others bore away for Portland, and some more properly ran up to Spithead: those who attempted to make Portland-roads got embayed to the westward of the Bill, and went on shore on Chiswell-beach, where hundreds of dead bodies were found, and buried in the neighbouring church-yards. A part of the fleet with the Rear-admiral succeeded in getting farther to the westward. It was a received maxim in the old school, to keep the Channel open, by preserving the parallel of  $48^{\circ}$ , lest they should get embayed to the southward of Ushant; this is now an acknowledged error: had the Admiral kept on the starboard tack with the wind at west, or west-north-west, he would have found more moderate weather, and perhaps a more favourable wind as he approached Cape Finisterre. At length, after encountering the most tempestuous gales, he was forced to put back to Spithead. A part of the army that had been embarked in transports, by keeping to the southward, made their passage to the West Indies in six weeks, while some of those who adhered to the Admiral foundered, and all the people were lost. The Commerce de Marseilles, the largest ship in the world, was sent out armed *en flute*, loaded with naval stores, but was so much injured by the heavy sea she en-

countered, that she was forced to put back with the others, and was soon after broken up.

The failure of this expedition led to the most serious disasters in the West Indies, where the islands of Guadaloupe and St. Lucia were again given up to the enemy, whom the arrival of this force would not only have expelled, but have enabled us to secure the retreat and preserve some of the property of the unhappy colonists of St. Domingo.

On the 8th of September, Sir Sydney Smith in the *Diamond*, chased and drove on shore a French corvette called the *Assemblée Nationale*, of twenty-two guns and two hundred men: she went to pieces, and twenty of her men were drowned.

In October, Rear-admiral Harvey, in the *Prince of Wales* with a squadron, was cruising off Ushant.

Captain Williams in the *Unicorn* captured the *Comet*, a very fine Dutch brig.

On the 17th, Sir John Warren off Isle Dieu captured *L'Eveille*, corvette of eighteen guns and one hundred men: she was in company with a line-of-battle ship, which escaped, we conclude, into the river *Vilaine*. The corvette had been in company with a part of a squadron consisting of *La Forte*, of fifty guns, *La Veriade* and *Tarteuf*, of thirty-six guns, and a lugger: they had captured twelve sail of West-Indiamen, two of which were recaptured.

On the 18th of March, 1796, Sir Sydney Smith in the *Diamond* burnt a corvette near Cape Frehel.

On the 20th, Sir John Warren with his squadron,

consisting of the Pomone, Artois, Anson, and Galatea, fell in with, off the Saints, a convoy of merchantmen escorted by five French frigates, one of which, L'Etoile of thirty guns and one hundred and sixty men, he captured, together with four sail of merchantmen.

On the 8th of April, Sir Sydney Smith in the Diamond of thirty-eight guns, while off Havre, went with his boats to cut out a French lugger; he succeeded in boarding her, but the flood tide setting in he was forced to anchor; and during the night the cable being either cut by the prisoners or parted by accident, the vessel was most carelessly allowed to drift up the Seine, when she was retaken by some gun-boats, and Sir Sydney carried away a prisoner to Paris, where he was confined some time in the Temple.

On the 29th of February, Vice-admiral Cornwallis sailed in the Royal Sovereign of one hundred guns, Captain J. Whitby, with the remainder of the West-India convoy, consisting of merchantmen and transports, which had been driven back in December when under the protection of Rear-admiral Christian. The Vice-admiral was directed to take the command on the Leeward-Island station; but in going down Channel his ship in the night ran foul of the Bellisarius, a transport under his convoy, having on board three hundred troops, besides women and children. As it was blowing extremely hard, the accident was of the most serious and alarming nature: many of the poor people in the transport,

supposing she was sinking, clung to ropes thrown to them from the Royal Sovereign; some were saved, to the number of one hundred and thirty, others fell between the ships, and perished miserably; the transport however got clear, and with the remainder of the people reached Corunna in safety. The Royal Sovereign received some damage, which induced the Vice-admiral to return to Spithead, where he arrived on the 10th of March.

His conduct in not proceeding to his station on board a seventy-four gun ship under his orders, admitting the defects of the Royal Sovereign to have been so great as to have prevented his continuing the voyage, excited the highest displeasure at the board of admiralty; the Admiral was however directed in a *private* letter from Earl Spencer to sail for his station in the Astrea, a frigate of thirty-two guns, which was ordered to receive him; this the Vice-admiral declined, and a court-martial was ordered to try him, first for disobedience of orders in not proceeding to his station: secondly, for not shifting his flag after the accident into the Minotaur: and thirdly, for not proceeding in the Astrea agreeably to orders.

The court, of which Earl Howe was the president, assembled on the 17th April on board the Orion in Portsmouth harbour; and the following admirals and captains composed one of the most respectable juries we ever remember to have seen.

## Admirals.

Lord BRIDPORT, admiral of the white.

Sir PETER PARKER, admiral of the white.

Sir A. GARDNER, vice of the white.

GEORGE VANDEPUT, vice of the white.

JOHN COLPOYS, vice of the blue.

Sir ROGER CURTIS, rear of the red.

R. R. BLIGH, rear of the red.

HENRY HARVEY, rear of the red.

C. M. POLE, rear of the blue.

## Captains.

CHARLES EDMUND NUGENT.

CHARLES POWEL HAMILTON.

EDMUND DODD.

Sir GEORGE JACKSON, Bart. judge-advocate.

The court proceeded on the trial, *but no one appeared to support the charges.* The correspondence between the board of admiralty and the Admiral having been read, the latter was informed that the prosecution had closed, and that he might enter upon his defence; this consisted in calling two or three officers to prove that the Royal Sovereign had received so much injury in her cutwater as to render her unfit for the voyage, and that he could not shift his flag into the Mars or the Minotaur without great inconvenience to himself; for the same reason he did not choose to go out in the Astrea, a small frigate, in which he could have no accommodation suitable to his rank and situation. The defence being concluded, the court

delivered the following sentence, "That with respect to the two first charges of returning *without leave*, after having been ordered to proceed to Barbadoes, and of his disobeying the orders he had received, *misconduct was* imputable to him for not having shifted his flag on board the Mars or the Minotaur, and proceeding in either of them to the West Indies; but in consideration of other circumstances, the court acquitted him of *any disobedience* on *that* occasion: with respect to the third charge, of his having after his return disobeyed the orders of the admiralty, in not going out to the West Indies in the Astrea, the court was of opinion that the charge was *not proved*, and therefore acquitted Admiral Cornwallis of that charge."

By this sentence it would appear that the Admiral was considered *blamable*, but not *culpable upon the first and second charges*; and upon the third, that he never received any order to go to Barbadoes, but a private letter from Earl Spencer offering the Astrea for that service, which the Admiral declined;—we are therefore to conclude, that there were no grounds whatever for a court-martial; or if there were, that the admiralty were unwilling to press them. It is remarkable that this was the second instance within two years of a commander-in-chief, after sailing for the Leeward Islands, returning to England without orders. As the first of them however never came before the public, we shall not mention the particulars farther, than that the officer was superseded, and never afterward employed.



Lord Howe handed the Admiral his sword, which he received in no very gracious manner; and turning abruptly round, called his captain and hurried away to his ship, as it was observed in the house of commons, both acquitted and condemned.

On the 27th of April, Captain E. J. Foote, in the Niger, cruising off Brest, drove on shore a large French corvette; she run upon the Penmarks. Captain Foote anchored his ship as near as he could, and with springs on his cables brought his broadside to bear; and after having fired at her for some time, sent his boats under the command of Lieutenants Long and Thomson, who boarded and effectually destroyed her, though not without considerable resistance. She proved to be the national corvette L'Ecuriel, of eighteen guns and one hundred and five men.

In the month of February, the Leda, a very fine frigate of thirty-six guns, commanded by Captain John Woodley, an officer of distinguished abilities, was lost at sea.

She was proceeding with a convoy to the West Indies, and when between fifteen and twenty leagues to the northward of Madeira, upset in a violent squall of wind, and went down with all hands except seven; from one of whom the following narrative was obtained, and which appears to have been tolerably correct. At midnight he heard the ship's bell strike twelve; it was then blowing very hard; the Captain sent for the officer of the watch, who he believes went to him: in the mean while the ship

upset, either by the sudden effect of a squall, or by striking on a sunken rock supposed to be in that latitude and longitude. He farther stated that he lost all recollection of what passed until he found himself with six others in the ship's jolly-boat, which was picked up the next morning by a Danish galliot. Such was the unfortunate end of the *Leda*, though her loss is not satisfactorily accounted for. Ships of her class, unless extremely ill managed, never upset by the mere force of the wind, unassisted by any other cause. The *Leda* was known to have been in the very highest order, and therefore less likely to be neglected in the night-time, or in bad weather. One observation which the author made on board of her in the month of July preceding the accident, deserves to be mentioned. Captain Woodley was in the habit of securing his main-deck guns with small nippers and levers to the breechings, instead of the old-fashioned quarter-seizings: the only advantage of this plan was, the more readily casting them loose: but we suspect that one of the *Leda's* guns may, in the squall or heavy rolling of the ship, have broken from this insecure fastening, and stove her side out. This conjecture we have heard supported by officers on whose judgment we should place much reliance.

In April, Captain Cole in *La Revolutionnaire*, one of Sir Edward Pellew's squadron, captured, after a long chase, and a very short action, *L'Unité*, French frigate of thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, and two hundred and fifty-five men. While the squadron

was off the Lizard seeing the prize into port, another frigate was observed standing in from sea; Sir Edward in the Indefatigable immediately went in chase of her, and at twelve o'clock at night ran alongside. The Frenchman fought his ship well, but on the coming up of the Concord, Sir Richard Strachan, she struck, and proved to be La Virginie, one of the finest frigates of the French navy, carrying forty-four guns, including cannonades eighteen pounders on her main-deck, and three hundred and fifty men, commanded by Captain Bergeret, an officer as distinguished for his talent and bravery, as he was for his humanity to his prisoners. He afterward made a great figure in India, where he did incalculable damage to our trade. The Indefatigable in this action had not a man killed or wounded; the enemy lost fifteen killed and seventeen wounded, the ship much shattered in her hull, and four feet water in her hold.

In June, Sir John B. Warren off the Penmarks captured eight or nine sail of the enemy's traders going along shore loaded with provisions for Brest.

Captain Williams in the Unicorn of thirty-two guns eighteen pounders, and Captain Thomas Bryan Martin in the Santa Margareta of thirty-two guns twelve pounders, fell in with a French squadron, consisting of La Tribune of thirty-eight guns; La Tamise (formerly the Thames), of thirty-two guns, and three hundred men; and La Légère, a corvette of twenty guns. At first the enemy formed a line as if to engage them, but very soon altered their plan,

and crowded all sail away. The Unicorn pursued the Tribune, and the Santa Margareta La Tamise : both the British ships took their opponents, and La Légère escaped. Captain Martin secured his prize in a very short time, but Captain Williams had a chase of two hundred and ten miles, and a severe running fight for ten hours, when his enemy, though of superior force, was compelled to surrender, for which Captain Williams received the honour of knighthood.

Lord Amelius Beauclerk, in the Dryad of thirty-six guns, captured the French frigate La Proserpine, of thirty-eight guns and three hundred and forty-eight men. In all these actions, our loss was greatly exceeded by that of the enemy.

La Légère was captured on the 22d, by the Apollo, Captain Manly ; thus the whole of the squadron of Commodore Moulson, consisting of three frigates and one corvette, fell into the hands of our active cruisers.

July 14th, Captain Sir Charles Hamilton of the Melpomene captured, after a chase of five hours, the French corvette La Revanche of eighteen guns and one hundred and sixty-seven men.

In August, Sir John Warren in the Pomone with his squadron of frigates chased and drove on shore L'Andromaque, a French frigate of the larger class, with nine sail of coasting traders.

The admiralty discovered, in the year 1794, that the French had cut off the upper decks of some of their old ships of the line, and converted them into

frigates. The Brutus was one, and from her scantling\* and weight of metal became an overmatch for any thing we had on one deck ; three ships of sixty-four guns were therefore selected to be cut down in the same manner : they were called rasés (shaved). The Indefatigable, most aptly named, was given to Sir Edward Pellew ; the Anson to Captain P. C. Durham ; and the Magnanime to Captain De Courcey. They answered the purpose of fighting on smooth water, or chasing off the wind, but in a heavy sea rolled quick and deep ; they carried long twenty-four pounders on the main-deck, which was kept entirely clear from stem to stern. The captain had a small cabin on the quarter-deck, which, it should be observed, was a part of the former main-deck ; in all other respects they were like frigates. They had a successful run, and were long held in high estimation.

January 13th, Sir Edward Pellew in the Indefatigable, with Captain Reynolds in the Amazon of thirty-eight guns, at noon discovered a ship of war running in for Brest under easy sail. With these officers, to see, to chase, and come to action, were generally the work of a few hours. By six o'clock the Indefatigable was alongside of the enemy, which they found was a ship of seventy-four guns. A severe action commenced ; the Amazon came up, and both ships engaged her in a running fight with a heavy sea until four o'clock in the morning, when

\* The breadth and thickness of the timbers.

land was discovered, and the Indefatigable with masts and rigging cut to pieces, and four feet water in the hold, had only time to haul to the southward and clear the breakers, but soon saw them again. Day-light was now looked for with a solicitude that can never be described, and known only to those who have had charge of ships in similar situations. At length it came, and shewed them their own danger, and the melancholy fate of their gallant and unfortunate enemy; the ships were in Hodiernes-bay, the Penmarks were without them, and their opponent lay on her beam-ends upon the rocks near the main land, with a tremendous sea beating over her. “The miserable fate of her brave but unhappy crew (we copy the words of Sir Edward) was perhaps the more severely lamented by us, from the apprehension of suffering a similar misfortune.” After ten hours’ fighting, exhausted by fatigue, every exertion was made, every nerve strained, to save the ship, which providentially weathered the Penmark-rocks by the distance of only half a mile. The Amazon had hauled her wind to the northward when the Indefatigable stood to the southward, and the latter did not know for some time what had been the fate of her consort. The enemy’s ship, which proved to be the *Droits de L’Homme*, was totally lost, with many of her people; the Amazon was also lost, but more fortunate in saving the lives of her gallant crew, who, with the true spirit of the British bull-dog, pursued their enemy and held him even in the pangs of death. The brave Captain Reynolds was soon after exchanged, tried

by a court-martial, most honourably acquitted, and appointed to another ship, and with his companions in arms continued to be a scourge to the enemy during the greater part of the war.

In the month of October the *Amphion* of thirty-two guns, lying lashed alongside the sheer hulk in the harbour of Hamoaze to refit, took fire between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, and instantly blew up. The Captain (Israel Pellew), Captain Swaffield of the royal navy, Mr. Muir the first lieutenant, and another person, were dining in the cabin at the time. Captain Pellew jumped or was blown out of the quarter-gallery window. Mr. Muir threw himself out of the stern window, and fell much bruised into the jolly-boat. Captain Swaffield perished, as did the other person, and most of the crew. The ship instantly went down, leaving part of the wreck hanging by the lashing to the sheer hulk: the number lost we have not ascertained. In consequence of this accident it was ordered that no ship should come into harbour with her powder on board. The catastrophe was supposed to have been occasioned by the Gunner or some of his crew selling powder out of the magazine. The *Ardent*, the *Resistance*, and the *Cormorant*, are the only British ships in the course of the long war we know of having been lost by sudden explosion.

Never did the political atmosphere lower in more threatening clouds upon the British islands than at the commencement of this year. The war, which had now been carried on since January, 1793, was

getting unpopular in England: France, Spain, and Holland, were united against us; and though each of these powers had seen the destruction of their commerce and marine, yet they had sufficient strength to give us constant uneasiness, and to require all the forces of the empire to guard our foreign conquests and settlements, as well as to watch over a much more vital part. Austria, by the treaty of Campo Formio, had made her peace with France, and left us to contend alone against the overgrown republic and her allies. Of this celebrated treaty the following is an outline of the part most affecting the interests of Great Britain. The Emperor\* ceded to France in full sovereignty the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, and consented to their keeping possession of the Venetian islands of Zante, Cephalonia, and Corfu, and all other islands in the Adriatic, together with the settlements in Albania, south-east of the gulf of Lodrino: he acknowledged the Cisalpine republic, ceding at the same time the sovereignty of the countries that had belonged to Austria in Lombardy, gave up Bergamo, Brescia, the dutchies of Mantua and Modena, the principalities of Massa and Carrara, and the cities and territories of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, lately belonging to the Pope. In return for these benefits France ceded to Austria the countries of Istria and Dalmatia, with the Venetian islands in the Adriatic lying southward of the gulf of Lodrino; the city of Venice with a large portion of

\* Annual Register, 1797, p. 46.



the dominion of that republic, chiefly those between the Tyrol, the lake of Guarda, and the Adriatic; and in order to define the neutrality of the two powers, it was stipulated that neither party should assist the enemies of the other, and that no more than six ships of war of any belligerent should be permitted to enter the ports of France and Austria during the present war: by this treaty the Rhine became the boundary between France and Germany. All this was the work of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Ireland, from causes which it is not in our power nor consistent with our plan to state, was at this time on the eve of a rebellion; a great body of the lower classes, and many of the higher order in that island, were implicated in a foul conspiracy to separate the two countries which had been so long united for the honour and happiness of both. Artful, selfish, and discontented men had fomented the naturally heated and unreflecting minds of that brave and hardy people, and had too well succeeded in persuading them that they were oppressed: incapable of perceiving that it was the destruction and not the prosperity of their country which France desired, the Irish came into the snare; the seeds of disaffection having been long sown, had taken deep root, and the landing of a French army was to have been the signal of an extensive revolt.

