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A
CONTEMPORARY
VIEW
OF THE
NAPOLEONIC
WARS

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The Secretary would like to hear from members who are interested in local history and in the tape-recording of interviews with Labour movement veterans who have valuable experiences to relate.

FOREWORD

Frida Knight, the author of this pamphlet, is working on a full biography of William Frend. In this essay she publishes extensive quotations from Frend's writings during the period 1809-15, with just sufficient biographical material to explain Frend's background. As the author suggests, Frend's horror of war and the difficulty he found in judging between combatants has familiar echoes in our own day. This makes these contemporary comments of more than mere historical interest. Frend found it most difficult to weigh the merits of religious freedom which Napoleon brought - the restriction of the horrors of the Inquisition, for example - against the political tyranny which accompanied it.

Frend was capable of flashes of prophetic insight, as witness his remarks about future 'black universities' or the comment "to how great advantage human industry might be applied, when it has for its object the happiness not the destruction of mankind". He had an instinct that the future lay with the common people; this emerges in his comments on Spain and Latin America. He understood the force of popular nationalism, as his remarks on Norway reveal. It is hardly surprising that like many progressives he saw no potential for such developments in Czarist Russia, and reported Alexander I favourably.

It would, however, be anachronistic to expect from Frend, a Cambridge graduate and Anglican priest turned Unitarian, any real analysis of the deeper causes and trends in the Napoleonic Wars. What does emerge is his hatred of the senselessness, the wastefulness and the inhumanity of the war, and his contempt for the 'sagacious politicians', 'the congregated sovereigns .. little better than a set of bandits met together to divide their plunders'. Frida Knight has not attempted to omit those judgements of Frend which reveal him as less percipient. This is contemporary comment, not an anthology of anachronistic 'progressive' opinions.

A CONTEMPORARY VIEW OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

Frida Knight

The name of William Frend is today remembered, if at all, in two connections: as a crony of Charles Lamb, who wrote a nice verse playing on his name ("Frend of the friendless, friend of all mankind"), and as the defendant in the Vice-Chancellor's Court at Cambridge in 1793, where he was accused of writing a blasphemous and seditious pamphlet, found guilty of offending against university laws, and banished from the Alma Mater. The case aroused widespread indignation but the sentence was not surprising at that time, when Pitt's witch hunt of Radicals was at its height, and anyone who expressed anti-war views, as Frend emphatically did, was treated as a traitor.

William Frend deserves, however, to be rescued from oblivion for other reasons. He was a good mathematician, economist, astronomer, a fervent educationalist, and a fighter for Reform throughout his long life; his passion

for social justice and international understanding are revealed in his many letters, recently unearthed, which range from 1784 to 1840 and show that he was actively involved in almost all the good causes of his day.

Frend was the son of a respectable wine merchant, twice Mayor of Canterbury, who wanted him to enter the family business. Frend junior however insisted on going to study at Cambridge with a view to entering the Church - which he did, but only for a short four years. While preaching and running his church and Sunday School at Madingley village, Frend gave deep thought to the current dispute over the rights of Dissenters, and to doctrinal questions. He came to the conclusion that Dissenters were being treated extremely unfairly, and that much of the current orthodox dogma was unacceptable to a logical, rational mind.

After much heart-searching he became a Unitarian, resigning his living and risking his position at Jesus College. After his first anti-Trinitarian pamphlet the Master of the college refused to let him continue as Tutor. Frend persisted in writing pamphlets and joined the local Radical circle, throwing himself into their activities against the Slave Trade, for Dissenters' rights, and for Parliamentary Reform. It was his pamphlet on Reform, entitled "Peace and Union recommended", which caused the furor in the University, mainly because of the impassioned plea for peace in the appendix.

When "banished" from Cambridge in the autumn of 1793, Frend went to live in London, making ends meet by teaching and writing books on algebra and economics; he took up political activity, helping Francis Place who was organising the London Corresponding Society. The L.C.S. had revived, after a bad spell during the treason trials of 1792-94, and was holding many meetings, spreading anti-war propaganda, and forming new groups up and down the country. When the Society was suppressed by the Act of 1796 "against publication of anti-patriotic ideas" many members were arrested and jailed; Frend worked energetically to collect money for these prisoners and their almost destitute families. A collecting sheet which survives shows that among those he approached for contributions were such prominent people as Whitbread, Lord Grey, Rutt (Priestley's biographer) and Horne Took, with whom he was on familiar terms. He led a full social life, counting among his many friends the Lambs, Holbrook, the Milbankes, the Lindseys, and many more Unitarian and radical intellectuals.

At the turn of the century, the political stream grew sluggish; it was a wartime period; the country felt, or appeared to feel, itself threatened by an invasion from France. A wave of patriotism swept England, and all remnants of reforming zeal temporarily disappeared from the scene. Frend dropped out of political activity and concentrated on his teaching (one of his pupils was Lord Oxford's son, another was Annabella Milbanke, the future Lady Byron) and on his work. In 1806 he became an Actuary for the newly founded Rock Insurance Company, and in 1808 married Miss Blackburne, daughter of the celebrated Archdeacon, who bore him seven children.

Although Frend had little time for public work, he managed to keep up with current affairs, and was given an assignment on the Unitarian periodical "The Monthly Repository": this was the regular production of a several

thousand-word "Christian's Survey of the Modern World". The job demanded a vast amount of news coverage: Frensd wrote about everything he considered important or interesting - the war, the national economy, religion, culture, not only in Europe, but all over the world - India, China, South America - presenting this as news, but from a very definite and individual viewpoint.

Usually the main subject of the Survey was the state of the Napoleonic Wars. These began in 1803, after a short-lived peace following the previous hostilities, and continued for 12 years, during which Frensd commented month in, month out, on every important event, explaining, lamenting, fulminating, sometimes prophesying. This was a quite remarkable achievement: the articles still strike one by their sense of urgency, their atmosphere; reading them one has the feeling that these things might be happening now (and indeed very similar things are); for this, as well as for their historic interest, it is perhaps worth following Frensd over these dramatic and painful years.

Before the series started the French navy had been defeated by Nelson at Trafalgar; Napoleon had won a resounding victory over Austria and Russia at Austerlitz (1805) and in 1806 defeated the Prussians at Jena. In 1808 Spain was invaded by French troops, in order to maintain Napoleon's brother Joseph on the throne in Madrid - the beginning of the six years' Peninsular War; the "Continental System" had been imposed by Napoleon, whose armies were at the ready all over Europe.

From then on Frensd was busy with his pen, describing the course of campaigns, the diplomatic exchanges, the front line and the rear; but the hauptmotif in his Survey, month after month, through the long years from Walcheren to Waterloo, was condemnation of War itself; while recognising the economic reasons for it, he refused to accept it as a method of settling human disputes. Time and time again, he exclaims against the slaughter and the waste, imploring Europe's leaders to make peace.

