Pitt had done what Bolingbroke had dreamed of and what George III had failed to do—he had made the Tory party popular and supported throughout the country.

The Peace Administration. Macaulay, in his essay on Pitt in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, wrote: 'The eight years which followed the general election of 1784 were as tranquil and prosperous as any eight years in the whole history of England.' All Pitt's interest was in peace. The great inventions which brought about the Industrial Revolution (p. 539) were making Britain into a hive of factories and workshops. It was Pitt's task to set trade free to take advantage of these inventions. His policy was directed chiefly to three things: one was to pay off a large part of the National Debt; the second was to reduce customs duties; the third was to make the system of political representation more simple and fair.

The Sinking Fund. Pitt's policy with regard to the National Debt was to set aside a sum of money every year, to be accumulated till a substantial amount of the debt could be paid off with it. A large National Debt hampers trade, because the Government has to raise heavy taxes in order to find the interest on the debt; and high taxation takes away wealth which is required for the agriculture and manufactures of the country. Pitt was therefore wise to use, as Walpole had used, the surplus revenue in order to pay back the debt. To accumulate the money in a fund, however, was not sound finance; it would have been better to pay back a certain amount of debt each year, and so to save paying interest on that portion of the debt in future years. It is on this method that most modern so-called sinking funds are administered.

The customs and taxation. In the eighteenth century there was an immense amount of smuggling. The customs duties on spirits, wine, tobacco, and many other commodities were so high that enormous profits could be made by any importer who could evade the duties. In all the ports round the coast there were men who went out to sea in swift little schooners or sloops on dark nights, met some French or Dutch

boat, shipped their illicit kegs or bales, and then ran for some lonely creek. There were regular agents in the large towns who received these illegal goods and disposed of them in the way of ordinary trade. There was something romantic about smuggling; the beautiful cliffs and caves of Cornwall, the wild coasts of the west of Scotland, provided endless opportunities. In the present day one can follow the paths, marked by whitewashed stones, which the coastguards made round the coasts of the south of England, in their ceaseless watch for smugglers. Yet the romances which have grown up round the careers of smugglers, like the powerful novel of Scott—*Guy Mannering*—or the charming unfinished novel of Thackeray—*Denis Duval*—must not blind us to the fact that smuggling was a sordid business, which cheated the revenue, and that other people had to pay more in taxes in order to make up what the revenue lost. Moreover, the smugglers were a brutal class of people. In lonely districts they made a veritable reign of terror, and horribly ill-treated every one who would not help them.

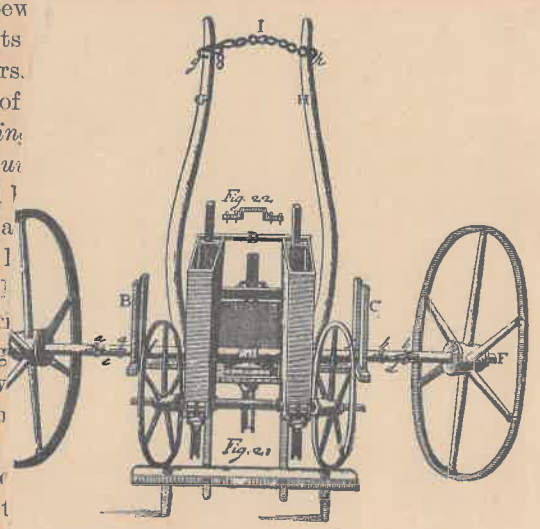
Smuggling has now almost disappeared. The duties have been lowered, so that the profits, even of the most successful smuggling, cannot be very high. The risk, on the other hand, becomes greater, because, if duty is levied on fewer articles, the trade in these articles can be more easily watched. Pitt reduced the duties; the tax upon tea was more than the cost of the tea when it entered the country. He lowered the charge from 119 per cent. of the value of the tea to 12½ per cent. On the other hand, he imposed a tax on windows in all houses which had more than seven. This was not a good form of taxation, and is the reason why in many of the older houses in England some of the window-spaces are still blind—bricked up. A tax which has found greater favour with statesmen is the income-tax. It was first imposed by Pitt in 1798 to help to pay for the French War. All incomes of over £200 a year paid a tax of 10 per cent.; that is, 2*s.* in the £. Incomes between £60 and £200 paid a lower scale of tax. Incomes below £60 were free of tax. The tax was only

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a measure for the war, and was removed in 1816. Pitt negotiated a treaty which was a step towar exchange of commodities with the great agricul industrial country, France. The treaty lowered to be paid on entry into England of French wine silk. The French on their side reduced the duties cotton, woollen, and iron goods.

The Agricultural Revolution. During the las England had been steadily growing in prosperity. agriculture that progress first became marked. In teenth century much land had been won for t pasture through the draining of marshes, parti East Anglia, when the Bedford Level, extending of Cambridge, Northampton, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and Suffolk, was made by two successive Earls of (who received charters in 1634 and 1649), at a cos £400,000. In the next century Charles Viscount To who retired from Walpole's Ministry in 1730, devot time and attention to improving methods of farmi Norfolk estate, Raynham. There he cultivated th (for which he got seed in Germany), and thus made both a better rotation of crops than heretofore, a more regular supply of meat, as cattle could be on turnips all through winter. With better husbandr need for more food (owing to increasing populatio an accelerated tendency to 'enclose' the open villa In the old type of village the fields were all commo inhabitants, each of whom cultivated a number o situated in different parts of the fields. This syst very wasteful, as a balk of turf had to be left betwe strip to mark it off from the next; and, naturally time was lost by cultivators in passing from one s another, and in ploughing in different parts of the sam The strips, in fact, hardly repaid cultivation. So the vi either acting for themselves, or at the suggestion landowner or large farmer, would petition Parlia

d, in order to enclose the village fields; the open their strips were to be done away with, and each itead would receive his share of land all in one piece; ren fence it and cultivate it as he pleased. Generally, when he had got his enclosure, that he could not stith the large farmer who used the latest scientific had money wherewith to buy the best machinery.

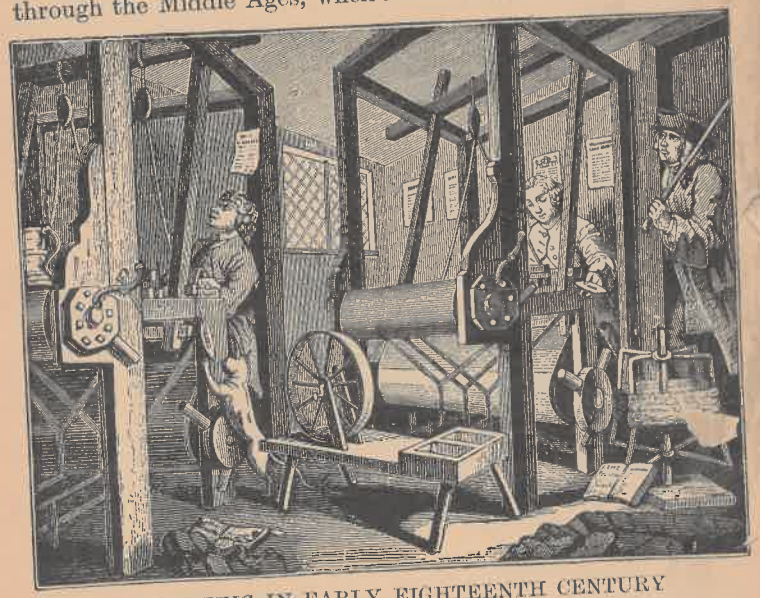


JETHRO TULL'S WHEAT DRILL, 1733

his land, and became a hired labourer, or else he the towns to work in the new industries which ing up. Thus land came to be held in large farms, ields, enclosed by hedges and ditches. The large luced far more food than did the 'open field system', could have supported the large population of nd of the Industrial Revolution. Nevertheless, the al disappearance of the small landowner is greatly etted.

ustrial Revolution. The term 'Industrial Revolu-

tion' means the system of making things, on a great scale, with the help of steam-power, in large factories, as compared with the old system of making goods in people's cottages or in their own shops in the towns. The change was due to the wonderfully improved use of coal in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Digging for coal went on in England all through the Middle Ages, when it was chiefly used in London

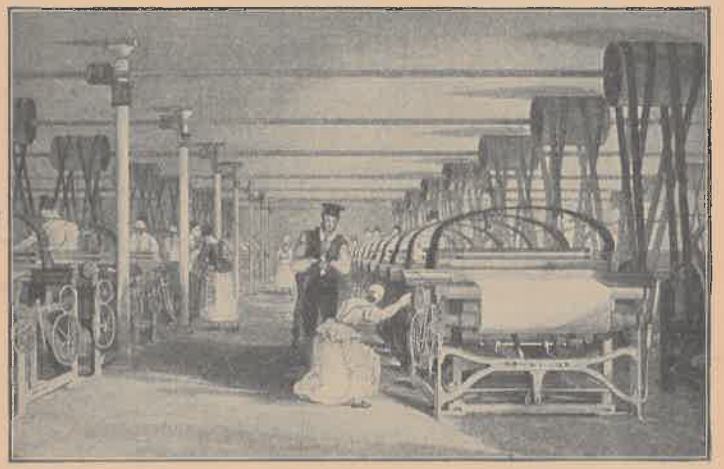


WEAVING IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

and was called sea-coal, because it was brought by coasting vessels from the north. There was no great need of it, however, for manufacturing, for things were not made on a large scale, except bar-iron, for which not coal but charcoal was used; this trade existed chiefly in the Forest of Dean and in Sussex. As the forests were gradually being consumed the English iron-trade declined till in 1740 it was only about one-third of what it had been. Just at this time, however, the use of coke with which to smelt iron was becoming known,

and by the year 1750 the iron-trade was again established. It became the leading industry in England after James Watt of Greenock had perfected the steam-engine (of which he was the chief inventor) between 1769 and 1784.

Till the invention of the steam-engine, industries had been forced to cling to the places where water-power existed. But steam made them free to go where they could best get their



POWER LOOM WEAVING IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

raw materials, or their labour, or their markets. It was steam also which made possible the great development of spinning and weaving which took place in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In 1764 James Hargreaves of Standhill near Blackburn invented the spinning-jenny, with which no less than eight (soon to be increased to eighty) threads could be spun at once; this was followed by the invention of the spinning-frame or throstle by Sir Richard Arkwright of Preston in 1767, and of the mule (a combination of throstle and jenny) by Samuel Crompton of Firwood near Bolton in 1779.

The younger Pitt, by acting on the principles of Adam

Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and by making trade free, gave these inventions the chance to develop their full results. Towns grew in size, the north became rich and populous instead of poor and sparsely inhabited. With the growth of the factory system came overcrowding in the towns, and with the vastly increased demand for labour women and children became commonly employed, and much harm was caused to child-life. In the country-side the condition of the labourers was no better, and the new Poor Laws only made things worse. In 1795 the Berkshire Magistrates made a resolution (known as the Speenhamland Act), that where wages were too low to support a labourer and his family, the necessary addition would be paid out of the rates. This only further depressed wages, pauperized the labourer, and immensely increased the poor-rate. Thus the Industrial Revolution had its bad as well as good points; but in any case it may be said that without it England would not have had sufficient population or sufficient wealth to carry on the great wars against Napoleon.

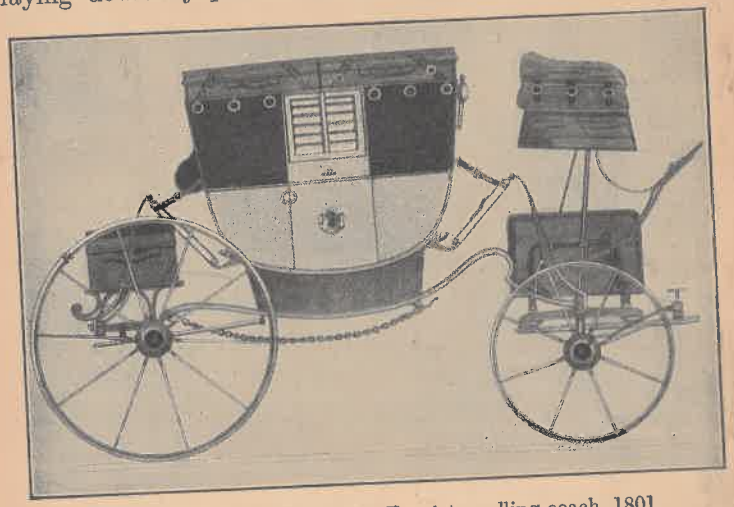
The representative system. The Industrial Revolution, by causing much shifting of the population, had made villages into large towns, and towns into villages. Thus the representative system was out of date. The House of Commons consisted of two members from every county, and two from every borough or town which had ever obtained a charter from the Crown. Many of these boroughs were now decayed, returning members to Parliament according to the will of the owner of the land. Pitt prepared (1784) to take away the right of returning members from 36 of these pocket boroughs. Their 72 places in the House were to be added to the representation of the counties and of London and Westminster. The borough owners who lost their privileges were to be compensated with £1,000,000, to be divided between them. The Bill which Pitt introduced did not get through Parliament, however, and the reform of the representative system was postponed for 48 years.

Social movements. In spite of this defeat, the Government was as strong as ever in 1789. The country was prosperous; trade was good; religion was earnest. John Wesley, who died in 1791, was just completing his great revival of religious feeling throughout the country. The general sentiment of the people was sound. William Wilberforce, a Yorkshireman of good family, was beginning his long-continued efforts to abolish the Slave Trade. Pitt was a close friend of Wilberforce, and had travelled with him in France in 1783; and in 1788 the Prime Minister had a Bill passed through Parliament regulating the number of slaves who could be packed into any size of ship. Pitt was prepared to go farther, and to introduce gradually a scheme for abolishing the odious trade altogether; it was only the outbreak of the Revolutionary Wars in Europe that prevented the accomplishment of his noble plan for a time. At home the condition of the poor was receiving sympathetic, though undoubtedly inconsiderate, treatment. Education was good, though not widely extended. The schools of the country were small, but the teachers were scholarly and able. There were fewer careers open to students in those days than there are now; the Church or teaching were the professions most open to graduates of the universities. It was not till 1809 that John Keate became head master of Eton, and by his drastic methods restored the discipline of that famous establishment; Charterhouse was perhaps the most representative school of the land at the time. It was still situated in the old cloistered buildings at Smithfield, London, and existed as a boarding-school attended both by Londoners and by country boys. A pleasant sketch of Charterhouse life may be read in the early part of Thackeray's novel, *The Newcomes*.

Literature. Literature was flourishing in England. In 1787 Gibbon completed the last three volumes of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the most glorious piece of prose among the modern world's histories. The achievement

of this great work was recorded by the historian himself in his journal at Lausanne :

'I shall now commemorate the hour of my final deliverance. It was on the day or rather the night of the 27th of June 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve, that I wrote the last lines of the last page, in a summer-house in my garden. After laying down my pen, I took several turns in a *berceau*, or



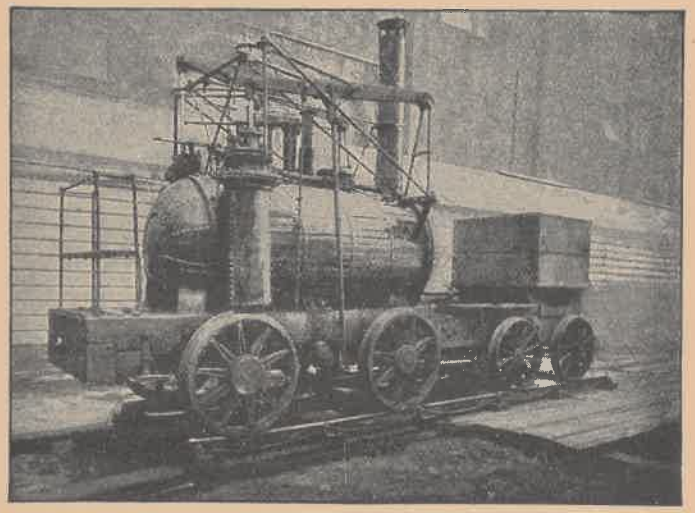
TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT. A travelling coach, 1801

covered walk of acacias, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake, and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene, the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all nature was silent. I will not dissemble the first emotions of joy on the recovery of my freedom, and, perhaps, the establishment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that whatsoever might be the future fate of my History, the life of the historian must be short and precarious.' [1]

Crabbe was resting between two periods of poetic activity ;

[1] *Autobiographic Memoirs of Edward Gibbon.*

Wordsworth was just going up to St. John's College, Cambridge; but Burke was still in all the splendour of his eloquence, and Boswell was completing the greatest biography in the English language—his *Life of Johnson* (it appeared in 1791). Pitt asked only for five years more of peace to complete his great reforms; but the shadow of war had already overcast the country ; the angel of death was abroad,



GEORGE STEPHENSON'S 'PUFFING BILLY', constructed 1814

and some observers had already fancied they heard 'the beating of his wings'.

