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HISTORY
OF THE
POLITICAL LIFE
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM PITT.

VOL. V.

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HISTORY
OF THE
POLITICAL LIFE

OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM PITT;

INCLUDING SOME ACCOUNT OF
THE TIMES IN WHICH HE LIVED.

By JOHN GIFFORD, Esq.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

NEC SIBI, SED TOTI GENITUM SE CREDERE MUNDO.

LUCAN.

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Steiguer—Effect of disappointed ambition on Frisching, a magistrate of Berne—Attempts of the French to provoke the Swiss to violate their neutrality—They depart from their neutral system, to favour the escape of the French troops from Germany—Insurrection in the Pays de Vaud excited by the emissaries of the Directory—A Swiss army sent to suppress it—Command of the troops intrusted to General Weiss, a philosopher of the new school—His cowardly conduct—He flatters the rebels whom he was sent to subdue—He retreats and resigns his command—Vain efforts of the Swiss patriots, Steiguer, D'Erlach, and De Grosse, to rouse the government to a sense of their duty—Proclamation of the French General, Brune, on entering Switzerland—Declares the object of the Directory to be the punishment of usurpers, and the restoration of popular rights—A tool of despotism, preaching liberty—The Directory insist on the dismissal of Mr. Wickham, the British minister at Berne—Mr. Wickham recalled—Seizure of the bishoprick of Basil by the French—Extensive resources of the Swiss at this period—Fully adequate to the defence of their liberties—Proclamation of the French Commissary Mengaud—Weakness and incapacity of the government of Berne—The Senate change the constitution, and adopt a more democratic form of government—Other Cantons imitate their example—Steiguer quits the Senate and repairs to the Army—The French Army advances—They render the Swiss troops mistrustful of their Officers—Forge letters to prove D'Erlach a traitor—Cowardice of such conduct—Truce between the French and Swiss—Treacherosly broken by Brune—Infamous summons sent by the French General Schauenbourg to the garrison of Soleure—Order issued by the government, for arming the people—Fribourg and Soleure taken by the French—Battle of Fraubrunnen—D'Erlach murdered by his troops—Gallant stand made by Steiguer—Berne falls—Bravery displayed by the Swiss women and girls—Numbers

of them killed in battle—Buonaparté abuses the government of Berne for protecting Mallet du Pan—Threatens to democratize England in three months—The criminals in the gaols refuse to receive liberty from the French—Bruno puzzled in framing a new constitution for Switzerland—Proclaims “ *The Helvetic Republic one and indivisible.*”—This union resisted by the democratic cantons—They appeal in vain to the Directory—The new government put in action—The Swiss Directory and Legislative Body assemble at Arau—Disgust of the people—Impolitic conduct of the smaller cantons—Want of union among them—Conclude a treaty with the French commander—The treaty disapproved by the Directory at Paris—The French exercise sovereign power in Switzerland—Schauenbourg attacks the canton of Underwald—Desperate action at Stanz—Signal bravery of the inhabitants—Loss on both sides—Barbarity of the French—Final reduction of Switzerland—Congress at Rastadt—Artifice of the French for protracting the negotiations—The regicide, Jean de Bry, one of their plenipotentiaries—Claims and designs of the Directory—Attempt of Bernadotte, the French ambassador, to excite an insurrection at Vienna—He displays the tri-coloured flag—His house surrounded by the populace—He threatens the people—They attack his house, pull down the flag and destroy it—Bernadotte leaves Vienna—New revolution produced by the French in the Cisalpine Republic—They destroy the *unperishable* constitution established by themselves, on the exact model of their own—Their agent Trouvè, a writer in the *Moniteur*, employed to compose a new constitution for the Cisalpines—The opposition committed to prison—A new Directory formed—The most respectable member the keeper of a public brothel—That country becomes a province of France—French resolve to *revolutionize* Rome—Joseph Buonaparté sent thither for the purpose—He insists on the release of all persons confined for treason and sedi-