The national convention, as remarkable for hatred to this country as for the secrecy and courage with which it carried on its foreign expeditions, had equipped a strong fleet in Brest, and had embarked twenty

thousand men under the command of General Hoche: the time they chose for putting to sea was late in December, 1796, when the greatest part of the Channel fleet was in port refitting, and we had nothing at sea but our flying squadrons. Eight sail of the line and nine smaller ships had anchored in Bantry-bay on the 24th of December, and remained there without any attempt to land until the 27th, when they quitted that place with a strong gale at south-south-east; they returned to it again in the course of two or three days, and again put to sea without attempting to land. The whole country was up in arms to receive them, but in a very different manner to what they had been led to expect. Their fleet, badly equipped, and never well conducted in point of practical seamanship, was dispersed and dismasted; some came on shore on the west coast of Ireland, where the crews perished or were taken prisoners, some foundered at sea, and many were brought in triumph into a British port; and in return for the mortal blow which they aimed at the welfare of Britain, were treated with kindness and generosity. The republic of France was however invulnerable to any other acts than those of the most determined warfare, and the most rigorous exertion of military power. In the month of February three French frigates landed a body of fifteen hundred men at Fisgard in Wales, not far from Haverford-West: the militia of the country under Lord Cawdor were quickly assembled, and these invaders, without firing a shot, were all surrounded and taken prisoners. Upon investi-

gation they turned out to be convicts, who had been landed with a promise of freedom if they performed any important service : they were put on shore without any cannon, and on the approach of our militia the second officer in command of this respectable corps came up with a letter and begged to capitulate. The frigates from which they had disembarked never waited to see the result of their expedition. Upon the whole this was an inhuman attempt to disturb the internal tranquillity of a country by means the most atrocious, by turning into its bosom the most abandoned miscreants, the outcasts of civilized society familiarized to blood, to rapine, and strangers to every moral feeling of humanity. These men were all re-embarked and landed on the coast of France to the southward of L'Orient.

Whatever hopes the wicked and profligate directory might have entertained from these malignant schemes, they reaped no advantage from them ; they served only to produce the highest effervescence of loyalty and attachment to our beloved Sovereign and constitution. The throne was the rallying point ; and those who were before desponding or wavering, now became firm and animated in their tone and actions.

The French fleet being at sea, was always, until certain accounts were received of its disposal, a political meteor, on which the eyes of the nation gazed with anxious suspense. As soon as it was known that the armament had sailed from Brest, the greatest exertion was made to forward the fleet

from Spithead under the command of Lord Bridport. The ships of the line might have sailed immediately through the Needles, as a strong breeze from south-east and an ebb-tide prevented their going round St. Helen's point; but either the Commander-in-chief was unwilling to trust his ships in that channel, or there was no pilot in the fleet qualified to take such a charge: the opportunity was lost; the wind shifted, and the French had the command for a time of the coast of Ireland, and the entrance to the British Channel: the passage through the Needles was soon after surveyed, and ships of the line were very frequently taken through. The hand of Providence, which seems peculiarly to have favoured the British empire, was conspicuous during this eventful period; and we shall soon have to recount the defeat and destruction of the invaders. The first of them was taken by Captain Stirling in the *Jason*: she was a transport loaded with troops and warlike stores, and called the *Suffrein*. The prisoners stated, that the fleet with which they sailed from Brest on the 16th of December consisted of sixteen sail of the line, with transports having on board twenty thousand troops.

In January, Captain Carthew in the *Regulus* captured the Spanish corvette *San Pio* of eighteen guns and one hundred and thirty men, before he knew of the war with Spain: but he had heard that Admiral Mann's squadron had been chased by a Spanish fleet.

By a letter from Sir G. K. Elphinstone, we find

that he was at Crookhaven in Ireland in the *Monarch*, whence he wrote word that the French frigate *Impatiente* had been driven on shore in a gale of wind at one o'clock in the morning of the 30th of December, 1796, and that out of three hundred and twenty seamen and two hundred and fifty soldiers, only seven men were saved : she was a frigate of the largest class, carrying twenty-four pounders, and one of Hoche's division.

January 5th, Captain Lumsdaine in the *Polyphemus* captured *La Tortue*, a ship of the same size, with six hundred and twenty-five men on board ; he also captured a transport full of troops, but being leaky and night coming on, she was given up, and is supposed to have foundered with all hands. *La Scævola*, another French frigate, had foundered in the same manner.

The *Unicorn*, *Doris*, and *Druid*, captured *La Ville de L'Orient*, having on board four hundred of the enemy's hussars, with complete equipments, besides cannon, mortars, muskets, powder, clothing, &c.

Captain Barlow in the *Phœbe* took the *Atalante* of sixteen guns and one hundred and twelve men.

The *Spitfire* captured *La Légère*, a brig of two hundred tons, loaded with ammunition and intrenching tools ; and one of the squadron intended for the invasion of Ireland. Sir Thomas Williams in the *Unicorn* captured *L'Eclair*, a French brig of war of eighteen guns and one hundred and twenty men.

The directory, undismayed by the failure of their expedition against Ireland, and the disasters of their

fleet, issued a proclamation to the troops embarked, and acquainted them that another attempt would be made as soon as the return of fine weather would admit.

The loss of time occasioned by Lord Bridport declining to take the fleet through the Needles, allowed the enemy to escape with more impunity than could have been expected, considering our great maritime superiority. His Lordship reached his station off Brest in January, and detached the *St. Fiorenzo* of forty guns commanded by Captain Sir Harry Neale, and the *Nymph* of thirty-six guns by Captain John Cook, to reconnoitre the enemy's port. The wind being to the northward these two ships stood close in, and returning to join the fleet, met with and captured, after a very short but spirited action, *La Resistance* and *La Constance*, two French frigates; the former the largest out of France, mounting twenty-eight twenty-four pounders on her main deck, and having a complement of three hundred and forty-three men. These were two of the three ships which had landed the convicts in Wales, and were on their way back to Brest from that dishonourable duty. The British frigates fell upon them with irresistible skill and valour which carried all before them. The name of *La Resistance* was changed to that of *Fisgard*, in commemoration of their disgraceful attempt on that town. The enemy had eighteen killed and fourteen wounded; on our side none were hurt. From their fleet and batteries the French beheld the transaction, while the British

fleet was too far in the offing to see the combatants ; and Sir Harry Neale and Captain Cook with their officers and crews had the whole honour of the achievement.

From the deeds of our countrymen on the ocean we must now turn to a more painful subject, and behold her career of glory checked by a general mutiny throughout the British navy, the history of which we shall make the subject of the following chapter.

## CHAP. XIII.

Exultation of our enemies on the mutiny—Its origin—Negligence of Earl Howe—Lord Bridport's signal disobeyed—Declaration of the seamen—Admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Pole, address them—Seamen strike Lord Bridport's flag—Fatal affair on board the London—Many officers turned out of their ships—Pacification of the Channel fleet by Earl Howe—Mutiny on board the Venerable in Yarmouth roads suppressed—Ringleaders pardoned—Consequences—Fleet sails and deserts the Admiral—Ships at the Nore—Escape of Clyde and St. Fiorenzo—Conduct of the seamen—Their demands rejected—State of Sheerness—Conduct of Parker—Threatens to take the fleet to the enemy—Effective means adopted by the government and merchants of London—Escape of the Leopard—Of the Repulse—Decline of the mutiny—Parker's order to the Earl of Northesk—Surrender of the fleet—Parker put in confinement—Trial and execution—Reflections—Clemency of George the Third—Official papers—Death of Captain of Marlborough.

**I**F it were inquired what event, during the reign of his majesty King George the Third, had most endangered the safety of the British empire, few would hesitate to say, that the mutiny of the fleet was, of all the others that ever happened in that long and interesting period, the one most likely to have accelerated its downfall—a political paralysis, which affected not only the kingdom at home, but extended to every foreign settlement or station where a ship of war was to be found.

The belligerent powers united against us; and the nations of the North, whom the artful policy of France had nearly succeeded in forming into a second armed neutrality, together with the states of America, all rejoiced at the flame of discord which



had suddenly burst forth in the British fleet. "The tyrants of the seas," it was exultingly said, were at their last gasp; and the free and unfettered trade of the world it was fondly hoped would have been the first-fruits of our annihilation. Fortunately our enemies knew as little how to avail themselves of our disasters, as they were ignorant of the true character of the British nation and her sailors, amongst whom there was always a wide difference between mutiny and treason. Instead of sinking under the threatened danger, the spirit of the King and the people rose with the occasion, and the trident was still doomed to achieve new victories in the hands of that power, which under the protection of Divine Providence, had known how to wield it with valour and justice.

The origin of the mutiny has been ascribed to various causes—to the machinations of domestic traitors, and corresponding societies,—to the severity or tyranny of the captains, and the secret influence of foreign enemies. We dismiss the whole of these as the vain and idle offsprings of ignorance and presumption; and having been eye-witnesses of the greater part, and intimately acquainted with the whole transaction, shall proceed to state what we know to have been the real causes, and which we can safely assert were unconnected with any political consideration whatsoever.

Since the reign of Charles the Second, notwithstanding the great increase in the price of every article of human subsistence, no addition had been made either to the pay or allowances of the seamen

of the royal navy, and it was well known that the rations were not sufficient for their complete nourishment: hence *one* of the causes of the ravages made by the sea-scurvy in long voyages, where the men had no opportunity of increasing the quantity of their food. This dreadful disorder is now no longer known, owing to the improved and more liberal method of treating the crews of his Majesty's ships. The seamen, by means of anonymous letters, had stated to Lord Howe, the commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, whom they called their "father," the hardships under which they laboured: but the noble Earl, ever deaf to the voice of remonstrance or complaint, however well founded, had no notion of governing the navy by other means than the articles of war; the round robins and petitions which he received were therefore disregarded and laid aside, without the subject even being mentioned to the privy council, or perhaps (till just before the explosion) to the board of admiralty.

Anonymous letters containing demands for redress of grievances, were sent in from most of the ships at Spithead, and in Portsmouth harbour, as early as the month of February. The mode adopted by the seamen for expressing their complaints appears to have been founded on an erroneous construction of the twenty-second article of war: fearful that the leaders in such a cause might have been selected as examples for punishment, they unfortunately had recourse to those means in preference to an open and manly representation, which no doubt would

have received due attention ; and in justice to them it must be observed, that a petition for an increase of pay, under the same plea, had been a few months before presented by the naval lieutenants, and had met with complete success. The twenty-second article of war states, “ that if any person in the fleet shall find cause of complaint of the unwholesomeness of the victual, or other *just* grounds, he shall quietly make the same known to his captain or commander-in-chief,” who by the same article is directed to inquire into, “ and cause the complainant to be *presently remedied.*” What then were the seamen to do? they evidently *had* a just cause of complaint, and had made it known in the only way they could consistently, as they supposed, with their own safety.

The triumph of Lord Howe over the captains of 1788, may have led him to suppose that he should silence the complaints of the seamen in 1797 with equal facility ; unfortunately between the cases there was no analogy. The officers, ever diffident except in their country’s cause, having been refused the object of their prayer, sunk into humble retirement and silent acquiescence ; not so the seamen : with that rough and unpolished audacity which had been the terror of their enemies, they persisted and obtained the redress which they sought, then nobly returned to obedience and loyalty. We speak now of the Channel fleet only, which in its character and design is never to be confounded with the turbulent disorders of the North Seas and Cadiz.

Attention ought not therefore to have been with-

held under the pretence that no signature was attached to their petitions, or that they were signed in what is called a round-robin.\* Had these petitions been duly answered, by granting the required indulgences in the first instance, which were afterward extorted from the government by force, there would have been no general mutiny, the lives of many valuable men might have been saved, and the navy spared the disgrace of a general insubordination; nor would the country at large have been subjected to apprehensions which reduced the three per cent. consols to forty-seven and a half.

The fleet sailed from Spithead on the 3d of March, and soon after returned into port; when the seamen finding their claims unnoticed, proceeded to seek redress in the manner which we are now to relate.

On the 15th of April (Easter Sunday), Lord Bridport, the commander-in-chief, made the signal N°. 154, to prepare for sailing; the answer to which was three cheers from every ship in the fleet then lying at Spithead: the example was set by the Queen Charlotte. This ship, from the shamefully relaxed state of discipline in which she had been kept while the flag of Earl Howe was flying on board of her, naturally became the focus of all mutiny, a character which she maintained until she was burnt off Genoa.

The first declaration of the seamen after this open

\* From the names being written in a circle emanating from the centre, so that no one appeared to be the first to sign.

demonstration was, that they would not weigh an anchor until their just demands were complied with, "*unless the enemy's fleet should put to sea,*" in which case they would go out and fight them, and then return into port and renew their complaints.

Against this explosion, though not unexpected either by the board of admiralty or the admirals and captains at Spithead and in Portsmouth harbour, no precaution appears to have been adopted. Every means of remonstrance and persuasion was resorted to in order to induce the men to return to their duty, but in vain; their measures were taken with a cool and secret determination. If any ship shewed the smallest inclination to depart from the rules laid down by the leaders, she was immediately placed in the centre of the fleet, and watched with the most unceasing vigilance. Two delegates were chosen from each ship, and the whole assembled together in the Admiral's cabin, on board the Queen Charlotte. Every man was sworn to be true to the cause, and not to yield until their utmost demands should be complied with. Yard-ropes were rove at the fore-yard arm of each ship, and a threat of immediate execution held out to any one who should betray them. Some officers who had rendered themselves remarkable for the severity of their discipline, were sent on shore; but these were few in number and soon recalled: the seamen mounted the rigging at eight o'clock in the morning, and at sun-set, and gave three cheers; this practice was continued during the time the discussion lasted. The Channel fleet was now com-

pletely in their power : the admiralty, that had so lately slighted their complaints, flew to Portsmouth, and offered unheeded concessions ; and a committee of the board made several ineffectual proposals to restore harmony ; while the deepest consternation and alarm prevailed throughout the country.

On the 21st of April, Admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Pole, went on board the *Queen Charlotte*, to confer with the delegates, who assured them that no arrangements would be considered final unless sanctioned by the King and parliament, and farther guaranteed by a proclamation for a general pardon. This declaration so irritated Vice-admiral Sir Allan Gardner, that he seized one of the delegates by the collar, and threatened to have him hanged, with every fifth man throughout the fleet : an idle menace, impracticable in its execution, and which only served to exasperate the seamen, and unite them more firmly to each other for mutual safety. The consequences had nearly been fatal to many of the officers ; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Admiral Gardner himself escaped with his life from the fury of the crew. The delegates of the *Royal George* returned on board of their own ship, and informed the people of what had occurred. A signal was immediately made, to summon on board all the delegates of the fleet ; and the officers remained in a painful state of suspense on the event of this unfortunate ebullition of temper.

The seamen however contented themselves with striking Lord Bridport's flag which was flying on

board the Royal George, and, as they said, with a determination of never seeing it again hoisted. The ships shotted all their guns, kept a watch constantly on deck the same as at sea, and confined the officers on board; but put no other restraint on their persons, nor offered them any violence.

On the 22d, the men, being rather more tranquil, caused two letters to be written, one to the lords of the admiralty, stating the cause of their conduct on the preceding day; the other to Lord Bridport, in which they styled him their father and their friend, and disclaimed any intention of offering him personal offence.

This produced the return of Lord Bridport to his ship,—his flag was re-hoisted, and addressing the crew, he acquainted them that he brought with him a compliance to all their demands, and his Majesty's most gracious pardon for all past offences. These offers after some deliberation were accepted, and the men returned with cheerfulness to their duty.

It was now generally thought that all disputes were finally settled, and the fleet dropped down to St. Helens, preparatory to sailing. But on the 7th of May, when Lord Bridport made the signal to prepare for sailing, every ship refused to obey; the seamen alleging, that the government did not intend to keep its faith with them: and the delegates had determined to hold what they called a convention, on board the London of ninety-eight guns, then bearing the flag of Vice-admiral Colpoys, who resolved, if possible, to oppose their measures: they however got

on board; when the Vice-admiral informed them that if they offered to meet in convention, he should order the marines to fire on them: the delegates persisted: the marines levelled their pieces, and in this situation they were again admonished, but to no purpose. A scuffle ensued, and one of the delegates fired at Lieut. Simms of the marines, and wounded him. The marines were then ordered to fire, by Mr. Bover, the first lieutenant of the ship, when five seamen were killed, two of whom were delegates. The whole crew of the London now declared themselves in open hostility to the officers and marines: they turned the muzzles of their foremost guns aft, to the stern of the ship, and threatened to blow every one abaft into the water, unless they surrendered. The Admiral now saw too late the effects of his unseasonable attempt at coercion, and was forced to submit. The seamen were proceeding to hang Mr. Bover for having given the orders to fire; but here the Admiral interposed, and very nobly observed, that he alone was to blame, and not the first lieutenant; and that he (the Admiral) had acted by orders which he had received from the admiralty. The seamen demanded and obtained those orders. They then confined the Admiral, Captain, and officers, to their cabins, and made the marines prisoners. On the 11th the crew of the London expressed a wish that the Admiral should go on shore, which he did, accompanied by Captain Griffiths; and the crews of the other ships behaved in a very riotous manner, sending many distinguished officers out of their ships;



among others were, Captain Holloway, of the Duke; Alexander Hood, of the Mars; Thomas Wells, of the Defence; George Campbell, of the Terrible; John Nicholls, of the Marlborough; Cooke, of the Nymph; and Bligh, of the Latona—the same officer who was so inhumanly turned adrift in a small boat by the mutineers of the Bounty. Vice-admiral Gardner was also sent on shore from the Royal Sovereign, with three of his lieutenants. He was afterward requested by the seamen to return, but refused until these officers were allowed to accompany him.

