A biographical memoir of His late Royal Highness Frederick, duke of York and Albany : with numerous anecdotes of the royal family, and other persons of high distinction / by John Watkins.

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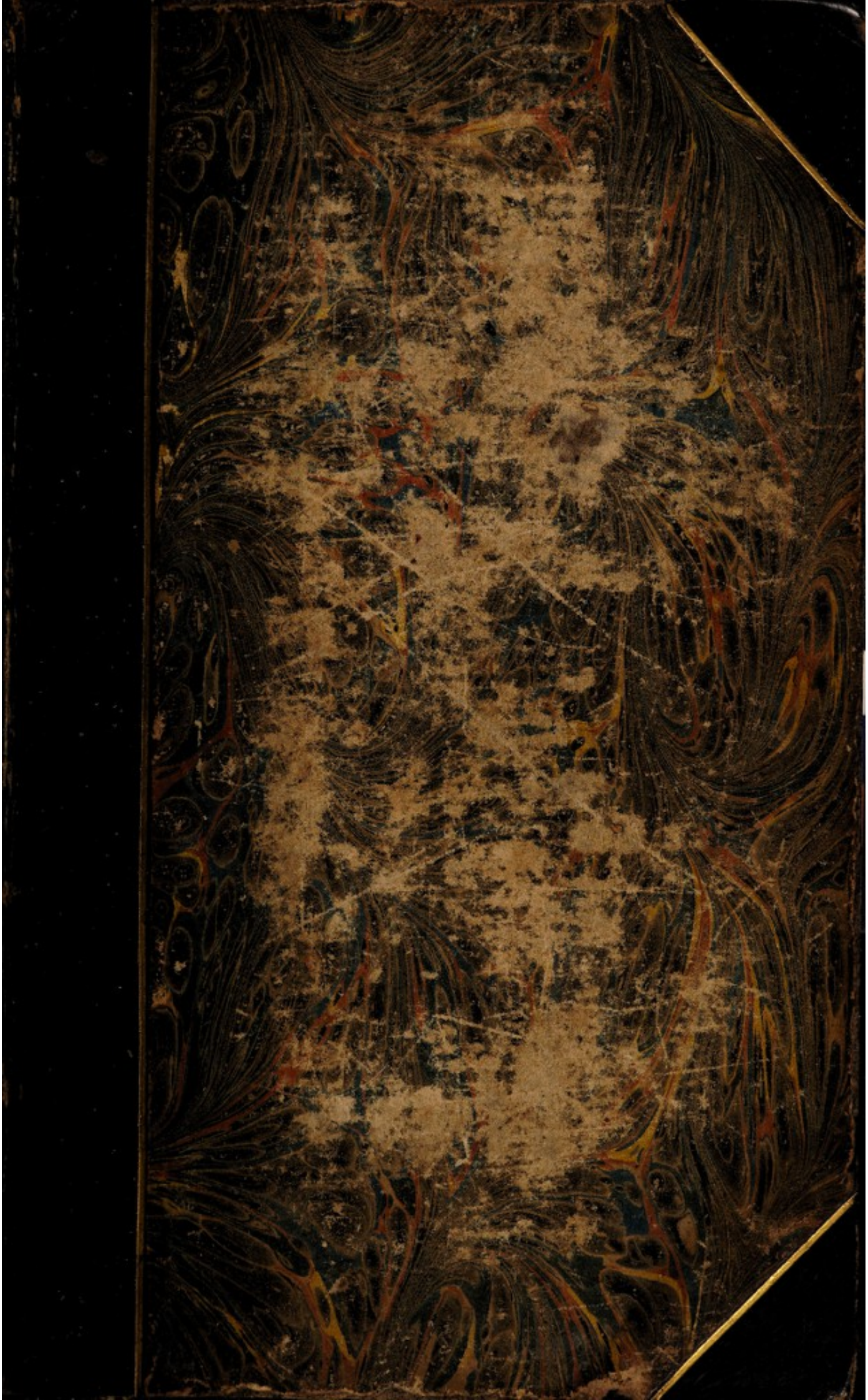

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by John Watkins?

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HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS FREDERICK DUKE OF

York & Albany

Published by Fisher, Son & Cº Caxton, London, Jan 25, 1827.

Her Royal Highness
Frederica Charlotte Ulrica
Duchess of York

Published by Fisher, Son & Cº Caxton, London, Feb 24 1827

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Fac-simile of the Duke of York's Writing in the 12th. year of his age.

We should accustom ourselves, by the light of particulars, to en-
large our minds to the amplitude of the world, and not reduce
the world to the narrowneſs of our minds. *L.d Bacon.*

Frederick. May 13. 1774.

Published by Fisher Son & Co Caxton. London. Jany 1827

MEMOIR

OF

HIS LATE ROYAL HIGHNESS

FREDERICK DUKE OF YORK.

CHAP. I.

FROM A. D. 1763 TO 1780.

ON the sixteenth of August, 1763, about ten in the morning, her majesty Queen Charlotte, the august spouse of George the Third, King of Great Britain, was delivered of her second child at Buckingham House. There were present on that occasion, her royal highness the Princess Dowager of Wales, several lords of the privy council, and ladies of elevated rank. It is remarkable, however, that the baptismal ceremony was deferred till the fourteenth of the following month, when it appears to have been celebrated with more splendid circumstances than even that of the heir apparent.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the two royal infants were brought in a coach from the Queen's Palace to St. James's, and there shewn to the assembled people through the windows. Precisely at noon her Majesty followed, and entered the palace by a communication opened on purpose to avoid the necessity of her going through the garden, along the wall of

which a platform was erected, matted at the bottom, and covered all over with crimson baize. A little after seven in the evening, the procession began in the following order:—the Princess Augusta, sister to his Majesty, led by her brother Prince William; the Princess Louisa, by her brother Prince Henry; the Princess Caroline Matilda, by her brother Prince Frederick; and the Princess Amelia, aunt to the King, led by her brother the Duke of Cumberland. Then followed the nobility according to their rank, who all went into the great council-chamber, where a most magnificent state bed had been set up for the Queen to sit on, the coverlids, valances and curtains, which last were made to draw up, being all of the richest crimson velvet, adorned with deep gold fringe, and lined throughout with white satin: but the most superb article of all, in this state furniture, was the counterpane, which consisted wholly of lace of inimitable workmanship, and cost three thousand seven hundred and eighty pounds, though of English manufacture. When the company had all assembled, and paid their respects, the religious service began, and the venerable Dr. Thomas Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, gave the royal infant the name of FREDERICK, after his grandfather.