tion—He excites public tumults—The French General Duphot killed in one of them—Joseph leaves Rome—The Pope offers to avert the vengeance of France by any concessions which the Directory may dictate—Imprecates the divine assistance, by public processions, penance, and prayer—Joseph Buonaparté's cowardly abuse of the Pope—Berthier leads a French army to Rome—Engages to respect the government, and to protect property—Declares his sole object to be the punishment of the persons who killed Duphot—The Pope forbids his subjects to resist the French—The French enter Rome without opposition—They destroy the papal government, and erect a "*Roman Republic*," founded on the *Sovereignty of the People*—The Pope sent from Rome—The Vatican stripped—A general plunder takes place—Seven Consuls appointed—The inhabitants are pillaged and impoverished—Dreadful effects of this Revolution described by a Republican author—Horrible proposition made by a member of the new Jacobin Club at Rome—Priests made responsible for the peace of their districts—The French Directory again change the constitution of the Batavian Republic—Secure the citadel of Turin, and make the King of Sardinia a prisoner in his capital—An expedition sails from Toulon under the command of Buonaparté—Malta surrendered to the French by the treachery of the Knights—A British squadron, under Admiral Nelson, enters the Mediterranean in pursuit of the French—Arrives at Alexandria before them—Sails to Sicily—French land at Alexandria and take the city by storm—Nelson returns to Egypt—Battle of the Nile—Destruction of the French Fleet—Buonaparté marches to Cairo—Defeats the Mamelukes—Takes Cairo—His communication with Europe cut off—British expedition to Ostend—The troops destroy the sluices of the canal of Bruges—Are surrounded and taken by the French.

APPENDIX A.

Manifesto of the British Government against France.

THE negotiation, which an anxious desire for the restoration of peace had induced his Majesty to open at Paris, having been abruptly terminated by the French government, the King thinks it due to himself, and to his people, to state, in this public manner, the circumstances which have preceded and attended a transaction of so much importance to the general interests of Europe.

It is well known, that, early in the present year, his Majesty, laying aside the consideration of many circumstances of difficulty and discouragement, determined to take such steps as were best calculated to open the way for negotiation, if any corresponding desire prevailed on the part of his enemies. He directed an overture to be made in his name, by his minister in Switzerland, for the purpose of ascertaining the dispositions of the French government with respect to peace. The answer which he received in return was at once haughty and evasive; it affected to question the sincerity of those disposi-

tions of which his Majesty's conduct afforded so unequivocal a proof; it raised groundless objections to the mode of negotiation proposed by his Majesty; (that of a general congress, by which peace has so often been restored to Europe,) but it studiously passed over in silence his Majesty's desire to learn what other mode would be preferred by France. It, at the same time, asserted a principle which was stated as an indispensable preliminary to all negotiation---a principle under which the terms of peace must have been regulated, not by the usual considerations of justice, policy, and reciprocal convenience; but by an implicit submission, on the part of all the powers, to a claim founded on the internal laws and separate constitution of France, as having full authority to supersede the treaties entered into by independent states, to govern their interests, to controul their engagements, and to dispose of their dominion.

A pretension in itself so extravagant, could, in no instance, have been admitted, or even listened to for a moment. Its application, to the present case, led to nothing less than that France should, as a preliminary to all discussion, retain nearly all her conquests, and those particularly in which his Majesty was most concerned, both from the ties of interest, and the sacred obligations of treaties; that she should, in like manner, recover back all that had been conquered from her in every part of the world; and that she should be left at liberty to bring forward such further demands on all other points of negotiation, as such unqualified submission on the part of those with whom she treated could not fail to produce.

On such grounds as these it was sufficiently evident, that no negotiation could be established: neither did the answer of his Majesty's enemies afford any opening for continuing the discussion, since the mode of negotiation, offered by his Majesty, had been peremptorily rejected by them, and no other had been stated in which they were willing to concur.

His Majesty was, however, not discouraged even by this

result, from still pursuing such measures as appeared to him most conducive to the end of peace; and the wishes of his ally, the Emperor, corresponding with those which His Majesty had manifested, sentiments of a similar tendency were expressed on the part of his Imperial Majesty, at the time of opening the campaign; but the continuance of the same spirit and principles, on the part of the enemy, rendered this fresh overture equally unsuccessful.

While the government of France thus persisted in obstructing every measure that could even open the way to negotiation, no endeavour was omitted to mislead the public opinion throughout all Europe, with respect to the real cause of the prolongation of the war, and to cast a doubt on those dispositions which could alone have dictated the steps taken by his Majesty and his august ally.