The Channel fleet continued in a state of mutinous ferment until the 14th of May, when Earl Howe arrived at Portsmouth, with full powers to inquire into and settle all matters in dispute. His Lordship also brought with him an act of parliament which had been passed on the 9th in compliance with the wishes of the seamen, and a proclamation of pardon to all who should immediately return to their duty.

On the 15th the delegates from the ships at Spithead landed, and proceeded to the government house at Portsmouth, where they partook of some refreshment, after which they marched in procession to Sally port, where they embarked in the barges of the ships of war; accompanied by Lord and Lady Howe, and some officers of high rank and persons of distinction. Having visited all the ships at St. Helens, they returned to Sally port, where they landed, and Lord Howe was carried on the shoulders of the delegates to the government house, where they had the honour of dining at table with the Earl and his

lady. Every thing now appeared to be happily adjusted, and on the following day the fleet sailed in quest of the enemy, under the command of Lord Bridport.

This was the last time Earl Howe ever went afloat ; and it is supposed that his Lordship's feeble constitution received a shock on this occasion which it never recovered : he died shortly after. We have already said enough to convince our readers that he was not entirely free from blame in the first instance ; and if he was the adviser of the orders given to Admiral Colpoys, he was exceedingly culpable ; inasmuch as it was his duty to have seen that no cause of complaint or mistrust, on the part of the seamen, existed, *before* they were sent to sea, and consequently that it was an act of imprudence, if not of cruelty, to direct that gallant and excellent man to enforce obedience, without giving him the power ; for the same reason we may question the propriety of directing the sailing of the fleet before every cause of dissatisfaction was clearly and finally adjusted. The bodies of the men killed on board the London were decently interred by their shipmates in Kingston church-yard, and a monument, with a modest inscription, erected over them, commemorates the melancholy history : the expenses were defrayed by a contribution in the fleet. After this event Vice-admiral Colpoys, retiring in disgust from active service, was created a knight of the bath, and on the death of Lord Hood was appointed governor of Greenwich Hospital, where he died in 1821.

If in the origin of this unfortunate affair we have endeavoured to shew the seamen in the most favourable light, and to point out what in our judgment were the errors of the government, we must now present both parties in the very opposite extremes. Whilst Lord Bridport watched the fleet of France in the harbour of Brest, and preserved at least the outward appearance of good order, the fleet in the North Seas, under the command of Admiral Duncan, and that off Cadiz, under the Earl of St. Vincent, were in the highest state of insubordination; which, in the first, soon broke out into open acts of mutiny, and in the latter was smothered and entirely suppressed by the coolness and fortitude of the officer intrusted with that important command. We shall begin with an account of the transactions in the North Seas, as being nearest to the seat of empire, and one in which the greatest atrocities were committed.

On Sunday, the 27th of May, the fleet under the command of Admiral Duncan, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, was lying in Yarmouth-roads, when about four p. m. the crew of the Venerable of seventy-four guns, the flag-ship, mounted the rigging and gave three cheers: Major Trollope, who commanded the detachment of marines embarked on board, instantly flew on deck, with his men under arms, accompanied by the officers of the ship, and in a very few minutes restored order and obedience; the ringleaders were secured to the number of six, and confined in irons: their speedy and ex-

emplary punishment would have been both a wise and a merciful measure. But the Admiral, remarkable for uniting in his own person the most undaunted courage with the most benevolent heart, forgave them, upon a promise of their never repeating the offence; and it must be owned that the crew of the Venerable, by their subsequent conduct, perfectly redeemed their character: the outrage however which they had perpetrated had infected the surrounding ships, more prompt to imitate their bad than to follow their good example. On the following day the fleet sailed for the Texel, and were becalmed outside of the sands off Yarmouth, where the ships anchored, except the Standard and Belliqueux of sixty-four guns each, which returned into Yarmouth-roads, "to redress their 'grievances"—such was the language of the mutineers; and at the same time some of them had put forth a declaration, that the seamen of the Channel fleet had not done enough—that they should have insisted on seamen sitting as members of courts-martial where any of their own class were to be tried—and many other propositions equally frivolous and incompatible with the good of the service.

It is a lamentable but an undisputed fact, that the North-Sea fleet, never remarkable either for good order or discipline, was too easily given up to the seditious order of the day, for which the captains were highly blamable, nor can the Admiral be entirely exonerated.

After the pacification of the Channel fleet, which consisted of the largest, best manned, and what were

deemed the finest ships, in the British navy, that of the North Seas, deprived of such auxiliaries, might, with the commonest exertion of firmness and a little temperate punishment, have been reduced to obedience, and the fatal consequences which ensued have been entirely prevented.

On the morning of the 29th of May, when the signal was made for the fleet to weigh, it was reluctantly complied with, and such ships as did weigh returned into Yarmouth-roads: the seamen of the *Agamemnon* cut her cable, but did not refuse to make sail on the ship when desired so to do; and during the morning the rest of the ships got under sail and stood to the eastward. But before twelve o'clock all of them had deserted the Admiral, except the *Adamant* of fifty guns, bearing the flag of Vice-admiral Onslow; the *Glatton*,\* commanded by Captain Trollope; and the *Agamemnon*,† commanded by Captain Fancourt: at one o'clock the two latter ships also mutinied, and leaving the *Venerable* and *Adamant* to proceed off the *Texel*, returned into Yarmouth-roads. On board the *Agamemnon* little suspicion was entertained of an intention to mutiny; till the people had dined, when they were called by the boatswain's mate, but none appearing, a petty officer came and gave information that the ship's company had retreated to the fore part of the lower-deck, and refused to come up: the Cap-

\* The *Glatton* went to the Downs.

† The Author was fourth lieutenant and officer of the watch when the mutiny broke out.

tain being acquainted with this, desired the officer of the watch to accompany him down to speak to them—they went forward on the lower-deck, and found the men had made a barricade of hammocks from one side of the ship to the other, just before the fore-hatchway, and had left an embrasure on each side, through which they had pointed two twenty-four-pounders; these they had loaded, and threatened to fire in case of resistance on the part of the officers: the Captain spoke to them, but being treated with much contempt, returned to the quarter-deck. A few minutes after a number of the people came up; some seized the wheel, while others rounded in the weather braces and wore the ship, passing under the stern of the Venerable; the Admiral made her signal to come to the wind on the larboard tack, the same as he was on himself; she answered with, what was then called, the signal of inability, being a flag half white and red over half blue and yellow, both horizontally divided: on the following morning she reached Yarmouth-roads, and joined three other ships, each having a red flag flying at her fore-topgallant-mast head, the Agamemnon hoisted one also, which was called by the delegates the flag of defiance: the officers kept charge of their watches during the whole of this time, the seamen obeying them in any order for the safety of the ship, but no farther. A meeting of the delegates was immediately called, at which it was decided, that the Agamemnon and Ardent of sixty-four guns, and the Leopard and Isis of fifty guns,

should go to the Nore to augment the number of ships at that anchorage, in a state little short of open rebellion, but not with any view of assisting or being assisted by the enemies of their country; and it is certain that, had these put to sea, we should have immediately gone in pursuit of them, with the same zeal and loyalty as at the beginning of the war.

As soon as the determination was made known of taking the ships to the Nore, the officers declined doing duty, and retired to their cabins or to the wardroom, where they remained unmolested, and were even treated with respect. Before they left Yarmouth, Vice-admiral Sir Thomas Pasley came on board, and endeavoured to prevail on the people to return to their duty: but no argument could avail with men who had so recently thrown off the ties of discipline and respect for their officers. Having set forth the inevitable consequences to themselves and to their country, of the conduct they were pursuing, the Vice-admiral demanded of what they had to complain?—a man named Patrick Shea, a delegate of the *Leopard*, replied, “that they were not allowed to keep the sabbath-day holy, and that the fiddler had been ordered or permitted to play to them on Sunday,”—such were their grievances: this speech cost the orator his life; he was hung at the Nore soon after, with many others of the same ship. The crews behaved with the greatest insolence to the Vice-admiral, and crying out, “Down, down,” all ran below.

The four ships anchored at the Nore about the 6th of June, late in the evening, under the entire command of the quarter-masters and delegates, the pilots taking charge as usual. At this time they observed a heavy firing of great guns and musketry from the whole fleet assembled there, which they soon found was directed at the *Serapis*, that had effected her escape from among the mutinous ships, following the noble example set them by the *Clyde*, of thirty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Charles Cunningham, and the *St. Fiorenzo*, of forty guns, commanded by Sir Harry Neale: these frigates, in defiance of the threats of the delegates, and the most hostile preparations on the part of the ships near them, had boldly passed through the whole a few days previously.

It is impossible to describe the heat and irritation of the seamen at the Nore, at the time of the arrival and the accession of the four ships of the line to their cause; the insolence of the leaders was raised to such a height, that it was difficult to say where their excesses might end; and it was intimated, by some of the delegates who came to *visit* the *Agamemnon*, that violence might be offered to the officers and their adherents. Under these melancholy circumstances,—into which they had been betrayed by the want of resolution and firmness in the captains of the four ships, and not by their tyranny,—the officers prepared for the worst, went to their cabins, put their pistols by their sides, and lay down in their clothes; a seaman was placed as sentinel at the



wardroom-door with *three* loaded pistols, two of which were stuck in his belt, and the third he held in his hand ; but no incivility was offered to any one. At day-light the next morning the reports of guns and small arms awoke them, and they saw, what they supposed to be, the execution of officers and men at the yard-arms of some of the ships, as they were run up in the smoke of the guns ; and while hanging, volleys of musketry were fired at them : they now concluded that they should very soon share the same fate ; nor was it till two or three hours afterward that they were undeceived, and informed that the figures suspended were only effigies meant to represent the Right Hon. William Pitt, whom they facetiously termed “ Billy Pitt.” •

It appeared that the fleet collected at the Nore had agreed to place themselves under the command of a man of the name of Richard Parker, who had struck the flag of Vice-admiral Buckner on board the *Sandwich* of ninety-eight guns, the guardship at the port, and substituted the red flag at the fore-topgallant-mast head, which he called his own ; it was also worn by all the ships, though still acknowledging Parker's authority. About ten o'clock this man came on board the *Agamemnon* in his barge, with a band of music playing “ God save the king ” and “ Rule Britannia ; ” the corps of marines maintained its good character to the last, and, had they been supported, would infallibly have quelled the mutiny in the North-Sea fleet. A committee of delegates was constantly sitting on board the *Sandwich*, in

the Admiral's cabin : their table was covered with a union-jack, a can of beer was placed on it, the members sat with their hats on, and ordered such captains as were summoned before them to be uncovered : this Captain Cunningham and others refused.

Previous to the arrival of the *Agamemnon* at the Nore, a scene both disgraceful and unprecedented took place at Sheerness, a well-armed and important garrison.

On the 20th of May, the delegates sent to Vice-admiral Buckner a statement of their demands, and a declaration that nothing but a full compliance therewith should induce them to return to their duty : they were as follows :—

Art. 1. That every indulgence granted to the fleet at Portsmouth, should be granted to the fleet at the Nore, and places adjacent.

2. That every man, upon a ship's coming into harbour, should have liberty to go and see his friends, it being understood the number should be limited according to the duty of the ship.

3. That ships going to sea should be paid all their arrears of wages down to six months.

4. That no officer that has been turned out of any of his Majesty's ships, shall be again employed in the same ship, without the consent of the ship's company.

5. That whenever any of his Majesty's ships shall be paid, if there be any pressed men on board who shall not be in course of pay, they shall receive two months' advance, to furnish them with necessaries.

6. That any seaman who may have deserted from

his Majesty's service, and shall be now in any of his Majesty's ships, shall be pardoned, and receive *indemnification*.

7. That a more equal distribution be made of prize-money in ships of war.

8. That the articles of war, as now enforced, require various alterations, and several should be expunged; and if more moderate ones were held forth to the seamen in general, it would be the means of taking off that terror and prejudice against his Majesty's service too frequently imbibed by the seamen, and preventing their voluntary enlistment.

And the committee declared their determination not to surrender their charge, until the appearance of some of the lords of the admiralty to confirm the above demands. This paper was dated on board the Sandwich, on the 20th of May, 1797, and signed by the delegates of each ship.

The first of these articles was unnecessary, as the seamen well knew that *all* were included in the indulgences granted to the fleet at Spithead.

The second had always been granted whenever the service would admit of it; but it was impossible to make it an absolute rule.

The third was the common practice of the service.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth, were inadmissible.

The seventh, though at that time refused, was some years afterward taken into consideration, and a very large share of prize-money deducted from the captains and given to the seamen.

With respect to the eighth, had the articles of war always been enforced to the letter, there might have been some cause for complaint; but this was well known not to be the case.

The demands were all firmly and properly refused by the admiralty, and a pardon offered to such as would return to their duty. Admiral Buckner, in delivering this reply to the delegates, allowed them ten minutes to prepare an answer; instead of so doing they took to their boats, boarded and brought the gun-boats out of the harbour, and carried them to the Great Nore, firing at the garrison of Sheerness as they passed by; more, as they said, in defiance, than with a view to any injury. The mutiny from this moment assumed the character of rebellion, and as such, the government and the nation, justly incensed, determined to treat it.

The delegates and committee-men were still in the habit of going on shore at Sheerness, parading the streets with flags, insulting the Admiral and all lawful authority, and making converts to their cause among the lower orders; this was soon put an end to: Lord Keith and Sir Charles Grey were sent down to direct the naval and military operations intended to reduce the fleet to obedience. On the 27th of May, a party of delegates went up the river Thames, and endeavoured to persuade the crews of the ships lying at Long-reach to join them and drop down to the Nore; they were fired at by the fort of Tilbury, and, having landed at Gravesend, were taken into custody by the loyal inhabitants, but by some means

regained their liberty,\* and soon after prevailed on the crew of the *Lancaster*, of sixty-four guns, to join them.

On the 29th of May, three lords of the admiralty went down to Sheerness, and held a board at the house of Commissioner Hartwell: the delegates were sent for, and their lordships, finding the insolence of the mutineers increase with the offer from government, returned to town, assuring them that no concessions, beyond what had been granted, would be made by the legislature.

The mutineers, with Parker at their head, now became desperate, and proceeded to blockade the mouth of the Thames: for this purpose they placed the *Standard*, of sixty-four guns, *Brilliant*, frigate of twenty-eight guns, and *Inspector* and *Swan* sloops of war, across the river, from the Nore sand to the town of South End, and stopped every vessel bound up or down, except the fishermen and a few neutrals; the latter received a pass, signed "Richard Parker." The number and value of the trade detained at the Nore was immense, and the consternation in London and throughout the empire proportionably great; it was at this time that the three per cent. consols were at forty-seven and a half.

Parker had been on board the *Clyde*, and endeavoured to prevail on the crew of that ship to take her up against Tilbury-fort, but this Captain Cunningham prevented, and his was the first ship of war

\* Probably lest the mutineers at the Nore might retaliate upon the officers who were in their power. The same may be said in favour of Admiral Buckner, and the General at Sheerness.

that quitted the cause of the mutineers; the *St. Fiorenzo* next escaped: this ship was going with the Princess Royal of England to Cuxhaven; her Royal Highness having been recently married to the Grand Duke of Wirtemberg, embarked shortly after at Harwich. The arrival of the four ships from Yarmouth, made the number of the rebel fleet amount to about thirteen sail of the line,\* besides frigates, sloops, and gun-boats.

The desertion of the *Clyde*, *St. Fiorenzo*, and *Serapis*, had thrown a damp over the spirits of the ringleaders; and however they might have affected to despise the act, or to rejoice at the accession of the four ships, it had very important consequences; it spread distrust among them, and led them to doubt the firmness of each other; and every one sought, by indirect means, to make his peace and secure his own safety; this was the secret feeling and principle of action among all, except Parker and his most guilty adherents;—hence the marked attention and kindness shewn by many of the seamen to their officers, the assurances that all would soon be well, and the offers to convey letters on shore for them. The leading men on board the *Agamemnon*, not choosing to *resign* the situation of delegate, got drunk purposely, and were consequently dismissed by a vote of the ship's company.

Among the various schemes and extravagant projects of the rebel admiral and his friends, none exceeded, in folly and madness, that of taking

\* In the North Sea fleet frigates are taken into the line.

the fleet to sea, and delivering it up to the enemy; or proceeding to distant countries and selling the ships for what they could get: this was the last effort of despair, and upon its failure the whole spell was dissolved.