A typical comment, in May 1809, during the advance of Napoleon's armies across Southern Germany, after the battle of Wagram, was: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the earth - Oh, that this verse were made the text for every church in Christendom, till mankind were brought to a due sense of the value of human life!

"How dignified does man appear when we view him as a rational being!

"How is he degraded when influenced only by brutal passion and destroying human life with the ingenuity that might be employed to so much better purpose! ... The plains of Bavaria have been drenched in blood. A most horrible carnage has been made. The destroying angel has mown down ranks of men, and when inquisition is made for blood, to whose account shall it be laid? Both sides cannot be right: where are the preachers of peace and goodwill towards men? Why is it that we call ourselves Christians and yet suffer ourselves to be led away with similar passions as laid waste the heathen world?

"... Austria has published a long manifesto in justification of her conduct, and the French Emperor has laid before the world the ground of his proceedings. Who shall decide between them? Will the blood of 100,000 men, the burning of

cities, the murders of women and children make the question clearer? Horrible thought! In this age of the world, are men to be taught the first rudiments of humanity?"

Of the invasion of Spain, he wrote (March 1809) "War has reigned triumphant in all its horrors ... new scenes of devastation are bursting open to the view..." Of the Siege of Saragossa: "To what purpose... is this desolation and this waste of human blood ...?"

Another recurrent theme is the "evil influence" of Roman Catholicism, which led Frend to support Napoleon's bids for power in Italy and Spain. When Joseph was installed on the throne in Madrid, the Survey half-grudgingly marvels at the resistance put up by the "priest-ridden" Spanish people: "... The natural love of independence will go a great way" and "when it is aided by the powers of superstition the mind is raised to a degree of rage and strength ... the priests bring forth their idols and their wafer gods to inspirit the populace..."

Napoleon's enlightened ideas of civil government were more acceptable to Frend than those of the deposed Spanish regime, which a British expeditionary force was sent to restore. "The Inquisition is destroyed", he exclaims with evident satisfaction early in 1809: "The country was over-run by a set of lazy idle priests who batted on its wealth ... A Spaniard will no longer be forced to fall down on his knees to dressed up dolls, and the various abominations of a popish church ..." Frend hoped, evidently, that the Spanish people would, once arms were in their hands, throw off both the religious and the foreign oppressors: Speaking of "the regeneration of Spain", he added that "Spain exhibits at the present moment a wonderful sight, a nation in arms to recover its liberties." (August 1809)

Frend's anti-catholicism came out, too, in approval of Napoleonic measures in Italy. "An order has been issued by the French general for the cardinals to quit Rome ... The pretended holy father was terribly alarmed ... God grant that his tyranny may not again revive! ... that his pretences at infallibility may become the laughing stock of all mankind." However his hopes were disappointed: in August, encouraged by the appearance of the British fleet off Naples, "the Pope excommunicated his enemies, refusing to take Bonaparte's offer of a very liberal allowance ... emboldened by the appearance of British troops in the Bay of Naples and troops landed in Calabria."

"If our troops succeed, the inhabitants must expect the return of their former monarch" Frend said regretfully, "and the restoration of the Lazaroni."

He did not disguise his hopes of Napoleon clearing the world of Papacy and other "superstitious religions." "Having freed Spain from its horrid inquisition, its priests and its monks, he may probably lower the crescent of Mahomet and rescue the Greek church from the tyranny of its masters and its own vile superstitions." (June 1809)

THE WALCHEREN EXPEDITION

In the autumn of 1809 Frennd was writing of events nearer home, which led to happenings in which he was personally involved, and which arose from the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, in July of that year.

The July survey described how the British militarists were setting out to intensify (today we should say escalate) the war on northern Europe. In August Frennd described the results of their misguided policy, --the bombardment and destruction of Flushing. His description and comments seem worth reproducing, in view of certain similarities with events of our own day:--

"... The fire was occasioned by the most tremendous cannonading and showers of rockets from several posts at a small distance from the town. The distress of the inhabitants cannot be conceived but by those who were eye-witnesses of it. Ye mothers who have children at the breast, ye fathers who have reared a youth to the hopes of manly perfection, ye may feel for the widows and orphans that this fire has made.

"Driven from their houses by the falling of the roofs and walls, death seized them in the streets: his winged messengers flew to their prey in every direction. The noise of the cannon, the crash of houses, the bursting of bombs, the screams of the women and children, struck horror in every breast for two nights and a day. At last a solemn pause ensued interrupted only by sobs and sighs and groans; here a mother was binding up the mangled limbs of the child that had just learned to form the accents of pleasure, now turned into those of unutterable woe; there a father was digging out of the ruins his half-expiring son; the husband was searching for his bride, and the old man, stupefied with horror, was contemplating the wreck of all his family. Such were the calamities occasioned by this tremendous fire, but the great improvements that have been made in our days, in the awful work of destruction. Such are the scenes produced by war...

"Lamentable state of the human race! Yet cannot it always remain so, and in spite of the infidelity of the present day, we look forward to the time when reason shall have its due influence with mankind, and bending their knees devoutly to the God of Love they will prove their love to him by loving their brethren.

"In that case, differences of opinion will be softened by other modes than that of force: and the instruments of destruction will be converted to their proper purpose, the subduing of the earth to the benefit of mankind.

"We enter not into the necessity of the destruction which has taken place, in which our brave soldiers and sailors can feel like ourselves; but we will soothe the distempered mind by the hopes of better days, by the assurances that war and tumult cannot last for ever. Who that looks on the destruction of Flushing and the noble road cut through the Alps by the Duke of Savoy would not wish that the money and labour employed to overthrow the works of human industry ... were expended in giving facility to the nobler exertions of peace..."

Frend says that the reason for the operation was that "We want to control the Scheldt, but the French are probably well prepared now." The advantages were negligible: "We may stop trade with Antwerp and keep Walcheren, but little more."

In October we learn that "... all the intelligende from Walcheren is of so melancholy a nature that such an attempt (of Buonaparte's to dislodge us from his coasts) is greatly to be dreaded. Sickness has made terrible havoc with our troops ... Shiploads came away from the place; but the number of graves in the island, filled by the English, will make their descent remembered to the latest generations."

For the epidemics, Frend blames "the autumnal rains, but much more, the water being drunk without any preparation, and the spirits, which were very cheap, unmixed ... The unripe fruit with which the orchards were full, and the clothing not being adapted to the climate."

SCANDAL AT HOME

The monthly column reflected public opinion as well as informing it; it was generally felt that the expedition had been an unmitigated catastrophe, and the government were to blame. Frend wrote, voicing the prevailing disquiet, that Walcheren was "the consequence of measures of men that would fill up the peerage in reward of useless victories, and send out forces to treacherous or unwilling allies..." The defeat was due to "ignorance, imbecility, bigotry", Whitbread had said, and Frend concurred.