In order to deprive his enemies of all possibility of subterfuge or evasion, and in the hope that a just sense of the continued calamities of war, and of the increasing distresses of France herself, might, at length, have led to more just and pacific dispositions, his Majesty renewed in another form, and through the intervention of friendly powers, a proposal for opening negotiations for peace. The manner in which this intervention was received indicated the most hostile dispositions towards Great Britain, and, at the same time, afforded to all Europe a striking instance of that injurious and offensive conduct which is observed on the part of the French government towards all other countries. The repeated overtures made in his Majesty's name were, nevertheless, of such a nature, that it was at last found impossible to persist in the absolute rejection of them, without the direct and undiguised avowal of a determination to refuse to Europe all hope of the restoration of tranquillity. A channel was therefore, at length, indicated, through which the government of France professed itself willing to carry on a negotiation; and a readiness was expressed (though in terms far remote

from any spirit of conciliation) to receive a Minister authorized by his Majesty to proceed to Paris for that purpose.

Many circumstances might have been urged, as affording powerful motives against adopting this suggestion, until the government of France had given some indication of a spirit better calculated to promote the success of such a mission, and to meet these advances on the part of Great Britain. The King's desire, for the restoration of general peace, on just and honourable terms, his concern for the interests of his subjects, and his determination to leave to his enemies no pretext for imputing to him the consequences of their own ambition, induced him to overlook every such consideration, and to take a step which these reasons alone could justify.

The repeated endeavours of the French government, to defeat this mission in its outset, and to break off the intercourse thus opened, even before the first steps towards negotiation could be taken; the indecent and injurious language employed with a view to irritate the captious and frivolous objections raised for the purpose of obstructing the progress of the discussion; all these have sufficiently appeared from the official papers which passed on both sides, and which are known to all Europe.

But above all, the abrupt termination of the negotiation has afforded the most conclusive proof, that at no period of it was any real wish for peace entertained on the part of the French government.

After repeated evasion and delay, the government had at length consented to establish, as the basis of the negotiation, a principle proposed by his Majesty, liberal in its own nature, equitable towards his enemies, and calculated to provide for the interests of his allies, and of Europe. It had been agreed, that compensation should be made to France, by proportionable restitutions from his Majesty's conquests on that power, for those arrangements to which she should be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just pretensions of his allies, and to

preserve the political balance of Europe. At the desire of the French government itself, memorials were presented by his Majesty's Minister, which contained the outlines of the terms of peace, grounded on the basis so established, and in which his Majesty proposed to carry, to the utmost possible extent, the application of a principle so equitable with respect to France, and so liberal on his Majesty's part. The delivery of these papers was accompanied by a declaration expressly and repeatedly made, both verbally and in writing, that his Majesty's Minister was willing and prepared to enter, with a spirit of conciliation and fairness, into the discussion of the different points there contained, or into that of any other proposal or scheme of peace, which the French government might wish to substitute in its place.

In reply to this communication, he received a demand, in form the most offensive, and in substance the most extravagant, that ever was made in the course of any negotiation. It was peremptorily required of him, that, in the very outset of the business, when no answer had been given by the French government to his first proposal, when he had not even learnt, in any regular shape, the nature or extent of the objections to it, and much less received from that government any other offer or plan of peace, he should, in twenty-four hours, deliver in a statement of the final terms to which his court would, in any case, accede—a demand tending evidently to shut the door to all negotiation, to preclude all discussion, all explanation, all possibility of the amicable adjustment of points of difference; a demand in its nature preposterous, in its execution impracticable, since it is plain that no such ultimate resolution respecting a general plan of peace, ever can be rationally formed, much less declared, without knowing what points are principally objected to by the enemy, and what facilities he may be willing to offer in return for concession in those respects. Having declined compliance with this demand, and explained the reasons which rendered it inadmissible, but having, at the same

time, expressly renewed the declaration of his readiness to enter into the discussion of the proposal he had conveyed, or of any other which might be communicated to him, the King's Minister received no other answer than an abrupt command to quit Paris in forty-eight hours. If, in addition to such an insult, any further proof were necessary of the dispositions of those by whom it was offered, such proof would be abundantly supplied from the contents of the note in which this order was conveyed. The mode of negotiation, on which the French government had itself insisted, is there rejected, and no practicable means left open for treating with effect. The basis of negotiation, so recently established by mutual consent, is there disclaimed, and, in its room, a principle clearly inadmissible is re-asserted as the only ground on which France can consent to treat: the very same principle which had been brought forward in reply to his Majesty's first overtures from Switzerland, which had then been rejected by his Majesty, but which now appears never to have been, in fact, abandoned by the government of France, however inconsistent with that on which they had expressly agreed to treat.