The conduct of the mutineers had now gone to such an extreme, that no compromise was offered to them: the energies of the government and of the nation were roused; subscriptions were entered into by the merchants at Lloyd's, to procure volunteers to man the ships and gun-boats intended to go against the rebel fleet; the forts at Tilbury, Gravesend, and Sheerness, were put into the most efficient state, and furnaces placed in them for heating shot; the buoys at the Nore and along the coast, down the Swin and Queen's channel, were taken up, which effectually cut off the retreat of the ships; the Neptune of ninety-eight guns, Commodore Sir Erasmus Gower, manned with volunteers raised by the merchants, with the Lancaster of sixty-four guns, whose crew had now returned to their duty, and the Agincourt of sixty-four guns, with many gun-boats, were ordered to drop down the river and prepare to attack the rebels.

Upon the return of the board of admiralty to London, a proclamation was issued for the suppression of the mutinous and treasonable proceedings of the crews of certain of his Majesty's ships at the Nore, and at the same time offering his Majesty's pardon to such as should return to their duty; and on the 6th of June two bills were brought in and

passed through both houses of parliament, and received the royal assent,—one for the punishment and prevention of any attempts to seduce persons serving in his Majesty's forces, by sea or land, from their duty or allegiance, or to entice them to mutiny or disobedience: the other, for the more effectually restraining intercourse with the crews of certain of his Majesty's ships then in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and for the more effectually repressing of such mutiny and rebellion. These strong and active measures, the voice of the nation against them, and the seamen doubtful of each other, were the final causes of the sudden dissolution of this formidable combination. About the 9th of June Parker made the signal to prepare for sailing, by loosing the foretopsail of the Sandwich and firing a gun; the signal was answered by all, but obeyed by none: it was an awful crisis, which seemed to have brought most of these men to a sense of the guilt and danger they were incurring; it was blowing at the time a fresh breeze from the south-east.

To what extent the rebel admiral and his desperate followers would have gone, it is not easy to say; but it was evident, from the moment the signal was made, that the union which had hitherto existed among them was at an end; the great body of the seamen evinced a determination to resign the command of the ships into the hands of their officers, some immediately put it in execution, others only waited a safe opportunity.

The Leopard of fifty guns, under the command of



Lieutenant Robb (the Captain having been sent on shore), had the distinguished honour of being the first to abandon the cause, after the infamous proposal of going over to the enemy was made known. This ship had been one of the most violent : but on the 10th of June Mr. Robb perceived a change in the dispositions of some of the petty officers, and resolved to turn it to advantage. Collecting the officers of the ship, and a few seamen on whom he could depend, into the wardroom, he turned the aftermost guns forward, primed and loaded, and placed trusty men by them ready to fire, should it unfortunately prove necessary ; the wardroom doors were then thrown open, and while it thus unmasked his battery, which commanded the main-deck, himself and his followers, well armed, rushed forward among the people and ordered them to surrender ; some little resistance was at first offered, but soon subsided ; an officer ran down with a party to the lower-deck, seized the foremost guns which were pointed aft, and, by pouring vinegar into the vents, completely disabled them ; the same officer awaited orders to cut the cables.—In the mean time those on deck were not idle ; a party went aloft and loosed the topsails, which in a few minutes were sheeted home, and the jib run up, the cables cut, and she passed through the fleet, exposed to its fire, without sustaining any injury. Mr. Robb conducted his ship in the most gallant and seaman-like style up the Thames, and when out of gun-shot, and had run as far as the remains of day-light would permit,

came to an anchor, and put eighteen of the most daring of the ringleaders into close confinement.

The example of the *Leopard* was soon followed by the *Repulse* of sixty-four guns, but this ship lay too far to the westward to weather the Nore sand, and gain the river Thames, she was therefore obliged to run for Sheerness harbour; unfortunately, the tide at that moment did not serve,—it was about three o'clock, and there was not sufficient water to carry her over the shoal,—this the pilot in vain represented to the seamen, who in this ship were nearly all in favour of the government, and flying suddenly from one extreme to the other, insisted on the cables being cut and sail made; this was done, but as the pilot had foretold<sup>d</sup>, the ship grounded very soon after, and lay exposed to the fire of the whole fleet for the space of one hour and twenty minutes; those ships whose guns could not otherways be brought to bear, got springs on their cables, with a degree of celerity that would have gained them immortal honour in a better cause: among these were the Director of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain William Bligh, if he could be said to command her under such circumstances. The officers of the *Repulse* now saw that every energy was required on their part to save the ship's company, who had thus rashly committed themselves; the latter seemed also determined, by their coolness and good conduct, to atone for their past misdeeds.

The water in the hold was started, the casks stove, and a strong party sent to the pumps. In this man-

ner the ship was lightened; and, as the tide rose, she floated off, and ran into the harbour, having received no other damage than the destruction of her lower and running rigging, some shot in her hull and masts, and only one person wounded, Lieutenant George Augustus Delano, who lost his leg. From this time the cause of mutiny rapidly declined; the ships deserted, one after the other, in quick succession. On the 13th, the *Agamemnon* left the Nore, and went up to Tilbury-fort, with the *Standard*, *Nassau*, *Iris*, and *Vestal*.

Previous to matters coming to these extremities, the mutineers had endeavoured, through the medium of Captain the Earl of Northesk, of his Majesty's ship the *Monmouth*, to bring about a reconciliation with the government. His Lordship was sent for by the "convention" (as the committee of delegates assembled on board the *Sandwich* insolently styled themselves). On the Earl's presenting himself before this assembly, Parker addressed his Lordship, and said, that they had unanimously decided on the terms under which alone they would surrender the command of the fleet: these terms were contained in a letter\* which they had addressed to the King, and of which they commanded his Lordship to be the bearer, exacting, at the same time, a promise to return on board within fifty-four hours. On the letter being read to him, Lord Northesk informed the delegates "that he certainly would convey it to the King, but he could not, from the unreasonable-

\* See p. 453.

ness of the demands, flatter them with any prospect of success." They persisted, and declared, in case of refusal, that they would take the fleet to sea; and his Lordship received a written order, as follows:

*Sandwich, June 6, 1797, three P. M.*

To Captain Lord Northesk.

You are hereby authorized, and *ordered*, to wait upon the King, wherever he may be, with the resolutions of the committee of delegates; and are directed to return back within fifty-four hours from the date hereof.

(Signed) R. PARKER, PRESIDENT.

His Lordship proceeded to London, and having first waited on the board of admiralty, was accompanied to his Majesty by Earl Spencer. The demands of the seamen were rejected; and Captain Knight, of the Montague, carried back the answer of the government.

On the same evening, after the escape of the Leopard and Repulse, the Ardent got away and ran into the harbour: she was fired at by the Monmouth, received some damage, and had some of her men killed or wounded; and even on board of the deserting ships, sharp contests took place, which in some instances ended fatally.

The situation of Parker and his associates now became awful: deserted by nearly all their followers, they saw themselves on the point of being delivered up to the justice of those laws against which they had offended beyond any hope of pardon.

On the 13th of June, the red flag was hauled down on board of most of the ships, and a blue one substituted in its stead; this the sailors called the

“ signal of agreeableness :” every ship that displayed it might be considered as loyal ; and last of all, the Sandwich surrendered ; Parker was put in irons, and the next day the ship was taken into harbour, where she remained until the whole of the trials were over.

Here ended the general mutiny of the British navy ; nor was any thing of the kind ever after attempted. If the government, at the beginning, displayed any want of firmness, it might, under such novel and unprecedented circumstances, have been readily excused : its subsequent determination and magnanimity justly entitle it to the admiration of posterity.

On the arrival of the Sandwich in the harbour of Sheerness, Parker, and Davis who had acted as the captain of the ship under him, with about thirty more of the most active mutineers, were taken on shore, and committed to the black-hole in the garrison. On board the Standard, one of the delegates shot himself when the ship surrendered, and his body was buried, as the law directs in such cases, in a highway.

On the 22d of June, a court-martial was assembled on board the Neptune, of ninety-eight guns, lying at Queenhithe : Vice-admiral Sir Thomas Pasley, Bart. was the president, and Captain Moss, of the Sandwich, the prosecutor. The charge of mutiny was fully proved, and some curious particulars were related in the course of the trial, not at all creditable to the executive authority at Sheerness.

Vice-admiral Charles Buckner, being called as a

witness, deposed that his flag had been struck without his orders. On the 23d of May, and on the evening of the same day, as he was examining complaints alleged against two marines, who had been brought into the garrison by a party of the military, Parker and Davis came abruptly into the commissioners' house at Sheerness, and demanded "why those men were in custody?" informing the Admiral, at the same time, "that his flag was struck, and that he had no longer any authority,—the power was in *their* hands;" they then took the men away to try them, as they said, for being on shore without leave. When the Admiral condescended to remonstrate with Parker, on the outrageous nature of his conduct, the latter replied, that "he was not to be intimidated." It would be difficult to account for the mild and forbearing conduct of the Admiral on this occasion; he was never afterward employed. Nor can the Lieutenant-governor of the garrison be entirely excused (unless he acted under the orders of his superiors, to abstain from using force), for having allowed his post to be insulted by the triumphant march of a small band of outlaws. The Admiral produced a letter which he had received from the prisoner Parker, during the mutiny, in which he styled himself President of the Committee of Delegates; stating, that the government had acted wrong in stopping the provisions for the fleet, and "that the *foolish* proclamation was calculated to inflame the minds of honest men."

Parker being called on for his defence, endea-

voured to prove, that all he had done was for the good of the service, and that he had only acted with a view to prevent the seamen falling into greater excesses : that he had never treated any officer with disrespect, and that though he was on board the Dictator when that ship fired into the Repulse, he did his utmost to prevent it.

The acts of atrocity were, however, too recent and too notorious to admit of doubt or palliation ; and the signature of the prisoner, to the *order* given to the Earl of Northesk, was alone a sufficient cause for his condemnation. The court, in two hours, returned the following sentence :

“That the whole of the charges are fully proved : that the crime is as unprecedented as wicked—as ruinous to the navy as to the peace and prosperity of the empire ;—the court doth, therefore, adjudge the prisoner to suffer death, and he is hereby sentenced to suffer death accordingly, on board of such ship, and at such time, as the lords commissioners of the admiralty shall appoint.”

He listened to his condemnation with a degree of calmness and composure that astonished every one present ; and, addressing the court, he said—“I have heard your sentence ; I shall submit to it without a struggle. I feel thus, because I am sensible of the rectitude of my intentions. Whatever offences may have been committed, I hope my life will be the only sacrifice—I trust it will be thought a sufficient atonement. Pardon, I beseech you, the other men ; I know they will return with alacrity to their duty.”

On the 29th, Parker was executed on board the *Sandwich*, in the harbour of Sheerness. He died penitent, solemnly denying having any connexion or correspondence with any disaffected persons on shore, and declaring, that it was chiefly owing to him that the ships had *not* been carried into an enemy's port.

After prayers, in which he was extremely devout, he rose up, and asked Captain Moss if he might be indulged with a glass of wine ; which, being brought to him, he took, and lifting up his eyes, exclaimed—" I drink first to the salvation of my soul, and next, to the forgiveness of my enemies." He then requested Captain Moss to shake hands with him ; the Captain complied very readily with his request, and he desired that he might be remembered very kindly to all his companions on board the *Neptune*, with his last dying entreaty to them, to prepare for their destiny, and restrain from unbecoming levity. When conducted to the scaffold, erected on the fore-castle, he asked whether he might be allowed to speak, and immediately apprehending his intentions might be misconceived, he added—" I am not going, Sir, to address the ship's company. I wish only to declare, that I acknowledge the justice of my sentence, and I hope my death may be deemed a sufficient atonement to save the lives of others." He begged a minute to recollect himself, during which time he knelt down, then rising up, he said—" I am ready:" the fatal gun fired, and he was instantly swung off to the fore-yard-arm, the rope being



manned by the crew of the Sandwich. Thus ended the life of Richard Parker ; he was thirty years of age, of a robust make, dark complexion, black eyes, about five feet eight inches high, and might have been considered a very good-looking person. On his trial he conducted himself with admirable coolness and presence of mind: the Author having seen him on this occasion, and from the knowledge he had of his former circumstances, had no doubt that he was at times deranged. On his passage round to the Nore from Leith, where he was impressed, or put on board by the civil power, he attempted to destroy himself, by jumping overboard; he was taken up and brought to the Nore, where he was, with other new-raised men, put on board the Sandwich; soon after which the mutiny broke out, he joined in it, and became a leader. That his conduct in this situation was most atrocious and inexcusable cannot be doubted. Let us, however, do him the justice which his penitence fully deserved. No man, in his last moments, ever did more to expiate his guilt than Parker; his contrition died, his example deterred, and his advice, given to his shipmates in the hour of dissolution, did more to allay the spirit of insubordination, than all the other instances of just severity which afterward occurred.

The mutiny, when on the decline at the Nore, was revived for a short time by an instance of that freedom of the press which exists in no other country. About the beginning of June, it was as-

served, that his Majesty's ministers had no intention of keeping their faith with the seamen: this unfortunate observation appeared in the public prints of the day, and was eagerly caught up by the sailors, who just at that period were listening to the terms of conciliation held out to them; but on the newspaper which contained the inflammatory paragraph reaching the fleet, it was conveyed like wildfire from ship to ship, and the mutiny broke out with renewed fury. The observation, like many others of the same nature, was not founded in fact, nor calculated to effect any other purpose than the annoyance of the ministers. Parliament immediately granted the sum of 370,000*l.* to make good the increased pay and allowances to the seamen, whose condition was much improved by this act of justice and clemency.

The King, whose courage never forsook him in the hour of danger, forgot not mercy when the rebels were subdued and in his power. The trials lasted four or five weeks after the death of Parker, and some executions took place, not more, however, than the safety of the country demanded; and about one hundred and eighty prisoners were pardoned, and returned to their duty; among whom were the whole of those who had been selected from the *Agamemnon*.

The contagion had reached our foreign stations, and the fleet off Cadiz began to display a spirit of insubordination; fortunately, however, for Great Britain, and perhaps for Europe, the command of

this part of our naval force was intrusted to an officer, whose courage, fidelity, and genius, had never been exceeded. An account of that event will be found in its proper place. We conclude the history of the mutiny with the official papers, and some anecdotes relative to the subject.

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*By the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.*

HAVING taking into consideration a paper containing several representations from the seamen of his Majesty's ships at Spithead, respecting an advance of their wages, and being desirous of granting them every request that can with any degree of reason be complied with, we have resolved to recommend it to his Majesty, that an addition of five shillings and six-pence per month be made to the wages of petty officers and seamen belonging to his Majesty's navy, which will make the wages of able seamen one shilling per day, clear of all deductions; an advance of four shillings and six-pence per month to the wages of every ordinary seaman; and an addition of three shillings and six-pence to the wages of landmen: and that none of the allowance made to the marines when on shore shall be stopped, on their being embarked on board any of his Majesty's ships. We have also resolved, that all seamen, marines, and others, serving in his Majesty's ships, shall have the full allowance of provision, without any deductions

for leakage or waste ; and that until proper steps can be taken for carrying this into effect, short-allowance money shall be paid to the men in lieu of the deduction heretofore made ; and that all men wounded in action shall receive their full pay until their wounds shall be healed, or until being declared incurable, they shall receive a pension from the chest at Chatham, or shall be admitted into the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. And your Lordship is hereby required and directed to communicate this our determination to the captain of each of his Majesty's ships under your orders, directing him to make it known to the ship's company under his command, and to inform them, that should they be insensible to the very liberall offers now made to them, and persist in their present disobedience, they must no longer expect to enjoy those benefits to which, by their former good conduct, they were entitled : that in such case, all the men now on board the fleet at Spithead shall be incapable of receiving any smart money or pension from the chest of Chatham, or being admitted at any time into the Royal Hospital at Greenwich ; and that they must be answerable for the dreadful consequences which will necessarily attend their continuing to transgress the rules of the service, in open violation to the laws of their country.

On the other hand he is to inform them, that we promise the most perfect forgiveness of all that has passed on this occasion, to every ship's company, who, within one hour after the communication to

them of the above-mentioned resolutions, shall return to their duty in every particular, and shall cease to hold farther intercourse with any man who shall continue in a state of disobedience and mutiny.

Given under our hands at Portsmouth, the 20th of April, 1797.

SPENCER. ,

ARDEN.

W. YOUNG.

To the Right Hon. Lord  
Bridport, K. B. admiral  
of the white, &c. &c. &c.

By command of their lordships.

(Signed)

WM. MARSDEN.

The foregoing resolution was immediately transmitted to the sailors, who returned the following answer :

*To the Right Hon. the lords commissioners of  
the admiralty.*

WE, the seamen and marines\* in and belonging to his Majesty's fleet now lying at Spithead, having received with the utmost satisfaction, and with hearts full of gratitude, the bountiful augmentation of pay and provisions, which your lordships have been pleased to signify shall take place in future in his

\* It is to be observed that the marines were forcibly included in the declaration of the seamen ; no imputation can lay on them on this account.

Majesty's royal navy, by your order, which has been read to us this morning by the command of Admiral Lord Bridport.