In one of the last letters for the year 1788, Horace Walpole wrote to the Countess of Ossory :

'Monsieur Necker may, for aught I know, be a dexterous financier—but he is no Richelieu—though no bad politician neither, as far as confounding goes, for the roll of questions he proposed to the notables seems to have thrown open the gates to endless controversy and disputation, and to mean to set all the provinces, all their towns, all the nobility, clergy, and people together by the ears, before they can settle who

shall be *les États*; and thus he may convert a rebellion into a civil war, which may save the prerogative at the expense of the revenue, which one should have thought would rather have been his object to procure and settle. That is his affair—it is ours, whichever way they are embroiled. To me it is private comfort, that all the Machiavels and Machiavellesses of the present age, who have sown war, have only reaped perplexity, disgrace, and discomfiture. France *bouleversed* Holland and was foiled; Caesar has been baffled by the Turks he despised: Semiramis has drawn Sweden and Poland on her shoulders: and Sweden is in danger at home—*Tant mieux, tant mieux.*' [1]

So wrote this acute, but easygoing and rather cynical observer, living in the serene untroubled air of high society. The catastrophe which he foresaw came, and extended farther than he had ever dreamed, till no country and no class were free from its awful shocks.

The French Revolution. The French Revolution began with the meeting of the Estates General on May 5, 1789—the first representative assembly that had come together in France since 1614. In June there was a rising in Paris against the bureaucratic government of the Crown, and against the privileges of the aristocracy. Shortage of bread contributed greatly to bring about and to aggravate the Revolution. In October (1789) the King of France, Louis XVI, was a prisoner in Paris; on January 21, 1793, he was guillotined (in October his Queen, Marie Antoinette, suffered the same fate). Already, in 1792, a Republican Government had been established in France; the Austrian Netherlands had been invaded, and a Republic established there also. The Scheldt, by the Peace of Utrecht, of 1713, and by the Triple Alliance of England, Prussia, and Holland of 1789, had been closed to navigation from the sea. This had been done, largely to protect the trade of Holland, partly also out of deference to the wishes of English merchants. The French, in 1792, opened the Scheldt to navigation—an action excellent in

[1] Walpole's *Letters*, vol. ix, p. 2453. By *Caesar*, Joseph II of Austria was intended, and by *Semiramis*, Catherine II of Russia.

itself, but done arbitrarily, without consultation with the States concerned in the treaties by which the river was closed.

The French Revolution, the imprisonment of Louis XVI, the intrigues of the Revolutionaries in Belgium and on the Rhine, had led to war being made by Prussia and Austria upon France. Great Britain, however, had taken no part before 1793, for Pitt was above all things a lover of peace. English opinion, however, was profoundly moved. 'How much', said Fox, on hearing of the fall of the Bastille, 'is it the greatest event that ever happened in the world, and how much the best!' But to his friend Burke, the French were only 'architects of ruin'. A certain number of people, like Fox, welcomed the Revolution as a notable advance in the direction of freedom; but most people, like Burke, were revolted by the savagery which showed itself in the course of the movement, and dreaded lest this should spread to England:

> 'What is that cause of liberty, and what are those exertions in its favour to which the example of France is so singularly auspicious? Is our monarchy to be annihilated, with all the laws, all the tribunals and all the ancient corporations of the kingdom? Is every land-mark of the country to be done away in favour of a geometrical and arithmetical constitution? Is the House of Lords to be voted useless? Is episcopacy to be abolished? Are the church lands to be sold to Jews and jobbers; or given to bribe new-invented municipal republics into a participation in sacrilege? Are all the taxes to be voted grievances, and the revenue reduced to a patriotic contribution, or patriotic presents? Are silver shoe buckles to be substituted in the place of the land-tax and the malt-tax for the support of the naval strength of this kingdom? Are all orders, ranks, and distinctions to be confounded, that out of universal anarchy, joined to national bankruptcy, three or four thousand democracies should be formed into eighty-three, and that they may all, by some sort of unknown attractive power, be organized into one? For this great end is the army to be seduced from its discipline and its fidelity, first by every kind of debauchery, and then by the terrible precedent of a donative in the increase of pay? Are the

curates to be seduced from their bishops, by holding out to them the delusive hope of a dole out of the spoils of their own order? Are the citizens of London to be drawn from their allegiance by feeding them at the expense of their fellow-subjects? Is a compulsory paper currency to be substituted in the place of the legal coin of this kingdom? Is what remains of the plundered stock of public revenue to be employed in the wild project of maintaining two armies to watch over



PASTIMES. Skating in Hyde Park, 1780

and to fight with each other? If these are the ends and means of the Revolution Society, I admit they are well assorted; and France may furnish them for both with precedents in point.'[1]

The far-seeing statesman, poet, scholar, George Canning, a few years later (1798), expressed in another way the suspicion which the ordinary Englishman held for those people

[1] Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790. The Revolution Society, referred to in the extract given above, was founded to support the Revolution of 1688, but had become more active in the time of the French Revolution.

who preached 'rights of humanity', and despised established institutions:

Friend of Humanity.

Needy knife-grinder! whither are you going?
Rough is the road, your wheel is out of order—
Bleak blows the blast;—your hat has got a hole in 't;
So have your breeches!

Weary knife-grinder! little think the proud ones
Who in their coaches roll along the turnpike-
Road, what hard work 'tis crying all day 'Knives and
Scissors to grind O!'

Tell me, knife-grinder, how you came to grind knives?
Did some rich man tyrannically use you?
Was it the squire or parson of the parish?
Or the attorney?

Was it the squire for killing of his game? or
Covetous parson for his tithes distraining?
Or roguish lawyer, made you lose your little
All in a lawsuit?

(Have you not read the 'Rights of Man', by Tom Paine?)
Drops of compassion tremble on my eyelids,
Ready to fall, as soon as you have told your
Pitiful story.

Knife-Grinder.

Story! God bless you! I have none to tell, sir;
Only last night a-drinking at the Chequers,
This poor old hat and breeches, as you see, were
Torn in a scuffle.

Constables came up for to take me into
Custody; they took me before the Justice;
Justice Oldmixon put me in the parish
Stocks for a vagrant.

I should be glad to drink your honour's health in
A pot of beer, if you will give me sixpence;
But for my part, I never love to meddle
With politics, sir.

Friend of Humanity.

I give thee sixpence! I will see thee damned first—
Wretch! whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance—
Sordid, unfeeling reprobate, degraded,
Spiritless outcast!

[*Kicks the knife-grinder, overturns his wheel, and exit in a transport of republican enthusiasm and universal philanthropy.*][1]

The war of the French Republic against established institutions in Europe (for they openly invited peoples to throw off the rule of their monarchs) would almost certainly have drawn Britain into war; at any rate, the conquest of Belgium by the French, in 1792, made war inevitable. The English Government had guaranteed the closure of the Scheldt by the Treaty of 1789. Moreover, Britain has always felt her existence involved in the question of Belgium: the Scheldt is a fine river, Antwerp a great port, and Ostend could be made a useful naval base. Britain is an island; her safety is on the seas; and if the ports of Belgium were in the power of a great hostile State, the English coasts would never be safe. It was the French, however, not Pitt, who actually made the challenge; on February 1, 1793, they declared the state of war.

The First Coalition, 1793–5. The war of Britain upon the Continent of Europe was not highly successful till the advent of Wellington, in 1808. When Pitt entered the war, in 1793, he joined the alliance of Austria and Prussia, which Spain also joined. This was the First Coalition. A British army under the Duke of York, a son of George III, operated along with the Allies on the north-eastern frontier of France; the French Government, disorganized though it had been by many changes, showed wonderful fighting power, and not merely defended its own frontier, but pushed forward and conquered Holland. In spite of large subsidies which England gave,

[1] Canning, *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*, 'The Friend of Humanity, and the Knife-Grinder'.

Prussia and Austria showed signs of weakness. In 1795 Prussia made peace with France (Treaty of Basle, April 5, 1795),[1] and the First Coalition came to an end. Austria, however, helped by £4,500,000 a year from England, continued to fight with the utmost determination, while the English fleet fought the French at sea and English land forces were wasted in expeditions against the French coast. In 1797, however, Austria, unable to stand against the genius of the Republican general, Bonaparte, was forced to sign the Peace of Campo Formio.

The Second Coalition, 1798–1801. England, left to fight alone, with a rebellion in Ireland and an enormous load of debt, was able to hold her own with the French, but not to bring the war to a conclusion. Had it not been for the Navy, the whole British Empire would, of course, have gone the way of Holland, Belgium, Italy, and half of Germany, that is to say, it would have been added to the Empire which the genius of Napoleon Bonaparte was creating. In 1798 Pitt again by gigantic efforts and huge subsidies got together a coalition with Austria and Russia, but in 1800 the Austrian armies were destroyed at Marengo in North Italy and Hohenlinden in Bavaria, and the Emperor again had to make peace at Lunéville (February 1801). Russia fell away too, and at last in 1802 both France and England agreed to make peace at Amiens. The war had been inconclusive; England could not defeat France, for the Fleet cannot win wars; it can chase the enemy off the sea, but it cannot sail over the land and destroy their armies. Therefore the Peace of Amiens was recognized only as a breathing-space. Napoleon meant to be supreme in Europe, but he could not be so while England remained mistress of the sea. England meant to go on living, independent, and with her great colonial empire, but could not count upon doing so while the Napoleonic armies held the coasts of Europe, or the Channel and the Mediterranean.

[1] By this Treaty France received the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine.

Pitt out of office. Pitt was no longer Prime Minister when the Peace of Amiens was made. In 1800, after the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland (p. 610), he had made a great and statesmanlike effort to settle the 'Irish Question'. The Act of Union (August 2, 1800) incorporated the separate Irish Parliament in that of Great Britain. Next year Pitt intended to bring in a Catholic Relief Bill, to give the Irish Catholics full privileges as citizens. George III would not listen to this proposal, so Pitt resigned. He was succeeded by Addington (afterwards Lord Sidmouth), a man of sense but no distinction. 'Pitt is to Addington as London is to Paddington', so wrote the witty Canning. When war between England and France broke out again in May 1803, the whole country turned to the statesman who for eighteen years before 1801 had governed England with such dignity and strength. In April 1804 Pitt became Prime Minister for the second and last time.

The Third Coalition, 1805. The great minister at once infused his energy into all branches of the national life. The Navy was increased, the Army greatly strengthened, the war against the French in India pushed forward to a successful end (p. 650); finally, with great effort and expense, a European Coalition was established. Russia, Austria, and Sweden were ranged alongside of England to force France to evacuate Italy, Western Germany, Holland, and Belgium. Nothing on land, however, seemed able to withstand the energy and genius of Napoleon. At Ulm, on the Upper Danube, on October 19, 1805, 25,000 Austrians laid down their arms; at Austerlitz, in Moravia, two months later (December 2, 1805), nearly 50,000 Austrians and Russians were killed or made prisoners. The fabric of Pitt's European statesmanship again fell to the ground. 'Roll up that map' [of Europe] he said when the news of Austerlitz came, 'it will not be wanted these ten years.' A steady decline showed itself in the health of the delicate statesman. Anxiety and trouble, the weight of fearful responsibility which he had borne almost

alone and almost continuously for twenty-two years, wore down his strength. In the last year of his life people remarked on his haggard face and drawn expression. At the time of Austerlitz he is said to have been so thin and pale that his friends scarcely recognized in him the commanding presence which had ruled the House. Yet his confidence in his country never failed. In the last public speech that he ever made, at the Guildhall on November 9, 1805, he said: 'England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example.' On January 23, 1806, he died in his house at Putney, in the forty-seventh year of his age.



THE YOUNGER PITT

Looking back on it all when the dangers were over, Canning hailed in Pitt the master-mind who had kept England safe through the gigantic conflict:

> If hushed the loud whirlwind that ruffled the deep,
> The sky if no longer loud tempests deform;
> When our perils are past, shall our gratitude sleep?
> No! Here 's to the Pilot that weathered the storm!
>
> And shall not his memory to Britain be dear,
> Whose example with envy all nations behold;
> A statesman unbiassed by interest or fear,
> By power uncorrupted, untainted by gold?

At the actual moment of Pitt's death, however, things seemed worse than ever. The collapse of the famous Prussian army at Jena in the same year, in October (Prussia had only joined in the war in the previous month), and the conquest of the whole of Brandenburg, made Napoleon the master

of Europe. England, bereft of her pilot, was left almost alone. Yet the Fleet held the seas and kept England and the Empire against all foes.

The naval operations. The glorious naval history of Britain was reaching its most thrilling stage. The Navy alone stood between England and Napoleon, the mightiest military power that the world had seen. Napoleon's army was always ready; flat-bottomed boats and transports existed in large numbers to convey it to the shores of England. Only 21 miles of sea intervened.

The Navy's duty was manifold. It had to seal the French fleet in the French ports, and to destroy it when it put out to sea; it had to carry the British army to the Netherlands, to Spain, to Egypt, India, Canada, Buenos Ayres. It had to stop the sea-borne trade of France. It had to watch practically every port on the Continent of Europe, for Napoleon had his hands on the foreign navies and was using them against England. Finally, the Navy had to see that England was not starved and that her foreign trade was not destroyed. Merchant ships had to be collected at certain stations to be convoyed along the appointed lanes of the sea, protected from the French privateers. The highways of the Empire had to be kept open, so that England, Canada, India, Australia, and all the islands should not be isolated from the mother country. The work of the Navy must therefore be considered not merely as a series of grand operations—the First of June, St. Vincent, the Nile, Trafalgar—but also as a long, intense, and vigilant service—the tireless ships ceaselessly patrolling the oceans of the world against all the force and all the skill of the enemy and the awful violence of the elements of nature.

Naval families. The Revolutionary Wars, so far as they took place on the sea, are filled with names of men whose fathers or sons have appeared in other years of our naval history. Though continually receiving and always welcoming new blood, the Navy has always been more hereditary than the Army. Sons indeed follow, and since the creation of the

regular Army in Charles II's reign, have always followed, their fathers in the Army. But distinction has not run in families. In the Navy it is otherwise. There are families which can count son after son of distinguished naval officers, rising not through hereditary influence (though that indeed does not stand in their way), but through hard work inspired by the force of the family tradition. In the logs of the ships engaged in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars will be found the names of Howe, Hood, Troubridge, Parker—names which appear in the later history of England.

Lord Howe. Admiral Richard Howe was the second of three distinguished brothers. The father of the three, Emmanuel, 2nd Viscount Howe, had been Governor of Barbados. The eldest brother, George, the 3rd Viscount, was killed at Ticonderoga in 1758. The second brother was Richard, the admiral. The third was Sir William Howe, the general who won the battle of Bunker's Hill.

Richard was born in 1726, and went to sea with Commodore Anson at the age of 14, and took part in the great voyage round the world (p. 458). In 1755 he was a captain in Boscawen's West India squadron. It was he who opened the great war with France in Canadian waters by capturing the French warship *Alcide*. In the War of American Independence his most distinguished action was the relief of Gibraltar in 1782. From 1783 to 1788 he was First Lord of the Admiralty. In 1794 he was given command of the Channel Fleet. He was then 69 years old.