It is therefore necessary that all Europe should understand, that the rupture of the negotiation at Paris does not arise from the failure of any sincere attempt on the part of France, to reconcile, by fair discussion, the views and interests of the contending powers. Such a discussion has been repeatedly invited, and even solicited, on the part of his Majesty, but has been, in the first instance, and absolutely, precluded by the act of the French government.

It arises exclusively from the determination of that government to reject all means of peace—a determination which appeared but too strongly in all the preliminary discussions; which was clearly manifested in the demand of an ultimatum made in the very outset of the negotiation, but which is proved beyond all possibility of doubt by the obstinate adherence to a claim which never can be admitted—a claim that the construc-

tion which that government affects to put (though, even in that respect, unsupported by the fact) on the internal constitution of its own country, shall be received by all other nations as paramount to every known principle of public law in Europe, as superior to the obligations of treaties, to the ties of common interest, to the most pressing and urgent considerations of general security.

On such grounds it is that the French government has abruptly terminated a negotiation, which it commenced with reluctance, and conducted with every inclination to prevent its final success. On these motives it is, that the further effusion of blood, the continued calamities of war, the interruptions of peaceable and friendly intercourse among mankind, the prolonged distresses of Europe, and the accumulated miseries of France itself are by the government of that country to be justified to the world.

His Majesty, who had entered into the negotiation with good faith, who has suffered no impediment to prevent his prosecuting it with earnestness and sincerity, has now only to lament its abrupt termination; and to renew, in the face of all Europe, the solemn declaration, that, whenever his enemies shall be disposed to enter on the work of a general pacification, in a spirit of conciliation and equity, nothing shall be wanting on his part to contribute to the accomplishment of that great object, with a view to which he has already offered such considerable sacrifices on his part, and which is now retarded only by the exorbitant pretensions of his enemies.

Westminster, 27th Dec. 1798.

APPENDIX B.

Protest of Earl Fitzwilliam, against the Address of the House of Lords, to the Throne, on his Majesty's Speech, announcing the opening of a Negotiation for Peace with the French Republic.

DISSENTIENT,

1st. Because, by this address, amended as it stands, the sanction of the Lords is given to a series of measures, as ill-judged, with regard to their object, as they are derogatory from the dignity of his Majesty's Crown, and from the honour of this kingdom. The reiteration of solicitations for peace to a species of power, with whose very existence all fair and equitable accommodation is incompatible can have no other effect than that which it is notorious all our solicitation have hitherto had. They must increase the arrogance and ferocity of the common enemy of all nations; they must fortify the credit, and fix the authority of an odious government over an enslaved people; they must impair the confidence of all other powers in the magnanimity, constancy, and fidelity, of the British Councils; and it is much to be apprehended it will inevitably tend to break the spring of that energy, and to lower that spirit which has characterised, in former times, this high-minded nation; and which, far from sinking under misfortune,

has even risen with the difficulties and dangers in which our country has been involved.

2d. Because no peace, such as may be capable of recruiting the strength, economising the means, augmenting the resources, and providing for the safety of this kingdom; and its inseparable connections, and dependencies, can be had with the usurped power now exercising authority in France, considering the description, the character, and the conduct, of those who compose that government; the methods by which they have obtained their power, the policy by which they hold it, and the maxims they have adopted, openly professed, and uniformly acted on, towards the destruction of all governments not formed on their model, and subservient to their domination.

3d. Because the idea that this kingdom is competent to defend itself, its laws, liberties, and religion, under the general subjugation of all Europe, is presumptuous in the extreme, contradictory to the supposed motives for our present eager solicitations for peace, and is certainly contrary to the standing policy both of state and commerce, by which Great Britain has hitherto flourished.