Your lordships having thus generously taken the prayer of our several petitions into your serious consideration, you have given satisfaction to every loyal and well-disposed seaman and marine belonging to his Majesty's fleets; and from the assurance which your lordships have given us respecting such other grievances as we thought right to lay before you, we are thoroughly convinced, should any real grievance or other cause of complaint arise in future, and the same be laid before your lordships in a regular manner, we are perfectly satisfied that your lordships will pay every attention to a number of brave men, who ever have, and ever will be, true and faithful to their King and country.

But we beg leave to remind your lordships, that it is a firm resolution, that until the flour in port be removed, the vegetables and pensions augmented, the grievances of private ships be redressed, an act passed, and his Majesty's gracious pardon for the fleet now lying at Spithead be granted, that the fleet will not lift an anchor; and this is the total and final answer.

April 22.

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BY THE KING.

A PROCLAMATION,

For pardoning such seamen and marines of the squadron of his Majesty's fleet stationed at Spithead, as have been guilty of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty, and who shall, upon notification of such proclamation on board their respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty.

GEORGE REX.

UPON report of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, of the proceedings of the seamen and marines of the squadron of our fleet stationed at Spithead, and of the measures taken by the said lords commissioners, in consequence thereof; and in order to manifest our desire to give due encouragement to all those who shall return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, according to the rules and practice of the navy, we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, and do hereby promise our most gracious pardon to all seamen and marines serving on board the said squadron, who shall, upon notification hereof on board their respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty: and we do hereby declare, that all such seamen and marines, so returning to their duty, shall be discharged and released from all prosecutions,

imprisonments, and penalties, incurred by reason of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty, previously committed by them, or any of them.

Given at our court at Windsor, the twenty-second day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, and in the thirty-seventh year of our reign.

GOD save the KING !

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### PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE REX.

(L. S.) WHEREAS it has been represented unto us, that notwithstanding the declarations made in our name, and by our authority, by our lords commissioners of our admiralty, of our gracious intentions to recommend to the consideration of parliament, to augment the wages and allowances of the seamen and marines of our fleet, which our gracious intentions and declarations have since been carried into effect by an act of parliament; and notwithstanding the communication made by our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Richard Earl Howe, admiral of our fleet, of our gracious intentions towards the seamen and marines of our fleet, for the pardon of the offences by them committed, and our royal proclamation thereupon, bearing date the 11th day of May instant; and notwithstanding the sentiments of duty and gratitude with which the same were received by the seamen and marines of



our other squadrons, yet the crews on board certain of our ships at the Nore, have not only since the full manifestation of all these our gracious intentions and declarations, been guilty of divers acts of mutiny and disobedience of orders, but have even proceeded to other acts of the most heinous and treasonable nature, by firing upon some of our ships, in order to compel them to submit to their direction ; have threatened and taken measures for stopping the commerce of the kingdom passing to and from the port of London, and have, by terror of their force, compelled two frigates to desist from executing a particular service, which by our orders they were directed to perform : we thinking it right to warn all our seamen and marines on board the said ships of the heinous nature of the offences by them committed, and of the dangerous consequences thereof to the spirit and discipline of the British navy, and to the welfare of their country, as well as to their own safety, do hereby earnestly require and enjoin all our said seamen and marines immediately, on the notification of this our royal declaration, to return to the regular discharge of their duty, as has already been done by the crews of our other squadrons and fleets stationed at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and elsewhere. And whereas we are well assured, that a great part of the seamen and marines on board the said ships at the Nore, abhor and detest the criminal proceedings which are still persisted in on board the said ships, and are desirous to return to their duty.

Now we, being desirous to extend our gracious intentions of pardon to all such seamen and marines, so serving on board our said ships at the Nore, who may have returned, or shall return, upon the notification of this our royal declaration, to return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, have authorized, and do hereby authorize and empower, our said lords commissioners of our admiralty, or any three of them, to signify to all such seamen and marines, who may have been guilty of any of the treasonable acts aforesaid, or any mutiny, or disobedience of orders, or neglect of duty, and who have returned, or who shall, upon notification hereof on board their respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, our royal intentions to grant to all such seamen and marines, our most gracious pardon, and to promise in our name to all such seamen and marines, who have so returned, or shall so return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, our most gracious pardon accordingly. And we do hereby declare, that all such seamen and marines, who shall have so returned, or shall so return to their duty, and to whom the said lords commissioners of our admiralty, or any three of them, shall so promise our pardon, shall receive the same accordingly, and shall be discharged and released from all prosecutions, imprisonments, and penalties, incurred by reason of any of the acts aforesaid, or by reason of an act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty, previously committed by them, or any of them ;

hereby declaring, at the same time, that all such seamen and marines, who shall not take the benefit of this our gracious pardon, shall, from henceforth, be considered as liable, according to the nature of their offences, to such punishments as the articles of war and the law have provided for the same.

Given at our court at St. James's the twenty-seventh day of May, 1797, in the thirty-seventh year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

PORTLAND.\*

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*To the King's most excellent Majesty.*

May it please your Majesty, •

WE, your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, serving on board your Majesty's ships and vessels at the Great Nore, with the greatest humility beg leave to lay our petition before you, and hope, as you have always avowed yourself to be the father of the people, that our petition will be by you attended to. We have already laid a state of our grievances before your Majesty's board of admiralty, which grievances we have reason to imagine were never properly stated to you, and we are sorry to have reason to remark, the conduct of your present ministers seems to be directed to the ruin and overthrow of your kingdom, and not, as is their duty, to its advantage; a particular instance of which is in the counsel they have given your Majesty with regard

\* This is the proclamation which Parker called "foolish."

to us, in proclaiming us rebels, traitors, and outlaws; this counsel, if we had not been men particularly attached to your Majesty's sacred person and government, moderate, but firm in our demands, and resolved by our lives to oppose your enemies by land and sea, would before now have driven us to some acts of outrage and revenge, that might have shaken the very foundation of this kingdom.

We have given you a list of our grievances, which list is accompanied by a simple but true statement of the reasons we have of demanding them; and after thus making our wants known to your Majesty, we cannot longer ascribe a noncompliance of these wants to ministry: with you it now rests to determine, whether we will or will not get a redress of our sufferings.

Your Majesty may depend, that in your kingdom there *is* not more faithful subjects than we are; but at the same time, we must assure your Majesty, till all these disgraceful proclamations, which proscribe and outlaw us, are contradicted, till we have all our grievances redressed, and till we have the same supply *from*, and communication from the shore, we shall consider ourselves as entire masters of these shipping.

We have already determined how to act, and would be extremely sorry we should be forced to take refuge in another country, which must eventually be the case if we are denounced and outlawed in our own.

Your Majesty's ministers seem to build their hopes

in starving us into compliance, but this is a wrong idea, for we have as much provisions and stores of all kinds as will last us to Christmas: we were aware of their intentions, and provided against them; but were it the reverse, and that we had but two days' provisions, we would sooner die in that state than give up the least article of our demands.

We shall trust to your Majesty's prudence in choosing such counsellors and advisers in the present, and all other affairs, as will have the good of their country in view, and not, like the present ministers, its destruction: and with respect to our grievances, we shall allow fifty-four hours from the date of this, to know your Majesty's final answer. We shall likewise make known to our fellow-subjects on shore, the particulars of this address to your Majesty, so as to justify to them any measures we may take in consequence of a refusal.

We remain, with loyalty,

Your Majesty's most faithful and  
dutiful subjects and servants,

June 6, 1797.

The SEAMEN at the NORE.

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Notwithstanding this insolent and unjustifiable address to the best of kings, the seamen, generally speaking, throughout the mutiny, conducted themselves with a degree of humanity highly creditable not only to themselves, but to the national character. They certainly tarred and feathered the surgeon of a ship at the Nore; but he had been five weeks drunk in his cabin, and had neglected the care of his pa-

tients: this was therefore an act which Lord Bacon would have called "wild justice." The delegates of the *Agamemnon* shewed respect to every officer but the captain; him, after the first day, they never insulted, but rather treated with neglect: they asked permission of the lieutenants to punish a seaman, who, from carelessness or design, had taken a dish of meat belonging to the wardroom and left his own, which was honestly and civilly offered in compensation; we need scarcely add, that the poor man was protected and the offer declined.

It was long before the fleet entirely recovered that sound discipline which, till the fatal mutiny of 1797, had rendered it the terror and admiration of the world; partial disturbances frequently occurred on board of the ships of the Channel and North-Sea fleets, as well as on our foreign stations. Among others the *Royal Sovereign*, *Saturn*, *Pompée*, and *Marlborough*, were particularly conspicuous. The crews of the frigates *Beaulieu* and *Phoenix* had very serious disputes with their officers, but the whole were finally subdued by proper exertions, and the determination of the government to put down the disgraceful and dangerous habit: a few men were tried and executed, and perfect obedience restored. The Captain of the *Marlborough* went to the admiralty, where, his conduct not having given entire satisfaction, he was refused an audience; after repeated and fruitless solicitations he drew his dirk in the waiting-room, and plunging it into his bosom, exclaimed as he expired, "I have always done my duty."

## CHAP. XIV.

Hostility of America towards Great Britain—Deserters protected—Loss of a lieutenant and twelve midshipmen of the Assistance—Farther causes of disgust and alienation—Stopping ships, and impressment of her seamen—Boston and Ambuscade—Death of Captain Courtney—Causes of disagreement between France and America—Commercial treaty between England and America—Insolence of directory and their agents—Spirited conduct of American government—Question of right of search and detention acknowledged by America—Correspondence between Mr. Adet and Mr. Pickering—Articles of the treaty—Angry feelings of French and Americans towards each other—Effects—Decree of France to put to death all English seamen found in neutral vessels—Not executed—Directory wish to borrow money of America—Sensation felt at proposal—America arms—Embarrassment of France—Affair of Cochrane and Beresford with five French ships—Conduct of Richery at Newfoundland—He threatens St. John's—Retreats—Destroys settlement at Bay of Bulls—Loss of the Tribune at Halifax—Nautical reflections.

THE policy of the united states of North America, after the acknowledgment of their independence, had been replete with irritation and malevolence towards Great Britain: while the French met with the most cordial reception in her ports, we were scarcely admitted to the common rights of hospitality: in the whole of our intercourse with them, from the year 1783 to 1812, insult and injury constantly attended the arrival of every British ship in what were called “the waters of the United States.” If a boat landed, the seamen were enticed to desert, and openly paraded the streets in defiance of their officers; the magistrates of the republic refused to

interfere, and exulted in the mortification of their hated and unwelcome visitors.

About the year 1787, a boat was run away with by some of the crew of the Assistance of fifty guns, then bearing the flag of Sir Richard Hughes, and lying at Sandy Hook : the first lieutenant and twelve midshipmen pursued them in the barge, and the whole of these gallant and promising young officers were found dead the next morning : the boat had grounded in the mud, in which they were all frozen as they attempted to reach firm ground ; nor did we ever hear of the seamen being restored to their ship.

The war of the French revolution increased this deplorable infatuation ; the trade of America no doubt suffered much interruption from French as well as British cruisers : their condemnation in the ports of France was in violation of every principle of justice. While in England they had at least a fair and impartial trial, yet France with her arbitrary power was the favourite, and found numerous advocates in America, where the legal acts of Britain met with unmerited censure. England, it must be acknowledged, committed an act from which France, having no temptation, was exempted ; she detained her merchantmen and impressed her seamen under pretence of their being British subjects : this was a violence to which an independent people could have no right to submit, but they were incapable of offering effectual resistance. The seamen of both countries speaking the same language, and governed by the same manners and customs, offered no mark of



distinction to the clearest and most discerning judgment. Desertion from the British navy was its most alarming evil, and while England was contending for existence against the united powers of Europe, America was known to receive and to encourage her seamen in this disgraceful practice. What then was she to do? submit to this injury and perish as a nation, or by resisting save herself and the dearest rights of men, at the expense of a temporary and comparatively trivial inconvenience to a distant and unfriendly country? That American seamen were occasionally impressed we have admitted; we also know, that when claimed and proved to be such, they were invariably released; and from our own experience we can assert, that when the impolicy of the American government in 1812 had induced it to declare war against us, all American seamen serving in our ships were gratuitously sent to their own country.

When in the year 1794 the French West-India trade put into the Chesapeake for convoy and fictitious papers, Great Britain was justly incensed: the transshipment of French cargoes into American bottoms, and the use of simulated papers to cover the property of our enemies, excited suspicions which increased the breach between the two nations. Had the great convoy which it was the object of Howe to intercept, and of Villaret to save, been met with by our fleet, the open hostility of America might probably have followed the event. By the return of the British admirals into port after the battle of the

1st of June, the Americans escaped the intended blow, and preserved a sort of armed neutrality for a few years longer: but whatever form the revolutionary government of France might assume, or however gross its acts of oppression towards America, still France could do no wrong, and England was never right. The *Ambuscade*, a French frigate of the large class, or what was called an eighteen-pound ship, with three hundred men, was lying at New York, and Captain Courtney, of the *Boston* of thirty-two guns and two hundred and twenty men, appeared off that port in hopes of meeting and trying the fortune of war. The *Boston* stood in under French colours; the *Ambuscade*, supposing her to be a consort, sent an officer, whom Courtney detained, and kept or sunk the boat. This brought out the French frigate, and on board of her came, we believe, one hundred volunteers, armed with rifles, and committing by this act a flagrant violation of the law of nations. The *Boston* was a ship of seven hundred tons, of a class which we have already described as defective, and consequently very unequal to the enterprise which her gallant commander had undertaken. The action soon began, and continued with great bravery on both sides, until the iron hammock-rail of the quarter-deck being struck by a shot, a part of it took Captain Courtney on the back of the neck, and he fell, but no blood followed; the first lieutenant caused the body to be immediately thrown overboard, lest, as he said, it should "dishearten the people," and after this pru-

dent precaution hauled away from the enemy, who had no inclination to follow him. The Boston having eleven men killed and thirty-seven wounded, returned to Newfoundland, where Captain James Nichol Morris of the Pluto sloop of war was appointed to command her. This officer had recently captured, after a very smart action, a French privateer of sixteen guns, and the frigate was again placed in good hands.

The Ambuscade returned to New York, with what loss we never heard : here she was received by the Americans with every demonstration of joy, for what they were pleased to call a victory, but which was in fact only a drawn battle between two ships unequally matched.

The fate of Captain Courtney was deeply lamented, and the King, as a mark of his royal approbation, was pleased to settle a pension of five hundred pounds a year on his widow, and fifty pounds a year on each of his two daughters.

The good understanding between France and America appears to have continued till the end of 1795 ; when we find the colours of the French republic were presented to the President of the United States.

General Washington, who at that time filled the important situation, was as remarkable for the liberality of his sentiments in peace as for his wisdom and valour in war : having acquitted himself to his country in the field, he devoted the remainder of his life to her service in the cabinet, without partaking

of those national prejudices common to low minds in any country. The independence of America secured, he saw no advantage to the union by cherishing animosity between the parent state and its alienated offspring, and resolved to do all in his power in order to render the industry and natural productions of each country mutually serviceable to both. For this benevolent purpose he despatched Mr. Jay to London, who after much discussion concluded a commercial treaty with the court of St. James's. The democratic form of government in America rendered the people extremely jealous of the prerogative which the constitution had given to the President of concluding treaties with foreign powers, although by the advice and with the consent of the senate. At this treaty the enemies of Great Britain in France and America expressed much dissatisfaction, and their partisans in the house of representatives demanded the official correspondence which led to its conclusion. This Washington refused, and gave the clearest and most unanswerable reasons for his decision, founded on a thorough knowledge of the laws of his country. The directory considering itself the parent of all republics, and particularly of that of America, was deeply offended that she should presume without their consent to make a treaty with a monarchy, and that monarchy of all others the most inimical to France. A very strong and insolent note was addressed to Mr. Pickering by the citizen Adet on the subject of the treaty: "he has the honour," he says, "of transmitting to the secretary of

state of the united states of America, a resolution taken by the executive government of the French republic in July, 1796, relative to the conduct which the ships of war of the republic of France are to hold towards neutral vessels: the flag of the republic will treat the flag of neutrals in the same manner as they shall suffer *it to be treated by the English.*" This is an admirable specimen of that love of justice and respect for the rights of man, so perpetually in the mouths of that assembly and of all France. Admitting that Great Britain was acting in a tyrannical manner towards a nation incapable of self-defence, did it become these arbitrators of justice to persecute the weaker side, only because it was already oppressed by the stronger? The dictatorial power assumed by the French government was not likely to conciliate the favour of a nation jealous of its liberty, and the immediate descendants of the only free people on earth.