The sponsors on this occasion were Edward Duke of York, brother to the King; the reigning Duke of Saxe-Gotha, his uncle; and the Princess Amelia. As neither of the two former was present, their places were supplied by proxies; the Earl of Huntingdon, groom of the stole, representing the one, and Earl Gower, lord chamberlain, the other. It merits observation, that the excellent prelate who administered the sacrament of baptism in this, as well as in the preceding instance, and again in four subsequent ones, actually

performed the same office, when rector of St. James's, to the father of the royal children. Thus rapidly flows the stream of time, and so intimately connected is infancy with maturity—the cradle and the tomb.

When the ceremony was over, the company, which was extremely brilliant, retired into another apartment, where they partook of caudle and cake. On the second day after the christening, her Majesty, with the two children, returned to her own house, which now became the royal residence, the old palace being no longer used except for public occasions. Here the children were chiefly under the care of the Queen, assisted by Lady Charlotte Finch, of the Winchelsea family, in whom, most deservedly, the greatest confidence was placed by their Majesties.

Seven months after the birth of Prince Frederick, a vacancy occurred in the bishopric of Osnaburg, one of those secular dignities, with an ecclesiastical designation, which are peculiar to Germany. As the right of nomination, for this turn devolved upon the King of Great Britain, in his separate capacity of Duke of Luneburg and Elector of Hanover, he immediately caused his second son to be declared Bishop of Osnaburg; and a writ, in the form of a *congé d'élire*, for that purpose was accordingly transmitted to the chapter of that hierarchical principality. In consequence of this, some serious differences arose, between the chapter, the elector of Cologne, and the regency of Hanover. The former asserted an unlimited right of administering all affairs, spiritual and civil, during the minority of the young prince. The elector, on the other hand, being a Catholic, strenuously resisted these pretensions, and, without paying any regard to them, appointed the honorary bishop of Ahausen, with the title of ponti-

fical vicar, and the dean and canon, Charles de Vogelius, with that of vicar general, to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of Osnaburg, the inhabitants of which principality, Lutheran as well as Catholic, were all commanded to acknowledge them as such, on pain of excommunication. The regency of Hanover meanwhile opposed the arrogant claims of the elector, and refused to consent that a minister of the Roman communion should be charged with the management of the bishopric, in the minority of a Protestant prince.

The chapter, under these circumstances, memorialized the emperor, beseeching him to interpose his good offices and powerful authority, for the preservation of their privileges, and the prevention of innovations, which they considered as of a dangerous tendency. On the other hand, the Catholic courts in Germany exerted themselves to the utmost to keep down the Protestant ascendancy; and a diet, having that object in contemplation, was held at Ratisbon, during the whole of the year 1764, but without producing any thing decisive. While the parties were thus conflicting on religious grounds, another source of dissension was opened, by the claim of the King of Great Britain, in his quality of father and guardian of the young prince, to take upon him the administration of the temporalities of the bishopric, and the presentation in his name of the comitial suffrage in the diet of the empire. All these contentions were carried on with extreme heat, and lasted for a considerable length of time; but in the end they terminated, chiefly through the intervention of the great Frederick of Prussia, in favour of his royal relative and namesake.

Among the effects produced by this opposition, one was a resolution, on the part of our monarch, to send

his son, who was particularly interested in the concern, on arriving at a proper age, to reside some years in Germany, that he might thereby become more thoroughly acquainted with the laws and customs of the empire, than he could well be by the most diligent study, under the ablest preceptors, at a distance. Another consequence incidentally, and to a certain extent fortuitously, arising from this local strife for the government of a petty state in Germany, is one that brings with it many important reflections. At the period when the prince who was the cause of this struggle for the administration of the affairs of Osnaburg was perfectly unconscious of moral action, the people of England knew so little of the continental powers with which they were virtually connected, that many persons, and those too of no ordinary ability, considered the young prince Frederick as actually destined for an ecclesiastical order, or at least for one blending the spiritual and civil functions in his person. It was in allusion to this prevailing idea, associated with the episcopal title, that the ingenious James Burgh, in 1766, prefixed to a volume of essays, a dedication "To the Right Reverend Father in God, of three years old, His Royal Highness Prince Frederick, Bishop of Osnaburg."

Though the King, by his perseverance and influence, carried his point against the bigoted opponents of his electoral rights; it was not till after some years of tedious litigation before the imperial court of judicature. This conflict made a deep impression upon his mind then, as it also did several years afterwards upon that of his son, in convincing both of the restless and intriguing spirit which never fails to actuate the Romanists wherever they gain a footing, and are enabled to aspire to the establishment of an ascend-

ancy. From this point of history, which, trivial as it may have appeared at the time, at present throws no inconsiderable light upon matters of nearer interest and more recent date, we must now return to domestic scenes, and the royal nursery.

Such was the happy uniformity of temper which distinguished the King and Queen, that the increase of their family contributed to cement their affection. Of this a pleasing proof was given by her majesty on the ensuing birthday of her august partner, when she tenderly embraced him, and put upon his finger a ring set with brilliants, but rendered inestimably more precious by an enamel containing the portraits of the two princes.

Arts like these, and an unremitted attention to all the graces and duties of life, constituted the cestus by which the amiable Charlotte managed to rivet the love of her sovereign lord. Never in fact was there a pair more harmoniously fitted for each other; and the general wonder was how two persons of their youthful age and elevated rank could agree to prefer domestic society to the gaieties and amusements so generally pursued by the old, as well as the young, at that period. One duchess, who figured as the leader of fashion, took the liberty of expressing her surprise at this novel spectacle, and that too in the presence of the Queen, but the answer which the titled dame received was of a nature that must have mortified her exceedingly. She was asked, who had the charge of her children? and on replying that they were put out to nurse; the queen said, "That is more than I could consent to with a safe conscience, except in case of sickness. Children require a mother's care, and they repay it by their endearments. The King, I am happy to say, enters completely into the same sentiment, and, thus united, we find more

exquisite delight in our little ones than we should derive from the fatiguing, but frivolous, pleasures of the world."