4th. Because, while the common enemy exercises his power over the several states of Europe in the way we have seen, it is impossible long to preserve our trade, or, what cannot exist without it, our naval power. This hostile system seizes on the keys of the dominions of these powers, without any consideration of their friendship, their enmity, or their neutrality; prescribes laws to them as to conquered provinces; mulcts and fines them at pleasure; forces them, without any particular quarrel, into direct hostility with this kingdom, and expels us from such ports and markets as she thinks fit; insomuch that, Europe remaining under its present slavery, there is no harbour which we can enter without her permission, either in a commercial or a naval character. This general interdict cannot be begged off; we must resist it by our power, or we are already in a state of vassalage.

5th. Because, whilst this usurped power shall continue thus constituted, and thus disposed, no security whatever can be hoped for in our colonies and plantations, those invaluable sources of our national wealth, and our naval power. This war has shewn that the power prevalent in France, by intentionally disorganizing the plantation system, which France had in common with all other European nations; and, by inverting the order and relations therein established, has been able, with a naval force, altogether contemptible, and with very inconsiderable succours from Europe, to baffle, in a great measure, the most powerful armament ever sent from this country into the West Indies, and at an expence hitherto unparalleled; and has, by the force of example, and by the effects of her machinations, produced, at little or no expence to herself, either of blood or treasure, universal desolation and ruin, by the general destruction of every thing valuable and necessary for cultivation, throughout several of our islands, lately among the most flourishing and productive. The new system, by which these things have been effected, leaves our colonies equally endangered in peace as in war. It is, therefore, with this general system, of which the West India scheme is but a ramification, that all ancient establishments are essentially at war for the sake of self-preservation.

6th. Because it has been declared from the Throne, and, in effect, the principle has been adopted by Parliament, that there was no way likely to obtain a peace, commonly safe and honourable, but through the ancient and legitimate government long established in France. That government, in its lawful succession, has been solemnly recognized, and assistance and protection as solemnly promised to those Frenchmen who should exert themselves in its restoration. The political principle upon which this recognition was made, is very far from being weakened by the conduct of the newly-invented government. Nor are our obligations of good faith pledged on such strong motives of policy to those who have been found in their

allegiance dissolved, nor can they be so, until fairly-directed efforts have been made to secure this great fundamental point. None have yet been employed with the smallest degree of vigour and perseverance.

7th. Because the example of the great change made by the usurpation in the moral and political world, more dangerous than all her conquests, is, by the present procedure confirmed in all its force. It is the first successful example furnished by history of the subversion of the ancient government of a great country, and of all its laws, orders, and religion, by the corruption of mercenary armies, and by the seduction of a multitude bribed by confiscation to sedition, in defiance of the sense, and to the entire destruction of almost the whole proprietary body of the nation. The fatal effects of this example must be felt in every country. New means, new arms, new pretexts, are furnished to ambition; and new persons are intoxicated with that poison.

8th. Because our eagerness in suing for peace may induce the persons exercising power in France erroneously to believe, that we act from necessity, and are unable to continue the war; a persuasion which, in the event of an actual peace, will operate as a temptation to them to renew that conduct which brought on the present war, neither shall we have any of the usual securities in peace. In their treaties, they do not acknowledge the obligation of that law, which, for ages, has been common to all Europe. They have not the same sentiments, nor the same ideas, of their interest in the conservation of peace, which have, hitherto, influenced all regular governments; they do not, in the same manner, feel public distress, or the private misery of their subjects; they will not find the same difficulty, on the commencement of a new war, to call their whole force into sudden action, where, by the law, every citizen is a soldier, and the person, and properties, of all are liable, at once, to arbitrary requisitions. On the other hand, no attempt has been made to shew in what manner, whether

by alliances, by force, military or naval, or by the improvement and augmentation of our finances, we shall be better able to resist their hostile attempts, after the peace, than at the present hour. If we remain armed, we cannot reap the ordinary advantage of peace in œconomy; if we disarm, we shall be subject to be driven into a new war, under every circumstance of disadvantage, unless we now prepare ourselves to suffer, with patience and submission, whatever insults, indignities, and injuries, we may receive from that insolent, domineering, and unjust power.