The revelation of corruption and incompetence in high places, clearly connected with military inefficiency, led to a major scandal: it was discovered that the Duke of York's mistress was giving away posts in the army, and there was a great hullabaloo. Whig members of Parliament demanded an inquiry into the Walcheren disaster and its causes, and government refusal to allow public airing of the matter led to a protest by a young Radical, Gale Jones, organiser of a local Debating Society. For placarding his protest around Westminster, Jones was arrested and imprisoned. This started the "Burdett Affair", which Frend reported in much detail, as he was a personal friend of "the Baronet" and followed the events very closely indeed.

Sir Francis Burdett, the highly popular Member for Westminster, took up Jones' case and published a strong letter in Cobbett's Weekly Register, for which he was ordered, by a very small majority of the House of Commons, to be arrested for contempt of Parliament, and taken to the Tower.

This was only achieved after several days of mass demonstrations in Piccadilly outside Burdett's house, from which he refused to move, and much skirmishing between thousands of his constituents and the militia. A vast concourse of people followed the prison coach to the Tower, and rioting, countered by shooting, resulted in several deaths. The Baronet was held for three months and released when Parliament rose in June. He evaded the huge demonstration organised for him by Francis Place, slipping out by a back door and going home in a boat up the river. Frend, who visited him constantly in prison, and was with him in the boat, wrote it all up vividly and in great

detail in the Monthly Surveys of May and July.

EUROPEAN TRUCES AND TREATIES

Though closely watching home affairs, Frennd kept up with events in Europe. "The treaty of peace between Austria and France has been ratified and published", he writes in the issue of November 1809, and examines the clauses, concerning himself with the fate not only of Austria but of the German states of Wirtembergh, Saxony, Tyrol ("the unfortunate Tyrols have not yet submitted to their fate; they are still in arms, in their fastnesses in the mountains..."), of Sweden ("tranquillising itself - the late king and family are expected to be transported to France"). Russia "has sufficient employment with its newly acquired possessions in Finland and Poland and with the war in Turkey".

In December, still commenting on the treaties being signed in Paris, Frennd notes "the splendour of the city." He says, "from the number of kings at Paris great expectations are formed of new arrangements. Holland are to lose their king and to form a part of the kingdom of France." He thinks "the laws suited for the phlegm of a Hollander will be little adapted to the vivacity of a Provencal..."

SPANISH WAR

While uneasy peace prevailed in northern Europe, the Peninsular war intensified. "Spain is now the most interesting spot of Europe (December 1809) and the news from that country is of a melancholy nature to all the supporters of the Junta." In January 1810, "All Europe is expecting the moment of Buonaparte's departure from Paris, the consequent annihilation of the Junta and the arrangement of the peninsula." In February 1810, the Junta was reported broken. In Frennd's view, "the Spanish have redeemed their character by burning down the Inquisition at Valladolid. The inhabitants ... rejoiced at the destruction of the abominable building and its horrible engines of torture. Portugal is still free (and being used as a British base) but if the prejudices of the old government are persisted in, if their priestcraft and monkery and Inquisition remain in their ancient force, we may prognosticate little energy in defence of the country..."

Frennd proved a poor prophet as concerned the Junta; in March he wrote, "the fate of Spain is not completely settled ... the junta and the English never offered any terms which could rouse a people to the exertions which the nature of the combat required." In May, "Spain has not yet submitted entirely to the Napoleon dynasty ... (though) the Spaniard will be little likely to sigh for the return of a Bourbon to carry him back to his former bigotry and slavery..."

In June, "Napoleon's views towards Spain have not yet been realised ... Massena is marching into Portugal with a great army": and in July, there are "surmises of an engagement between the troops under Lord Wellington and those under Massena. The dreadful battle has by this time probably been fought." September: "the peninsula is torn to pieces by petty warfare ...

with the loss of innumerable lives on both sides ... all eyes are turned to the armies under Wellington and Massena ... Englishmen view with trembling anxiety the fate of Portugal." Frend added, "the Spaniards have been everywhere almost successful against the French." The December Survey laments: "Spain and Portugal still present a scene of horror to every civilised mind. Destruction follows the steps of the great armies and innumerable guerillas ... In Portugal the hostile forces are facing each other ..."

At a time of widespread horror, Frend found the news from Spain particularly harrowing: "nothing", he wrote at the beginning of 1811, "can be more afflicting to a well-bred mind"; "... Spain and Portugal continue to present such horrors as could not exist in a christianised world. Vast districts have been laid waste, and fire and the sword have destroyed populous cities and villages with their inhabitants. Such is the fate of war, that is of the folly and the wickedness of man..."

Deriving some small comfort from the fact that "the Peninsula is in such a state that a new order must take place, the old system cannot be restored", Frend describes Massena's defeat and retreat in almost biblical terms: "He carried with him havock and desolation; and the land through which he passed must long mourn his progress..."

WAR IN THE NEAR EAST

In May 1810, Frend warned of a Russian advance against the Turkish Empire. "... the disturbed state of Turkey is the reason ... it will be an extending phenomenon if the Austrian and Turkish Dominions should be dismembered at the same time. There is space between the Danube and the Grecian part of the Mediterranean for the erection of new Kingdoms ... a Russian may be seated on the throne of Constantinople. The times team with prodigious events, and a great conflict must be endured before Greece is restored to the civilised world..."

Later in 1810 while there was relative peace in northern Europe, and guerilla war was beginning in Spain, Frend noted (September) that "Russians and Turks were making preparations for a most destructive warfare;" The Russians "are preparing all their strength to drive the vizier's army out of Bulgaria and to compel him to retire behind Adrianople; should they succeed in this effort a most bloody battle will be fought in the beginning of next year to determine the fate of the Turkish Empire in Europe. The Grand Seignior has called upon all the faithful to come forward and promises to be himself at their head. In consequence, immense bodies are pouring out of Asia ... But the sons of Othman are no longer an object of terror; they have gone back in military discipline, while the Russians have been improving..." "In every Mosque in Europe and that owes his sway in Asia, the Grand Seignior's proclamation is read and the Imams are ordered to dilate on the necessity of the call ... The Koran and the Gospel have been equally brought forth to summon combatants to the field..." (October 1811).

War, inevitably, broke out, and in Frend's words in November "continues to rage with great violence in the Turkish provinces". Similarly, in December,

"the Turkish provinces of Europe continue to feel all the horrors of war. Immense armies are ravaging them, for it is doubtful from whom they receive the greatest injuries, their friends or their enemies." Turkish armies "are said to amount to 400,000 men, and Russians to about half that number ... but the numbers are little better than an armed rabble ... It is rumoured that peace is likely to be obtained, on the Turks ceding Wallachia and Bulgaria to their enemy."

A month later Frensd wrote about the sack of Constantinople: "... A scene of most dreadful disorder. Insurrection among the Janissaries was quelled by an immense slaughter; ten thousand fallen in battle only in the streets and three thousand by the hands of the executioner; the Grand Seignior compelled to quit his seraglio."

"The great results expected by the sovereign at the head of his troops have fallen to the ground, and (it seems) the Russians will not be compelled by the vizier to quit their present quarters. It is said, however, that negotiations for peace are carried on, and that the war will terminate without any decisive impression on the Turkish empire. But ... a victorious army (of the Grand Seignior) has marched from Damascus to enter in triumph into Grand Cairo."