After the birthday, her Majesty left town, to reside for the summer at Richmond Lodge, where the two princes caught the hooping-cough; and such was the maternal solicitude of the young queen, that she attended them night and day; the consequence of which was, a miscarriage to herself, attended with a severe though short illness. The disorder of the children also abated as the summer advanced, and the danger was so far over by the 12th of August, that an entertainment was given at the Lodge, with a ball for the young nobility, on which occasion more than a thousand lamps were lighted up in the gardens, and some very brilliant fireworks exhibited at night.

In the midst of this felicity and care, a cloud arose, which threatened the nation, as well as the royal household, with evils of the most tremendous magnitude. At the beginning of 1765 the monarch was suddenly attacked by an affection of the brain, evidently the effect of intense anxiety, originating in the political feuds which continued for some years to disquiet the kingdom after the peace. The situation of the royal patient, then at Kew, was carefully concealed from the public, in the hopes entertained by the medical attendants that a favourable crisis would, in a little time, render it unnecessary to lay the case before parliament. The presage was happily verified, and the sound constitution of the King gained a complete triumph over the mental disease. On his recovery he went to the house of lords for the express purpose of recommending the adoption of some legislative measures to secure the public peace, and the safety of the royal house, in the event of a similar visi-

tation. In his speech he said, "My late indisposition, though not attended with danger, has led me to consider the situation in which my kingdoms and family might be left, if it should please God to put a period to my life whilst my successor is of tender years."

It was then proposed, that a power should be given to his Majesty to appoint, from time to time, under the sign manual, either the Queen, or any other person of the royal family, residing in Great Britain, to act as the guardian and regent of the realm, until the heir apparent should attain the age of eighteen, but subject in some respects to a statute that had been already passed in the late reign.

A bill to this effect was accordingly introduced, and passed with all convenient speed; on giving the royal assent to which, the King said, "The provisions that have been made for the administration of the government, in case the crown should descend to any of my children under the age of eighteen years, whilst they add strength and security to our present establishment, give me the kindest and most convincing proof of your confidence. The sense I have of the important trust reposed in me, and my desire to repay this mark of your affection by discharging my part agreeably to your intentions, in the manner most beneficial to my people, have concurred to make me execute, without delay, the power with which you have invested me. This is already done; and you may rest assured, that, as far as depends upon me, those salutary provisions shall never be ineffectual. It is my ardent wish, and it shall be my earnest endeavour, on this and on every other occasion, to perpetuate the happiness of my subjects, and to transmit to posterity the blessings of our invaluable constitution."

Thus wisely did the young monarch improve the awful warning which he had received—by turning it to the proper end of setting his house in order, so that neither the people nor his family might suffer any particular trouble, either by his demise, or the suspension of the regal functions. Here also we may remark, that the full and unqualified right of the two houses of parliament to supply any temporary deficiency of the executive power, was acknowledged and established; though at a subsequent period we shall find this sound constitutional principle most strenuously combated by men renowned for their pretensions to patriotism.

The conduct of Queen Charlotte, during this severe trial, evinced uncommon fortitude, for though in a state of pregnancy, she carefully kept the state of the King's mind a secret, even from his nearest relatives. But it merits to be told also, that a similar exercise of prudent forbearance distinguished one of the menials in the royal service.

Some time before this malady seized the King, being then at Windsor, he called to his head groom, and asked him the condition of a favourite horse, saying, "Will he ever be good for any thing again? It was a very bad fall. I thought I was done for." The man was struck with astonishment, and, not being able to comprehend what his royal master alluded to, remained silent. The King, surprised at his hesitation, impatiently said, "Why don't you give me an answer? It is not your fault, if the horse is spoiled." The servant then replied, "Sir, I did not understand you; nor do I now know to what horse, or to what circumstance, you refer!"—"What!" exclaimed his Majesty, "not remember the horse which threw me in the hunt yesterday?

What! not know of the accident, when you helped me up, and led away the horse with his knees cut and bleeding?" The man was still more confused, for there had been no hunt; nor had any such casualty occurred. The King perceiving his embarrassment, now appeared no less perplexed; and placing his hand upon his forehead, murmured in a pathetic tone, "Good God! can this strong impression be the effect of a dream? Has there indeed been no hunt?" The groom, a little revived by the tenderness of his master, said, "No, sir, certainly not; there was no hunt; and, thank God! you have had no fall." Upon this the King turned very pale, but said, "Well, well, so much the better, and mind that you don't mention this to any body; for if you do, people will say I am mad." The man bowed, and most strictly observed the injunction for four-and-twenty years, when, on the King's second illness, he revealed the matter to a fellow servant, by whose means it came to the knowledge of the Queen, who sent for the groom, and had the whole story from his own lips. When he had finished, she said, "Oh! that was a mournful and a memorable morning to me. I was afraid my King's mind was affected, yet I dared not ask an opinion of any human being whatever, lest I should give rise to unpleasant rumours. But, thank God! that storm blew over; and so has the present; and his noble mind is again restored." Then turning to the faithful servant, she said, "Did you not impart this circumstance to your wife?" The man declared that he had not; and then said, "As the King told me to hold my tongue, it was my duty, madam, to obey." Her Majesty quickly rejoined, "Very true, very true, as the King's wife, I am pleased with such discreet conduct." So saying, she spoke to a person in waiting, who

brought a silver tankard finely gilt and ornamented: which the Queen graciously presented to the servant as a reward for his fidelity.

From this digression, we must return to take up the chain of regular narrative. After the King's recovery, the Queen renewed her attentions to the internal improvement of Buckingham House, particularly in fitting up the library, which, besides the addition of Queen Caroline's collection, then lately removed for the purpose from the Green Park, was enriched with above two thousand volumes in different languages, under the particular direction of her Majesty. While the Queen was thus employed, at what might be called her town residence, the two children remained in the palace at Kew, where the birthday of the eldest was celebrated this year by an entertainment given to the young nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood.

The same day her royal highness the Princess of Wales held a public drawing room on the joyful occasion in town; and the circumstance is here mentioned, to shew the great cordiality which prevailed in the family, though the most evil reports were then circulated expressing the contrary.