The First of June. By May 1794 the French Republic had to a certain extent refitted the old Royal Navy of France. A powerful squadron was convoying grain ships from the United States; a large fleet was in Brest. Howe was given the difficult task of blockading the fleet in Brest and intercepting the great convoy from the United States. To accomplish both tasks together was impossible, so he stood out to the Atlantic to meet the convoy, reckoning that the Brest fleet would come out and that he would destroy it too. He was following the good old rule to seek out the enemy's fleet,

where it could be brought to action. The French were following their fighting instructions too—they were manœuvring to defend their convoy and to get it safe to port.

It was under such conditions that the battle of the First of June took place out in the Atlantic, west of Belleisle. The Brest fleet and the convoying squadron effected a junction. On May 29 a sharp action was fought. It was renewed again on June 1. The veteran Admiral Howe showed the vigour and elasticity of his mind. The old Fighting Instructions of James II had said (Article XVI) :

'In all cases of fight with the enemy the commanders of his majesty's ships are to keep the fleet in one line and (as much as may be) to preserve that order of battle, which they have been directed to keep, before the time of fight.'

According to this Instruction, the admirals (except Rodney) had been accustomed to range their fleet in a continuous line against the enemy, and to trust to hard shooting to do the rest, ship against ship. Howe took another course; like Rodney, he planned to attack the resisting French : to bear down upon their centre in line of battle ahead, to break their line, and then to change his formation as circumstances required. His main object was to break through their line and then to cut off their retreat. The manœuvre was executed with success. The French were brought to action ; their line broken, their ships raked with salvoes of gunfire, and then, cut off from retreat, engaged ship for ship. The ships with the grand old names did their work : the *Royal Sovereign*, the *Barfleur*, the *Impregnable*, the *Bellerophon*, the *Thunderer*. The action began at half-past nine in the morning. By two o'clock it was over. The French fleet was maimed and dispersed, and six great ships left in English hands : the *Achille*, *America*, *Impétueux*, *Juste*, *Northumberland*, *Sans Pareil*. The French convoy of grain ships, on the other hand, sailed safely to Brest, so that Howe failed in his main object.

This was the last battle of 'Black Dick' Howe. He died in 1799, after settling the mutiny at Spithead (p. 559).

St. Vincent. The French knew that if they could bring England to her knees, the European resistance would collapse. So, very properly, they argued that England must be invaded, and that being a comparatively weak military power she would probably succumb. In December 1796 a great expedition under General Hoche was dispersed by a storm when it was attempting an invasion of Ireland. By 1797 the French had got control of the Dutch and Spanish Fleets ; if these could be joined with the Brest Fleet, the English Navy might be defeated, and the great French Army brought across the Channel.

In February 1797 the Spanish Fleet was sailing north from Cartagena in the south-east of Spain to join the Brest Fleet. It numbered 27 great ships, badly equipped and badly manned. Admiral John Jervis, with fifteen ships of the line, all heavily armed, from the *Victory* (his flagship) with 100 guns, to the *Diadem* with 64 guns, waited for them off Cape St. Vincent; Nelson was in the *Captain*, with 94 guns. On February 14, 1797, the Spaniards were sighted, in two divisions, sailing parallel with each other. Jervis bore down upon them from the opposite direction. His ships, one behind the other, passed between the two Spanish divisions, giving the Spaniards both broadsides as they passed. So the English and Spanish Fleets, sailing in opposite directions, would have passed each other. But Commodore Nelson, with the *Captain*, thirteenth in the line, wheeled his ship and headed off the Spaniards, who were trying to sail away round the rear of the British ships. The manœuvre was brilliantly successful. For a short time he had to fight the Spanish Fleet all alone, but he gained time for Jervis to bring up the rest of the ships, and to finish off the action. Four Spanish ships were captured, and the rest dispersed. There was no chance of their joining the Brest Fleet, and so the French Army could not be convoyed to England.

Camperdown. In 1797 Vice-Admiral Duncan was watching the mouth of the Texel. Holland, under the name of the Batavian Republic, was a dependency of France. The Dutch

Fleet was to be used with the Brest Fleet to bring about an invasion of England. In October Duncan had to put back to Yarmouth to refit, leaving some light frigates to watch the Texel. On October 3 the Dutch—15 battleships and 12 frigates—left the Texel and swept across nearly to Lowestoft. Whatever the intention of their admiral, de Winter, may have been, it was clearly not to meet the English Fleet. For when Duncan, warned by his scouts, having left Yarmouth, came in sight of the Dutch, they put about and made for their own coast. The British admiral, however, had the wind favouring him; with great decision he bore straight down upon the Dutch Fleet, broke its line, and destroyed a great part of it in the *mêlée* (October 11). The Dutch sailors fought well; their manœuvring was not particularly good, but their gun-fire was excellent. The battle lasted from about 12.30 p.m. to 3 o'clock. Eleven Dutch ships were disabled; the British ships, too, were somewhat severely handled, and had about 1,000 casualties in the crews. But the Dutch naval power was practically destroyed, and the schemes of the French for invading England were once more brought to naught. The battle has been called Camperdown, after a tract of dunes on the north coast of Holland.

The personnel of the Navy. The year 1797, distinguished as it was by the great sea-fights of St. Vincent and Camperdown, was a year of mutiny and disaffection in the Navy. The crews who endured the ceaseless buffeting of wind and wave in the wearisome and arduous blockades, the men who heroically stood by their guns when the ships were burning and the decks were a welter of blood, were made of very mixed material. Some were men who took to the Navy because they liked the sea and liked the service; but these were comparatively few. Others were 'quota-men', the number of men that each county of the kingdom was bound by law to supply. The rest were 'pressed' men, sailors caught ashore or taken off merchant ships, and forced to serve. Frequently the wrong sort of men were pressed, either by mistake or because

no better could be found. The quota-men sent by the counties were such as could be got—often convicts or ne'er-do-wells, who were thus put conveniently out of the way. The pay was poor—25*s.* a month—although a merchant seaman could earn £4 to £5 a month; moreover, it was only paid at the end of a voyage. If one voyage rapidly succeeded another, the men might be without pay for as much as ten years, and their wives and children were left to starve. The pay was given by tickets, which the men had to cash at the Admiralty offices. Rather than go through the official formalities, the men or their poor wives would often sell the tickets to tradesmen for about half their value. The food was bad, and the Admiralty did not provide vegetables, even in port, to keep away the awful scourge of scurvy. The Navy was only held together by a sort of affection for the sea and for the service which even the convicts and miserable pressed landsmen somehow came to feel, and by the discipline and smartness which the able officers maintained. The superior officers were men of education and good character, who had been bred to the sea, and who could take risks and deal with men. The warrant officers were the pick of the able seamen, and formed a permanent body of men, who could keep almost any kind of ship and any crew in order.

Spithead. Spithead is a channel between the Isle of Wight and the mainland, and forms part of the Portsmouth anchorages. On April 16, 1797, Admiral Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport, was about to put to sea, hoping to meet the Brest Fleet, when the ships in Spithead anchorage mutinied. The crews remained perfectly quiet and orderly, but they refused to set sail. They asked that their pay might be raised to 1*s.* a day, and that they should get it regularly. The demands were reasonable, and the times were desperate. The Admiralty granted their requests, and promised a free pardon. Here the dispute should have ended. Delays took place, however, in carrying out the promises. The men grew suspicious, thought they were being cheated, and mutinied again. This time they seized some of the officers, although

without using them violently. This second mutiny, which began on May 6, 1797, was only settled when the Admiralty sent down 'Black Dick' Howe (Admiral Lord Howe), the hero of the First of June, a popular man with all the sailors. He soon showed the men that the Admiralty were quite honest, if slow, and that their grievances were being redressed. Then they put to sea loyally.

The Nore. The next mutiny was a different affair. It was not a question of hard-fighting seamen asking that at least they might get the pay which was due to them. It was a revolutionary agitation got up by a man of the worst character. Richard Parker had once been a gentleman, and had started in the Navy as a midshipman. He had been dismissed from his ship for immorality, and later had been 'broken' by court-martial for insubordination. He turned up in the Navy in 1797, as a quota-man for Perth, after having led the usual chequered life of a broken gentleman, including a term in prison. When Duncan was watching the Texel, in May 1797, Parker was in the *Sandwich*, one of the battleships in the anchorage at the Nore, a sandbank in the mouth of the Thames. He stirred up the bad elements (the convicts, weaker pressed men, and others) to seize the ship. The spirit of the French Revolution was in the air. Some of the secret revolutionary societies which had been formed in England had probably been working among the men. The terrible spirit of disaffection arose. Most of Duncan's ships actually deserted him, and sailed to the Nore to join the mutineers.

The Admiralty treated the Nore mutiny differently from that at Spithead. The Spithead sailors were grumblers and grossly insubordinate. Unfortunately, they had real evils to complain of; fortunately, they were at heart loyal, never dreamed of avoiding fight with the French, and despised the Nore mutineers heartily (for the two mutinies overlapped in point of time). The Nore mutineers were seditious revolutionaries, denying the authority of their officers, and deserting gladly in the face of the enemy. The Admiralty would not

deal with them except on conditions of surrender, and though England was in danger of invasion, trusted to the Channel Fleet to keep the French Fleet shut up in Brest, and to Duncan and his squadron to block the Texel. They sent Admiral Keith, with the few ships available, to blockade the Nore. Ships without officers are useless, and no crews like to be without the leaders they have learned to obey and respect. Gradually the spirit of the mutineers was broken. Ship after ship returned to her allegiance. A few examples were made, and Parker was hanged at the yard-arm of the *Sandwich*. The Mutiny at the Nore was the first and last political outbreak in the Navy since the days of Charles I.

Nelson. Horatio Nelson was born on September 29, 1758, at the parsonage house, Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk. His father, the rector of the parish, had eleven children, of whom eight survived. Nelson's great-grandmother was a sister of Sir Robert Walpole. The boy, who was always rather delicate, went to a private school at North Walsham as a boarder. In the holidays he lived the life of a country boy, always out of doors, either walking or riding. His father had only a small income on which to bring up his large family. To make things easier, Horatio, when he was twelve years old, asked to be allowed to go to sea. His uncle, Captain Suckling, offered to take him on the *Raisonnable*, 64 guns. So in 1770 the rector took Horatio as far as London, then put him on the Chatham stage to travel alone. The boy got off with his box at Chatham, and wandered helplessly about the docks till a passing naval officer took compassion on him, and first gave him something to eat, and then conducted him to Captain Suckling. This was not a cheerful introduction to the service, but many delicate and friendless boys have since suffered similar discouraging experiences when first left alone on the deck of the *Britannia* training-ship.

Nelson's next voyage was in a merchantman to the West Indies. He returned with a thorough, if temporary, dislike of sailoring. Many boys on going to sea, finding that it means

hardship and discomfort instead of romance and glory, have felt the same depression, and longed to get out of the service. It seems to be a phase in the development of most, if not of all, good sailors, a phase which they must resolutely set themselves to overcome.

In 1773 Nelson went on an Admiralty expedition to the Arctic regions. He showed his intrepidity by attacking a bear single-handed, with the butt-end of his musket. Fortunately, the men of the ship frightened away the animal by firing a gun.

At the age of eighteen he was still only a midshipman, on the *Seahorse*, 20 guns, on the East Indian station. He spent one and a half years there under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, but he missed the important operations which Hughes afterwards conducted against the distinguished French Admiral, Bailli de Suffren (p. 636). Nelson had left England stout and ruddy faced. He came back from the East Indies pale and thin, and never seems to have recovered any robustness of constitution. On the voyage home he was more gloomy than ever :

'I felt impressed', said he, 'with a feeling that I should never rise in my profession. My mind was staggered with a view of the difficulties I had to surmount, and the little interest I possessed. I could discover no means of reaching the object of my ambition. After a long and gloomy reverie, in which I almost wished myself overboard, a sudden glow of patriotism was kindled within me, and presented my king and country as my patron. "Well, then," I exclaimed, "I will be a hero! and, confiding in Providence, I will brave every danger!"'[1]

This was the important point in his career. His resolution was taken and he had no more doubts. He passed his lieutenant's examination in 1777, and went out to the West Indian station under Admiral Sir Peter Parker. In 1779, when still only twenty years old, he was rated post-captain. This course of rapid promotion began with the distinguished examination which he passed as lieutenant. To the end of

[1] Southey, *Life of Nelson*.

his life Nelson was a student, carefully learning everything about his profession, and also perfecting himself in the French language and in history. The three qualities which he showed at this time, and which attracted the attention of all his superior officers, were his studiousness, his perfect fearlessness, and the winning simplicity of his manner. In addition to these fine qualities, he had the rarer gift which all men recognize and trust in—genius. Nelson's genius lay in his power of seeing what ought to be done in the critical moment of a naval action. He always seized the occasion, which a moment's delay would have let slip.

Nelson's character was far from perfect. On some sides it was deplorably weak, and no one can excuse his treatment of his wife or the fatal attachment, to which he clung till death, to the disreputable Lady Hamilton. Yet he was a good man, devoted to his duty, worshipped by his subordinates, honourable in his dealings, perfectly unselfish in his readiness to sacrifice himself, at all periods of his career, for his country. With all his faults he was great, fearless, unselfish. No man ever had warmer friends : Troubridge, Collingwood, Hardy, Samuel Hood, Sir Peter Parker, and Prince William (afterwards King William IV), are only a few of his messmates or superior officers who loved him to the end.

The French Revolutionary War. When the war with France began, in 1793, Nelson was given command of the *Agamemnon*, 64 guns. During this period, except for nine months at home in 1797–8, recovering from the loss of his arm, he was continuously on active service. In 1794 he co-operated on land with a naval brigade in the reduction of Corsica, and at the capture of Calvi lost his right eye. The island was evacuated in 1796. In 1797, after a long period of service in the Mediterranean, Nelson fought under Jervis in the great battle of St. Vincent (p. 557). After the battle he remained with the blockading fleet off Cadiz. In July 1797 he was sent on a very risky expedition, to cut out a Spanish treasure-ship from the harbour of Santa Cruz. The enterprise was detected by the

Spaniards, and repulsed with heavy loss. Nelson was shot through the elbow: an unskilled ship's surgeon made a bad job of the amputation, and he spent a long and painful convalescence in the lodging which he took with his wife in London, in Bond Street. By December (1797) he was able to get about again:

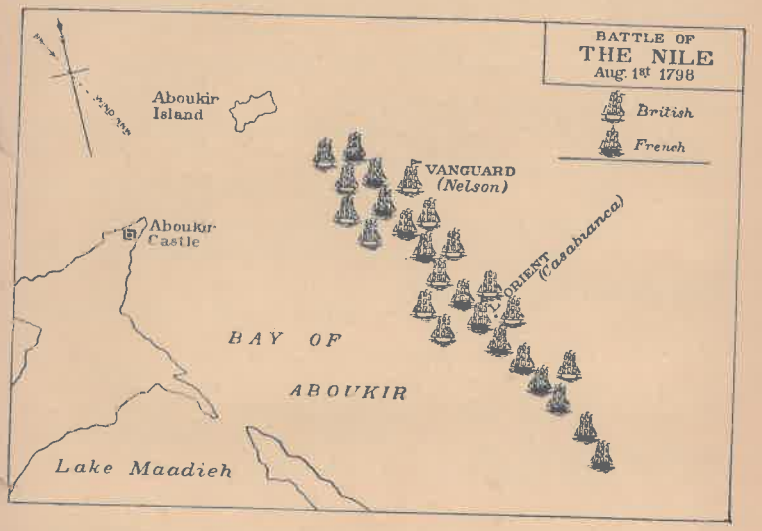
'Not having been in England till now since he lost his eye, he went to receive a year's pay, as smart money; but could not obtain payment because he had neglected to bring a certificate from a surgeon that the sight was actually destroyed. A little irritated that this form should be insisted upon, because, though the fact was not apparent, he thought it was sufficiently notorious, he procured a certificate at the same time for the loss of his arm; saying they might just as well doubt one as the other. This put him in a good humour with himself, and with the clerk who had offended him. On his return to the office, the clerk, finding it was only the annual pay of a captain, observed, he thought it had been more. "Oh," replied Nelson, "this is only for an eye. In a few days I shall come for an arm; and in a little time longer, God knows, most probably for a leg." Accordingly he soon afterwards went,—and with perfect good humour exhibited the certificate for the loss of his arm.'[1]

The Nile. Early in 1798, Nelson, only forty years old, was promoted to rear-admiral, and hoisted his flag in the *Vanguard*, 74 guns, off Cadiz. This was a most critical year for England and the Empire. Napoleon Bonaparte had conceived the design of striking at England in the East. He chose Egypt, which even then (although not in English control) might be called the 'Spine of the Empire'. Having conquered Egypt from its degenerate Turkish masters, he was going to proceed through Palestine and Mesopotamia, like another Alexander, to India.