WARTIME TRADE

Early in 1810 Frensd commented on the peaceful progress of French industry and commerce. He clearly had a grudging admiration for Napoleon's efficiency. He had already noted in April 1809 France's internal quiet and "tranquillity." "Arts, sciences and manufactures flourish; and the utmost encouragement is given by government to every exertion that can promote the prosperity of the country."

In January 1810 the Survey remarks on "Buonaparte's great works" abroad, as well as in France, particularly in the shipbuilding stimulated in Holland. Frensd sighs for such commercial/industrial co-operation in peacetime: "Let us hope that the destructive spirit of warfare may not last for ever: that nations which from their proximity are formed to assist each other, may forget the barbarous language of being natural enemies; that they may consider to how great advantage human industry might be applied, when it has for its object the happiness not the destruction of mankind."

In the meanwhile, the warring nations' trade declined; there were contradictions which Frensd comments on sardonically: "The port of London is filled with French corn, French wine, and French brandies, and what is more, the manufacturers of silk in this country find it necessary to enter into an association to prevent the introduction of French silks, which would destroy their trade."

Trade, however, he reflects "is a thing which cannot be forced and will break through every obstacle." (June 1810) But things were serious and British government measures were inadequate or worse. In September 1810 we read "At home, distresses and the failure of the banks have produced much inquiry into the real state of the country and how far it has been influenced by the

change made in our system when paper money was substituted for gold... The injury done to the country by paper money has been very great..."

In November: "Melancholy have been the failures in trade. They have spread great alarm, but it begins to subside. The stoppage of country banks must be productive of great evils..." Not only in England, either: "The Dutch are in the greatest distress from the restraints on commerce ... Denmark is in a perilous state from the march of French troops through its territories. Germany's commerce was suffering "from the seizure of goods at Frankfurt and Leipsic, and similar violence has been committed throughout Switzerland."

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Frend followed events in the Americas, North and South, with far-sighted interest and related them to the situation in Europe: "One result of the Spanish troubles," he writes in August 1810, "...will be the independence of the Spanish colonies. The South Americas will begin to make a figure upon the globe. They will carry on an extensive commerce ... introduce new ideas, new competitions. Happy will it be for them if they establish the liberty of the press, destroy the Inquisition, emancipate themselves from priestcraft, and make themselves a proper use of the rich and fertile country. The benefits to Europe are incalculable, if we leave them to themselves and are contented with the advantages of trade..."

Again: "... Caraccas, in a very spirited manifesto, have declared their independence. Peru is, we believe, prepared to follow ... Various extensive dominions may be formed from the Spanish possessions in America. Buenos Ayres seems to be calculated for the capital of a great country extending from the borders of Peru to the Southern cape. Peru will be a great empire. Mexico will have the pre-eminence in the northern states. New kingdoms and republics may arise.

The various interests of the old inhabitants, the descendants of the Spanish settlers and the native Spaniards will give rise to various competitions and combinations ... With prudence on the part of Great Britain, a very extensive field is open for its commerce." (July 1810) And in December, he wrote even more hopefully: "An enlarged policy is requisite in the rising countries of America, which, when liberty and civilisation have quitted Europe, will hold out very different views of government and religion to ... our dark ages."

Frend was, however, disappointed by developments in the United States, from which he and other British radicals had hoped so much. The Americans, it appeared in 1810, were just as foolish and greedy as other men. There was an incident between British and American ships in June, and the July Survey comments: "War desolates the finest regions in Europe. The passion of man may extend the evil, and we look with fear and trembling on a transaction ... on the Atlantic."

At the beginning of 1811, Frend expressed the hope that "North America, where everywhere improvements are going on, and gaining daily new victories

over uncultivated plains and deserts" would not decide to go to war. In April, war had still not be declared: "The more time consumed in deliberation the better" says Frennd. "Anything is better than war, of which one year will consume all the advantages of two years' peace." After an exchange of shots between ships of the two navies the Survey appeals for moderation: "The demon of war would instantly suggest the dishonour ... of such an insult. But if the insult can be repaired ... without sending thousands upon thousands prematurely to the awful account, why should the sword be drawn and the scabbard thrown away?"

A month later, in August, Frennd wrote: "No war yet with America: every month of peace is a joyful acquisition, and we hope we shall every month announce the same good news ... We cannot see any good reason for the two nations fighting, though plausible pretences in abundance will be found on either side, whenever they choose to unsheathe the sword ... In America, as well as England, there are a sufficient number of malignant spirits to stir up contention, who care not for the life of man or the ruin they cause to the peaceful manufacturer, agriculturist and the merchant."

In May 1812 he was writing "the U.S.A. hold a menacing posture, yet we are still in hope that we shall not come to blows ..." but in July (1812) Congress declared for war. Frennd lamented (August 1812) "We had flattered ourselves that the U.S. would have continued to reserve themselves from those calamities and those horrors which war ... brings in its train. We will allow them causes of complaint, but what do they all amount to, compared with the mischiefs of a single campaign? ... Congress has thought otherwise and they now appeal to the mouth of the cannon to decide their difficulties ... They cannot meet us on the seas; they have no ships of the line to cope with ours. Their war can only be of a predatory nature ... They are also to direct their efforts against the Canadas; here they may produce the usual devastation and distress..."

The hostilities broke out in August, and lasted two years. They were due to the searching of U.S. ships by the British and to the ambitions of American frontiersmen to seize land from the Indians and the British. American forces invaded Canada but were repulsed. The British won control of the sea and marched on Washington where they burned the White House. But neither side gained decisive advantage, and pre-war conditions were restored after the Treaty of Ghent in 1814.

NAPOLEON VERSUS RUSSIA

To return to Europe, in 1811. It was a year of inconclusive and bloody campaigns, in Spain and in South-East Europe. In September Frennd wrote that "The Russians have been driven back across the Danube and the Mussulmen are triumphant to the South of the river."

In October 1811, "the Turks have crossed the Danube ... There is to be no peace till Moldavia and Wallachia are restored ... The greater the success of the Turks, who are supposed to be our Allies, the worse will it be for us in another respect, for the Russians ... cannot possibly return to an alliance with us and expose themselves to the indignation of the French Emperor."

The whole strength of the Russian Empire will be brought forward in this horrible conflict, which, we fear, will be one of the most sanguinary that even the wretched time in which we live has exhibited ..."