9th. Because the inability of humbling ourselves again to solicit peace, in a manner which is a recognition of the French republic, contrary to all the principles of war, the danger of peace if obtained, the improbability of its duration, and the perseverance of the enemy throughout the interval of peace in their mischievous system, is not conjecture, but certainty. It has been avowed by the actual governors of France, at the very moment when they had before them our application for a passport. They chose that moment for publishing a State Paper, breathing the most hostile mind. In it they stimulate, and goad us by language the most opprobrious and offensive. They frankly tell us, that it is not our interest to desire peace, for that they regard peace only as the opportunity of preparing fresh means for the annihilation of our naval power. By making peace they do not conceal that it will be their object—"to wrest from us our maritime preponderancy; to re-establish what they invidiously call the freedom of the seas; to give a new impulse to the Spanish, Dutch, and French, marines; and to carry to the highest degree of prosperity the industry and commerce of those nations," which they state to be our rivals,—which they charge us with "unjustly attacking, when we can no longer dupe;" and which they throughout contemplate as their own dependencies, united in arms, and furnishing resources for our future humiliation and destruction. They resort to that well-known and

constant allusion of their's to ancient history, by which, representing " France as modern Rome, and England as modern Carthage," they accuse us of national perfidy, and hold England up as an object to be blotted out from the face of the earth. They falsely assert that the English nation supports, with impatience, the continuance of the war; and has extorted all his Majesty's overtures for peace " by complaints and reproaches;" and above all, not only in that passage, but, throughout their official note, they shew the most marked adherence to that insidious and intolerable policy of their system, by which they, from the commencement of the revolution, sought to trouble and subvert all the governments in Europe. They studiously disjoin the English nation from its Sovereign.

10th. Because, having acted, throughout the course of this awful and momentous crisis, upon the principles herein expressed; and after having, on the present occasion, not only fully reconsidered, and jealousy examined their soundness and validity, but gravely attended to, and scrupulously weighed the merits of all those arguments which have been offered to induce a dereliction of them; conscientiously adhering to, and firmly abiding by them, I thus solemnly record them, in justification of my own conduct, and in discharge of the duty I owe to my King, my Country, and general interests of civil Society.

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

APPENDIX C.

THOUGH a reference to the files of the Morning Chronicle, from the first dawn of the French revolution, to the day of this debate, would sufficiently justify this remark; yet it may not be wholly useless to exhibit a few proofs of its justice.—The Duke of Bedford, it has been seen, insisted on the *uniformity of its language* and conduct, during the period in question. Two or three extracts will suffice to prove the *correctness* of his Grace's assertion. “ In the dreadful scheme of requisition, which Mr. Pitt has resolved on, and which our representatives so cordially abet, no time is to be given for remonstrance. Our readers will see that it is to be hurried on with a degree of haste, almost unparalleled in the history of Finance. By the impediments which are flung in the way of meetings, IT IS UTTERLY IMPOSSIBLE for the people to meet and express their sentiments, in any way that can avail them on the occasion. If there was a single man in the country, who, in his heart, thought, that the PITT and GRENVILLE BILLS were constitutional measures; THIS PROOF of their operation, we think, will correct his error.” *Morning Chronicle, Thursday, Dec. 7, 1797.*

“ It is proper the people should know, that they are NOT PREVENTED by the PITT and GREENVILLE BILLS from meeting in the Old English constitutional manner, and to take into consideration the grievous nature, and alarming tendency, of the double, treble, and quadruple assessment with which they are threatened.” *Morning Chronicle, Monday, Dec. 11, 1797.*

“ The rich will not be affected by the assessed taxes— even should they be more than trebled, they would not be scratched by them.” M. C. Dec. 2.

“ The style of living, which our pride and vanity, our love of fashion, &c. has introduced, must now yield to the imperious law of necessity.” M. C. Dec. 2.

“ It exempts the absolutely poor, and those who are so in the next degree.” M. C. Dec. 2.

“ It is ridiculous to say, that the tax will not fall with the most merciless severity on the poor.” M. C. Dec. 11.

“ We recommend non-consumption agreements.”

“ We are afraid non-consumption agreements will become common.” M. C. Dec. 12.

“ Non-consumption agreements will be impracticable during the present year, &c.” M. C. Dec. 11.

If his Grace could descry *uniformity* in such language and conduct as this, (and many other instances of a similar nature might be adduced) he must have had not merely the faith which removes mountains, but the spirit which reconciles contradictions.