It was known that a great French expedition was being fitted out at Toulon, though its destination was still in the dark. The French Fleet slipped out of Toulon, when a storm had driven Nelson back to Sardinia. He swept through the Mediterranean to Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, Alexandria, back and forth. At last his frigates found the French Fleet in the Bay of Alexandria, on August 1, 1798.

[1] Southey, *Life of Nelson*, ch. iv.

On July 1 Bonaparte had begun disembarking his army at Alexandria. On July 21 he had defeated the Egyptians at the battle of the Pyramids, and on the 25th had occupied Cairo. Thus all Egypt had fallen before him, and Syria was likely soon to follow.



The French were anchored in the bay, arranged in a slightly curving line from NW. to SSE. They had thirteen battleships, the largest—Admiral Brueys' flagship, the *Orient*—carrying 110 guns. The other ships were either 80 guns or 'seventy-fours'. Nelson, when he commenced the action, had ten seventy-fours and one fifty. They were all, however, in much better condition than the French ships, for the French Government spent most of its money on the Army.

Nelson sighted the French Fleet at 2 p.m. on August 1, and resolved to sail straight forward and attack it. The action

began at 6 p.m., just as the sun was sinking out of sight behind the horizon. With the wind blowing from the NW., the British ships bore down in line of battle ahead. The French ships were anchored at distances of about 3,000 to 6,000 yards from land—in about seven fathoms. To the surprise of their officers, the leading British ship, the *Goliath*, 74, Captain Foley, sailed inside, between the first French ship and the shore, and let go her anchor. The next British ship, the *Zealous*, likewise passed in between the French line and the shore, and came to anchor. The next three ships did the same. The shoreward batteries of the French ships were apparently not prepared for immediate action. The five British ships gave them broadside after broadside, while Nelson, with the other six, from the sea side, discharged equally effective salvoes. As there were more French than English ships, Nelson's captains had to pass along the enemy line, to engage each ship in succession. In doing so they suffered considerable losses, but forced one French ship after another to strike her flag. The *Orient*, beset on both sides, fought heroically. The admiral was killed; her decks covered with dead and dying. At 10 p.m. she was burning furiously, and her flames lit up the bay against the blackness of the night. Amid this awful bonfire the crew could be seen still fighting the guns, while the British ships stood off and raked her. At 10.15 p.m., with a fearful roar, the great ship blew up. The English boats which were lowered for the purpose saved about 70 of her crew. Her captain, Casa-Bianca, and his ten-year-old son, were seen for a moment struggling in the water, and then lost. The boy's simple heroism is commemorated in Mrs. Hemans's poem.

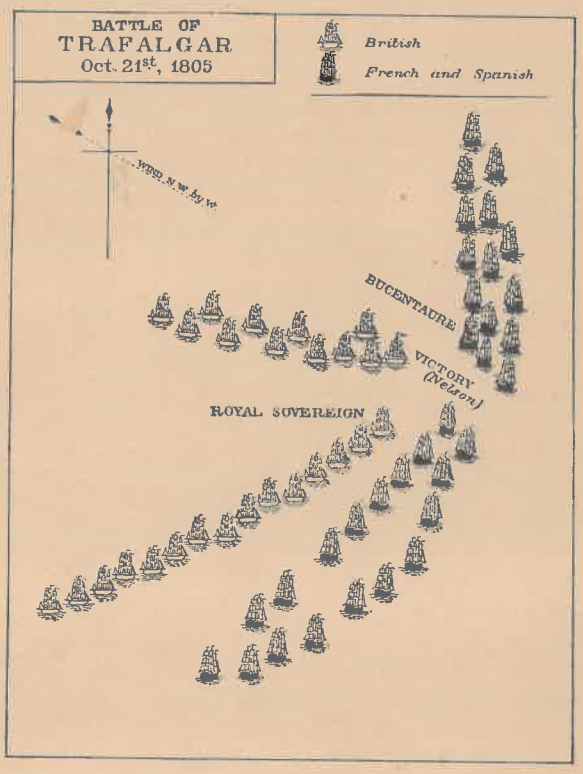
The victory of the Nile (or Aboukir) was complete. Only two French battleships and two frigates escaped, under Admiral Villeneuve, who was spared to suffer another disaster at Trafalgar. The Egyptian expedition of Bonaparte was ruined, for without the control of the sea between Egypt and France he could never make a success of it. The campaign of Syria was

indeed pushed forward, till the unsuccessful siege of Acre (March–May 1799) turned him back. The defence by the Turks of this town was organized under Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, one of Nelson's younger officers. In August 1799 Bonaparte himself left Egypt, and got safely back to France. In March 1801 a British army was landed at Alexandria, under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. In the battle which followed the general lost his life, but the French power in Egypt was completely destroyed.

The interval. The battle of the Nile ended the greatest and most glorious period of Nelson's naval career. Then followed an interval, at the end of which was to come the final effort, the magnificent action off Cape Trafalgar, the best known of the Navy's battles. The interval between the Nile and Trafalgar was partly occupied with operations round Sicily. During this time Nelson and the Mediterranean Fleet restored the kingdom of Naples, which had been for a time a French dependency. He also fell in love with Lady Hamilton, the wife of the British minister in Sicily. The King of Naples made Nelson Duke of Bronte, with a fine estate in Sicily, where the English admiral proved a kind and beneficent landlord to the hitherto badly-treated peasants.

In 1801 Russia, Sweden, and Denmark formed the Armed Neutrality of the North, to resist the restraints which Britain put upon sea-borne trade with France. To deal with this, a fleet was sent under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson second-in-command, to the Baltic. On April 2, after a short defence made by the Danes, the Danish Fleet at Copenhagen was seized. Colonel William Stewart, who commanded the troops and who was present on Nelson's ship, tells in his account of the battle how Admiral Parker wished to break it off in the middle, and so hoisted signal No. 39 ('leave off action'). *Now damn me if I do*, said Nelson; and then to Foley, his Captain, *You know, Foley, I have only one eye; I have a right to be blind sometimes.* 'And then', adds Stewart, 'with an archness peculiar to his character, putting the glass

to his blind eye, he exclaimed, *I really do not see the signal.*'[1] Campbell's fine ballad, 'The Battle of the Baltic,' commemorates the victory.



Trafalgar. From 1803 to 1805 Nelson was engaged in the Mediterranean, in the war which broke out between France and Britain soon after the Peace of Amiens (p. 551). Pitt had formed his last coalition against France (p. 552). Napoleon was carrying on his great designs for the invasion of England or Ireland, and at the same time was taking steps,

[1] Quoted in Mahan, *The Life of Nelson* (1898), ii. 96.

which were completely successful, to crush Austria. His naval plan was that Admiral Villeneuve, with the Toulon Fleet, should sail for the West Indies, capture Jamaica, revictual and reinforce the French garrisons, and then return to European waters. Meanwhile, the Brest Fleet was to transport an army to Ireland. Spain had been brought over to the French side, and the addition of her fleet and her ports to the Napoleonic cause made it impossible for the British Navy to blockade all the enemies' fleets effectively. Accordingly, in April 1805, Villeneuve, with the Toulon Fleet, was able to sail across the Atlantic to the West Indies. The English Government was glad to hear he had gone, for they feared he might have joined the Brest Fleet and descended upon England. Nelson was sent to bring him to battle, or to chase him out of West Indian waters (June 1805). At Trinidad he learned that Villeneuve had sailed back again to Spain. So he, too, returned, and in August was once more in the English Channel.

Napoleon knew he could deal with Austria (as he did, most effectively, at Ulm on October 19, and at Austerlitz on December 2, 1805). To deal with England, however, was not so easy. He could not get his all-conquering army across the Channel without destroying the British Fleet. So he gave Villeneuve an order never before issued, namely, to meet the British Fleet and to engage it, thus staking his whole chance of invading England upon one sea-battle. Nelson gladly accepted the challenge, and that one sea-battle rendered impossible for ever Napoleon's great design.

On September 15 Nelson sailed from Spithead in the *Victory*, 100 guns, Captain Thomas Hardy. He picked up various units on the way, and in October, with 27 fine ships—100 guns, ninety-eights, seventy-fours, and sixty-fours—he was ready to meet Villeneuve's 33 mixed French and Spanish ships. On October 21, off Cape Trafalgar, the two fleets met, both sailing in the same direction, south. The British Fleet bore down upon the Franco-Spanish line in two columns, the northern under Nelson, leading in the *Victory*, the southern under

Collingwood, leading in the *Royal Sovereign*. As they approached the Spanish fleet, the ships in each English column began to spread out in line abreast, so that each could single out a Spanish ship for its object. This formation could only be partially carried into effect, and the English Fleet came against the enemy's in no particular order. At 12.5 midday,



NELSON

the admiral sent up the flag-signal, 'England expects that every man will do his duty.' Nelson himself had quietly made a codicil to his will consigning Lady Hamilton to his king and country. This document, written with his own hand in the cabin of the *Victory*, can be seen in the Painted Hall at Greenwich. Then he went on to the quarter-deck, a striking one-armed figure, with his long fair hair, his high pale brow, his noble, commanding features. He was carefully dressed in a blue tail-coat, with the stars of his Orders on the breast.

The coat was buttoned at the neck, but fell away open on either side, showing a white vest. The knee-breeches were



H.M.S. VICTORY[1]

white, and he wore white silk stockings, and black shoes with silver buckles. On his head was a blue cocked hat. The coat and stockings, and breeches—slit up both legs by scissors to remove them easily from the wounded hero—are in the Painted

[1] Bone model made by French prisoners in the hulks.

Hall. He was standing on the quarter-deck calmly directing the battle, when a bullet struck him :

'It had been part of Nelson's prayer, that the British Fleet might be distinguished by humanity in the victory which he expected. Setting an example himself, he twice gave orders to cease firing upon the *Redoubtable*, supposing that she had struck, because her great guns were silent ; for, as she carried no flag, there was no means of instantly ascertaining the fact. From this ship, which he had thus twice spared, he received his death. A ball fired from her mizen-top, which, in the then situation of the two vessels, was not more than fifteen yards from that part of the deck where he was standing, struck the epaulette on his left shoulder, about a quarter after one, just in the heat of action. He fell upon his face, on the spot which was covered with his poor secretary's blood. Hardy, who was a few steps from him, turning round, saw three men raising him up.—"They have done for me at last, Hardy," said he.—"I hope not," cried Hardy.—"Yes," he replied ; "my back-bone is shot through." Yet, even now, not for a moment losing his presence of mind, he observed, as they were carrying him down the ladder, that the tiller ropes, which had been shot away, were not yet replaced, and ordered that new ones should be rove immediately. Then, that he might not be seen by the crew, he took out his handkerchief, and covered his face and his stars. Had he but concealed these badges of honour from the enemy, England, perhaps, would not have had cause to receive with sorrow the news of the battle of Trafalgar. The cockpit was crowded with wounded and dying men, over whose bodies he was with some difficulty conveyed, and laid upon a pallet in the midshipmen's berth. It was soon perceived, upon examination, that the wound was mortal. This, however, was concealed from all except Capt. Hardy, the chaplain, and the medical attendants. He himself being certain, from the sensation in his back and the gush of blood he felt momently within his breast, that no human care could avail him, insisted that the surgeon should leave him, and attend to those to whom he might be useful ; "for," said he, "you can do nothing for me." All that could be done was to fan him with paper, and frequently to give him lemonade to alleviate his intense thirst. He was in great pain and expressed much anxiety for the event of the action, which now began to declare itself. As often as a ship struck, the crew of the *Victory* hurraed ; and at every hurra a visible

expression of joy gleamed in the eyes and marked the countenance of the dying hero. But he became impatient to see Capt. Hardy ; and as that officer, though often sent for, could not leave the deck, Nelson feared that some fatal cause prevented him, and repeatedly cried : "Will no one bring Hardy to me ? He must be killed ! He is surely dead ! " An hour and ten minutes elapsed, from the time when Nelson received his wound, before Hardy could come to him. They shook hands in silence, Hardy in vain struggling to suppress the feelings of that most painful and yet sublimest moment. "Well, Hardy," said Nelson, "How goes the day with us ? "—"Very well," replied Hardy ; "ten ships have struck, but five of the van have tacked, and show an inclination to bear down upon the *Victory*. I have called two or three of our fresh ships round, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing."—"I hope," said Nelson, "none of our ships have struck ? " Hardy answered "There was no fear of that ". Then, and not till then, Nelson spoke of himself. "I am a dead man, Hardy," said he ; "I am going fast—it will be all over with me soon. Come nearer to me. Let my dear Lady Hamilton have my hair and all other things belonging to me." Hardy observed, that he hoped Mr. Beatty could yet hold out some prospect of life. "Oh no ! " he replied, "It is impossible. My back is shot through. Beatty will tell you so." Capt. Hardy then, once more, shook hands with him ; and with a heart almost bursting, hastened upon deck.'[1]

Nelson saw Hardy again just before the end of the action. The admiral asked his friend to kiss him, and then was heard to say, 'Thank God, I have done my duty.'

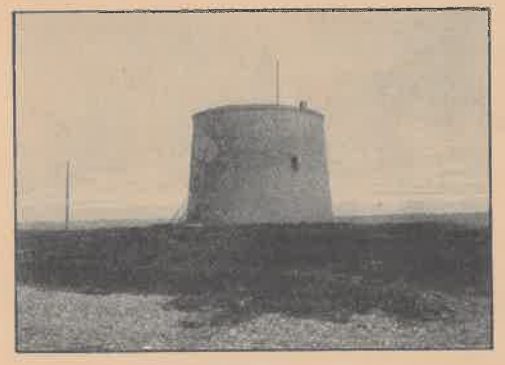
When Nelson died, twenty of the enemies' ships had struck their flag.

Tilsit. The battle of Trafalgar destroyed French power on the sea. Even before this happened, however, Napoleon had given up his plan at that time of invading England (or perhaps Ireland, which, according to Admiral Collingwood, was his objective). The blockade maintained by Collingwood off Cadiz, by Calder off Ferrol, and by Cornwallis off Brest, convinced the Emperor that he must seek other game ; and after hearing of the check which Sir Robert Calder had

[1] Southey, *Life of Nelson*.

inflicted on Villeneuve off Cape Finisterre on July 22 (1805), he betook himself with his great expeditionary force to Austria (August). The capitulation of Ulm (October), the entrance of the French into Vienna (November), the rout of the Austro-Russian armies at Austerlitz (December), followed in rapid succession.

But though baulked of all chance to conquer Britain, Napoleon had a wide enough field for his ambition in the rest of Europe. The year 1806 saw Prussia brought to his feet



A MARTELLO TOWER. Built as a defence against Napoleon

by the battles of Jena and Auerstadt; and in November Napoleon dictated from Berlin itself the famous Decrees, excluding all British commerce from the Continent. Next year, 1807, came the defeat of the re-formed Russian armies at Friedland (July), followed by the Peace of Tilsit, made between the Tsar Alexander and Napoleon (July 7, 1807). The two monarchs agreed on certain territorial cessions and rearrangements; to divide Britain's Eastern possessions; and to force Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal to join against her.