Frend saw that Napoleon was bent on the conquest of all Europe and would sooner or later move against Russia, whose difficulties would assist his plans. "Rumours continue of a rupture between France and Russia", reports the Survey, in February 1812. In March we read of Napoleon's plans for conscription. "All young (French) men between 20 and 26 are to ... form an army of 100,000 men, to be incamped in various parts of the empire, to be ready to march to any part of it where their services are required. The remainder of the men between 26 and 60 are to be regularly disciplined in regiments at home for the entire defence of the country." Frend adds that "rumour says Russia will be the object, or Sweden." "The sword will thus be sent through the earth ... Wherever Napoleon orders his troops to march, devastation accompanies their career." It was some slight consolation to the writer "that the time is approaching for the overthrow of the Mahometan superstition, and Buonaparte may be a great instrument in the hand of Providence to effect its destruction." The Greeks, he reflects "cannot be worse off under a French than the Turkish Yoke." (March 1812)

By April 1812, the French had overrun Prussia, "but they are received there as friends. The King proclaims them such, received them in his capital as such, lodges their generals in palaces and gave them royal entertainment. His troops are enrolled with those of the great nation ... But the unfortunate sovereign has no means of resisting the torrent. His royal existence depends on the nod of the mighty Emperor ... The war between the Turks and Russians is thus held in suspense ... Austria is to be cordially united with France in its new undertaking, and the two emperors are to meet to plan a new division of territory. So the mighty ones of the earth go on their accustomed course, and the reign of peace is retarded. But as light overcame the primeval darkness, so shall a new state arise, in which the heroes and great men of the present day will be considered in no better light than boxers and prize-fighters."

In May, the chief feature was "the journey of Buonaparte from Paris to join his armies on the Vistula. The Russians are prepared to receive him, and by (next month) some important news of this grand conflict may be expected ... The great conqueror looks for success to the number and excellence of his troops, and apparently little hopes can be entertained from a feeble monarch and a feeble administration."

That summer there was an earthquake in Caraccas, which aroused much sympathy in England. Frend wrote, comparing the 5000 earthquake deaths with the contemporary battlefields, "Think ye who contemplate with horror the rare instance of destruction by nature, and are shocked at the act of one assassin, reflect on the carnage of a battle, and weep for the fallen state of human nature." He goes on, more prosaically, to report the state of preparedness of the opposing French and Russian armies. "The numerous legions of Buonaparte are now with him on the borders of Russia, penetrating probably those inhospitable regions ..."

Politicians are not without hopes that here at least Buonaparte may be foiled and his army conquered, not by the sword but by famine." (June 1812)

The following number explained the reasons for the Franco-Russian war: the Emperor Alexander "would not be subservient to all Buonaparte's views, and he was to be humbled. For this purpose, troops were marched from all directions to the Vistula and laws are to be divulged to the semi-barbarians of the north by the cannon's mouth."

Frend speculates as to how far Sweden and England can assist Russia. "Time will show; but Buonaparte cannot have laid his plans with his usual prudence if he does not finish the campaign before either of the other powers can interfere, with any effect." It is surprising that the French emperor "should be able to go so many hundred miles from his own capital without fear of internal commotion." (July)

In August, "Buonaparte has placed himself advantageously on the frontiers of Russia. He has seized that part of Poland which Russia in so barbarous a manner tore away from its ancient rulers." Frend made some tentative guesses as to the course of events: "Buonaparte's army is posted along the Dwina and the country between it and the Beristhena ... There is reason to believe that the resistance of the Russians is greater than he expected and may prevent his progress to any great distance into the interior of the country. It is supposed to be his object to march to Moscow, and the liberty granted to the peasants of Lithuania will be extended to the boors of Russia ... The Russian is ignorant, barbarous, uncivilised, incapable perhaps of appreciating the value of the gift offered to him, and France may be foiled in her attempt." It is strange, that a man of Frend's political understanding should have so underestimated the importance of national independence! "... The emperor of Russia is at the head of an immense army. The depots of ammunition and provisions deployed by him are vast, and by means of our ships, great quantities have been preserved, laid up in the maritime towns on the Baltic. The English and Russians now act amicably together, and Sweden is joined in a firm alliance with them."

From Sweden, "a great diversion is expected by the landing of a large body of troops in what was called Southern Pomerania ... In the last French bulletin there is talk of the troops being led into quarters for refreshment, and if so they may have to dread the attacks of the Russians, in which case the assistance of the Swedes will be of no small importance."

Frend was as much outraged by Russian religious superstitions as he had been over those of Spain. Writing on "the debasement in religious matters" of Russia, he mentions "the consecrated image of the holy Sergius" given by the Archbishop of Moscow to the Emperor, who had handed it over "to the armed population of Moscow", saying "May the holy protector obtain their victory" through his intercession before the throne of God." Frend's comment: "However much this country may deplore the success of Napoleon, no one can hesitate in rejoicing that the chains of so disgraceful and base a superstition should be broken."

In September he writes: "The great conqueror is advancing with rapidity towards Moscow. The last bulletin states that his army has reached Hasma.In the way, the town of Smolensko has been laid in ashes in the sight of the two armies, between which there was a very sharp conflict, and the Russians were defeated ... the guns of the French were playing upon the town, spreading fire and desolation in every quarter, and the ravages of the flames were increased by the Russians themselves when they found they were obliged to quit the place.

"The city is represented to have exhibited to the armies a sight similar to that of Vesuvius during an irruption to the inhabitants of Naples. Ye who have husbands, wives, parents, children, friends and relations, conceive to yourselves a moment a city in flames and a shower of balls falling in every direction upon the devoted inhabitants ... Little do the men of this world accustom themselves to contemplate war in its true aspect. The proud trappings of an army dazzle the sight, but we do not think of the shrieks of the dying virgin, the wailings of the orphan, the groans of the wounded. ... A fine town is erased from the catalogue of cities. It is no longer of use but in a military point of view ... It serves as a depot for ammunition and its palaces are converted into hospitals. How many towns and villages must share the same fate before the ambition of the conqueror is gratified?"

We are informed that the Emperor of Russia and the Crown Prince of Sweden are discussing a diversion by the Swedish army. "Time will discover the result of this interview but in the meanwhile the French Emperor will have obtained Moscow, in spite of the holy image of Sergius ..." (September 1812)

Frend opens his account of the burning of Moscow with a heartfelt cry: "Horror upon horrors! Battles, murders, conflagrations call for the deepest feelings of sorrow on the one hand, whilst painted dolls and infatuated superstitions and blasphemous invocations excite on the other contempt and indignation.

"Smolensko had exhibited a scene which harrowed up the soul. From this place the conqueror marched in the utmost confidence of victory to the entrenched camp of the Russians at Moskwa, about 70 miles from Moscow.

"A battle of two days (Borodino) decided the contest, a murderous battle which, dreadful as have been those which this age has witnessed, exceeds them all in the horrid work of war, in carnage and destruction. The Russians fled in every direction and left the road open to Moscow. The conqueror lost no time, and a few days after was seated in the Kremlin, the interior of the city, a fortress like the seraglio, that was the ancient seat of empire ...

"What resistance was made in the taking of the city, we know not; but the barbarians who were conquered executed a plan which will hold them up to the detestation of the civilised world and of all posterity. The erections of Moscow are chiefly of wood; and they have a market there for wooden houses. Many

of their streets have also wood instead of stone for their pavement. Scarcely was the conqueror lodged in the Kremlin when the town around him was fired in every direction by (Russians) appointed for this purpose. All the engines had previously been removed, and the destructive element had unlimited sway for several days.