The Earl of Derby, it has been seen, asserted, that the *Morning Chronicle* was never employed to undermine the religious and civil establishments of the country, and that it was distinguished for its regard to the decencies of private life, and by its disdain of all scandal on individuals, &c. It will not be denied, that constant attempts to render religion itself an object of contempt and derision have a direct and necessary tendency to undermine every religious establishment. As to

its attacks on the *political* establishments, it would be an endless task to quote, or even to refer to, them. If, however, the Earl of Derby will turn over the pages of, "the spirit of the Public Journals for 1797," and read a dialogue, entitled, "*The Alarmists*," and an Address, "*To all the British dealers in blood and slaughter, who are under the rank of ensign*," he will find ample grounds for retracting this hasty and inconsiderate assertion. And, in the same collection, which is stocked with numerous extracts from the Morning Chronicle, his Lordship will see an Essay, called, "*The Cries of Bacchus*," in which the miracles of the holy founder of the christian faith are compared with those of the Pagan Deity!

When a solemn thanksgiving was ordered at St. Paul's, by our pious Sovereign, for the success of his arms, the Morning Chronicle was the first to ridicule this act of national devotion. "It is probable that the French will have a thanksgiving for their successes, on the same day as we have ours; they will beat us, however, for they have Robespierre's solemn thanksgiving for a model." Morn. Chron. Dec. 18, 1797. It must be remembered, that the Pagan Farce, which the Morning Chronicle here recommends to the imitation of Englishmen, was devised by the atheistical philosophers of revolutionary France, and the principal part in it performed by a naked prostitute, who personated the *Goddess of Reason*; while GOBET, the constitutional Bishop of Paris, attended by his Clergy, made a formal abjuration of the christian faith and worship; craving mercy of the nation "for having so long deceived them with the absurdities of the *Impositor CHRIST*, and his *pretended FATHER*, whose doctrines he now abjured with detestation and horror," promising thenceforth to acknowledge no other Deity than REASON.

On the 21st of December, the same paper ridiculed religion in the person of Mr. Wilberforce, who had recently published a book on the subject.

"Mr. Wilberforce would have been an admirable coadjutor to Oliver Cromwell, whose seeking the Lord was of

“ as much benefit to the country as Mr. Wilberforce's looking
“ into Jesus.”

Well might a contemporary writer, adverting to this paragraph, and others of a similar nature, say to the people of England, “ are they content to exchange rational liberty for anarchy, and the religion of their forefathers for atheism in its most horrid form? If so, they will do well to attend to these zealots of infidelity—these faithful copyists of the *Pere du Chesne*; they are the mouth pieces of the party, and they speak to us in thunder.”

But, to have written a book in favour of religion was a crime which the writers in this paper could neither forgive nor forget, it seems, for it made that gentleman the constant pretext for their attacks on religion

In the *Morning Chronicle* of January 8, (1798) after calling “ Church and King” a *scarecrow*, the same writer observes, “ Mr. Wilberforce was yesterday the most conspicuous figure “ in Hyde Park; the animal that bore him proceeded *with a “ stately and solemn pace*, as if conscious of being bestrode by “ a **GODLY** man.” Again, in the same paper—“ the esteem “ in which Mr. Wilberforce holds the cross of Christ, and the “ Treasury Bench, cannot be expressed in terms of sufficient “ admiration.” And, returning to the charge three days after, (January 11th) this writer observes, “ a correspondent “ cautions us against making a profane use of Mr. WILBER- “ FORCE's appearance on Sunday: that gentleman would not “ have been so **UNGODLY** as to gallop there without a sufficient “ reason. It was the fulfilment of some prophecy; and “ the horse he rode might be related to the White Horse “ of the Revelations.”

I must content myself with a mere reference to further specimens of this impious trash, to be found in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 16th, 18th, and 19th of January; and of the 10th and 20th of February, 1798. Here I shall again

use the words of that admirable writer, whose just sentiments, on this subject I have already quoted.