Four days afterwards, the anniversary of the birth of Prince Frederick was observed, in a still more remarkable manner; for, in addition to a fete, four thousand medals of gold and silver were distributed in commemoration of the election of his royal highness to the episcopal principality of Osnaburg. The medal, which was executed by the ingenious Thomas Pingo, represents on one side the figure of Hope resting on a shield, bearing the arms and crown of the prince, and on a pedestal are the mitre, crozier, and sword; the motto, "SPES

PUBLICA;" "the Hope of the Nation." On the reverse is the following inscription:

FREDERICUS M. BRIT. PR. EPISCOPUS.
OSNABURG. D. BR. ET LUN.
ANNUENTE
GEORGIO TERTIO,
M. BRIT. FR. H. R. F. D.
D. BRUNSV. ET LUNEB.
S. R. I. A. ET ELECT.
PATRE. ET REGE. OPT.
POSTULATUS EPISC.
XXVII. FEBRUARII.
MDCCLXIV.

On the 21st of the same month, her Majesty gave birth to a third prince, who was baptized at St. James's palace, on the 18th of September, by the name of William Henry, in honour of his royal godfather the Duke of Cumberland. On this occasion the two elder princes were exhibited with their infant brother, at the windows of the palace, to the assembled crowd, who testified their loyalty by loud acclamations. But the joy produced by these accessions to the royal lineage, was not without alloy, for, on the 31st of October, the Duke of Cumberland expired suddenly, without the least previous indisposition; and, on the 29th of December, Prince Frederick William, his Majesty's fourth brother, died at the age of fifteen years, after a severe illness of fourteen months. The disorder of this amiable youth was rather remarkable for one so young; being an obstinate ascites, or dropsy of the belly. He had undergone the operation of tapping in the course of the summer, but the relief afforded by

this evacuation proved momentary; and the complaint returning with aggravated symptoms, he sunk under it at the house of his afflicted mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales.

The character given of him was that of a prince ever to be regretted by those who had the honour to approach him, and ever to be proposed as a pattern of patience, meekness, and fortitude. The gracefulness of his person, great as it appeared, gave but an imperfect idea of the exalted qualities of his mind. His submission to the decrees of Providence, his affection and dutiful behaviour to his royal mother, to the King, and to the rest of his illustrious family, were ever uniform and exemplary. His manly sense and uncommon penetration exceeded even the most sanguine hopes of those who were intrusted with his education. During his long and painful illness, his chief and only care was to avoid giving pain to those around him; and he not only lessened, but even concealed, his own sufferings before them; which tenderness of feeling extended itself to the lowest of his domestic attendants.

We have been induced to dwell a little upon this estimable character on account of the great similarity between his case and that of his royal nephew and namesake; who shortly afterwards, with his brother the Prince of Wales, was inoculated for the small-pox at the Queen's palace, in the presence of their Majesties. The operation was performed by Pennel Hawkins, surgeon extraordinary to the King, under the direction of his father, Cæsar Hawkins, the serjeant-surgeon, and the physicians, Sir Clifford Wintringham, Sir William Duncan, and Sir John Pringle. This was an occurrence of no slight consequence at that time, when the national prejudices against the practice of

inoculation ran so extremely high, that one of the most popular and zealous preachers in the city of London thought proper to say in the pulpit,—it was presumptuous to pray for the infant princes, who were now taken out of the hands of God, and committed into the care of sinful men. But the King and Queen possessed minds too enlarged to be swayed by such narrow notions, and they deemed it a duty to recommend an important and valuable discovery to their subjects, by subjecting the royal children to the process of inoculation; judging that the influence of such an example would be more efficacious in rooting out vulgar error, than the most powerful argument or persuasive exhortation. It must be admitted that this was a sacrifice of no ordinary magnitude, considering the high station of those who made it, the prejudices they had to overcome, and the fond regard which they entertained for their offspring. To estimate the value of this offering at the shrine of reason, under the peculiar circumstances of those who made it, we need only take a view of the conduct of too many in high, as well as in low life, at this day, who obstinately persist in exposing their children to the danger of deformity and death, rather than adopt a mild preventive, which is wholly free from all pain and peril. Though vaccination has now stood the severest test of trial during the space of a quarter of a century, and been hailed as a blessing from Heaven by nations remarkable for their inflexible attachment to ancient habits and opinions, yet has this important discovery been all along contemned and opposed in the country where it originated. Too much praise, therefore, cannot be given to the royal family of Great Britain, for having uniformly led the way in promoting every invention and

institution that has had a tendency to alleviate the evils of mortality, and to improve the condition of mankind.

On the 30th of December 1767, the sovereign summoned a Chapter of the most noble Order of the Bath, for the express purpose of investing his second son with the insignia of that chivalrous dignity; but the ceremony of inauguration was postponed for a few years, on account of the extreme youth of the prince.

At this period the feelings of the King suffered severely by the intelligence of the immature death of his favourite brother, Edward Duke of York; which event happened at the little principality of Monaco in Italy, on the 17th of September. This Prince had always been remarkably popular, being of a more open and lively disposition than the King. He was, besides, less careful of his money; and, in his early days, when his week's allowance was all expended, he would have recourse to his brother George, who readily gave him whatever he wanted.

Of this good-natured prince, one of the numerous compilers of biographical memoirs of our late venerable monarch relates these anecdotes, on the authority, as it is said, of an old domestic of the family. "I well remember," says the narrator, "Prince Edward having been forbidden to enter his mother's doors, on account of some mischievous tricks he had played; and the grooms of the chambers and pages had positive orders not to admit him. Whilst Edward lay under this interdict, some of the great nobles dined with the princess. The Prince of Wales interceded very hard to have him restored to favour, and, if not permitted to dine at her table, that he might enter with the dessert; but all was in vain. The prince, hurt by his

mother's refusal, was very glum all dinner-time; but when they withdrew to the music room, lo, and behold, there sat master Edward, full dressed!—who rose and made a very low reverence, as his mother and sisters entered. "Hey-day, sir," says the princess, "who has dared to disobey my commands, and permitted you to enter these doors?" The prince replied, "Don't be angry, my dear mother; nobody has disobeyed you; I have not been admitted within these doors, nor violated your orders; for I came in through the middle window, by the help of the lamplighter's ladder: so I hope you will give me permission to remain." The elder prince looked at his mother in a way that spoke more powerfully than words; the frolic was laughed at, and Edward obtained his pardon; at which no one was more pleased than his brother George, who was always ready, but not always able, to help him out of the numerous scrapes into which he was continually falling.