"The greater part of this unhappy city was thus reduced to ashes: the Kremlin alone, separated by high walls from the rest of the town, remained unhurt; and the barbarians who had devised the plan had thus the pitiful satisfaction of knowing that they had produced infinitely more misery than the conqueror ever intended: that they had rendered the city in great measure useless to him; and that if their arms should by the fortune of war be successful, they would find their capital destroyed by their own folly, their own wicked and murderous hands."

There was, Frensd said, a great deal of confusion surrounding the situation, and many conflicting reports as to the movements of the French. One amusing piece of news came through from the South of Russia where "the Persians have obtained a victory over our Russian ally, chiefly in consequence of the skill of the British officers there who had not heard of the change of affairs in Europe." "England is now zealous in support of those barbarians with whom a few months ago it was in open hostilities. So fickle, so changeable are worldly politics!"

In November's issue, Napoleon's retreat from Moscow is vividly described, and the following months' Surveys follow the French army's course, "pursued by numerous hordes of Russians and Cossacks", subsequently joined by the "Confederates." Bonaparte is reported to have arrived at, and left, Dresden by August 1813, and in October to have fought the Battle of Leipsig, with "the loss of an immense number of men, nearly all his ammunition, guns and baggage ... With the wreck of his army, between 70 and 80,000 men (having lost 60,000) he made the best of his way back towards France." Frensd points out that the wars were by no means over: the Confederates were also suffering severe losses, and Napoleon had introduced conscription and raised 300,000 soldiers apparently willing to continue the fight."

At the end of 1812 Europe was in a state of flux. The sight of Napoleon's armies in retreat from Moscow must have caused considerable confusion in the minds of the peoples who had begun to think of French power as infallible. But there was no proof that France was finally beaten, even in Spain, where the tide seemed to have turned against her, thanks to Wellington and to the Spanish Guerillas (enlisted, Frensd noted in June, in British regiments). The British had entered Madrid in September, but evacuated it again in October. Frensd gloomily reported the Prince Regent's promises to "defend and maintain the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, without permitting any other in Spain." His comments sum up, and partly explain, some of his previous pro-Bonaparte opinions: "Adieu to all hopes ... Better to be under the severest yoke of political tyranny with religious freedom, than to enjoy the utmost possible civil liberty under such an abominable ecclesiastical thralldom." It does not seem to have occurred to Frensd that the two could hardly be compatible.

By the end of 1812 people in England were hoping desperately for peace. With the debacle in Russia, hopes were raised in England that the war might be coming to an end. There was a wave of war-weariness in the late autumn, and voices all over England were calling for peace. Frennd wrote, in the November Survey, that "in perpetually recurring to this beastly state of warfare now ravaging so great a portion of the world, we have some satisfaction in observing a rising spirit - the spirit of peace." Following a meeting in Leicester a petition was to be presented to Parliament, imploring the House "to reflect on the miseries which this continued and widespread war has inflicted on mankind ... and lamenting the tendency of war to blunt the feelings of humanity and to deprave social life". Frennd "intreats every reader to retire within himself and to meditate deeply upon them." The February (1813) Survey reports meetings and petitions for peace at Leicester and Nottingham; the latter's petition mentions "the alarming and unprecedented decay of the trade of this town and neighbourhood, the destitute and starving condition to which thousands of its inhabitants are reduced"; the middle class will "be unable to bear the excessive weight of public and parochial taxes - much less sustain these additions ... if war is persisted in."

Moreover, "the pressure of the rates, while insufficient to help the poor, constantly reduce others to similar distress ... Peace alone can alleviate the industrious poor, wholly or partially deprived of that employment by which they were accustomed to support their families..."

In November 1813 Frennd declared that the British were sick of war and suggested that this was a moment when the French might come to some agreement: "the change in the situation in Europe afforded scope for the Prince Regent to make a gesture." But the Prince Regent would only say that peace, "the great blessing", could not be attained "without farther exertions and great pecuniary supplies for the subsidies to the allies." And so the war went on.

THE CONFEDERATES IN FRANCE

The beginning of 1814 saw the allied armies on French soil. Frennd, wrote in his February article, that "the advance of the confederates was made with scarcely any resistance till they came within 100 miles of Paris ... the two great armies had advanced by different routes into Campagne, the one, chiefly of Prussians, under Blucher ... the other under Prince Schwartenberg, who made their entry from Switzerland and Alsace." Buonaparte retreated to Troyes, and when the Confederates decided to march on Paris they were halted at Chateau Thierry, and, "according to the accounts of French papers, defeated with immense slaughter and loss of men, compelling them to retreat to Rheims."

"At the time of writing", said Frennd, "the confederates have advanced into the heart of France, and the forward guards are reported to be within twenty miles of Paris; this unhappy capital is expected to share the fate of Moscow."

The Survey records "with the greatest pleasure", the words of Tsar Alexander to his Russian Army on entering France: "Let us forget the sufferings we have endured from his (Napoleon's) crimes, and extend towards him the the hand of friendship and the olive branch of peace." "What a striking contrast", said Fren̄, "between the language of the Emperor and some of the newspapers, which are endeavouring as much as possible to prevent the return of peaceful sentiments in the minds of Englishmen by aggravating the crimes of the French."

Napoleon refused to accept the Allies' terms of surrender, which stipulated the re-establishment of the Bourbons, and Fren̄ wrote gloomily that "though the General has army after army to repulse and supplies every day weaker, when we reflect on the energies of the French people, it cannot be imagined that, if they persevere in their allegiance to their emperor, the conquest of France will be effected without torrents of blood and many dubious battles."

He incidentally foresaw problems in Europe, where treaties were being arranged "to transfer nations to other nations by no desire of the inhabitants;" Corsica, for instance, stood out against being transferred from Italy to France. "Norway, it is said, will not ratify the transfer (to Sweden) and, given up by its former sovereign, prefers independence to submission ... When the spirit of a people is roused, the conquest of them is not an easy matter."

But in spite of Napoleon's pride and obstinacy, France's position was deteriorating rapidly. "Buonaparte's situation is rendered almost hopeless by a new event, the advance of the English from the South." Wellington eventually broke through to Bordeaux where he was welcomed by many inhabitants wearing the white cockade instead of the tricolor.

In March (1814) the Survey noted that "the last month has been pregnant with great events, but in the midst of horrors of war the sound of peace has been heard: delightful sound! May it be restored to distracted Europe and may the events of the last twenty years teach men to be more careful how they interfere in the government of other states, and to value the gains of peace and industry above all the plunder to be obtained by war and slaughter."

In May 1814 the Treaty of Paris was signed. Fren̄ commented in the June issue on the settlement terms, "the conquerors have shown moderation." Several points however aroused his indignation: France should not be allowed to exercise the slave trade; for one thing, "English interest may be employed under French colours in this monstrous species of commerce," thus re-introducing the slave trade here by a back door. We are told that a series of meetings were held in London protesting against this.