Accordingly, the American government highly resented this encroachment, and prepared to resist the imperious mandate. The great cause of complaint against America was, that she had permitted her vessels laden with provisions and bound to France to be detained by British cruisers, and condemned in British ports without a declaration of war. This was the hackneyed and worn-out subject of the armed neutrality, so often attempted by our enemies, and so constantly and justly repelled by Great Britain, as the insidious and most dangerous assailant of her maritime rights. The minister of the French

republic, not content with vituperating the American government and councils for permitting these "*infractions of the rights of nations,*" calls upon the President of the United States to resent the conduct of Great Britain for impressing or detaining British seamen when found on board of American ships. The note of Monsieur Adet was ably answered by Mr. Pickering, who reminded him, that the treaties subsisting between France and America, as far back as the year 1778, were founded on mutual and reciprocal benefit, and stipulated expressly that "*free bottoms made free goods,*" except articles contraband of war; and that consequently America, under this exception, had a perfect right to trade with any belligerent without the consent of France: but, as Mr. Pickering most keenly and justly observes, the words of Mr. Adet find reasons for the conduct of France, who, no longer reaping any advantage from the treaty of 1778, is desirous of rescinding or putting her own construction upon it; "France, bound by treaty to the United States, could find only a real disadvantage in that treaty, which caused to be respected as American property, English property found on board American vessels:" that is, that France would adhere to the treaty no longer than she found it expedient for her own advantage; and the following part of the Secretary's letter is perfectly conclusive as to the right assumed by Great Britain over American or neutral property during the war of the French revolution. "We are ignorant of any new restraint on our commerce, on the contrary,

we possess recent official information *that no new orders have been issued.*

“ The captures made by the British, of American vessels having French property on board, *are warranted by the law of nations.* The force and operation of this law was contemplated by France and the United States when they formed their treaty of commerce; and their special stipulation on this point was meant as an exception to a universal rule. Neither our weakness nor our strength have any choice when the question concerns the observation of a *known rule of the law of nations.*”

Mr. Adet complaining in the same note, that the American government had not replied to a remonstrance on the part of France dated the 29th of September, 1795, Mr. Pickering makes the following observations:—

“ You are pleased to remark ‘ that the conduct of Great Britain in capturing vessels bound to and from French ports had been the subject of a note, which, on the 29th of September, 1795, was addressed to the secretary of state, but which remained without an answer.’ Very sufficient reasons may be assigned for the omission. The subject, in all its aspects, had been officially and publicly discussed, and the principles and ultimate measures of the United States founded on their indisputable rights, were as publicly fixed: but if the subjects had not by the previous discussions been already exhausted, can it be a matter of surprise that there should be a repug-

nance to answer a letter containing such insinuations as these?

“ It must then be clear to any man who will discard prejudice, love, hatred, in a word, all the passions which lead the judgment astray, that the French republic has a right to complain if the American government having suffered the English to intercept the commercial relations which exist between her and the United States; if, by a *perfidious condescension*, it permitted the English to violate a right which it ought for its own *honour* and *interest* to defend; if, under the cloak of neutrality, *it presented a poniard to cut the throat of its faithful ally*; if, in fine, partaking of the tyrannical and homicidal rage of Great Britain, it concurred to plunge the people of France into the horrors of famine! For the sake of preserving harmony,” continues Mr. Pickering after this quotation, “silence was preferred to a comment upon these insinuations.

“ You are also pleased to refer,” continues Mr. Pickering, “to your letters of March and April last, relative to the impresses of American seamen by British ships, and complain that the government of the United States had not made known *to you* the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction. This, Sir, was a matter which concerned only that government; as an independent nation we are not bound to render an account to any other for the measures we deem proper for the protection of our own citizens, so long as there was not the slightest ground



to suspect that the government ever acquiesced in any aggression.

“ But permit me to recur to the subject of the executive directory.

“ As before observed, we are officially informed that the British government have issued no new orders for capturing the vessels of the United States. We are also officially informed, that on the appearance of the notification of that decree, the minister of the United States at Paris applied for information whether orders were issued for the seizure of neutral vessels, and was informed that no such order was issued, and farther, that no such order would be issued in case the British did not seize our vessels : this communication from the minister of the United States at Paris to the minister at London was dated the 28th of August, but the decree of the directory bears date the 14th Messidor, which answers to the 2d of July. These circumstances, together with some observations in your note, leave the American government in a state of uncertainty of the real intentions of the government of France : allow me then to ask, whether, in the actual state of things, our commerce is considered as liable to suffer new restrictions on the part of the French republic ? whether the restraints now exercised by the British government are considered as of a nature to justify a denial of those rights, which are pledged to us by our treaty with your nation ? whether orders have been actually given to the ships of war of the French republic to capture the vessels of the United States ?

and what, if they exist, are the precise terms of those orders?

“ I shall close this letter by one remark on the singularity of your causing the publication of your note. As it concerned the United States it was properly addressed to its government, to which alone pertained the right of communicating it, in such time and manner as it should think fit, to the citizens of the United States.

“ *Philadelphia, Nov. 3, 1796.*”

The mild rebuke contained in this extract from Mr. Pickering's correspondence is well contrasted with the blustering insolence of the new French diplomatist. The note of the 29th of September is answered and exposed by the ample recapitulation of its contents.

The indecent interference of the directory with the executive government, as it relates to the impressment of seamen, is boldly replied to by reminding him, that it was no concern of theirs; and the insolence of publishing in the capital of a country an official note addressed to its government, is commented upon with just severity. The motive of the French agent for this proceeding was evidently to prejudice the minds of the Americans against their government.

Citizen Adet was recalled, and France and America appeared on the eve of a rupture: no act of real hostility, however, ensued for some time after this misunderstanding.

Of the treaty with Great Britain which had given so much offence, the following are the principal articles:—

1st, To ascertain the limits of the trade on the Mississippi, which was to be entirely free.

2dly, Mutual indemnification by each of the governments, for illegal captures and detentions of merchant vessels.

3dly, Liberty of navigation and commerce between the two nations.

4thly, Importation by the citizens of the united states of America of the produce of that country into the West-India islands, in vessels not exceeding seventy tons burden, with permission to export to the United States only the produce of these islands.

5thly, American vessels to be admitted into the British ports in the East Indies, but not to carry on the coasting trade of the country.

6thly, Reciprocal equalization of duties.

7thly, Vessels having enemy's property on board to be liberated after taking out such property.

8thly, Pirates not to be received into the harbours of either party.

9thly, Privateers of the nations at enmity with either of the two powers, not to arm their ships or sell their produce in the respective ports of either of the said powers.

10thly, The ships of war of either power to carry the vessels and goods taken from their enemies to any port they may think proper.

The manly reply of Mr. Pickering to the menacing

notes of the directory was as unexpected as it was just; and the pride of the directory received a severe rebuke from the mild but firm and honest government of the sister republic. France arrogated to itself the merit of having obtained the independence of America, and when struggling against the united powers of Europe, claimed her assistance in return, and it was refused. Nations, whatever may be their ostensible motives, ever assist each other with selfish views; the French republic, therefore, could have very little claim on the American government for services rendered to it by a monarchy no longer existing. This proposition, we conceive, sets at rest all questions of national gratitude. The French monarchy, though no doubt instrumental to American independence, had its own advantage in view by the destruction of its rival; and America, by consulting her own interest, repaid the favour, exactly in the same manner in which it had been conferred.

The government of France, exasperated at this political apostacy, turned the national voice against the Americans, who had, by their recent treaty with Great Britain, abandoned that made with France in 1778; in which the guarantee of the French sugar islands was one of the principal clauses, and which the Americans had now conceded to the advantage of Great Britain; and admitting that the supply of provisions to the French West-India islands, when in a state of blockade, was an illegal trade. Irritated by the violence of the directory, the American government recalled Mr. Munroe from Paris, and ap-

pointed General Pinckney to succeed him. This gentleman on his arrival was neither received in his public capacity, nor treated with the respect due to his private character: he was ordered to quit the capital without delay; and in a manner amounting to a declaration of war. Such unjustifiable violence and impolitic display of temper were, in the following year, severely censured in the council of five hundred.

The intentions of the directory as notified by Mr. Adet were acted upon; American vessels having British property on board were considered lawful prizes, and ships having touched at British ports were forbidden to enter those of the republic. The madness of these revolutionary demagogues did not end here: they passed a decree that all neutral sailors found on board of English vessels should be put to death. The execution of this law, however, was impossible in a state of civilized society: France had, it is true, waded through blood, to regain what she called the rights of man; but when a government decrees the death of innocent persons merely from the accidental circumstance of their being found in certain positions, a nation possessing the common ideas of right and wrong must revolt at the flagrant violation of the laws of nature; and few, we trust, could have been found in France so lost to every sense of feeling as to assist at the execution of such a barbarous sentence. The British government also intimated in plain but temperate language that severe retaliation would inevitably follow; and as the les-

son given to the French armies in Flanders in 1794\* was then recent in their memories, it was thought better to abandon this gratification of revenge at the expense of national honour and humanity.

General Washington being succeeded by Mr. Adams, every effort was made by the latter to preserve peace with the two great belligerents, and three commissioners were sent to Paris for that purpose; but on their arrival the whole secret of French hostility was instantly explained, and shewed in the most glaring colours the dishonesty of the directory. "I will not disguise to you," said an agent of Talleyrand, "that we want money."—"Il faut de l'argent, il faut beaucoup de l'argent," and he modestly proposed to borrow 1,333,000*l.* sterling, for which "the French government would give sixteen millions of Dutch rescriptions at par, which *the Dutch after the peace* would certainly repay with an interest of five per cent." Besides this loan, the directory demanded as a douceur for themselves the sum of 50,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* each. The intermediate channel of communication between the American commissioners and the French executive was a *lady*, who informed them, that upon these terms they should not only have an audience, but also the object they sought to gain by it; and they were farther informed that the proposition of making these payments must come *from themselves*. The notable expedient by which the French directory was to have been put in possession of this money, so as to make it appear a

\* See p. 241.

favour conferred on the Americans, is worthy of remark. The envoys were desired to say,—France has been serviceable to the United States, and now they wish to be serviceable to France. Understanding that the French republic has sixteen millions of Dutch rescriptions to sell, the United States will purchase them at par, and will give her farther assistance when in their power. The first arrangement being made, the French government will take measures for reimbursing the equitable demands of America, arising from prizes, and to give free navigation to their ships in future.—This, in modern vulgar language, we call swindling, the Dutch rescriptions not being worth a groat. By the French government it was considered a masterpiece of diplomatic finesse.

Such were the men who, under the mask of Roman virtue and republican integrity, governed “the fairest portion of the habitable globe,” and permitted the commission of any crime, provided the delinquent had money enough to satisfy the rapacity of his judges. The American commissioners, to their immortal honour, continued inflexible; and to all the threats of the infamous ex-bishop only replied, that they valued the friendship of France very much, but their national honour and independence still more; and that should they consent to a loan of money to enable France to carry on a war against Great Britain, they should forfeit the neutral character which they had assumed, and by taking a

part in the war lend their money under the lash and coercion of France.

It was next intimated to the American commissioners, that if they would pay by way of fees the sum of money demanded for private use, they should be permitted to remain in Paris as they then were, and be received by M. Talleyrand, until one of their number could go to America for fresh instructions.

The envoys were however firm, and two of them, General Pinckney and Mr. Marshall, were dismissed, while Mr. Gerry was permitted to remain in Paris, and manage the correspondence with these honest republicans of the new school.

The report made by the dismissed commissioners, as might be expected, raised a burst of indignation in the bosoms of "the eldest born of freedom." Not a voice but what was loud in applauding the conduct of their representatives, and eager to support their government against the aggression of France, whose cruisers were continually capturing, and whose mock tribunals as certainly condemned, all American vessels brought before them. Prompt and vigorous measures were taken : America at that time had no ships of the line, but congress ordered the equipment of frigates, sloops, and other vessels of war, and provided for the formation and establishment of a powerful marine ; liberty to fit out privateers, and letters of marque and reprisals, were freely granted ; the military establishment was increased,



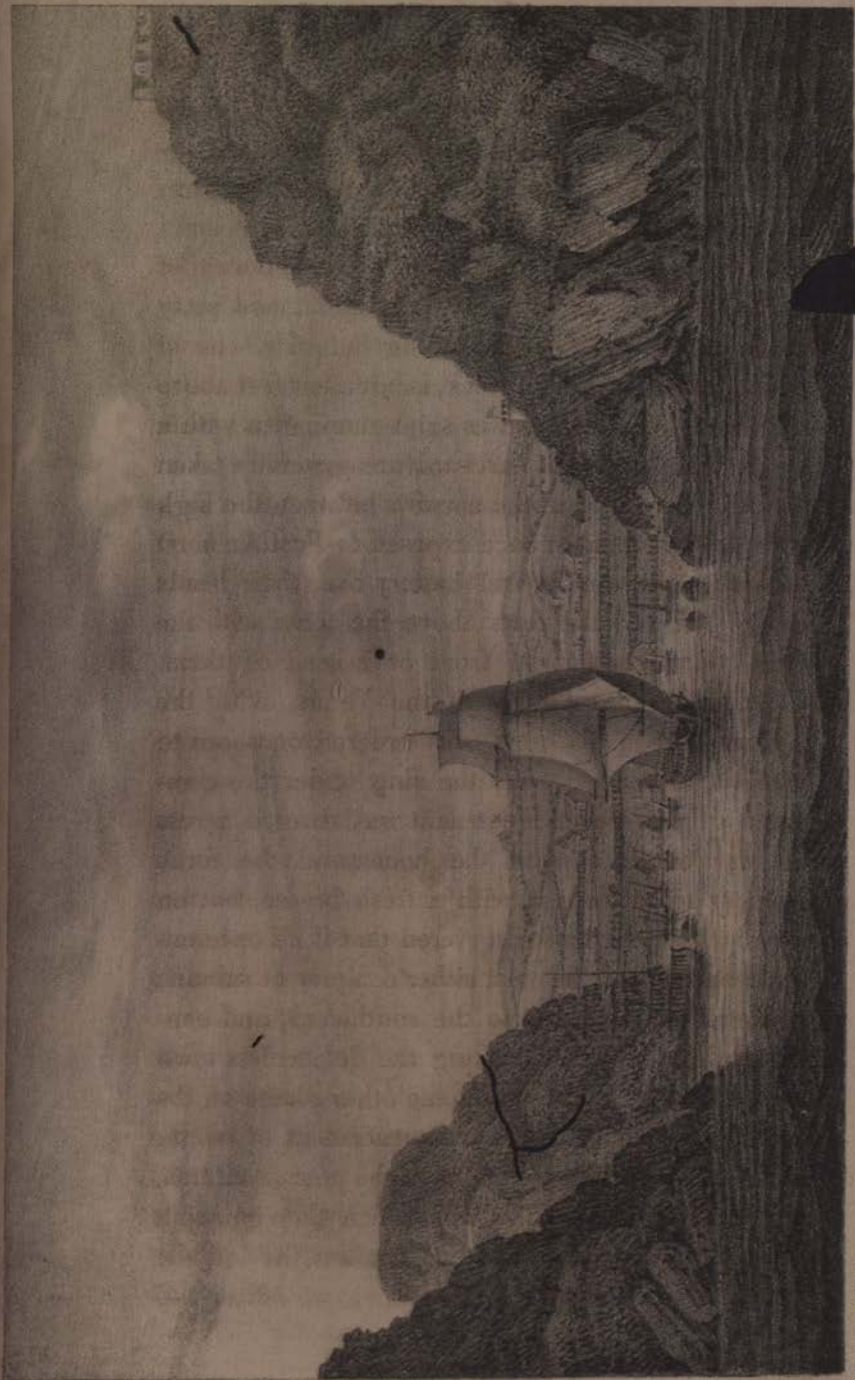
and the command of the army given to General Washington. The exposure of the infamous conduct of Talleyrand and his associates opened the eyes of Europe, on the state of the public morals as well as the public funds of France; and accounted for many political phenomena which till then had remained involved in mystery, particularly the treaties of peace with the surrounding powers; and in the progress of this work we shall have to shew, from the most undoubted authority, that Spain was compelled by France in time of war to make application to Great Britain for permission to send a frigate to America to bring home treasure for the use of Bonaparte, whose army was clothed from Yorkshire, and in some degree armed from England. It would not indeed be difficult to prove that steel, concealed in pig lead, was exported from London to France for the fabrication of weapons during the late war.

In the mean time French ships still continued to find supplies and shelter in the ports of the United States; and in the year 1795, a squadron of five sail was met with on the coast by Captain the Hon. Alexander Cochrane, in the *Thetis* of thirty-eight guns, accompanied by Captain Beresford in the *Husar* of twenty-eight guns. These officers on the 17th of May were twenty leagues east of Cape Henry, when the enemy appeared, and at first seemed resolved to try the fortune of war, forming a line and waiting the attack. Captain Cochrane directed Beresford by signal to engage the van, reserving to himself the centre ship as the largest, and the two in

the rear. The firing began at half-past ten, when within half musket-shot: before eleven o'clock Berresford had silenced the commodore and his second a-head, compelling them both to run, when the two British ships united their fire upon the centre and rear; at a quarter before twelve these three surrendered, but seeing the disabled state of our ships, one of them effected her escape. The vessels captured were *La Prevoyante* of twenty-six, and *La Raison* of eighteen guns: the whole were armed store-ships which had carried out troops early in the year to Guadaloupe, where they had sailed with a view of taking on board a cargo of provisions in America and returning to Europe. These were probably the ships which on the 5th of January had escaped from the *Bellona* and *Alarm* off *Desirade*.

The capture of the islands of *St. Pierre* and *Miquelon* at the beginning of the war in 1793, has already been noticed: the inhabitants, though interrupted for a very short time in their daily avocations, sustained no loss or violence from the invaders, and were left in the peaceful possession of their scanty store and humble habitations. Let us see how the French behaved on a similar occasion. Our readers will recollect the attack of the active and enterprising French admiral, *Richery*, on the convoy from *Gibraltar* in September, 1795, when he retreated into *Cadiz*: in the month of August, 1796, he eluded the vigilance of our blockading fleet, and appeared with seven sail of the line and three frigates off the harbour of *St. John's*, *Newfoundland*, where





Engraved by E. R. Jones.