On the same authority, it is said, that after Prince Edward was fifteen, he was for ever scaling walls, and getting down areas, on amorous adventures. Once he was locked up for six hours in the dairy at Kew, by a girl whom he plagued sadly, and who promised she would come to him at dusk; instead of which she turned the key upon the frolicsome youth, who had no means of escape till his mother came home. During this restraint, he amused himself with disarranging the economy of the dairy, under the pretext of endeavouring to make butter and cheese. When the princess was informed of this affair, she became very highly offended; the girl was immediately discharged; and the prince was severely reprimanded. But he displayed no sense of shame or sorrow, telling his

mother that, being fond of rural studies, he had gone into the dairy merely to learn how to churn.

Prince Edward, soon after the accession of his brother to the throne, was created Duke of York; but the volatility of his temper would not suffer him to fix his residence at court. Travelling was his great delight, and his practice was to rise early every morning, when he set down in writing all the transactions and observations that had occurred during the preceding day. By this means he could, on turning to his diary, immediately ascertain where he had been, what he had noticed, and with whom he had conversed at any particular time. After visiting most parts of the kingdom, he went through France, Germany, and Italy; receiving every where the honours due to his exalted rank, and giving pleasure to all by the liberality of his conduct, the suavity of his manners, and the habitual cheerfulness of his temper.

The character of this prince, and that of his nephew and godson, had such an affinity as to render it unnecessary to make any apology for a detail which cannot fail to amuse the reader.

In little more than six months after the death of the Duke of York, another breach was made in the royal family by the demise of the Princess Louisa, sister to the King, who fell a victim to a consumption in the twentieth year of her age. The gloom occasioned by these repeated strokes of mortality was increased by the agitated state of the nation, owing to the seditious violence of political incendiaries, whose libels were but too successful in disturbing the public tranquillity, and obstructing the measures of government.

But while the friends of order trembled for the throne, the King maintained his seat with firmness, and

repelled the insults that were daily offered him with silent dignity; and even when the infuriated rabble, instigated by the firebrands of misrule, committed the most scandalous outrages at the very gates of the palace, the fortitude of the monarch never once forsook him; nor could the menaces of faction shake the resolution which he had taken of living and dying with the laws and constitution. To suppose that his Majesty did not suffer acutely amidst the tempest with which he had to struggle, and under the opprobrious calumnies that were daily poured out against the purity of his motives, would be doing wrong to the integrity of his principles and the delicacy of his sentiments. By the former, however, he preserved the country; while the latter made him tender to his enemies, and compassionate to the people, who were deceived by the artifices of demagogues.

In the bosom of his family the sovereign found solace from the evils that oppressed and surrounded him; and his richest consolation, next to that derived from the consciousness of the rectitude of his intentions, lay in the virtues of his consort, whose conversation calmed his spirits when distracted by the cares of royalty; and whose active mind was ever fertile in expedients to divert his thoughts when in a state of disquietude. Among other ingenious devices, which the Queen had recourse to at this period, was that of causing a drawing-room to be held by the Prince of Wales and his sister the Princess Royal, the one seven and the other three years old. The novelty of the idea rendered it peculiarly attractive, and the spectacle itself was calculated, if any sight could produce such an effect, to soften the malignity of faction, and make the people ashamed of their own credulity, in being

duped by the factious defamers of rank and virtue.—This drawing-room took place on the 25th of October, 1769, being the anniversary of his Majesty's accession; and it was held in one of the rooms of St. James's palace. The Prince of Wales, on this occasion, was dressed in scarlet and gold, with the ensigns of the order of the Garter; on his right was Prince Frederick, bishop of Osnaburg, in blue and gold, with the insignia of the order of the Bath; next to him, on a rich sofa, sat the Princess Royal, with the two younger princes, William and Edward, at her right hand, elegantly dressed in togas, according to the Roman costume.

The appearance of so many fine children excited the most lively sensibility in the company who were admitted to behold the interesting scene; but the sight was rendered still more delightful, by the very graceful manner in which the two elder princes and their lovely sister deported themselves toward the elegant circle of fashionable persons by whom they were surrounded.

While care was taken to bring the royal children forward to public view, the utmost regard was paid to the moral and intellectual culture of their minds. Their education was carried on regularly upon the plan which the King had well digested, and which he superintended himself with unremitting assiduity and parental solicitude. To this persevering attention may be ascribed the early proficiency made by all the children of the royal family in the various branches of knowledge which they were required to study. The King's affection for his children was peculiarly tender, and strikingly evinced in the anxiety which he felt for any of them when indisposed. It is well known that he would go to the lower Lodge himself,

where they lay, as early as five in the morning, and gently tapping at the doors of their respective apartments, inquire how they had passed the night. His own course of life was carried on with the utmost regularity, his time of rising never exceeding six or seven, when he constantly retired to the private devotions of his closet, where he commonly spent an hour previous to breakfast. At eight the Prince of Wales, Prince Frederick, the Princess Royal, and the princes William and Edward, were brought from their several apartments on the green at Kew, to the Queen's house, to breakfast with their parents. At nine the youngest children attended, to lisp or smile their "good morrow;" and whilst the eldest were closely plying their tasks, the little ones, with their nurses, passed the morning in Richmond gardens. The King and Queen frequently amused themselves with sitting in the room while the children dined; and once a week, accompanied by the whole group, in pairs, they made a tour round those extensive plantations. The children all dined together at an early hour, when their fare was always plain, and entirely free from luxury. After this, the King commonly passed the time in his study, when not on horseback, or engaged in transacting public business with his ministers. At table he was exceedingly moderate, generally dining himself off one dish, and that chiefly of mutton, dressed in the plainest manner possible; and he never went beyond four glasses of wine at most.

Such was the simple life, and such were the regular habits, to which the royal children were accustomed by example, as well as discipline; and it has been justly remarked, that, whatever charms ambition or folly might conceive to be necessarily attendant upon

the highest of all earthly rank, it was neither on the throne, nor in the pageantry which surrounded it, nor in the parade of the drawing-room, that the royal pair placed their happiness; but, next to the discharge of the duties of their station, it was in social and domestic gratifications, in breathing the air of freedom, admiring the works of nature, encouraging beneficial arts, and bringing up their offspring to a similar love and practice of virtue.

In the evening, it was the custom for all the children again to pay their respects at the Queen's house, before they retired to rest; and the same order was observed through each succeeding day, without any deviation, while at that place of residence. On Sunday every member of the family, of a proper age, was required to attend public worship; and in the evening his Majesty himself made it a rule to read a discourse from the writings of some of our best divines. His favourite authors were Taylor, Atterbury, Sherlock, and Barrow; but especially the latter, whose sermons, being uncommonly long, the King judiciously divided each into two or three portions. And here, while on this subject, an anecdote occurs to the memory worthy of relation.