Copenhagen. During 1806–7 a 'Ministry of All the Talents', under Lord Grenville, was carrying on the government; but

before the Treaty of Tilsit was made, Grenville had fallen, and his place as Prime Minister was taken by the Duke of Portland. Under him George Canning was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Lord Castlereagh Secretary for War. Canning, by some means which are not known, learned of the secret terms of the Peace of Tilsit, and at once resolved on a daring act. He sent the British Fleet to the Baltic, to demand and to receive the surrender of the whole Danish Fleet, which Napoleon (by the secret Tilsit agreement) meant to seize and use against England. The demand was refused



MEDALS STRUCK IN ADVANCE BY NAPOLEON to commemorate the invasion of England

by the Danes, whose capital was thereupon bombarded. After a brave defence, they were forced to surrender all their warships. The news of this swift act of the British Government staggered Napoleon, and upset all his plans for bringing England to bay: the seizure of the Danish Fleet, in fact, destroyed the whole Tilsit scheme, and robbed France of the fruits of her sacrifices, and Russia of the fruits of her perfidy. The memory of Canning's stroke has remained an inspiration for British statesmen, and a cause of uneasiness to foreign schemers: that is what the German Emperor William II meant a hundred years later, when he told Admiral

Sir John Fisher that he suspected the British Admiralty of meaning *to Copenhagen the German Fleet!*

Failure of the Continental System. After 1807 Napoleon's chances of accomplishing anything against England on the sea were hopeless. His famous Continental System, inaugurated by the Berlin Decrees, only destroyed the commerce of the States which submitted to the system, for they lost the benefit of the English shipping. The commerce of the British, on the other hand, all over the Empire was never interrupted, and the British Navy was able to strike in all directions and to convey troops to Holland, to Portugal, to Italy, to India, to South America, wherever they were wanted.

CHAPTER XXVI

WELLINGTON

When Pitt died, in 1806, there was indeed no statesman with genius such as his, but there were strong sensible men like Lord Castlereagh, determined on continuing his policy. There was, moreover, a great soldier, who had risen to fame in the Indian Empire of Britain.

Wellington's early career. Arthur Wellesley was born in Ireland on May 1, 1769. Little is known of his boyhood, and no record has been kept even of the place of his birth. He was born either in his father's Dublin house, 24 Upper Merrion Street, or in his country seat, Dangan Castle, County Meath. His father was an Irish peer, Earl Mornington, and the family, which till 1790 spelled its name Wesley, was distantly connected with John Wesley, the great evangelical preacher. Arthur was sent to Eton : nothing is known of his school-days, but he remained afterwards, like every one who has been there, fond and proud of the old school. From Eton, probably about the year 1784, he was sent to a military school at Angers, in Anjou, in NW. France. His parents intended him for a military

career, and determined to give him the best possible education for it. England had no military schools, while there were several half-official, half-private colleges in France. The Angers school was kept by a nobleman of the ' Ancien Régime ', who was an old Engineer officer, the Marquis de Pignerol. The engineering side was the best branch of the French Army, and it may be assumed that Wellington learned to take the profession of arms seriously under the veteran marquis. The only thing, however, which has come down to history concerning Wellington's days at the Angers Military Academy is that he had a terrier called Vick, which followed him about everywhere. In 1787 he was entered as an ensign in the 73rd Highlanders (2nd Battalion, Black Watch), and subsequently passed through various grades in other regiments. As a matter of fact, he appears not to have served at all with any of these regiments. Being a young man of position and influence, he spent all his time in honorary posts on the staff of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He became major in the 33rd Foot (West Riding), and in 1793 purchased the position of Lieutenant-Colonel of it, his eldest brother, Earl Mornington, his close friend and associate, advancing him the purchase-money. In this and the following year he saw active service in the Duke of York's army in the Low Countries. In 1796 he went to India with his regiment. Shortly afterwards, Earl Mornington became Governor-General; he at once promoted Arthur to responsible military offices.



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

Soldierly studies. Arthur Wellesley is an instance of a

young man, advanced by family influence and wealth, who yet was modest, sensible, laborious, and conscientious. Becoming lieutenant-colonel before he had gained regimental experience, he thoroughly studied all the routine and all the technique of a regiment, and acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the British soldier. He knew everything that a commander should know about kit, rations, and arms. He studied how to move troops in peace and war; so that as no commander was ever more strict towards his soldiers, none was ever more just and considerate. There was no plundering in Wellington's army, no indiscipline. Recruited from the most unmanageable materials in England, the troops that followed him through the Peninsular War gained the highest reputation, both for fighting qualities and for behaviour.

Indian career. Wellington's Indian career should be studied in the two stout volumes of the *Wellesley Dispatches*—the brilliant reports of his brother, the Governor-General—and the *Wellington Dispatches*—his own solid contributions to Indian statesmanship and military history.[1] He was the close associate and confidant of his brother, to whom he gave the most admirable counsel concerning the Settlement of Mysore (p. 648), the Mahratta territory, and other matters. With all the natives whom he met, Wellington acted openly and honourably; and he established over them the ascendancy of a strong, honest character, and of a penetrating mind. He counted one of the Mahratta statesmen (Purneah) as his personal friend, and worked loyally and cheerfully with him as may be read in the Dispatches.

The chief event in Wellington's military career in India was the Mahratta War, 1803–5. The Mahratta Confederacy was a powerful collection of States in the west of India. Their soldiers were trained by French officers, and they had a fine corps of artillery. One part of the Mahrattas was allied with the English, but two States, those of the great chiefs Sindia and Holkar, were against us. In August 1803 war began

[1] They are edited by S. J. Owen (Oxford University Press, 1877, 1880).

between these chiefs and the English. Wellington, with 4,500 British soldiers and 5,000 Sepoys, crossed the Godavery. His forces were small, but they were perfectly appointed, for Wellington never moved without a complete organization of supply, bullock-carts, water-carriers, and so forth. On September 23, before Assaye, he confronted Sindia, who had 10,000 infantry, 30,000 horse, and 100 guns. Wellington attacked, and after the hardest fight in Indian history (he lost between one-third and one-half of his men), he routed the great army opposed to him. A second victory at Argaum two months later destroyed the power of Sindia's ally, the Raja of Nagpore. The conquest of the Mahratta States was finished by General Lake's victory at Laswari. Early in 1805 Wellington quitted India, having already, at the age of 36, established his reputation as one of the most distinguished soldiers in the Empire.

The Peninsular War. In 1808 Napoleon, who had made himself Emperor of the French, deposed the degenerate King of Spain, Charles IV, and his son, Ferdinand. Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, was made King of Spain, to hold it as part of the French Empire. This extension of the French Empire into Spain was in the end to ruin Napoleon. For, as the British Navy commanded the sea ever since the battle of Trafalgar, England could send troops to the Peninsula, and could wage a war, first in Portugal and afterwards in Spain, which exhausted Napoleon's resources and ended with the invasion of France by Wellington.

In August 1808 Wellington landed at Mondego Bay in Portugal, with 9,000 men. Portugal had been invaded by a French army in 1807, and the Portuguese royal family had sailed across the Atlantic to Brazil. Lisbon was occupied by the French. But Portugal was (as she still is) allied with England by a treaty of 1661, and England was bound to come and help her. Wellington's first task was, therefore, to drive the French out of Portugal.

The Convention of Cintra. Two battles, Roliça and Vimeiro

(August 1808), sufficed to make General Junot agree to evacuate Portugal with the French Army. A new commander-in-chief, Sir Hew Dalrymple, came to Portugal, and concluded the Convention of Cintra (August 30, 1808), which allowed the French to return free to France. The poet Wordsworth wrote a long pamphlet against the Convention.

Wellington left Portugal in September (1808), and went to England. He returned in April 1809, having in the meantime



resumed the position (which he had occupied before first going to Portugal) of M.P. for Rye and Chief Secretary for Ireland. While he was in England Sir John Moore had died in action, defeating the French at the battle of Corunna (January 16, 1809), at the end of his great retreat.

Walcheren. It was shortly after this (April) that Wellington was sent back to the Peninsula. The time was propitious for a great effort against the Napoleonic Empire; for Austria, which had been so often defeated, and had so often risen again, was once more throwing down the gauntlet. To help the Austrian effort, the British Government equipped a fine

expeditionary force, which, had it gone to the Peninsula, would have made Wellington's success possible at a much earlier date. The force was sent to attack Antwerp, which was then the chief naval arsenal in French hands. On July 28 (1809) a large fleet, with 41,000 men commanded by the Earl of Chatham (elder brother of the younger Pitt), sailed for the mouth of the Scheldt; but the expedition never got farther than the Island of Walcheren, and lost time and men in the siege of Flushing, which was captured on August 16. The commander-in-chief was a slow, methodical man, not wholly incapable; he wished to make everything secure on the way, before he should advance up the Scheldt to Antwerp. But when at length he prepared to start again at the end of August, Antwerp had been reinforced and was impregnable.

The Earl of Chatham with his sword drawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strahan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.


NAPOLEON

Sir Richard Strahan was the admiral in command of the ships. The verses, which were made at the time and represented popular opinion in England, are a little unjust to the leaders. They did some fighting and accomplished something, but they might have done a great deal more. The expedition was meant as a diversion in favour of Austria, but the Austrian Army had been signally defeated by Napoleon at Wagram (July 6), three weeks before Lord Chatham's expedition had left England. If the Austrians had only continued the struggle after Wagram, the Walcheren Expedition would have been of the highest value. As matters stood, however, it only prevented Wellington from getting much needed reinforcements in Portugal, while it did not engage a sufficiently

large number of French soldiers in the Low Countries to make the great expenditure of men and treasure worth while. In its great possibilities, its comparatively small success, and its enormous sacrifices, it may be compared to the Gallipoli Expedition of 1915.

Torres Vedras. When Wellington returned to Portugal for the second time, he came as British commander-in-chief in the Peninsula. His first task was to drive the French out of Oporto (for they had invaded Portugal again). Then he advanced into Spain, up the Tagus valley, and defeated King Joseph Bonaparte near Madrid, at Talavera (July 27, 1809). There was, however, another French army, under Marshal Soult, coming up from the south. So Wellington retreated into Portugal, and set soldiers and civilian labourers to prepare lines of defence at Torres Vedras. He had studied the art of fortification, and was now to put into practice what he had been learning since his time at Angers Military Academy. Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, with its fine natural harbour, was a most important base for the army of a maritime power like England. It was necessary to make Lisbon safe; accordingly, in the last months of 1809, while Wellington was still fighting on the frontier of Portugal, redoubts were dug to the north of the capital. These formed triple lines: the outer was twenty-nine miles long, the middle line was twenty-four, the innermost was about six miles long. One end of each line was formed by the Tagus: the other end by some commanding hill, or some river. The whole system of fortification took its name from Torres Vedras, a small town at the west end of the first line. Behind the lines the land ran down to the point on which Lisbon stood. It was not till the summer of 1810 that the French general, Masséna, began to move with 70,000 men upon Portugal. Wellington, who had wintered at Almeida, retired behind the lines. He stopped only once, to fight the battle of Busaco, on September 29, 1810. The French advance was stayed by two magnificent charges of the British infantry: the first made by the 88th and 45th (Connaught Rangers and Sherwood Foresters), the second by the 43rd and 52nd (1st and 2nd Battalions, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry). After this the army got securely behind the redoubts and trenches of Torres Vedras, and 'stationary' (or 'trench') warfare took the place of the 'open warfare' which had hitherto prevailed in the Peninsula. In the spring of 1811 Wellington was sufficiently reinforced, by both British and Portuguese soldiers, to advance again. Masséna, whose army had suffered severely from shortage of supplies, was obliged to retreat into Spain.

Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo. The country between Spain and Portugal (like the greater part of the Peninsula) is mountainous and arid. There were no properly made roads at all, but there were two main routes, along valleys and depressions, between Portugal and Spain. One route led by the Spanish fortress of Badajoz, the other by that of Ciudad Rodrigo. It was necessary for Wellington to capture these before his communications could be secure for a war in Spain. The battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, on May 5, 1811, just succeeded in checking the persevering and energetic Masséna, and enabled Wellington to get the fortress of Almeida, though without capturing its garrison.

In the south, Badajoz was being besieged by an Anglo-Portuguese army under Marshal Beresford, an Irish soldier lent to the Portuguese Government. The battle of Albuera (May 16, 1811) cost as much to the English as to the French, and for the time being saved Badajoz. Early in 1812, however, the energy of Wellington anticipated the movements of the French armies. Ciudad Rodrigo was stormed on January 19 and Badajoz on April 6. Both assaults were very costly, but the fortresses were taken before Soult could bring up his army from the south; thus more soldiers' lives were spared than if Wellington had proceeded by regular siege-methods, and fought at the same time against Soult's relieving army.

Spain. The northern and southern roads were now open to the British commander. Spain, except in the south, is a country where supplies of food are hard to obtain, but the English Navy commanded the sea, and supplies were regularly brought over for the army. Wellington was careful to see that those supplies came up country along a regular line of communications, so that his men were properly fed and clothed. The French, on the other hand, were at a great disadvantage in regard to supplies. Napoleon's vicious policy was to make war support war. He allowed a wholly inadequate sum of money from the Imperial Treasury for the Spanish War, the rest had to be made up by forced contributions from the country. It would have been practically impossible at the best of times for Spain to support the French armies, and it was certainly out of the question at this time, when practically the whole Spanish people, especially the peasantry, was against them, and maintained irregular warfare along all the French lines of communication. Wellington fought in a friendly country—all the more friendly because his army paid scrupulously for everything they took—while the French moved among people who hid all supplies, and killed every straggler whom they met.

1812 was the decisive year in the Peninsular, and indeed in the Napoleonic, War. It began with the opening of the roads into Spain through the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz by Wellington. The summer witnessed the great battle of Salamanca (July 22, 1812), and the occupation of Madrid. At the same time Napoleon was leading his *Grande Armée* on the fatal expedition to Moscow, which ended with the retreat and almost complete destruction of his mighty force.

1813. Although, in the latter part of 1812, Wellington again found it necessary to retire into Portugal, he was able to issue from it stronger than ever in 1813. The French, on their side, were weaker, because Napoleon had withdrawn considerable forces in the previous year for the Moscow expedition, and

replaced them with inferior troops. For these reasons Wellington's career in 1813 was marked by a brilliant victory against Joseph Bonaparte and by important successes against the able and tenacious Marshal Soult. The victory of Vittoria (won against Joseph Bonaparte, June 21, 1813) forced the French back to the Pyrenees. Here Soult carried on an admirable defensive campaign, and contested every stage on the way to France.

On October 7 (1813) Wellington's army forced the passage of the Bidassoa, the frontier between France and Spain, in the easier country between the west end of the Pyrenees and the sea. On November 10 the Nivelle river was crossed after a hard fight. Between December 9 and 13 the trenches which defended the river Nive were carried. The next line of Soult's defence was the Adour and its tributary the Gave. He only had 50,000 men, as Napoleon had taken away two of his divisions for the defence of the eastern frontier of France.

1814. Wellington brought about 70,000 British, Portuguese, and Spanish against Soult, at Orthez on the Gave. On February 27 (1814) another hardly contested action was fought, and again Soult went stubbornly backward. Before Toulouse he made his last stand. He was driven out of his entrenchments, although he inflicted very heavy losses on the attackers (April 10). So disorganized was France, that news had not reached Soult or Wellington of the capitulation of Paris on March 30. An army, chiefly consisting of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, had invaded the eastern frontier of France at the same time as Wellington passed the Pyrenees. While Soult was valiantly defending the south-west, Napoleon was fighting a brilliant but futile campaign on the east.

The services of Wellington. Before he invaded France, Wellington had been made a Spanish and Portuguese Duke, and the English Government, after the victory of Toulouse, made him an English Duke. The Peninsular War had drained

Napoleon's resources and exposed France to invasion from the south-west. Wellington had shown that the French were by no means invincible, and under his leadership and that of Beresford the Spanish and Portuguese revived their great military traditions. It had been a hard war, both of open battles and of trench fighting. The stationary warfare in the lines of Torres Vedras, in the winter of 1810–11, anticipated in some respects the trench warfare of the war of 1914. The British soldiers in the Peninsular War had no service uniform, but wore the red tunic, tight breeches, and gaiters of the barrack square. The average spell of each soldier in the trenches was twenty-four hours at a time, which compares favourably with the four to twenty days of many battalions in the war of 1914. The strength of the British Army under Wellington was between 20,000 and 30,000, and with these and the Portuguese and Spanish divisions he marched from Badajoz to Toulouse, gaining friends among the peaceful inhabitants all the way.