ST JOHN'S HARBOUR, NEWFOUNDLAND.

Engraved by J. P. Boyton.

Rear-admiral Sir James Wallace, the commander-in-chief, had no naval force to oppose him; the flagship was at sea, and the *Venus* of thirty-two guns the only ship in port; every preparation was however made to defend the place. The entrance of St. John's harbour is only one hundred and sixty yards across, defended by strong batteries, one of which, called the Chain Rock, is but a few feet above the level of the sea; and as ships running in with a strong gale from the eastward are generally taken aback or becalmed in the narrows between the high hills, they become at once exposed to Fort Amherst on their right, the Queen's battery over their heads on the left, and the forts above the town with the Chain Rock battery in front or a-head of them. Captain Thomas Graves of the *Venus*, with the greater part of his crew, was ordered on shore to man the batteries, while the ship under the command of the second lieutenant was moored across the narrows to support the boom and the forts. Richery stood close in with a fresh breeze, but on approaching the land discovered that if he once entered the harbour he must either conquer or submit; he therefore ran away to the southward, and contented himself with attacking the defenceless town at the Bay of Bulls, with some other places on the coast; and having at the commencement of winter burnt many of the habitations of the poor fishermen, and destroyed the boats with which they gained a subsistence for themselves and families, he left the island, having sullied his fair fame as an officer and

a man by this despicable attack on a defenceless and unoffending people.

Nothing of importance occurred on the North-American station until the following year, when the Tribune frigate of thirty-eight guns and three hundred men was lost as she was going into the harbour of Halifax. This ship was commanded by Captain Scorey Barker; and however tender we ever wish to be of the reputation of our fellow-creatures, and particularly of a deceased brother officer, we are compelled by our sense of duty, and for the future advantage of the service, not to pass over without just animadversion faults which led to such fatal consequences.

The Tribune reached the entrance of Halifax harbour in the month of November, 1797, where it appears Captain Barker declined taking a pilot from the assurances of the Master that he had a perfect knowledge of the harbour, having frequently been in it before. The Captain after this act, which so greatly increased his responsibility, went below to prepare for his landing; the Master, with an ignorance only excusable in a boy, ran the ship on the Thrum Cap shoal, which lies on the starboard or right-hand side going in. Lieutenant Haliburton, the officer of the guard at Fort Sandwich, instantly saw her situation, and very soon got on board, when he advised the Captain to provide for the safety of the crew, the ship being as he said irretrievably lost; Captain Barker, unwilling to give her up, made signals of distress, but refused to let the boats which

had come to his relief, quit the ship. Mr. Haliburton however finding him obstinate contrived to get away, and thus saved himself and his boat's crew from the fate which awaited the people of the Tribune, and many others that went to her assistance. When the ship struck the day was clear, and she had all sail set, with a light breeze from east-south-east, which leads directly up the harbour: in winter the wind from this quarter invariably increases to a gale before night, and it was from a knowledge of this fact that Lieutenant Haliburton foretold the destruction of the ship: boats from the dock-yard reached her with much labour, the guns were thrown overboard, the mizen-mast cut away, and about nine o'clock she floated off with the loss of her rudder: the gale increased, it was perfectly dark, and they contrived to keep her head to the westward and run towards the harbour, but she could not be brought to steer, and at half-past ten sunk within pistol-shot of the shore in thirteen fathoms water, in Herring Cove, a rocky bay on the south side of the channel.

With the ship sunk the Captain, and the greater part of the crew: the survivors, about one hundred in number, clung to the fore and main rigging and got into the tops which remained above water; about midnight the mainmast fell, taking with it all those unfortunate people who had prolonged their wretched existence for one hour in the top, nine of them reached the foremast, and by six o'clock the whole number living was reduced from cold and fatigue to seven men. At day-light a boy came

off by himself in a boat and took away two of them, which were all he could carry : how it happened that this poor child, only thirteen years of age, should have been the first to reach the ship after she sunk, we never could learn ; the fact is however as certain as it is disgraceful. The others were rescued in the course of the morning, and among them Mr. Galvin, a master's mate.

The loss of this ship affords a striking lesson to officers, never to neglect making themselves acquainted with the dangers of a port ; for although we are of opinion that it is a duty to encourage that deserving class of people the pilots, yet it frequently happens that they are not to be procured, and after a fatiguing and often dangerous excursion, if they are refused admittance on board his Majesty's ships or merchant vessels, their profession must grow into disuse, and the most fatal consequences may follow. Had Captain Barker been himself acquainted with the harbour, he could not have had a better companion on his quarter-deck than a native pilot ; unfortunately the Captain was not only ignorant, but quitted the deck, and resigning the charge of his ship to one equally so, became responsible for the lives which were lost. Had he lived, and escaped the almost inevitable condemnation of his conduct by a court-martial, it is probable that he would have become a prey to remorse for the remainder of his days.



## CHAP. XV.

History of the Vendean war—Rise and progress—Ignorance of the British government on the subject—Insurrection at St. Florent—Attack on Bressuire—Departure of De L'Escure and family for their residence in the Bocage—Extent and description of insurgent country—Forces and leaders—Chouans and Vendéans not always connected in their operations—Capture of Saumur and Châtillon—Failure of attack on Nantes—Insurgents receive offers of assistance from England—Substance of Mr. Dundas's letter—British ministers thought insincere—Reply to the offers—Culpable exaggeration of their forces—Success of republicans and their reverses—Dreadful cruelties—Females in royalist army—Exertions of Vendéans, who defeat five armies—Jealousy and selfishness of Charette—Battle of Beanpréau—Passage of the Loire—Noble generosity of the dying General De L'Escure to republican prisoners—Their ingratitude—La Roche Jaquelein elected General—Affair of Laval—Attempt to recross the Loire fails—More letters from England—Attack on Granville fails—Mutiny and disasters of the army—Affair of Savenay—Total dispersion of the royalist army on the right bank of the Loire—La Roche Jaquelein joins Charette, who receives him coldly—He quits him, and forms a new corps—His successes, and death—Stofflet succeeds—Jealousy of the latter and Charette against Marigny, whom they put to death—Supposed to give great disgust to British government—Amnesty—Madame de L'Escure returns to Paris—Marries—Concluding remarks.

THE civil war in La Vendee, and the southern part of Brittany, with the successes of the royalists, had long occupied the attention of the British government, and held out some faint hopes of restoration to the emigrant princes of the house of Bourbon. The ministers of George the Third, willing to avail themselves of any opportunity of wounding the republic and re-establishing the regal government of France, would gladly have embraced and supported this rebellion, but were unfortunately, from various

causes, kept in ignorance of its progress, of its means of support, and the object proposed by its leaders; nor can it be said that correct information on this subject, ever reached the British public, until the appearance of the accurate and elegant work of the Marquise de la Roche Jaquelein. Desirous however of affording them every assistance, a naval and military force was kept ready to act, and to co-operate with them wherever an occasion might present itself; and we believe it was little more than verbal messages from the seat of war which induced our ministers to send a powerful armament to Quiberon-bay in hopes of forming a junction with the Chouans and the Vendéans. As many of our readers may be unacquainted with the origin of this war, with which the operations of the British navy were intimately connected, we shall present them with an extract from the work above mentioned, which we have, with the permission of the amiable and heroic authoress herself, translated for the purpose.

France, disturbed at once by the discord of her capital, an invasion of her northern frontiers, and the delivery of her chief naval arsenal into the hands of her enemies, had at the same time to contend against the most destructive civil-war in the west, which threatened the overthrow of the convention, and the entire subversion of the new order of things.

The first symptoms of discontent among the happy Vendéans, were occasioned by the arbitrary interference of the national assembly, which, in 1789, attempted to introduce equality among them,

and to take from them the priests to whom they were affectionately attached, substituting that class of apostates who had shewn themselves favourable to democracy, and careless of the interests of religion. These men met with that reception in La Vendee which might naturally have been expected among an innocent, virtuous, and rustic people: they were either insulted or neglected; and one of them, in a parish consisting of four thousand inhabitants, could not obtain fire to light his tapers. Rigorous measures occasioned partial insurrection; and such was the spirit of enthusiasm against the violence offered to their religious prejudices, that a peasant of lower Poictou, after defending himself against the gens d'armes with no other weapon than a pitchfork, received two-and-twenty wounds and expired, exclaiming, "Rendez moi, mon Dieu." The scenes of the 10th of August, 1792, still farther inflamed their minds against the Parisian government; and the success of the allies in the north being related to them with unjustifiable exaggeration, they decided to take up arms, and to oppose with force the encroachments of arbitrary power. In this they flattered themselves that they should have not only the support of the great body of the nation, but also of the coalesced powers. The Mayor of Bressuire having been expelled from the town by the new municipality, had sufficient influence to excite the people of forty parishes to rise in his favour: a levy of three hundred thousand men having been ordered by the convention, the balloting was fixed to take

place at St. Florent for the proportion to be furnished by that district. The youth of La Vendee had resolved to resist this law, and on the 10th of March, the day appointed, assembled in the town with no equivocal demonstrations of their ill will. The commandant having ordered a piece of artillery to fire upon them, they darted forward, seized the gun, dispersed the guards, burnt their papers, and shared the contents of the military chest. Jaques Cathelineau, a man of the lower orders, placed himself at their head, and with four hundred men marched to Jallais and Chemille, which they took, together with two hundred prisoners and four pieces of cannon.

This loyal body was soon after greatly augmented, and entirely defeated in an ill-concerted attack on the town of Bressuire, a hundred of them were taken prisoners, and butchered in cold blood, crying "Vive le roi."

In this state of things, after the massacres of the 10th of August, Madame de L'Escure (better known by the title of Marquise de la Roche Jaquelcin) left Paris with her husband Mons. de L'Escure, and repaired to their seat at Clisson in the Bocage: they were accompanied by Mons. and Madame Donassin, the father and mother of the Marquise, who partook of all her misfortunes, and administered every comfort in their power to their persecuted daughter.

According to a modern French writer,\* the insurgent country contained a population of eight hundred thousand people. This we may suppose in-

\* Bail, *Hist. des Revolutions de La France*, Paris, 8vo, 1821.

cluded part of Brittany on the right bank of the Loire as far as L'Orient, with the country of La Vendee on the left bank, which was formerly known by the name of the "Bocage," from its numerous groves of trees forming dark and intricate narrow roads in every direction: it is contained between the Loire, the Charente, and the Bay of Biscay, and bounded on the east by Anjou and Poictou. The royalists of Brittany were called Chouans, those on the left bank of the Loire Vendéans. The republican soldiers, from the colour of their uniform, had obtained the name of Blues; after the arrival of Mons. de L'Escure on his estate, the persecutions against the royalists were redoubled; nor, till the year 1802, could that unhappy country be said to have had one moment's repose, since no reliance could be placed on compacts made with such men as Carrere, who boasted to have destroyed thirty-two thousand people at Nantes and its neighbourhood by "Noyades," the guillotine, and the bayonet.

Mons. de L'Escure, before he left Paris, had very accurate accounts of the state of the public mind in the western departments, and the insurrection of La Vendee was organized with the most surprising celerity. De L'Escure had about twenty thousand men at his command, and the number on any important emergency might have been doubled; this was called the grand Vendean army. Bonchamp, who commanded the royalists of Anjou, had between ten and twelve thousand men on the left bank of the Loire near St. Florent; with these he guarded the

approach from Angers, and acted in concert with De L'Escure. Charette commanded in the Marais, or low country, towards the sea; near Nantes and Sable D'Olonne, his force amounted to twenty thousand men. D'Elbé commanded the division of Chollet and Beaupréau with about four thousand. Mons. de Reyran with twelve thousand men occupied Montaigu, between which place and Nantes there was a corps of about four thousand under the command of M. M. de Lyrot and D'Isigny: Stofflet headed the insurgents on the side of Maulevreir.

Never was human nature more degraded by crimes or exalted by virtues than during this dreadful rebellion. A priest on one occasion raised himself on a little hillock, and harangued his flock that were flying from the enemy: "My children," said he, "with this crucifix I will be your leader; if you die you will go to paradise, but the cowards who betray their God and leave their families, will have their throats cut by the blues and go to hell." Two thousand men knelt down and received his benediction, then rose and defeated the enemy.

The rear of the main army depending for support on these divisions, had to sustain a very extended line, being unguarded on the north, the east, and the south: the republicans might attack them from Fontenay, Parthenay, Airvault, Thouars, Doué, and Brisac; nevertheless these brave people successfully occupied every one of the places without generals or any fixed rules of discipline; they followed the leader in whom they had the most confidence, and

acted for a time in wonderful concert. Hence it will appear that the island of Noirmoutier and the contiguous coast should have been the scene of our operations, and the chief point of attack. The royalists seldom continued embodied more than three or four days; the battle either gained or lost, the expedition having succeeded or failed, the peasants returned again to their own cottages and hamlets; the chiefs only remained with a few followers consisting of deserters and strangers, who had no families to return to; but when a new enterprise was on foot, the army quickly reassembled, notices were sent to all the parishes, and the peasants came flocking in as the tocsin resounded through the once peaceful hamlets of the Bocage.

Whenever the armies were engaged, the women and children, and whatever inhabitants remained in the villages, repaired to the churches and went to prayers, or prostrated themselves in humble devotion in the fields to ask success to the cause. Throughout the whole of La Vendee there was but one sentiment, one wish. Such is the picture of the insurgent army during the first months of the war. The Vendean and Chouans, though acting on the same principles, had no particular connexion with each other until the former crossed the Loire in October, 1793. The attack upon the city of Nantes was by the Vendean only; had they succeeded, they would at once have obtained an intercourse with England. The British navy, by having access to the Loire, would have afforded them timely assistance, and

might have rendered very important services; the failure, however, was not from any want of valour on the part of the royalists. After an action of eighteen hours, in which most of their chiefs were wounded, they were compelled to retreat by the superior force of the republicans, and the loss of their bravest leaders. This was a blow that they never recovered, although they met with some success soon after, in the capture of Chatillon, where the slaughter of the republican troops in cold blood could not be prevented by the utmost exertion of the royalist officers. The republicans are said to have lost four thousand men; the rage of civil discord never ran higher than in 1793 and 1794 in La Vendee, where the blues set the example of murder, pillage, and conflagration.

De L'Escure having, at the head of the Vendean in the summer of 1793, made himself master of Saurmur on the Loire, by which he entirely commanded the passage of that river, rendered an important service to the cause; eighty pieces of cannon, with an immense quantity of ammunition and muskets, fell into his hands, and it was resolved, at all events to secure this important post, which established a communication between the Chouans and the Vendean; but it was found impossible to retain it. After this De L'Escure and Charette concerted the enterprise on Nantes, the failure of which we have just noticed. The assault was spirited, but miscarried, owing to the obstinate stand made by a body of republicans at Niort. De L'Escure having been



recently wounded was not present, and his men did not come up in time to support Charette, who expressed much disappointment at the delay. It had been agreed by the royalist chiefs, that a passage should be left on the side of Vannes for the inhabitants and garrison of Nantes to retreat to, should they be so disposed. This resolution does not appear to have been imparted to the Prince de Talmont, who perceiving a vast multitude proceeding out of the town upon that route, fell upon them and drove them back again. All hopes of retreat being thus cut off, the garrison and the inhabitants resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity rather than trust to the mercy of the royalists, who seem to have forgotten on this occasion the Spanish proverb, "Make a bridge of gold for a flying enemy."

Hitherto the insurgents were without any intelligence from England; and the battle of Luçon had been lost by them before the Chevalier de Tinteniac arrived. Sent by the British government to the chiefs of the royalists, he had landed from a fishing-boat near St. Maloes during the night in the autumn of 1793. Such were the feelings of the Bretons at this period, with respect to the revolution, that this officer made himself known to a peasant, who quickly acquainted the municipality with the circumstance, and by their assistance he was disguised, and conveyed to the banks of the Loire. In every part of Brittany he met with kind treatment, and found none but friends to the old government. He crossed the river, and joined the chiefs of the Vendean army

at Boulaye: his despatches, which were concealed in his pistols, were from Mr. Dundas. After praising the valour of the royalists, the minister assured them of the earnest desire of the King of England to afford every assistance, but shewed at the same time the most perfect ignorance of all that related to the cause of the insurgents. The letters were addressed to Gaston, a barber, who had been killed at the beginning of the war.

The chief of the royalists, though surprised at the ignorance of our government respecting their affairs, do not appear to have taken any pains to enlighten them; and the following questions put by Mr. Dundas will shew at once the extent of his information, and the ignorance of the British nation, on the affairs of La Vendee.

1st, What were the views of the revolters, and their opinions?

2dly, What occasion had caused the insurrection?

3dly, Why we had not sought to establish an intercourse with England.

4thly, What were our connexions with the other provinces, or the powers of the continent?

5thly, The extent of the insurgent provinces?

6thly, The number of our soldiers?

7thly, Our resources in the materiel of war?

8thly, How we had procured them?

9thly, What kind of succours we required, and the places most suitable to land them?