One day, the King meeting a young clergyman, of noble birth, upon the terrace at Windsor, entered into conversation with him; and, turning the discourse to theological subjects, noticed the superiority of the old divines over the moderns. The ecclesiastic, who had little but the title to distinguish him, professed his ignorance of the early writers, saying, that his reading had not extended beyond the productions of the present day, which he had been taught to regard as more elegant than those of the preceding century. "Far

otherwise," said the King, "there can be no comparison between them; they were giants in those days."

The favourite studies of his Majesty were geography, history, and mathematics; with all which he was extremely well acquainted; as well as with the principal modern languages of Europe, particularly French and German, both of which he understood thoroughly, and spoke them fluently. All his pursuits were of a practical nature, and tended to a useful purpose. Nothing trivial, speculative, or abstruse, was suffered to occupy his attention. Even his very amusements, except hunting, if indeed that sport might be exempted which conduced to the preservation of health, were all directed to the great object of general utility.

George the Third was a lover of peace, and he gave an early proof his being so, by hazarding the loss of popularity at the very beginning of his reign, in endeavouring to put an end to what was called a glorious, though in reality a burdensome and unprofitable, war. This pacific disposition, however, was not the effect of timidity, as in James the First, or of the love of pleasure, as in Charles the Second; neither was the King insensible of the importance of a great military and naval establishment for the security of a nation, whose colonies and commerce were spread over three parts of the globe. The achievement of conquests was far from his desire, but he knew that the rights of the crown and the interests of the people were so closely connected as not to be separated without disgrace and ruin. He therefore, though averse to every kind of pomp, and utterly devoid of ambition, appeared to take a delight in the review of his troops; going through the various evolutions with a precision which seemed to indicate a mind solely devoted to that pursuit.

That such exercises did not afford pleasure, it would be idle to say; but that they were made subservient to any motive of personal gratification and aggrandizement, it would be the height of injustice to affirm. The whole of this application to the technical knowledge necessary for the management of an army in the field of battle, was the pure result of an imperative sense of duty; and under the same force of obligation, the King habituated himself to the labour of becoming acquainted with the history and condition of every regiment in his service, not even excepting the militia. He knew the names, numbers, and circumstances of all the officers, their past deeds, general character, and present situation. Of all these particulars, with such other incidental information as might occur, he kept an exact register, written entirely, and indexed, by his own hand; nor did he ever suffer it to be once out of his possession.

As a proof of the value of this record, and of the extraordinary memory, as well as liberality, of the monarch, the following anecdote may be relied upon. When Lord Amherst was at the head of the military administration, the majority in a certain regiment became vacant, and a new appointment taking place, the commission was laid before his Majesty for the necessary sign manual. On casting his eye over the instrument, the King asked what was become of one officer belonging to that corps, and whether he was dead? Being answered that he was still alive and in the service, the King inquired why he was not preferred? To this question he received the official explanation, that the gentleman, though very meritorious in every respect, had it not in his power to make up the difference for the purchase, according to the established regulations.

Upon this, the King, going to his scrutoire, took out his private book, and, turning to a page, read some details; after which he said, "Here is an account of services more than adequate to the paltry sum required by the rules of the War Office; and therefore I cannot in conscience permit such a man to be passed over on this occasion. He must have the majority, if I pay the difference myself."

Such was the principle of equity which governed the mind and actions of this excellent sovereign; and he made it a constant practice to train his children up in the same regard to moral justice.

The strict domestic attention paid by both the King and Queen to the mental improvement of their offspring, was highly deserving of imitation. It was customary to allow each of the children a stated sum in the nature of a privy purse, given without any express conditions as to the appropriation, but subject nevertheless to parental inquiry; when a due censure followed the discovery of any improper expenditure, and praise where the conduct had been such as to merit the reward. The effect of this judicious regulation was such, that while it induced economy, it served to act as an incitement to benevolence. Of the truth of this, the following is a case in point. While the King was reading the newspaper at breakfast, one of the junior branches of the family, turning to the Queen, said, "Madam, I can't imagine what sort of a place a prison is." To this expression of surprise an affecting explanation was given; when the child, understanding that the persons who were in confinement frequently suffered cold and hunger within the dreary walls of a dungeon, replied, "Oh, that is very cruel, for the prison must be bad enough without starving; therefore I will

save all my pocket-money to buy bread for poor prisoners." Becoming praise was bestowed upon the young philanthropist, whose benevolent intention was not only carried into effect, but a considerable addition was made thereto by the royal parents, and the rest of the family.

The first governor of the two elder princes was the Earl of Holdernesse, under whom were Monsieur de Salzes, a French protestant, and Mr. Leonard Smelt. Dr. Markham, master of Westminster school, at the express desire of the King, quitted that station, to undertake the office of classical instructor, and with him was associated Dr. Cyril Jackson, of Christchurch, Oxford; whose brother, Mr. William Jackson, became the mathematical teacher. With these able men the King did not interfere, any otherwise than to mark the progress of the youths; but that his Majesty was exceedingly vigilant to keep from his children all books and persons of a questionable character, will appear from two facts. When the two elder princes were just taken from the nursery, Mr. Kidgell, a clergyman who had rendered himself conspicuous in the prosecution of Wilkes for an infamous publication, flattered himself with the idea of being appointed preceptor to one or both of them. To attain his object, he communicated to Lady Charlotte Finch some fables in prose which he had composed, hoping, through her interest, to procure permission to dedicate the collection to the princes. On her ladyship's recommendation, the desired favour was readily granted; and the work was most elegantly printed in two small volumes, with very neat vignettes engraved in outline. According to etiquette, the performance, previous to publication, was submitted to the King, who no sooner looked over

it, than he discovered a vein of levity running through the whole, mixed with flattery so gross, and satire so palpable, that he was quite shocked at the impropriety of countenancing such a book, especially as a manual of instruction. No time was lost in signifying the royal disapprobation to the author; but, to make him and Robson the bookseller amends, the whole impression was paid for and destroyed. Thus poor Kidgell overshot the mark at which he aimed; and the mortification was so great, that he soon after left the kingdom.