Fren̄ was also perturbed at the survival, and indeed the revival, of Roman Catholic influence in Europe: "Popery is slowly raising her head ... Processions are again to take place in France..." In Spain, "it erects its head with boldness and has the people for its champions ... the prospect is deplorable ..." In July, we read that "Spain is sinking into the abyss of its former regime, and if it extricates itself it must be by a civil war. The

Inquisition is re-established. Monks and nuns and priests are all getting back to their former stations and pre-eminence. The new government wants to destroy every act of the Cortez and to reduce Spain to an absolute monarchy. They who fought against the French are now disgraced, and they who fled the country are returned to domineer over it." In August: "France is returning to popery and tyranny. In Spain the horrible institution of the Inquisition is set up again ... Public burnings will hardly be revived; but who can say how many persons will be doomed to wear out their lives in the dungeons of the office and to suffer the tortures of the secret tribunals?"

Returning again to the conditions of the peace treaty, Frennd says "the allied powers had no more right to give up Norway to Sweden than they have now to give up Tartary to the Emperor of China ... If the English were justified in defending Spain against Buonaparte, and the Spanish have been praised for the gallant defence of their country, what shall we say of a blockade of Norway? ... If Norway can stand its ground this summer, the voice of the people may be heard in the approaching congress, and Europe be spared the disgrace of imitating Buonaparte in the worst of his actions."

Other conditions "at which the friends of humanity must shudder" are the French demands for African slaves - "the demand of Domingo alone is for 10,000 Africans, to be torn from their country..." "Genuflexions and prostrations will not cover the blood of the Africans spilt upon these occasions. The return of peace was delightful ... the destruction of the sceptre of the tyrant was received with universal warmth. But when we contemplate the Inquisition in Spain, the restoration of superstition in France, the invasion of Norway, the prison ships of the slave trade and the wars excited in Africa, Europe seems to be unworthy of its blessings, and we fear that that cannot be lasting, which is contaminated by so many horrors."

TREATY-MAKING IN VIENNA

In October 1814 Frennd was reporting, more or less hopefully, on the meetings of the treaty-makers in Vienna. He took the opportunity to scoff at the elaborate religious ceremonies that dignified the proceedings - "the adoration of the wafer-god was performed with great pomp and solemn devotion" - but he commented very seriously on the Congress and its tasks.

"The presence of the Emperor of Russia is an auspicious omen", he wrote. "To him is attributed a proposal of inestimable worth, namely that the number of the military in every country should be diminished, and doubtless such a diminution would be of great benefit to every country. Europe, during the last and the beginning of the present century, has presented the most odious and despicable picture that can be contemplated by a reasonable being. The work of blood has been holden in the highest honour, and kings in friendly visits to each other have been entertained with military arrays, each vying with the other in showing the state of preparation he is in for hostile aggression or self-defence.

"In such a state of mankind it is ridiculous to talk of the blessings of peace. All that can be said is that the nations are living with each other in the state of an armed truce. When such numbers of men are living by the sword it cannot be long unsheathed..."

At the beginning of 1815, the Congress was still in session, accompanied by a mass of speculation from the newspapers. Frensd considered the political journalists as harmful and misleading, "men with maps before them, and scissors to cut out portions as suits their fancy."

"One principle alone seems to guide the political writers, namely that mankind was made for sovereigns, not sovereigns for mankind ... the good of the people is the last thing that enters the mind of these sagacious politicians. They sit down with the notion that the congregated sovereigns are little better than a set of banditti met together to divide their plunders ... kept together only by sordid views of self-interest, without the least regard to honour, morality or religion ... Let us hope for better things of the Sovereigns, if not, things must be left in the hands of God."

The February (1815) Survey speculates on the decisions of "the great congress", and Frensd expresses the hope that the civilised world will adopt a new code, and that "kingdoms may live at peace together, and submit their differences to a better arbitrement than that of powder and shot ..." He wonders whether in the new system, "the same necessity will exist for large standing armies, testimonies of a pernicious spirit ... which will break out at certain intervals and renew all the horrors of war."

His remarks still apply: "If man is so degraded that each kingdom feels ... the necessity of being ever prepared for war then the nations, whatever names they may give to their treaties ... are living in fact in the state only of an armed truce This is a state contrary to the real end of man on this earth, and it must be corrected by a farther advance in civilisation; he is only a half-tamed savage if he is kept within bounds by the fear of the bayonet." Frensd leaves it to "the future historians to determine whether the Congress of Vienna has accelerated or retarded the improvement of man.

RETURN OF NAPOLEON

In March, following the dramatic announcement of Buonaparte's escape from Elba, Frensd comments thus: "The name of one man, aided by only 1000 troops, struck a terror in every court in Europe. Buonaparte quitted Elba, landed in France and reclaimed his sovereignty. This act was looked upon as that of a madman. The loyalty of the French to the Bourbons was declared to be universal, by the Moniteur, ... but it was soon seen that no dependence was to be placed on the Moniteur." Frensd, as usual very anti-Bourbon, asks, "Are we to maintain perpetual war to seat a family on the throne of France, contrary to the wishes of the people? ... If we refuse to make peace with Buonaparte, Europe is doomed to another war and good men must weep in silence at the calamities which this guilty race is doomed to suffer." He forecasts, gloomily, "the hordes of

Cossacks, the disciplined legions of Prussia, English troops, being re-assembled; and the addition of a thousand million to the national debt could not be viewed without considerable agitation."

In April he returns to the theme that Napoleon is a more progressive ruler than the Bourbons: "Buonaparte has decreed that the slave trade shall no longer be carried on by Frenchmen: he has openly declared for the freedom of the press ... declared freedom of religion to be irrevocable; restored the Legion of Honour to its former state." Frensd asks "why are the French not to be allowed the right of settling their internal government as they please? and why are they to be dictated to in this respect by foreign nations?"

WAR BREAKS OUT AGAIN

In April, Frensd was inveighing in despair against the rulers of "civilised Europe", which now expected to see "a million of people in arms to lay waste its fertile regions, to burn its towns, to create upon earth a hell not to be exceeded in the imagination of the poet."

In May he wrote that "the different powers are employed in collecting together their forces, to cut the knot which they cannot untie." "At home these warlike preparations have produced a melancholy effect, the renewal of the Property Tax, of which a very great proportion will be expended in subsidies, and the remainder will be swallowed up in our own expenses. It appears that an agreement has already been made for a subsidy of five millions to the powers of Russia, Austria and Prussia." There has been much opposition, he notes: "Meetings have been holden in opposition to the war, and the cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark have sent petitions to Parliament, expressive of their disapprobation of the present interference in the internal affairs of France." But "the Petitions were not allowed to remain on the table of the House owing to expressions which were construed into a disrespect for that body."