“The despatches were written,” says the Marquis, “with an air of good faith, and implied fears

of our refusing the offered assistance, expressing at the same time much uncertainty respecting our plans: they knew not whether we supported the ancient order of things, the opinions of the constituent assembly, or the faction of the Girondists. Mons. de Tinteniac explained himself openly to the chiefs, and told them he entertained great doubts of the intentions of the British cabinet; that he was dissatisfied with its conduct towards the emigrants, because many of them wishing to cross over from Jersey to the neighbouring coast of France, had been prevented by the government, and the pilots forbidden to convey them under pain of death." From such a charge as this the reader will readily acquit the King's ministers, when he becomes better acquainted with the characters of some of the pretended emigrants, who, under the mask of loyalty, received the gold and betrayed the cause of France and of England.

The answer of the royalists to the letter of Mr. Dundas was in substance as follows. After giving an account of the political opinions of the Vendéans, they said, "that if they had not hitherto solicited any supplies, it was only from the *impossibility* of having any communication." This perfectly exculpates our government from the charge of ignorance, or of withholding its co-operation. Assistance they said was absolutely necessary; and at the same time, with an impolitic and unjustifiable want of candour, they *exaggerated* the amount of their forces in order to induce the English to believe that their *sacrifices*

would not be ill bestowed. They proposed to disembark the supplies at Sable D'Olonne, or Painboeuf, a small town on the left bank of the Loire, not very far from its mouth; and that their army of fifty thousand men should cover the landing, and be ready on a given day at the appointed spot. Charette, they said, had lost Noirmoutier, but he might easily take St. Gilles.

The English spoke of Rochefort, Rochelle, and L'Orient, but they (the royalists) gave them to understand that it would be very difficult to attack any one of those places.

"It must be admitted," says the Marquise, "that we offered the English every facility to land, and that there was a great backwardness on their part, since their armament was *perfectly ready* to sail. We particularly wished that the expedition should be commanded by a prince of the house of Bourbon, and that it should be composed chiefly of emigrants: from that moment we affirmed that complete success might be relied on; that twenty thousand young men would instantly join them, and pass the Loire; and that all Bretagne would rise in their favour: we knew the opinion of the people of that province *without having any connexion with them.*" It will be admitted that an English minister would have been highly to blame had he compromised the safety of British or emigrant forces on such surmises and doubtful information. Mons. de Tinteniac set out on his return to England, which he reached *with the loss of his despatches*, so that the government had

again only the verbal information of this gentleman, on whom it is probable they did not think they could implicitly rely; he however proved to be a very brave and loyal man. He was present at the desperate affair of Quiberon in the year 1795, and died soon after in the field of battle supporting the same cause.

After the second unfortunate affair of Luçon, 1793, where Charette acted in concert with D'Elbé, De L'Escure, and the other royalist chiefs, the arms of the republic carried all before them, and we much doubt whether thirty thousand British troops could have restored the affairs of La Vendée: by their own confession the royalists were betrayed by each other. The too easy admission of deserters into their ranks was a great cause of their discomfiture, as these people always returned to their own side in the heat of battle, and gave information of the weakest points.

Still the republicans met with another overthrow at Chantenay, where a battalion called *Le Vengeur* was annihilated, a name it would appear as fatal by land as by sea. It was on this occasion that the little Chevalier Mondyon, only thirteen years of age, who had already distinguished himself in many battles, made that heroic speech to an officer very far his superior in rank, age, and stature. This man complained that he was wounded, and must retire from battle; "I do not see that you are," said the boy; "and as your retreat will dishearten our men, I will certainly blow your brains out if you attempt to turn round;"—and he would have done so had

not the officer remained on his post. After this affair Charette continued in command of the army in the neighbourhood of Nantes and the sea coast; D'Elbé and the other officers were distributed according to their local knowledge and various interests.

The insurgent country, after the surrender of Valenciennes, Condé, and Mayence, became the theatre of the most active and bloody war. The garrisons of those places were sent in carriages to La Vendée. The royalists blamed our want of foresight in letting loose these forces upon them; but how was it to have been prevented? though it must be owned that the garrisons of those places were of infinite importance to the republican cause in the west. The blues marched every where with fire and sword; women and children were not spared; the terrible convention had given orders that the country should be made a desert. Man, his habitation, and every tree, were to be swept away. The cruel decree was partly executed; two hundred and forty thousand cannibals were let loose on those unhappy people, their own countrymen, whom they butchered with unrelenting rage; nor can we wonder that young women were found fighting in the army of the royalists: instances occurred where they greatly distinguished themselves, and fell dead in their ranks. The Marquise mentions, among other instances, two sisters of fifteen and fourteen years of age, of undaunted courage; another who enlisted in the dragoons to avenge the death of her father: she took the name of L'Angevin,

and was the only one of these Amazons who survived the war. Their whole number never exceeded ten; one of them was remarkable for stature and beauty: she carried a brace of pistols and a sabre, and was attended by two females armed with pikes.

Charette was defeated at Montaigu by the garrison of Mayence, consisting of fourteen thousand men. The republicans now exceeded if it were possible their former cruelties, and the Vendéans declared that no quarter should be given to them. In a work of this nature neither our limits nor our design will allow us to follow the royalists through all the vicissitudes of their fortune. Of six armies that had come to extirpate them, five were defeated; but after these successes, discord, hitherto unknown in La Vendee, blasted all their hopes. Charette claimed his share of a trifling booty; and supposing that justice had not been done to himself and his division, sullenly retired, and a preconcerted scheme was in consequence abandoned. The conduct of Charette on this and subsequent occasions proved, that in England at least, his character was very much overrated.

The Vendean generals met together at Beaupréau, resolved to make one more effort to drive the republicans out of their country; and they might still have hoped for success, having a numerous army, the soldiers animated at once by the thirst of vengeance and the necessity of conquering: Bonchamp, foreseeing however the possibility of a defeat, was desirous of securing some rallying point, and for this

purpose detached a force to surprise Varades, on the right bank of the Loire: had this officer lived, it is possible that some advantage might have been derived from a measure, which in the end was the ruin of the cause. The attack upon Varades drew from the army some men whose services were much wanted, and pointing out a place of retreat convinced the soldiers that safety might be found in flight. A division of four thousand men, under the command of the Prince de Talmont, D'Antichamp, and Dechoux, crossed the river at St. Florent and occupied Varades; and on the morning of the 17th of October, 1793, the main body of the royalist army, consisting of forty thousand men under the command of D'Elbé, Bonchamp, De la Roche, Jaquelein, and Donassin, marched upon Chollet. The republicans had forty-five thousand men to oppose them. The armies came in presence of each other at Beaupréau, and after prodigies of valour, the Vendéans were defeated with great slaughter. D'Elbé and Bonchamp were mortally wounded, and carried by their friends to St. Florent, where the shattered remains of the Vendean army assembled together. Westerman, the republican general, entered Beaupréau on the 18th, and burnt it, together with the neighbouring villages, but went no farther.

The passage of the Loire may be said to have been the most disastrous step ever taken by those deplorable victims of liberty. The defeat of Beaupréau was, in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to the defection of Charette, who took no share in



the action, and the gallant De L'Escure, mortally wounded in a previous affair, was borne about in a litter wherever the army marched, assisted at their councils, and with his latest breath opposed the passage of the Loire. .

The confusion and dismay among the vast multitude who crowded the left bank of the river in the neighbourhood of St. Florent on the morning of the 18th of October, 1793, when the passage began, cannot be better described than in the words of the Marquise: "We had quitted Chaudron during the night. Mons. De L'Escure was carried in a litter, which they had covered in for him in the best way they could: he suffered excruciating agonies. I travelled by his side, being three months pregnant: my grief and my fears rendered my situation frightful. We reached St. Florent early in the morning, and then I beheld a scene which will never be effaced from my memory.

"The heights of St. Florent form a circular amphitheatre, at the foot of which is a vast plain extending as far as the river Loire, which at that spot is very wide: here was assembled eighty thousand people, old men, women, and children, soldiers, wounded, all mixed pell m ell, flying from murder and conflagration; behind were the flames and the smoke arising from their burning villages and desolate habitations; nothing was heard but screams, groans, mourning, and despair; each sought a parent, a child, or some dear relative, to defend them;

about twenty crazy bargues were employed in conveying the wretched fugitives to the opposite bank: some endeavoured to pass the river on horse-back; all stretched out their arms and implored assistance from the multitude of Bretons who had assembled on the opposite side, and whose voices reached us in a confused and melancholy murmur. In the midst of the stream was a small island covered with Vendéans, who had got thus far from their pursuers. The whole brought forcibly to our minds the terrible day of judgment." La Roche Jaquelein and L'Escure did every thing to prevent this fatal flight, but panic had seized the whole army; the republicans approached, the ammunition of the royalists was expended; the greater number of Vendéans had passed the river, and five thousand prisoners remained at St. Florent under the care of the rear guard of the royalist army; how these were to be disposed of now became a serious question: to take them over was impossible; to release them, fatal to the Vendéans. It was proposed by some to shoot them all; De L'Escure raised his dying voice against it, and at the intercession of Madame de L'Escure and Madame de Bonchamp, whose husbands were both mortally wounded, these men were liberated, and repaid their benefactors by firing upon them as they fled across the river; some of them, however, shewed their gratitude by acts of kindness, and were particularly serviceable to the royalists at Nantes, when the execrable Carrere, wallowing in human blood,

was enjoying the dying agonies of his victims. A council of Vendean officers elected Henri de la Roche Jaquëlein their chief: the noble youth was then in his twenty-second year. It was on this occasion he made that celebrated oration to his soldiers: "If I advance, follow me; if I retreat, kill me; if I die, avenge me."

The republican soldiers on every occasion massacred the wounded royalists, and Mons. de Margnny, the Vendean general, one of the mildest and most amiable of men, was so changed in his nature by these repeated acts of cruelty, that with his own hand he put to death a republican judge who was brought to him from a cave where he had been concealed.

The Vendéans, after the passage of the Loire, advanced in tolerable order with an army of thirty thousand men; and notwithstanding all their misfortunes and losses, drove fifteen thousand national guards out of Laval, where the people were extremely well inclined to the cause of royalty. After the affair of Chateau Gontier, in which the republicans were entirely defeated, and the detestable Mayencais cut in pieces by the Vendéans under the command of the youthful general La Roche Jaquëlein, it was proposed to recross the Loire, and possess themselves again of their own country: this plan was unfortunately overruled; jealousy and intrigue combined with other disasters to blast their remaining hopes, and while their councils were dis-

tracted with this important question, the republicans put it out of their power. The tragical death of the gallant De L'Escure, which took place in November, seemed to dissolve all remaining ties between the royalists of the different parishes on each side of the river. The sufferings of the unfortunate widow on this occasion, with her infant daughter, and the fears of a premature labour, are not to be described, and fully equal if not surpass any thing of the kind we read of in history.

At this time despatches arrived at the head quarters of the royalists, brought from England by two emigrants, assuring them of the most active co-operation; but the bearers of these friendly communications were the first to throw suspicions on the sincerity of the British government, and to induce their countrymen not to rely on its promises.

They replied to the second letter of Mr. Dundas by assuring him, in answer to his question, that their only object was to replace the king on his throne, and to leave the mode of government to himself; they repeated their total want of every article of warlike stores, and begged for the sum of five hundred thousand francs, or 20,000*l.* sterling.

It was resolved to make an attack upon the town of Granville on the coast, in order to secure a port of intercourse in the English Channel: thirty thousand men marched upon it, and attempted at nine o'clock at night to take the place by storm. After a most determined conflict at the foot of the walls,

which lasted thirty-six hours, they were repulsed, and regretted that no English forces were there to render them assistance: but how was the British government to divine that such an attack was in contemplation; and Granville-bay is not a place for an armament to ride in winter-time, in expectation of, and depending on, the movements of such an ill-conducted force as that of the royalists. Retreating thence, a mutiny in the army induced each to seek his own safety, and with great difficulty they rallied a small number to finish this campaign. The attack upon Angers succeeded the victory of Dol; the numbers of their sick and wounded increased as usual with the diminution of their resources, and death seemed the only refuge, which they looked to with impatience as a termination of their sufferings: fifteen thousand of them are said to have found it in the defeat of Mans, where the Vendean army received a total overthrow. Every attempt to repass the Loire proved abortive, and the insurgents retreated in the greatest disorder towards Savenay below Nantes. Here, hemmed in between the Loire, the Vilaine, and the sea, the remains of this loyal band were entirely cut to pieces or dispersed. The widow of the brave and faithful De L'Escure roamed, a wretched fugitive, accompanied by her mother, through the woods and by-roads of Brittany, pursued by the troops of the republic; she found no rest for the sole of her foot until she had given birth to two girls in a wretched hovel; her

first child had died of fatigue and teething after the defeat of Savenay, and one of the twins a fortnight after its birth. •

Charette, in the mean time, continued at the head of an army of royalists on the left bank of the Loire, and extended his forces thence along the sea-coast towards the island of Noirmoutier.

Henri de la Roche Jaquelein, after the final overthrow of the Vendéans at Savenay, was separated from his followers while attempting to find a passage for them across the Loire, and compelled to pass the river alone: he wandered about till he found the camp of Charette, who received him coldly, and did not even invite him to partake of breakfast, which was on the table. Charette was about to take the field, and asked La Roche Jaquelein if he would *follow him*.—"I am not accustomed to follow, *but to lead*," said the young man, and turned hastily from him. A party of his own friends and adherents instantly quitted Charette to join their favourite chief, who kept the blues in a constant alarm by the rapidity of his night marches, and intercepting their numerous convoys. On one occasion his people captured the adjutant-general of a republican division, and brought him to head-quarters, where he was shot by the sentence of a council of war, and in his pocket was found an order to promise amnesty to the peasants, and to put them to death as soon as they surrendered.

La Roche Jaquelein increased the number of his

followers, but on the 4th of March, 1794, he met with two republican grenadiers, whom the Vendéans would have put to death; the chief kept his men back and advanced towards them alone, promising if they would surrender that their lives should be spared; when one of them turning round, shot the gallant La Roche Jaquelein through the head. Thus fell the greatest hero of the Vendéans: Stofflet succeeded to the command of his troops. The insurrection now consisted of three armies, viz. that of Lower Poictou under Charette, Anjou under Stofflet, and of Poictou under Marigny; and notwithstanding the unfortunate passage of the Loire, and the consequent disasters, the armies gave the republicans much annoyance and serious alarm, and had they acted in concert would have secured at least an honourable peace: but Stofflet and Charette became jealous of the superior talents and successes of Marigny, a naval officer, and a man of the most upright mind and distinguished loyalty. They invited him to Jallais in order to concert a plan of operations: here it was agreed that the armies should unite and attack the whole of the republican posts on the left bank of the Loire. Marigny, at the appointed day, appeared with his corps after a long march; provisions had been distributed to the two armies of Charette and Stofflet; Marigny demanded his share, and being refused an equal proportion, his army mutinied and returned home; and Marigny finding the council would not listen to his complaints,

followed his men: for this he was condemned to death by a council of war, which judged him in his absence. Charette drew up the sentence and signed it: the army of Marigny, highly indignant at this act of injustice, swore to defend their chief to the last; but the cruel and artful Charette sent a party of Germans, who surprised him in his little cottage on the bed of sickness. Marigny, having seated himself in an arm-chair in his garden, gave the word of command to fire, and his remains were buried in haste near the spot where he fell.

After this execution of one of their best generals by the other two, what dependance could be placed in the co-operation of the Vendéans? It is most probable that this act disgusted the British government with the cause of the royalists; and it is certain that it contributed greatly to the dispersion of their army. Charette and Stofflet differed more than before: ambition, jealousy, and selfishness, took place of that honour and fidelity which first brought them into the field; the war changed its character; purity of motive and self-denial became unknown; the peasants no longer obeyed with the same blind devotion as formerly; and the barbarity and want of faith in the republican legions, appropriately and self-designated "Infernal," had so enraged the peaceable Vendéans, that they retaliated upon them with the same severity.

Such was the state of the insurgent armies in the year 1794, when an amnesty was proclaimed by



the convention. Madame de L'Escure profited by it and went to Nantes, where having obtained her passport she set off for Paris. She was then handsome, though "sorrow had dimmed the lustre of her eyes." Soon after, by the advice of her mother, she married the Marquise de la Roche Jaquelein, brother and heir to the deceased General, whom he resembled as much in his life as in his death. Hitherto the insurgents had received no assistance from England. By the temporary suspension of arms between the two parties, La Vendee was permitted to enjoy a few months' repose from the horrors of war, and the unhappy people were permitted to return to their wasted fields and desolate habitations.

END OF VOL. I.



## DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

The Portrait of the Earl of St. Vincent to face the title-page.  
Map of Toulon to face page 197.  
View of Hieres-bay to face page 233.  
Portrait of Lord Howe to face page 242.  
Port Royal, Jamaica, to face page 315.  
St. John's Harbour, Newfoundland, to face page 476.

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## ERRATA.

Page 48, line 11, after "sailors" dele "themselves."  
Page 178, bottom line, for Curterie read Custine.  
Page 193, line 3, for Corby read Cosby.  
Page 334, line 7 of contents, for Cape read Captain.  
Page 312, line 4, for Edwards read Sir Richard Hughes.  
The squadron sailing to bring over the Princess of Wales, the accident which befel the Channel fleet, and the Comparative View of Russia and Turkey in 1791 and 1822, alluded to in Chapters VI, VII, and XIII, having been omitted in the body of the First Volume, will be more fully detailed in another part.





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