The other instance in which the royal prudence and sagacity proved too much for art and ambition, was that of the unfortunate Dr. William Dodd. This man, at the commencement of the new reign, had attained an extraordinary degree of popularity in London as a preacher; and also by his zeal in promoting several charitable institutions, particularly the very laudable one for the reformation of penitent prostitutes. These exertions brought him very much into the notice of the great; and the Countess of Northumberland interested herself so much in his favour, that the Queen became his patroness, and by her influence procured him to be appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary. About the same time the celebrated Earl of Chesterfield entrusted to his care the education of his adopted heir, Philip Dormer Stanhope; and so well pleased was that nobleman with the manner in which Dodd discharged the office of tutor, that he ventured to mention him as a person admirably qualified to be employed in the education of the Prince of Wales and his brothers.

The Queen, who was pleased with the fervid eloquence of Dodd, and had at his desire taken upon herself the patronage of the Magdalen Hospital, was

much inclined to favour the application in his behalf. The King, however, whose penetration into the human character was greater than most people gave him credit for, put a decided negative upon the proposal; nor could he ever be brought to bestow any preferment upon this ingenious, but time-serving and profligate ecclesiastic.

A very few years clearly shewed what a just estimate his Majesty had formed of the man; and how truly superior his discernment was to that of the nobleman by whom Dodd had been so particularly distinguished. The Earl of Holdernesse did not long retain the situation of governor to the princes, and, on his resignation, Lord Bruce was appointed to that post; which, however, he held only a short time, and on his retirement was created Earl of Aylesbury. The Duke of Montague now succeeded to the superintendence of the royal education; with whom Dr. Markham and Dr. Jackson cordially co-operated; and under their joint labours, with the assistance of the ablest professors in different departments that could be procured, the most satisfactory progress was made. The King, indeed, was so perfectly pleased with the conduct of Dr. Markham, that, of his own accord, he promoted him in February 1771 to the bishopric of Chester; but he still continued to discharge the important office which had produced his advancement to the mitre, and that at the special desire of the King himself. Nor, indeed, could the royal choice have fallen upon a fitter person than Dr. Markham, as he was remarkable for mildness of temper; and, besides possessing an uncommon readiness in clearing up difficulties, he excelled in the mode of conveying knowledge, and of exciting youth to laudable pursuits.

Whilst storing the juvenile mind with good principles, and guarding them carefully from receiving bad ones, his system was to point out the happiness of virtue, and to expose the misery of vice, by appropriate examples drawn from the sources of genuine history. His classical learning was extensive, his judgment correct, and his taste elegant. In addition to his pre-eminent qualifications as a preceptor, and which rendered him so deserving of the high trust reposed in him by the sovereign, it was a most important feature in his character, that he never permitted grammatical studies to take an undue preponderance over general information. As head master of a public seminary, he was bound by a system from which he could in no instance deviate; but in the station which he now occupied, Dr. Markham was aware that a different course must be pursued. To allow time for each branch of knowledge that was to be learnt, the twenty-four hours were regularly divided into allotted portions; besides which, there were days set apart for particular objects. The morning was devoted to Latin, the principal authors read being Virgil, Terence, and Horace, among the poets; and Cæsar, Sallust, and Cicero, of the prose writers. These, however, were adopted in succession, according to the progress made by the royal pupils. Tully's Offices constituted a kind of text-book, as well for the inculcation of moral principles, as to impress the mind with a proper relish for purity of composition. The Commentaries of Cæsar were also read throughout, and accompanied with a geographical course of explanation, by way of lecture, somewhat in the manner of the plan laid down by the great Bossuet, in his education of the dauphin of France. In the account which that illus-

trious man wrote of the system he adopted for the instruction of the prince, he says, "Cæsar he admired above all, as an excellent model of writing and action; besides which, he was desirous to learn of him the art of war. We did, therefore, as it were, follow this great commander in all his marches; we made encampments, formed and executed designs, praised or punished the soldiery, employed them in the construction of fortifications, raised their hopes, held them in a state of preparation for various services; and whilst we conducted a conquering army, we restrained their passion for plunder, kept them in order by discipline, and secured our allies by a punctual observance of treaties. We accommodated the disposition of our troops to the circumstances of the place and the character of the enemy: sometimes we made advantage by delay, but commonly pushed on, and by the celerity of our marches gave the foe no time either for council or flight; those who submitted we spared, but such as resisted we treated with severity: the conquered countries we reconciled to our government by prudence and equity; thus at once softening their subjection, and securing our victories."

It is not meant that the course of explaining classic authors, so eloquently depicted by the Bishop of Meaux in this statement of his practice, was literally followed in the education of the English princes: but this we may venture to affirm, that the order of grammatical tuition pursued by Dr. Markham and his very able coadjutor, was not less judicious and efficacious. After a solid foundation had been laid by these experienced instructors, the task of completing the important work in the more finished and ornamental parts, was left by them to Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Lichfield. The

appointment of this accomplished scholar and amiable man to the situation of tutor, is said to have originated entirely with the King; who, on the perusal of Dr. Hurd's excellent "Dialogues on History, Chivalry, and Romance," conceived so high an opinion of the author, as to deem him a proper person to instruct his sons in those sound principles of the British constitution, of which in that work he had displayed a profound knowledge.

Another account, and perhaps the most accurate, though not very remote from the other, is, that when Dr. Hurd published his "Lectures on Prophecy," delivered in the chapel of Lincoln's Inn, pursuant to the settlement of Bishop Warburton; Lord Mansfield, one of the trustees of the institution, was so well pleased with the ability of the preacher, that, on the first appearance of the volume from the press, he laid it before his Majesty, with a strong recommendation of the author, as a person admirably furnished with all the requisites of talent and temper necessary to direct the studies of the heir apparent and his brother. It happened, according to this statement of the affair, that the King was already well acquainted with the "Dialogues" of Dr. Hurd; and on being informed that the writer and lecturer were one and the same, he expressed his entire satisfaction at the discovery; and therefore, when Dr. Markham signified his wish to retire from the office of tutor, to attend to his episcopal duties, his Majesty at once pitched upon Dr. Hurd as his successor.

The two narratives do not materially differ; but there is every reason to believe, after all, that Bishop Warburton was at the bottom of the affair, and that with his usual address, without Dr. Hurd's knowledge,

he managed the matter for the advancement of his friend through the powerful interest of Lord Mansfield. Such, at least, is the account which the compiler of this memoir has himself frequently had from some of Bishop Warburton's nearest relatives.