As to the actual military preparations, "the English force in the low countries under the command of the Duke of Wellington," is very considerable, says Frensd, "and between them and the Rhine is the mixed body of Germans and Prussians under the Prince Blucher ... Some awkward circumstances have occurred which prove that the measures of congress have by no means been satisfactory. A mutiny has taken place in the Saxon troops, in that part of them which have by the late change been made subject to Prussia; this was quelled by the disbanding of the offenders and the execution of the ringleaders."

"The dreadful conflict has begun", Frensd wrote in the June Survey: "The French were the assailants, and, having been foiled in their attempt must expect a similar re-uption of the allies into their own territories." His description of the Battle of Waterloc was brief, probably because he had little time between the event and going to press. He concluded, with the remark that "both sides fought with great determination and exasperation, and it is

supposed that the loss of the French amounted to upwards of 30,000 men. "The loss on the side of the allies was also great, but this day confirmed the opinion of the decided superiority of the English over the French when the battle depends on personal bravery and vigour." He surmised that "the next battle will be in France not far from Paris." - "On the army itself complete reliance cannot be placed - there exists a large body of discontents ... such is Buonaparte's wretched condition that it appears almost morally impossible that he should extricate himself, and Paris will be again at the mercy of foreign powers."

"The French nation, torn to pieces by foreign war and domestic confusion, presents an awful picture to the world..." Napoleon would now require not only the army to defend his throne, but also the co-operation of the people ... "finding he must submit to the restraints of a representative government, he had held a grand convention termed the Champ de Mai ... In the meantime, Louis preserves his state at Ghent, and issues his royal mandate to a disobedient people ... (surrounded) by some ancient noblesse and a considerable number of the military, ready to re-enter France when the Duke of Wellington has prepared the way for his re-assumption of the throne." Casting an eye quickly round Europe, Frennd notes that Murat had fled from the Austrians and established himself in Naples till Ferdinand should arrive from Sicily. One object of compassion is "the poor king of Saxony, left with little of his former dominions. Saxony was one of the best governed states of Germany, as Prussia was one of the worst. The latter was completely military, and Berlin was notorious for being the headquarters of infidelity. Discontent reigns among the new subjects of Prussia, but the bayonet will repress their indignation. The late victory will settle, at least for a time, the mutilation of Saxony and the destinies of Venice, Genoa, and the Netherlands."

Frennd prays that "in the awful crisis in which we commit this to the press, God may send that peace into our minds, which would prevent the world from being torn to pieces by the convulsions with which it has been so long agitated, and may his holy spirit ... be restored to the hearts of Europeans."

In July, the Survey describes the aftermath of Waterloo: "The battle was most decisive. The ruin of the army under Buonaparte was complete and the conquerors followed up their victory with such rapidity that Paris fell into their hands without a blow. Buonaparte's army was to retire south of the Loire, and Paris given up to the conquerors, on the idea that the inhabitants were not to be injured ... The Emperor of Russia arrived in time to save the bridge of Jena, which Blucher had made plans to destroy" (because it recalled a French victory over Prussia). "Paris had many similar monuments to the heroism of its great military chief, but their names have been changed and thus the fury of the conquerors has been averted."

Frennd remarks that "the thrones of the Bourbons are re-established. They are now sovereigns at Paris, Naples and Madrid, and their conduct in their different seats of government will form very curious pages in future history." He ruefully examines "the nature of that military system under which Europe has so long groaned. A nation kept under the bayonet cannot be said to

possess a legal government, which is a united nation of people under laws which it is the general interest to obey."

Standing armies, he says, have been the general rule since the days of Louis XIV, and "Europe has presented the appearance of a frightful barrack. Men did not live in a state of peace, but of truce; for the great policy of nations was to be prepared for war, that state which is a disgrace to rational beings." Frensd hopes that "the sovereigns will learn to make peace, internal and external, the end of their government."

In August 1815 he writes that "the capital is in the possession of Prussians, Russians, Austrians, Germans and English. The Emperors and the King hold their court whilst the Thuilleries is inhabited by a Bourbon ... It is impossible to pourtray all the complicated horrors that are now taking place in this wretched country; but it is some satisfaction to hear that the English are everywhere acknowledged to be the most generous of its enemies..." "The Bourbons were brought back by the bayonets of an enemy and it is problematical whether this stay would be secure if these bayonets were withdrawn..."

Space does not permit the inclusion of many interesting passages from the Survey, in which Frensd dealt with the question of Africa, race relations, home affairs, the struggle for independence in Latin America. One remark relating to the latter is so topical as to be irresistible: referring to Brazil and Mexico, both fighting foreign oppressors, Frensd notes that "the Americans are very busy in supplying the contending parties with arms and ammunition." (September 1815)

His words about Africa also have a topical ring: fulminating against the slave trade, in January 1815, he wrote "... it has been argued that nature designed them (the Blacks) to be slaves to the whites ... that their minds are low and grovelling and their bodies to be inured to labour only under the lash of the taskmaster." How, asks Frensd, "could it be otherwise, when all the avenues to knowledge were shut up to them, all the rewards of individual exertion denied to them? The experience of the last ten years is worth more than folios of controversy. We have seen the Blacks in a different situation. They have broken their chains. They have asserted their rights. They have indeed committed murders and massacres; but in these acts ... they have only followed at a humble distance the example of their White and more civilised brethren." "We may anticipate researches in science, and productions of literature from our hitherto degraded brethren, that shall vie with the files of those who have hitherto vainly conceived that they were entitled to as manifest superiority over the Africans as the Greeks claimed over the barbarians. Who knows indeed, whether England herself may not sink to a state as base as that of Greece today, when in future black universities the tables may be turned and the White become the degraded colour?"

Frensd continued to write his Survey for several more years, maintaining his rational and progressive attitude to social and economic questions.

When ill-health forced him to retire, he gave up his regular article, but he continued to write letters which show his continuing interest in current affairs; in a correspondence with Lady Byron lasting over twenty years, he dealt with post-war problems, riots, Reform (at 75 he addressed a London meeting 2,000 strong on the eve of the First Reform Bill), Robert Owen, Malthus, education, railways, and the wonders of modern science. In old age he joined all manner of Societies - Statistical, Mathematical, Astronomic, the British Association - and attended most of their meetings, besides those of various Unitarian bodies which he considered a first duty, and of University College, London, which he had a hand in founding.

He was enthusiastic about new discoveries and inventions, from the piping of gas for domestic lighting, to the "steam printing machine": "we esteem the author of the invention higher than all the generals of the age"; he exulted over the new technological advances in letter after letter. His belief in scientific progress went - curious as it may seem to us - with deep religious convictions. At the age of 82 he wrote to Annabella Byron: "I am near the end of my journey. I have seen enough to convince me that the whole system of human affairs is under the controul of a wise & good being, and that this whole will manifest his wisdom ... Men will run to & from, & knowledge shall be increased.

"How far the moral state of the world will be improved we cannot say but we have every reason to believe that the one will accompany the other. Every prejudice removed makes way for the progress of truth..."