The preliminaries to Waterloo. The Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814, put an end to the war. The old royal family was restored to France. Napoleon was made Emperor of the little island of Elba. He stayed there till the spring of 1815. On March 1 of that year he landed in France; the French Army joined him, and the Allies found that the old state of war was once more established in Europe. Wellington, in the interval, had been British Ambassador in Paris, where he was popular, in spite of the fact that he had so often defeated the French. He was now offered the command of the Allied Army. Belgium was the country in which the Allied forces could be most easily concentrated, so Wellington proceeded there, and in May 1815 had about 100,000 men under his command.

Napoleon entered Belgium along a line which the Germans were to follow in 1914, but in the opposite direction. A Prussian army under Field-Marshal Blücher was defending the line of the Sambre. On June 15 Napoleon's *right* army attacked the Prussians at Charleroi, and drove them along the road towards Namur. The French *left* army, under Marshal Ney, advanced along the Brussels road, towards Wellington's army. On June 16 he came against the British advanced troops at Quatre Bras. At first there were only about 8,000 troops against him, but their determined resistance enabled Wellington to send up sufficient men to stop Ney's advance.

Meanwhile, the Prussians on the same day had made a stubborn fight at Ligny, on the Charleroi–Namur road. They were forced to retire by Napoleon, who detached 30,000 troops under Marshal Grouchy to follow them, while he himself hastened north to join Ney. The British fell back from Quatre Bras before the combined forces of Napoleon and Ney. By the evening of the 17th, Wellington had taken his stand on the fields of Waterloo, blocking the road to Brussels. Blücher's Prussians, searched for in a weak manner by Grouchy, were working their way round by the more easterly road, by Wavre, to join with Wellington. If the British could hold the positions at Waterloo until Blücher, eluding Grouchy, joined him, all would be well.

Waterloo. The battle of Waterloo began about 11 o'clock on the morning of Sunday, June 18. Napoleon, suffering from cancer in the stomach, was not the man he had been, but the spell of his name still caused a thrill to run through Europe. The excitement in Brussels on the night before the battle was intense. Many of the British officers had brought their wives with them, and these, in the hotels and lodging houses of Brussels, were living a life which Thackeray admirably describes in *Vanity Fair*. The Duchess of Richmond had given a ball on the night of Thursday, June 15–16. At midnight, Wellington had an interview with General von Müffling, of the Prussian Army. 'The numerous friends of Napoleon here will be on tiptoe,' he said; 'the well-intentioned must be pacified. Let us therefore go to the Duchess of Richmond's ball, and start for Quatre Bras at 5 a.m.' The duke, who had an iron constitution, required

very little sleep. Byron knew people who attended the ball, and describes it in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.

There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gathered then
Her Beauty and her Chivalry, and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes look'd love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage bell;
But hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a rising knell!

Did ye not hear it?—No; 'twas but the wind,
Or the car rattling o'er the stony street;
On with the dance! let joy be unconfined;
No sleep till morn when Youth and Pleasure meet
To chase the glowing Hours with flying feet.
But hark! that heavy sound breaks in once more,
As if the clouds its echo would repeat;
And nearer, clearer, deadlier than before!
Arm! arm! it is—it is—the cannon's opening roar!

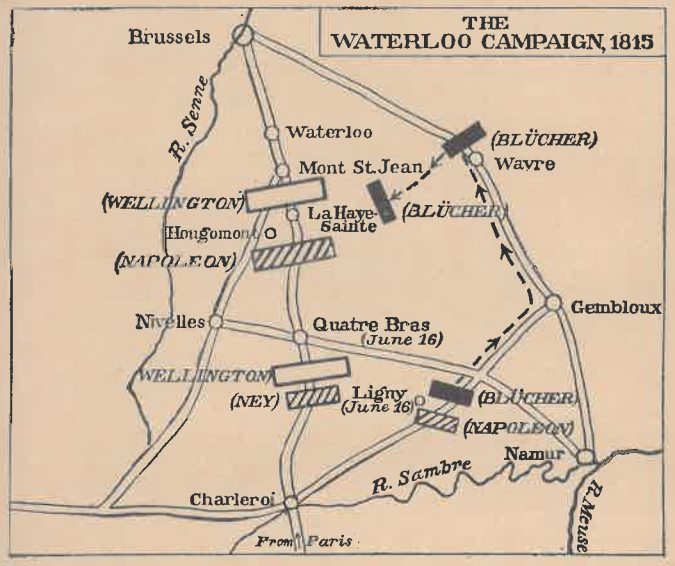
Within a window'd niche of that high hall,
Sate Brunswick's fated chieftain[1]; he did hear
That sound, the first amidst the festival,
And caught its tone with Death's prophetic ear;
And when they smiled because he deem'd it near
His heart more truly knew that peal too well
Which stretched his father on a bloody bier
And roused the vengeance blood alone could quell:
He rushed into the field, and, foremost fighting, fell.

On the gently sloping fields of Waterloo, where the highways from Nivelles and from Charleroi to Brussels meet, Wellington had his army ready for the battle. He had 67,000 men, of whom 24,000 were British, and 14,000 were Belgian and Dutch; the rest were German contingents. Against this mixed army, which contained both good and bad material, Napoleon led 74,000 of the finest troops in the

[1] Duke Frederick William of Brunswick entered the English service with his regiment of Black Brunswickers in 1809, fought in the Peninsular War, and was killed at Quatre Bras. His father had been killed at Auerstadt.

world, all of the same nation, and all perfectly trusting their leader. Blücher and the Prussian Army, however, had been promised for noon, so that Wellington counted on receiving overwhelming support in an hour's time.

As a matter of fact, Blücher did not bring up his army till 4 p.m. He had started late (at 6 a.m. instead of 3.30 a.m.), having been delayed because his chief of staff, Gneisenau,



believed that Wellington would not fight—that the British Army would retire on Brussels, and that the Prussians by advancing would only march into a trap. Once convinced that Wellington did really mean to fight at Waterloo, Blücher came on with the utmost determination. The distance from Wavre, where the Prussians started, to Waterloo, is thirteen miles, and it required all the fiery old Field-Marshal's will and vigour to get his men and guns along the broken-up roads in time to be of any use.

The battle of Waterloo began with a massed attack of the French infantry on Hougomont. This was held by the British Guards, who resisted every assault. About half-past one the main onslaught was made in four columns upon the British line at La Haye Sainte, a farm about one mile north of Hougomont. The first Allied troops to be encountered here were the Dutch and Belgians, who were routed. Then the columns came upon two British brigades under General Picton, and engaged at close quarters. The struggle was intense. The heroic Picton himself was killed, but the defence held fast, and finally the French columns were broken by a charge of the Horse Guards and Life Guards. This magnificent charge cost 1,000 British lives, but it saved the day.

At 4 o'clock the British and Hanoverian line between Hougomont and La Haye Sainte had to face a still more tremendous ordeal. Napoleon knew that time was against him, so he strained every nerve and used every man. 5,000 Cuirassiers, heavy horsemen in flashing breastplates, charged at the line. The British infantry formed quickly into hollow squares, and for two hours withstood one tornado of cavalry after another. No square was broken. Finally, at the right moment, Wellington sent the reserve of cavalry on to the field, and the remnants of the Cuirassiers were driven off.

While the Cuirassiers were making their great onslaught, Blücher's Prussians were getting into touch with the French about Planchenoit. Napoleon had to detach 14,000 men to hold them back; but 14,000 could not do so, indefinitely, against 30,000. The struggle went on through the length of the summer afternoon. About half-past six Napoleon's troops took La Haye Sainte, and the battered British line was withdrawn a little at this point. At 7 o'clock Napoleon put forth his final effort. The heroic Marshal Ney was sent forward with the Imperial Guard, 10,000 of the most experienced infantry in the world, against the British line, between La Haye Sainte and Hougomont. Wellington himself was at the threatened point. Under his cold serene glance the

troops remained steady till the Guard was quite close. Then, at Wellington's command, the British Guards stood up and fired point-blank into the advancing column. The French Guard reeled; the British Guards were upon them. But for a moment more the scales of victory were balanced when the last French cavalry reserve came up to support the Guard. Then Wellington ordered the whole British line to advance. Putting himself at the head of the 52nd (now the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry), mounted on his horse, he led the way. As they swept down the high road, the French recoiled; orderly retreat became impossible, and Napoleon's great army was routed. About half-way towards Planchenoit, along the highway, Wellington and Blücher met, two heroic figures, on one of history's greatest stages.

The victory cost 13,000 men to Wellington's army, and 30,000 to the French. On July 7 Wellington and Blücher entered Paris. On July 15 Napoleon surrendered at Rochefort to Captain Maitland of H.M.S. *Bellerophon*. He was kept on the island of St. Helena, where he died on May 5, 1821, in the fifty-second year of his age.

The Congress of Vienna. The ambassadors of the Powers which had taken part in the great war against Napoleon were sitting in Congress at Vienna throughout a great part of the years 1814 and 1815, even while the battle of Waterloo was being fought. The General Act of the Congress was signed on June 9, 1815. After so many conquests and annexations made by Napoleon, when frontiers had been obliterated and reigning families expelled, it was necessary to make a comprehensive re-arrangement of Europe. On the whole, the principle on which the Congress proceeded was to restore the States of Europe very much as they had existed before the advent of Napoleon. The small Italian States were re-established under their reigning princes; but the Republics of Genoa and Venice were not restored (the first was annexed to Sardinia, the other to Austria). In Germany, a large number of small reigning families did not recover their

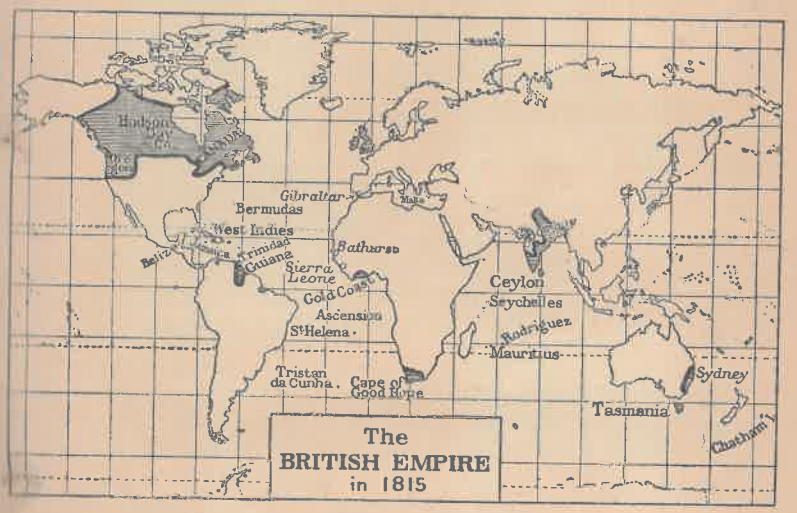
thrones, but Prussia, which, with Austria, had fought with great determination, was greatly increased. Belgium, which had been under Austria, was joined to Holland as one kingdom (they separated again in 1830). Norway, which had been under Denmark, was joined to Sweden (but separated from it again in 1905). Great Britain, in spite of the subsidies which she had poured out, in spite of the great part which she had played in the land fighting, in spite of the services which her incomparable Navy had rendered to the common cause, claimed no share in the partition of the Continent of Europe. The only European conquests which she retained were two islands taken by the Fleet—Heligoland in the North Sea, and Malta in the Mediterranean. Heligoland was ceded to Prussia in 1890. Malta is still in the Empire, on the great sea high-road between Great Britain and India. Great Britain also retained the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, but gave back Java to the Dutch, after the brilliant colonial governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, had administered it with conspicuous success from 1810 to 1814.

Finally, two sections of the General Act of Vienna must be mentioned, which have had a profound effect upon the welfare of mankind. Article 108 declared that all navigable rivers of Europe should be open to the trade of all nations, subject to the payment of the prevailing dues and customs. Secondly, an 'Annex' incorporated in the Treaty declared the emphatic disapproval of the Governments of Europe of the trade in slaves. The next fifty years brought about the abolition of slavery in every organized country in the world except Turkey.

From 1812 to 1814 England had been involved in hostilities with the United States, over the 'right of search' at sea. This war was terminated by the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814.

Wellington as a statesman. Except under the Duke of Marlborough, the military reputation of England had never stood so high. Among all the great captains of the military States of Europe, Wellington stood easily chief. 'I am one of those,' he said in 1829 in the House of Lords, 'who have

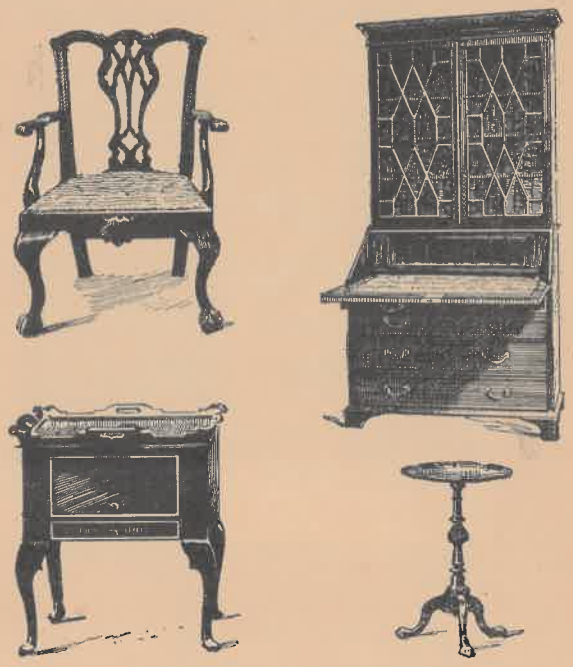
probably passed a longer period of my life in war than most men.' This indeed was true. Yet when war was over, the great soldier turned with equal devotion to the labours of peace, and spent the rest of his long life in active attention to the political affairs of his country. He lived mostly in London, at Apsley House, the simple and dignified mansion which the nation presented to him. It stands at the west end of Piccadilly, on the edge of Hyde Park. From there he



went regularly to the House of Lords, sometimes in his carriage, more frequently on horseback, often walking. The Londoners grew familiar with the sight of the stately old man, walking along the pavement of Piccadilly, clad in a tall hat, blue tail-coat, white waistcoat and white trousers. Wellington was a great man and quite conscious of his greatness, yet he always showed a real simplicity of character. Once in his later years a man gave the Duke his arm to help him across the crowded street, and then, on receiving the Duke's thanks, began to explain how honoured he felt, and how he would remember this all his life and so forth. Wellington wanted

no flattery. He merely replied, 'Don't be a damned fool!' and went on his way.

In politics the Duke was a strong Tory or Conservative, believing that people required to be governed with a certain amount of discipline. He was against absolutist government, but thought that the British Constitution gave the proper

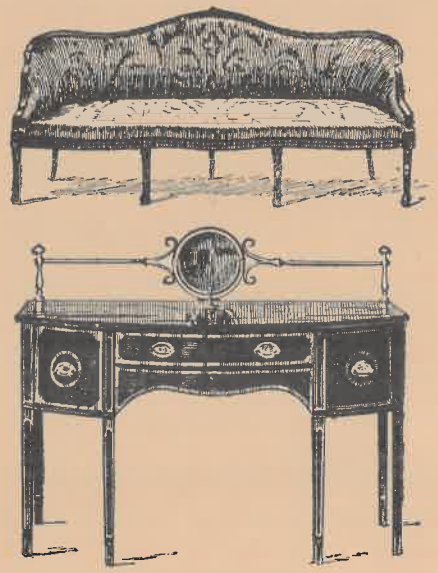


CHIPPENDALE FURNITURE

amount of freedom and the proper amount of order. On his own estate—Strathfieldsaye, in Hampshire—which was bought for him by the nation, he was a just and kind landlord. He spent most of the rental upon improving the land, and built cottages for all the labourers. He said every labourer should have an acre of ground, and he carried out this idea by attaching an acre to all the cottages which he built on his own estate.