“ We entreat our readers to pause a moment in this place. They have seen a print, calling itself the *mouth-piece* of the PARTY, and, undoubtedly, speaking its sentiments;—after persisting, for years, in extenuating our successes, aggravating our misfortunes, and insulting our necessities; after reviling the whole system of our domestic economy, pouring every species of abuse on the mild and equitable distribution of justice here, and lavishing the most enthusiastic encomiums on the lawless and blood-stained tribunals of France,—they have seen it, we say, after all this, as if fearful that its detestable attempts might prove inadequate to the production of the great work of insurrection and murder, calling in the aid of *ATHEISM*, reviling the “*cross of Christ*,” and levelling its ridicule at the *CREATOR*, through the sides of a man who has no other claim to its abuse, than having written a book on the subject of religion.” Yes, and we have seen peers of the realm, sitting in their judicial capacity, vouching for the soundness of its principles, and the purity of its conduct;—we have seen men, whose word is equivalent to the oath of less dignified christians, assert that it contained nothing “to undermine either the civil or the religious establishments of the country!”

One word or two on its alleged “regard to the decencies of private life; its disdain of all scandal on individuals, and of licentious personalities.” In order to deter the women of Great Britain from contributing to the support of the country, at this most critical period of its history, the *Morning Chronicle* attacked, with the most malevolent indecency, a most respectable lady, who resided in the vicinity of the capital, for no other reason than that she was reported to have added her mite to the voluntary contributions at the Bank.

" The alarm among the fair sex happily subsides. It arose from the mistake of an elderly lady, who read, in a newspaper, that the French had ravished* (ravaged) all Europe." *Morning Chronicle*, January 29, 1798.

" The prostitutes of Jermyn Street have agreed to subscribe six nights to the cause of religion, because the end, as Mr. WILBERFORCE says, sanctifies the means." *Morning Chronicle*, February 20th.

The patriotic lady, who had given such mortal offence to this jacobin scribbler, was more pointedly attacked in various paragraphs, but, fortunately, without producing the desired effect. The only object, in extracting the few passages which have been quoted from the paper in question, is to shew what kind of *new* spirit had lately risen in the country, which Mr. Pitt had to encounter at this period; and farther, to demonstrate the excess to which the zeal, displayed by the leaders of the party, was carried; subduing alike all sense of public duty, all regard for truth, and all emotions of shame. Enough has been exhibited for this purpose, and the subject shall be dismissed in the words of a writer, who had viewed the licentious productions of the party with a more steady eye, a more correct judgment, and a more impartial mind, than were possessed by the noble persons whose notions of decency, propriety, consistency, and soundness of religious and political principles, have been here examined;—and who, in a solemn appeal to the people of England, on the danger of encouraging the circulation of such prints, briefly and aptly characterized them all, but more particularly that paper, which the leaders of the party in the House of Lords selected as the theme of their panegyric.

" ARE THEY HUSBANDS ?—Chastity is continually treated by these papers with contempt or ridicule. ARE THEY FATHERS ?—Youthful modesty is put to the blush by gross innuendoes, or downright indecencies, in every column. ARE THEY CHRISTIANS ?—REVELATION is an inexhaustible theme of

mirth ; the CROSS OF CHRIST is trampled on with savage exultation ; and to look upon it with respect, is said to qualify a man for the friendship of an usurper and a murderer. ARE THEY LOVERS OF THEIR KING ?—He is belied, and insulted in every page. OF THEIR COUNTRY ? It is invariably traduced, its constitution despised, its laws reviled, its power depreciated ; nay, (a circumstance till now unheard of) its fleets and armies declared to be without energy and without courage, and utterly incapable of facing an enemy whom they have scarce ever met but to defeat.*

* “ It will not require the efforts of France to disarm us. “ Disgraced as we are, every puny whipster may take our “ sword.” *Morning Chronicle*, February 8, 1798.

END OF VOL. V.

ERRATA TO VOL. V.

- Page. 9, line 5, from the bottom, for "*victis*," read *victis*.
— 26, — 8, for "they" read the French.
— 65, — 17, after "those," insert *to*.
— 74, — 15, for "would," read could.
— 97, — 11, for "mature," read native.
— 128, — 8, for "their," read this.
— 137, — 15, "for there," read these.
— 140, — 15, for "was," read were.
— 177, — 19, for "pass," read press.
— 208, — 16, for "Commons," read Councils.
— 237, — 21, for "has," read had.
— 309, note, line 10, for "nearly a fifth," read more than a fifth.
— 542, — 19, for "whom," read *which*.
— 551, — 19, after "Sages of," insert *the*.
— 553, — 2, for "Toentino," read Tolentino.
— 562, note, line 2, for "discribing," read describing.
— — — 4, for "Madowas," read *Madonnas*.