To the end of his life he remained at work. After Waterloo

he had a little more service on the Continent. In 1818 he accepted the position of Master-General of the Ordnance, and sat in the Cabinet of which Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister. He acted as Ambassador at a Congress of European statesmen who met at Verona in 1822. In 1827 he succeeded the Duke of York (a son of George III) as Commander-in-Chief



SHERATON FURNITURE

of the Army. In 1828 he became Prime Minister, a position which he did not wish to hold, and which he accepted, out of a pure sense of duty, because the King asked him. Deeply attached to the Protestant religion, he cast his influence in favour of Catholic Emancipation, saying, 'if I could avoid by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it'. When Lord Winchelsea said the Duke had merely pretended to show zeal for the Protestant religion in order to bring in Popery by 'insidious designs', the Duke called on him to apologize, and on Winchelsea's refusal, fought

a duel with him in Battersea Fields, outside London. Both fired wide, and Winchelsea subsequently apologized. Wellington did not believe in extending the franchise to the whole people; accordingly, he opposed the Reform Bill. The populace, with despicable ingratitude, rioted in front of Apsley House, and threatened him with violence when he came out of doors. Their behaviour made no difference either to Wellington's views or his conduct. Perfectly impassive in countenance, he rode as usual through the streets; but he induced the House of Lords to pass the Reform Bill, thus saving England from civil war. In 1834 King William IV was at a loss what to do for a ministry. He sent down to Strathfieldsaye to ask the Duke's advice. The messenger arrived at 6 o'clock in the morning, just as the Duke was going out hunting. Immediately, obedient to his sovereign, he left for Brighton, saw the King, and advised him to make Peel Prime Minister. Peel, however, was in Italy. What was to be done in the meantime? The Duke offered to become Prime Minister himself till Peel could be summoned back to England. This was on November 17. The King gratefully accepted the offer, and the Duke at once drove to London, went to the Home Office in Whitehall, and began his official duties. His term as Prime Minister lasted just three weeks, at the end of which time Peel arrived in London. The Duke then resigned, and became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Peel. In 1841, and again in 1846, he had a place in the Cabinet, without holding political office. Almost his last public act was to support Peel in abolishing the Corn Laws. 'I am the servant of the Crown and people,' he said. 'I have been paid and rewarded and consider myself retained, and that I can't do otherwise than serve as required, when I can do so without dishonour, that is to say, as long as I have health and strength to enable me to serve.' When not in office, he was always being asked for advice, to help the Government out of difficulties. On January 13, 1849, the British suffered defeat in the Sikh War at Chilianwallah. The Government asked the

Duke to suggest 'three names', to help them to choose a general. The Duke, at any rate, knew his own mind. He wrote *Sir Charles Napier*. Napier hesitated about going. 'If you will not go, I must,' said the Duke. Napier went.

In the last years of his life he was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. The office has for long been a sinecure, with practically nothing to do. It was no sinecure with the Duke. The fine tower of Walmer Castle enabled him to take a bird's-eye view over the South Coast. He wrote a letter to Sir John Burgoyne, Commander-in-Chief of the Army (son of General Burgoyne of Saratoga), advising a better system of coast-defence, and a further strengthening of the Army, both of which suggestions were carried out. His end, like the whole period of his old age, was impressive in its simple dignity and beauty. He quietly breathed his last, without any illness, on September 14, 1852:

> No more in soldier fashion will he greet
> With lifted hand the gazer in the street . . .
> O good grey head which all men knew,
> O voice from which their omens all men drew,
> O iron nerve to true occasion true,
> O fallen at length that tower of strength,
> Which stood four-square to all the winds that blew![1]

Wellington was married in 1806 to Catherine Pakenham, daughter of the second Lord Longford. She died in 1831, leaving three sons and three daughters.

[1] Tennyson, *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington.*



PASTIMES. An early game of cricket

CHAPTER XXVII

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IRELAND

The eighteenth century in Ireland is a self-contained period coming after that of the Tudors and Stuarts, which was marked by rebellions and bloodshed, and preceding that of the nineteenth century, which was a time of agitation and, in its latter half, of gradually growing prosperity. The eighteenth century was a period when Englishmen looked upon Ireland, on the whole, with indifference, and to some extent with dislike; but, in spite of a bad system of laws, the Irish were not treated with direct hostility or severe oppression. English government was not tyrannical, but it was bad government, for it did not aim, simply and deliberately, to ensure happy, virtuous lives for the governed.

There are three comparatively well-marked divisions of the century in Ireland; the first is the time of repression, from 1689 to 1763; the second is the time of the Constitutional Opposition, from 1763 to 1782; the third is the time of Self-government, from 1782 to the passing of the Act of Union in 1800.

§ 1. The Period of Repression

The Revolution of 1688. The Irish Catholics had stood by James II when the Revolution took place in England, and William III found it necessary to conquer Ireland afresh. The battle of the Boyne on July 1, 1690, and the capture of Limerick in 1691 broke the resistance of the Catholics; and the Revolution Government set itself to make the recurrence of a Jacobite War impossible. The war had been won largely through the loyalty of Irish Protestants, especially the staunch citizens of Londonderry and Enniskillen, to the cause of William of Orange; so, naturally, everything was done to favour and strengthen the Protestant influence, and to

depress the Roman Catholics. Seventy years of repression, though not exactly of oppression, followed, which only made the bulk of the Irish more Roman Catholic, and more bitterly resentful of the English rule.

The Penal Code. The object of the British Government was to destroy the social, economic, and religious influence of the Irish Roman Catholics, and with this aim the Penal Laws were passed by the Parliament at Dublin. These laws, enacted at intervals from 1692 till the end of Queen Anne's reign, are monuments of bigotry, and, had they been continuously and rigidly enforced, they would have been horribly oppressive. They were, indeed, by no means a dead letter. Catholics were often most abominably persecuted, but the persecution was sporadic, and never directly touched the mass of the people; for it is impossible, year after year, to enforce an absurd and unjust code of law against the continuous passive resistance of a whole people. Government can only act through its officials; and no body of officials in the world can permanently compel the observance, even of a good system of laws (far less a bad system) against the continuous resistance of the people.

The Penal Code was simply intended to prevent the Irish acquiring wealth and to deprive them of that amount of land which they had managed to retain. Religion *per se* was only a secondary matter. Under the Penal Code, Roman Catholics were not allowed to vote for members of the Irish Parliament nor to sit in either House. They were not allowed to hold posts under the Government, to join the Navy or Army, or to be members of the town or city corporations. Priests were forbidden to celebrate a marriage between a Protestant and Catholic, and any such marriages were invalid. Roman Catholics could not become schoolmasters, could not go to Trinity College, Dublin, could not practise the profession of Law. If the son of a Catholic landowner became a Protestant he was made owner of the estate, although bound to leave the use of it to his father. By a ridiculous Act of 1697, Roman Catholics were not allowed

to possess a horse of more than £5 value. When we remember the absorbing interest which the Irish take in horses, we see at once how vindictive, malicious, and stupid was such an Act. It could not be generally enforced, but it was degrading to an Irish Catholic gentleman to feel that he only kept his fine horses by sufferance of his Protestant neighbours. It is said that once a Catholic gentleman was driving two beautiful horses into Mullingar when a man stopped the carriage and offered ten guineas for the pair of horses. The owner drew a pistol and shot the horses dead; otherwise under the law he would have been compelled to hand them over to the offerer, for £5 per horse. The story, however, being recorded as a remarkable thing, indicates that the law was not often taken advantage of.

The Government tried hard to enforce the Penal Laws when the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 was going on in Scotland; and at all times there were a number of grasping toadies ready to inform on priests who had not taken the oath of allegiance, and to claim a reward. Yet there were always plenty of priests in Ireland, and schools for Catholic children were held in barns and behind hedges. Catholic worship was carried on under terrible difficulties, but it went on none the less. Ireland had twenty-four Roman Catholic bishops, who lived, often under assumed names, in the house of some farmer or landowner; and the Papal Nuncio at Brussels was the head of the whole Irish Catholic system. The worldly, open-minded Lord Chesterfield, who was Viceroy in 1745, refused to carry on sporadic persecution, and after his time the Government contemptuously left the Catholics to carry on their worship, so long as it was not too publicly obvious. The result of the outlawry of Catholicism had been to make it bitter against the English and Anglo-Irish, and to keep it secretive and ignorant. The priests had not a chance of being cultivated or liberally minded men:

'Springing for the most part from the peasant ranks, sharing their prejudices and their passions, and depending

absolutely on their contributions, miserably ignorant and miserably poor, they were an illegal class compelled to associate with smugglers, robbers, and privateers, to whose assistance they were often obliged to resort in order to escape the ministers of justice.'[1]

All the ecclesiastical power of Ireland legally belonged to the English Church there; its bishops sat in the Irish House of Lords; all arable land—whether in Catholic or Protestant hands—had to pay tithe to the local Rector; and all the recognized schools, and Trinity College, in Dublin, were absolutely in the hands of Churchmen. Some of the Church bishops were notable men of religion and learning, like Bishop Berkeley, one of the finest minds of the century, but the bulk of them were undistinguished and often worldly men. Their following did not number more than one-seventh of the population, yet they were the Established Church of the whole country.

The Parliament. Ireland had a Parliament of her own, consisting of a House of Lords and House of Commons, like the English Legislature. Only Protestant Irish Peers could sit, and, as a large number of those always lived in England, the Irish bishops formed about half the House, and therefore practically controlled it. The House of Commons had 300 members; 84 were elected by the freeholders of the counties (and this was the most honest part of the representative system), the other 216 were elected by close boroughs or manors, so that often a few town magistrates or a single landowner elected the member. By Poyning's Act (1494) every Bill of the Irish Parliament had (before its introduction in the Irish Parliament) to be approved by the English Privy Council in London, and by the Declaratory Act of the British Parliament (1719) any Bill passed through the British House of Commons and House of Lords could be applied to Ireland over the head of the Irish Legislature. The Irish Parliament, in fact, only met every other year, to vote the revenue.

[1] Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1879), ii. 282.

Economic and social condition. Ireland is a country with large areas of bogland, and little mineral wealth. It can never be a great industrial country, but it can, as it has become in the last fifty years, be thriving and prosperous, with a busy agriculture and a vigorous shipping trade. All this, however, was prevented by England in the late seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries. In 1663 Ireland was



THE BANK OF IRELAND. Formerly the Parliament House of Ireland

excluded from the advantages of the Navigation Acts, so that she could not trade with British Colonies. In 1665 Irish cattle or pigs were absolutely prohibited from being imported into England, their only good market. An Act of the British Parliament [1] in 1699 prohibited the export of Irish wool or woollen goods, except to England. The internal trade of the country was not sufficient to absorb the energies of the people or the output of their industry. Trade languished and finally,

[1] The British Parliament legislated for Ireland even before the Declaratory Act of 1719.

except in Ulster, practically died. The physical well-being of the people was at an end; dirt, squalor, and actual hunger were the lot of most peasant families for many years to come. Actual famine occurred periodically till the year 1846, when the failure of the potato crop had such appalling results that the British Parliament was induced to repeal the Corn Laws. It was this state of squalor and debasement that led Swift



THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, NOW THE CITY HALL, DUBLIN

to take up cudgels on behalf of the Irish. How deeply he felt the misery to which they had been reduced by the selfish commercial policy of England may be read in the third voyage of *Gulliver's Travels*.

As the result of various rebellions, followed by confiscation, the greater part of the land (nine-tenths, it is said, of the whole country) had passed away from the old owners into new hands, to Irish Protestants or English 'adventurers'. Many of the new landlords lived away from Ireland, and left their estates to be administered by bailiffs. The peasants were poor cultivators; the land was not by nature fertile; the

new landlords took little interest in their land and spent as little capital as possible on it. The result was that cultivation went from bad to worse; the peasant families, so often on the verge of famine, grew hopeless, aimless, sullen. They practically ceased to try and grow grain, and attended only to the potato-patches, by which they just managed to feed their large families of half-naked children. The best of the peasants left the country and went abroad; the rest learned to look upon the law as some horrible engine, made to ruin their souls by the Penal Code and their bodies by Land Acts. They lost the sense of justice, and all respect for law. The English system was ruining public morality, and bringing a state of affairs to pass which would make government impossible. 'It rendered absolutely impossible in Ireland the formation of that habit of instinctive and unreasoning reverence for law which is one of the most essential conditions of English civilization.'[1]

Emigration. In consequence of their religious and political disabilities, many of the Irishmen who could afford to do so, emigrated. Those of a martial inclination went to Europe and entered the service of the Kings of France and Spain, the Emperor, the Tsar of Russia, and of other governments. Those who were fitted for practising a trade went to the colonies. Thackeray's *Barry Lyndon* gives a fascinating picture of one of the soldierly kind, who was an Irish rolling stone. There were famous Irish regiments in the army of France, and the story is familiar how George II, on hearing of the prowess of the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy, is said to have cursed the laws that robbed him of such soldiers. George Browne (1698–1792) became the best Austrian general in the Seven Years' War; Peter Lacy (1678–1751) was a Russian Field Marshal and helped to make Peter the Great's army. Thomas Arthur Lally of Tollendal (1702–79) was the ablest soldier of the French East India Company in the time of Clive, and Richard Wall (1694–1778) was one of the admirals

[1] Lecky, loc. cit., p. 282.

who revived Spain's sea-power. Arthur Dillon (1721–1806) became Archbishop of Toulouse. This was a fearful draining of the ability of a people.

'In every community there exists a small minority of men whose abilities, high purpose, and energy of will, mark them out as in some degree leaders of men. These take the first steps in every public enterprise, counteract by their example the vicious elements of the population, set the current and form the standard of public opinion, and infuse a healthy moral vigour into their nation. In Ireland for three or four generations such men were steadily weeded out. Can we wonder that the standard of public morals and of public spirit should have declined?'[1]

§ 2. The Constitutional Opposition, 1763–82

Till the end of the reign of George II, the Irish Parliament was to a large extent content to register the wishes of the English Government. Gradually, however, even within the servile Parliament, where no Catholics were admitted, a party was formed, which seriously criticized the Government's policy and called for reform. This party may be said to begin when Charles Lucas, a Dublin apothecary, founded the *Freeman's Journal* in 1763; by his writing he exposed the abuses of the 'Castle' administration, and the hearts of the more patriotic members of Parliament were stirred. Equally important was Henry Flood, son of an Irish Chief Justice, rich, well educated (he had been to Trinity College, Dublin, and Christ Church, Oxford), and ardently patriotic. In 1759 he entered Parliament as member for Kilkenny, and his flaming eloquence soon made him a formidable opponent of the Government. By Flood's efforts, the English Government was forced to recognize the *exclusive* right of the Irish Parliament to introduce money Bills in the House. Before this the English Privy Council had been in the habit of budgeting for Ireland, and getting money Bills passed through the two Irish Houses.

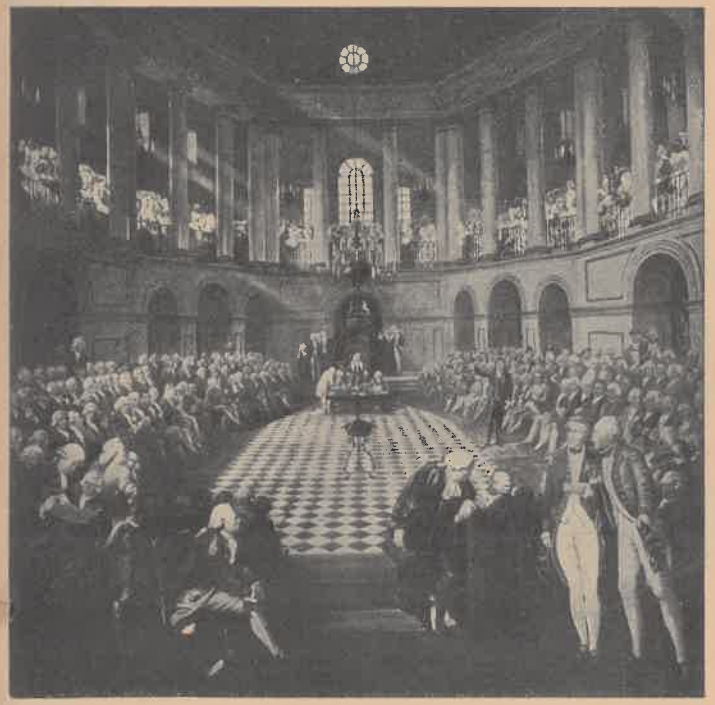
The fame of Flood was, however, to be eclipsed by that of

[1] Lecky, loc. cit., p. 265.

a greater man, with a nobler nature. This was Henry Grattan, whose fiery nature and masterful energy, lofty bearing and splendid moving eloquence, recall the qualities of Chatham. He was born in 1746, studied law in London, and then was returned by Lord Charlemont to the Irish House of Commons as member for the pocket borough of Charlemont. He at once became the focus for all the patriotic forces; by his eloquence and his intellect, the maladministration of Ireland was laid bare to the educated public—though that public was itself only the privileged Protestant classes. In 1775 the War of American Independence broke out. The English Army and even the Navy, commanded though it was by the splendid sailors Howe, and in the later stages of the war, Rodney, became involved in difficulties. Paul Jones, the American privateersman and admiral, was soon sailing the ocean and invading the Irish Sea itself. The Irish, a brave nation, with the instinct for combination, joined in bands and regiments, and soon a force of 60,000 volunteers was ready and trained, under the command of Lord Charlemont, to resist the invader. The danger passed away, but the volunteers remained; and either from gratitude or fear, it was now difficult for the English Government to resist any reasonable demands.

It was under these circumstances that Henry Grattan was able to carry through two great measures which restored those powers of legislation which Ireland had possessed before Poyning's Act and the Act of 6 George I. In the first place he proposed a resolution in the Irish House of Commons demanding free trade for Ireland, and when this was carried without opposition he added to it a financial lever; he induced the House to grant supplies to the Government for six months only, and not for the usual two years. The Ministry of Lord North had sufficient difficulties to meet, both in England and in the colonies, and so it bowed to the storm in Ireland. It may be that the teaching of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) had already begun to influence

the minds of other Tory statesmen besides the younger Pitt. At the beginning of the year 1780Bills were passed through the British Parliament establishing almost complete commercial equality between Great Britain and Ireland.



THE GREAT PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND, ELECTED 1790

Further, i.e. in the second place, Grattan meant to gain more than this—no less, in fact, than the complete repeal of the Statute of Drogheda of 1494 (Poyning's Act) and the Declaratory Act of 6 George I (1719). The whole of Ireland was ablaze with excitement; all the Roman Catholics, as well as a large number of the Protestants, were supporting Grattan; the volunteers were still armed, and their delegates,

to the number of 242, meeting in the Church of Dungannon in February 1782, unanimously voted: 'That a claim of any body of men other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.' In the following month Lord North's Ministry fell.

The new Ministry was that of Lord Rockingham, with Shelburne and Fox as Secretaries of State. They were faced with the tasks of making peace in America and preventing war in Ireland. They settled the latter difficulty first. On April 16, 1782, Grattan, who had risen from a bed of sickness in order to make his great effort, introduced in the Irish House of Commons an Address to the Crown in favour of legislative independence. If ever spirit could be said to act independently of its body, said Lord Charlemont, it was on that occasion. No one presumed to call the patriot's words in question. The Irish House of Lords also assented to the Address; and every one assumed that the affair was already settled.

'I am now to address a free people (said Grattan in introducing the Address). Ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. . . . I found Ireland on her knees; I watched over her with an eternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injury to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift! spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation. In that new character I hail her, and bowing to her august presence, I say: *esto perpetua*!'[1]

Fox and Shelburne yielded to the importunity of Ireland, and against their conviction introduced a Bill into the British Parliament to give Ireland that complete legislative independence which only complete loyalty to the Empire could justify. Their trust appeared to be deserved; for the passage of the Bill through Parliament was greeted in Ireland with the most loyal expressions and the most cordial votes.

[1] Quoted in Mahon's *History of England*. William Molyneux (1656–98) wrote on the constitutional relations between Great Britain and Ireland.

§ 3. Self-Government, 1782–1800

The independent Irish Parliament lasted just eighteen years. It remained as it had been, exclusively Protestant in composition. Those who wish a humorous account of it should read the opening chapters of Lever's *Charles O'Malley*. In 1793, however, it passed an Act which gave the Roman Catholics the vote, and but for the rebellion which took place five years later, it would doubtless also have admitted them to Parliament. It must be admitted that Ireland greatly improved financially and industrially during the period of self-government. Unfortunately that period was too short to give her a fair chance. In 1789 the French Revolution broke out, and the evil spirit of secret societies and rebellion took root in the ready soil of Ireland. The constitutional leaders of Parliament had no part in the rebellion; but, as has happened subsequently, they could not control the wilder elements, and they could not keep the younger priests in hand.

In 1791 the Society of United Irishmen was formed. Its object was to bring into one body both the Catholics who hated the English Protestant system, and the Ulster Presbyterians, many of whom at this time were infected with the republican spirit. The first meeting of the Society seems to have been held in Belfast, and its primary object was at that time stated to be the admission of men of all creeds to the Irish Parliament.

The Rebellion. In 1796 a number of flaming patriots—it must be admitted that they loved their country—planned a great rebellion. All the original leaders were Protestants. It was not a religious rebellion at first. The chiefs of the United Irishmen (as the rebellious league was called) were Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young barrister of ability and energy, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a son of the Duke of Leinster. Fitzgerald was a man of great chivalry and heroism; he had fought with distinction for Britain in the American War; later he had come under the influence of the French Revolution, and had married an illegitimate daughter of the Duke of

Orleans. The rebellion was planned in Paris, and the French Directory, then at war with England, promised armed help.

An expedition sailed from France under General Hoche in December 1796, but a storm dispersed it. The English Government became alive to the danger. Its agents discovered the plans of the United Irishmen; all the leaders that could be found were arrested and martial law was proclaimed. Soldiers and yeomen were sent to the most disaffected parts of the country. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was found hiding in an obscure house in Dublin. He defended himself desperately, was shot, and died of his wounds (June 4, 1798).

Meanwhile, the regulars and yeomanry, quartered in the most discontented parts of the country, living like aliens in a conquered land, had misused the people, and had been requited, by an ignorant and embittered peasantry, with hatred and treachery. Wolfe Tone had gone to Paris, where he still was. In summer (1798) a series of risings, ill planned and ill conducted, broke out in various parts of Ireland. They were all perfectly horrible; both sides assailed each other with ferocity, and seldom gave quarter. People surrendered and then were massacred; promises were made and broken. The Irish rebels were no better than the regulars and the Protestant yeomanry; the whole country was demoralized. Lord Cornwallis, the able, upright, honourable soldier who was then Viceroy of Ireland, sickened of the butchery which he could not be everywhere to stop. 'The conversation', he wrote to General Lake, 'even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c., and if a priest has been put to death, the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company.' The priests indeed were going through the struggle red-handed. Father Michael Murphy led his men so fearlessly and successfully that he was long believed to be invulnerable till a cannon-ball killed him at Arklow. There were other priests who fought; some were killed in battle, others,

being captured, paid the penalty with their lives. Prisoners were not infrequently tortured—both sides were guilty of this atrocity.

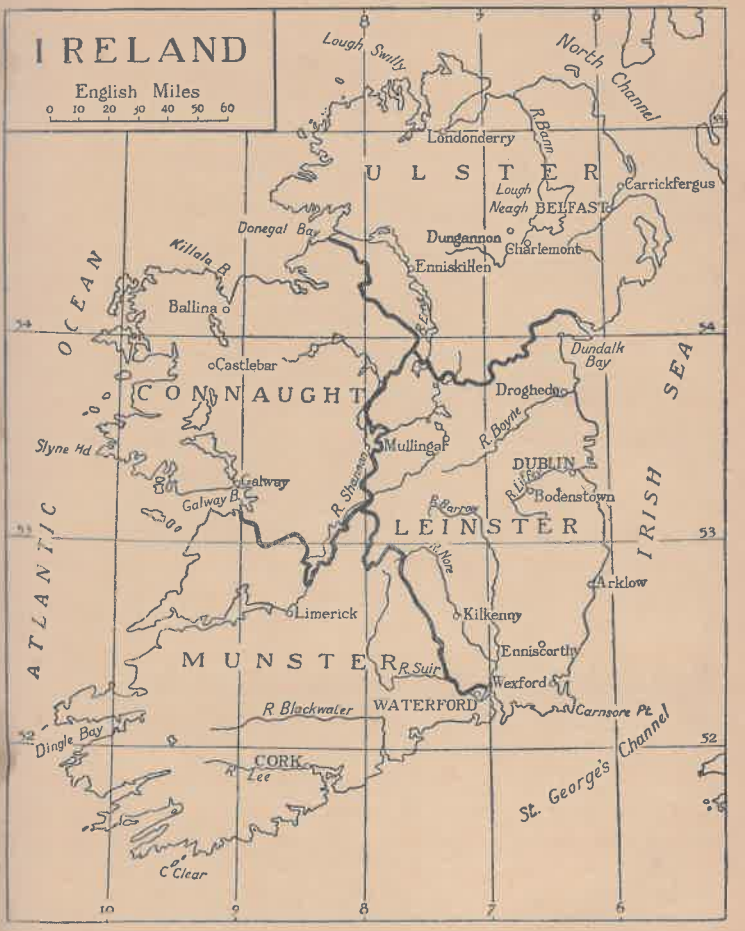
On June 21 the rebels were defeated by Lord Lake at Vinegar Hill near Enniscorthy in County Wexford. The new Viceroy, Lord Cornwallis, had only just arrived. The rebellion was almost over. In August the French General Humbert landed a very small force from a French squadron at Killala Bay, and defeated General Lake's disaffected militia at Castlebar; but Cornwallis and Lake rounded up the French at Ballina, and took them all prisoners. Another French squadron was sailing for Ireland, but it was destroyed on the way by the English fleet; the *Hoche* was made a prize, and its crew and officers taken prisoner. Wolfe Tone was among the captured. He escaped notice at first, but was recognized when the officer prisoners were being entertained at Lord Cavan's house on Lough Swilly. He was tried by court-martial at Dublin, for treason and rebellion, and sentenced to be hanged; but John Philpot Curran, an able and high-minded Dublin barrister, applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus, on the ground that no court-martial had jurisdiction in Ireland while the Four Courts were still sitting. The case was not perfectly clear either way, and passion, prejudice, the desire to vindicate public order, all counted against the rebel; but the spirit of the law is fair, and does not give itself the benefit of a doubt. For the honour of British Justice, the writ of Habeas Corpus was granted, and Wolfe Tone was reserved to be tried by an ordinary court of law. He committed suicide in prison before the trial took place, and was buried in Bodenstown churchyard, which is now almost a scene of pilgrimage. The Irish have long considered him a martyr for his country, but the story only reflects credit on the English. There is nothing splendid in conspiring with the King's enemies in the middle of a great war, as Wolfe Tone conspired with the French. But there is something noble and grand in giving an opponent the most scrupulous fair play.

§ 4. The Union

The leaders of the Irish Parliament had taken no part in the rebellion; and it may be, that a Parliament freely and openly elected, by Catholics and Protestants, would have kept Ireland quiet. Who can say? All that Pitt, who was Prime Minister in England, could see, was that the Irish had made a savage rebellion when Britain was at war and in danger of a terrible invasion. He decided that England and Ireland must be tied closer together; that the Irish Parliament must be abolished, and the Irish called to share the labours and responsibilities of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. This was not a method of coercion; it was a noble summons to partnership and kindly association.

When the rebellion of '98 was ended, the Irish Parliament still remained. The British Parliament could have re-enacted the statute of 6 George I, and then have abolished the Irish Legislature by a Bill. Practically, however, England had made a compact with Ireland to allow self-government to her; and compacts can only justly be changed with the consent of both parties. So the Irish Parliament had to vote for its own abolition, if the union was to take place.

A General Election was held in 1799, and the greatest efforts were made by both sides to secure a majority. 'The South of Ireland', wrote Cornwallis, 'are well disposed to union, the North seem in a state of neutrality, or rather apathy, on the subject, which is to me incomprehensible; but all the counties in the middle of the island, from Dublin to Galway, are violent against it.' The Government was able to command the votes of the nomination (or 'pocket') boroughs; and where people were not honestly in favour of union, bribery was employed. Lord Cornwallis sickened of the task. 'My occupation', he wrote, to Major-General Ross in June 1799, 'is now of the most unpleasant nature, negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work, and am supported only by the reflection that



without an Union the British Empire must be dissolved.' Lord Castlereagh, who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland, was equally active. Finally, the Roman Catholic bishops were in favour of the Union, moved no doubt by the prospect of Catholic emancipation which was held out before them. The Government accordingly was able to secure a majority

in the House of Commons, although the county members, who represented the most free constituencies in Ireland, as a whole were against the Union.

On February 5, 1800, Lord Castlereagh, to whom Pitt had entrusted the task of piloting the Bill through the Lower House, arose to propose the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. Like most of his speeches, this was a long and conscientious effort, sensible and even forcible, but somewhat tedious to listen to. After a careful explanation of the financial, commercial, and political clauses of the measure, he passed on to consider its more general aspect—'One State, one Legislature, one Church, these are the leading features of the system, and without identity with Great Britain in these three great points of connexion we can never hope for any real and permanent security.' The Union plan, he added, in his peroration, 'is one that, by uniting the Church Establishments and consolidating the Legislatures of the Empire, puts an end to religious jealousy, and removes the possibility of separation. It is one which places the great question which has so long agitated the country, upon the broad principles of imperial policy, and divests it of all its local difficulties.' The fight was prolonged, but the Government steadily gained support, and when Grattan rose on May 26 to oppose the second reading of the Bill, his cause was already lost. His magnificent oration concluded with an appeal and a prophecy, which Castlereagh said were simply an encouragement to rebellion. Ireland's Constitution was lost, he admitted, but not for ever.

'Liberty may repair her golden beams, and with redoubled heart animate the country. . . . I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead; though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheeks a glow of beauty:

> Thou art not conquer'd; beauty's ensign yet
> Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
> And death's pale flag is not advancéd there.'[1]

[1] Grattan's *Speeches*, iv. 23; Lecky, op. cit., viii. 489. The quotation is from *Romeo and Juliet*, Act v, Scene iii.

The Bill passed the Irish House of Commons with a majority of forty-six votes. It likewise went through the Irish House of Lords. There were sixteen new peerages which Cornwallis undertook to have created, as soon as the Bill was passed.

The Irish Parliament came to an end on January 1, 1801, and the Governments of Great Britain and Ireland were united. Ireland was to be represented in the House of Commons in London by one hundred elected members, and in the House of Lords by twenty-eight elected peers and four bishops. The Protestant Church of Ireland was joined to that of England, and the two were to be known as *The United Church of England and Ireland*. The administration of Ireland was entrusted to the Viceroy and his Chief Secretary, either or both of whom might be members of the British Cabinet. A notable feature of the Act was the abolition of eighty nomination boroughs, for which the owners were compensated by a payment of £15,000 each; thus the Irish borough owners received more favourable treatment than did their English and Scottish compeers in 1832, who received no compensation. It was understood that with the Union, the Catholics would be freed from their political disabilities, and would be allowed to take a share in Parliament. Pitt honestly meant to bring this about. It is well known that George III refused to sanction such an act, for 'he had sworn at his coronation to preserve the Protestant religion'. Pitt resigned, and the Union was blighted from the start, for it was poisoned with a sense of grievance which nothing has yet extinguished.

SCOTLAND

Contrast of Scottish and Irish Union. The union made between Scotland and England in 1707 suited the needs of each country, and has been a lasting success, prospering in mutual comfort and support.

The reasons for the difference between the results of the Scottish and Irish Unions are plain. In the first place, the