The late Dr. Parr was also fully convinced of the truth of this statement, which he received from the same authority; only, out of hatred to the two bishops, he affected to believe that the business was artfully contrived between them some years before, and that the earl was the instrument of their ingenious device. The rancorous enmity of Parr to Hurd, and the unassuming character of the latter, will, however, be sufficient to satisfy every candid mind that the aspersion is totally groundless. What was the cause of Parr's inveterate hostility to Bishop Hurd, and which he evinced on every occasion through life, has never hitherto been clearly stated, or even conjectured. But the truth is, when Dr. Cyril Jackson followed his friend Bishop Markham from the situation which he held about the princes, Parr applied to Hurd for the vacant preceptorship; founding his claim upon their academical connexion as members of Emmanuel College, and the high estimate in which he held his own scholastic abilities. Hurd, with all the respect that he entertained for the deep and various learning of his old acquaintance, did not think him possessed of the happiest disposition for so delicate an appointment as that to which he aspired; and, so judging, he let him down gently, with a declaration that the nomination rested with the sovereign. Parr, where he conceived himself injured, was not to be softened by civility; and, from this time, he treasured up the bitterest venom against the bishop, especially when he found that the latter had actually

preferred their common friend Arnald to the subpreceptorship. The enraged Doctor, however, did not give vent to his spleen in public, till the appearance of the splendid edition of Warburton's Works, in 1787: then the virulent polemic opened his tremendous fire against both the dead and the living prelate, in the publication of the extraordinary volume, entituled, "Tracts by Warburton and a Warburtonian."

The torrent of virulent abuse poured out upon Bishop Hurd in the preface to that work, gave such offence to the King, that he could never afterwards endure the name of Parr; and this aversion was increased by the busy politics of the Doctor, and his becoming a sort of chaplain and pensioner of the Whig Club. When that junto, therefore, came into power, Parr was passed over in the distribution of ecclesiastical preferment, nor would his Majesty on any account have given his consent to the elevation of a divine who had so grossly deviated from the spirit and duties of his profession. The Doctor, however, in one of his flights of vanity, said to the late worthy John Nichols, that, during the short administration of Fox, he was actually set down for the bishopric of Gloucester: but, whatever might have been the inclinations of the party, it is certain that the King would have put a decided negative upon the recommendation; nor is there any reason to believe that any of the statesmen, by whom Parr was esteemed, would have ventured to propose him for a mitre, or even a deanery, knowing, as they all did, how much the monarch disliked the man.

But to return from this digression, to the education of the princes. The King had no pretensions to the reputation of a scholar, and in classical learning he

was generally supposed to be deficient. But his acquaintance with general knowledge was considerable; and he made it an object to have his children thoroughly instructed in every branch of useful science. Like their father, they read admirably, and wrote an excellent hand even at an early age.

Eight hours every day were devoted to their several tasks; but sufficient time was always allowed for those exercises which conduced to invigorate the constitution, and relax the mind from the severity of study. During their residence on Kew Green, the princes amused themselves commonly with playing at single-wicket cricket, in which skilful and active sport they became such proficients, that it was said they could hardly be surpassed by any of the best players in the kingdom.

Prince Frederick was particularly distinguished by the robustness of his frame and the agility of his motions. Among other things related of his youthful vigour, it is confidently affirmed, that he often made two servants hold a garter as high as his mouth, and then, retiring some distance, he would take a run, and clear the same at a single bound. In horsemanship he excelled, as he also did in the manual exercise, and all the arts connected with the military profession, to which from his infancy he was destined.

Throughout the whole system observed in rearing these hopes of the nation, utility was primarily regarded, of which the following instance, related on his own personal knowledge by the late Mr. Arthur Young, may be adduced as a proof. At the desire of the Prince of Wales and his brother, when the former was no more than twelve years of age, a spot of ground was allotted to them at Kew, in the nature of a small farm. This field they dug themselves, without any assistance;

after which they sowed it with wheat, attended the growth of their little crop, weeded it, reaped and harvested it, solely by themselves. They next thrashed out the corn, then separated it from the chaff; and at this period of their labour they were brought to reflect, from their own experience, on the various occupations and cares which mark the life of a farmer and husbandman. The two young agriculturists not only raised their own crop, but they also carried it to the mill, and having parted the bran from the meal, they superintended the whole process of converting it into bread, which, it may well be imagined, was eaten with no slight relish. The King and Queen partook of the philosophical repast, and beheld with pleasure the very amusements of their children rendered instrumental to the improvement of their minds in practical knowledge.

On the 15th of June, 1772, a grand installation of the knights companions of the Bath took place in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster, on which occasion, Prince Frederick was knighted, though he had not as yet completed his ninth year; and on the 25th of the same month he was invested with the insignia of the most noble order of the Garter, at a grand installation held for the purpose at Windsor.

When the heir apparent had attained his fourteenth year, his birthday was celebrated in a very remarkable manner. Their Majesties, and all the family, with several of the nobility, went in procession to St. George's chapel, where, previous to the religious service, the King, the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburg, and the Duke of Montague, went up to the altar, and made their offerings of gold and silver, which the canons residentiary received in a gold dish.

Ten days after this ceremony, there was a regatta on the Thames, in honour of the Prince, who gave three wherries as prizes, to be rowed for by as many young watermen who were just out of their time. The day happened to be very fine, and the royal party walked among the company along the side of the river, enjoying the liveliness of the scene, and the pleasure which it afforded to the numerous spectators.

In the following month, the King and Queen, with the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburg, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Augusta, attended by Lady Charlotte Finch, General Desaguliers, the military tutor of the princes, and Colonel Hotham, went to Mr. Hartley's house on Wimbledon common, to see some very remarkable experiments, illustrative of that gentleman's invention for the security of buildings against fire. Their Majesties, with the princes and princesses, first breakfasted in one of the rooms, the tea-kettle being boiled over a fire made upon the floor of the opposite apartment, which they afterwards went into, and saw the bed set on fire; but though the curtains were soon consumed, with part of the wood work, the entire frame was not destroyed, the flames, from the resistance of the floor, going out of themselves. The royal party then went down stairs, and saw a horse-shoe forged in a fire made upon the floor; as also a large fagot lighted, that was hung up to the ceiling instead of a curtain; after which, two fires were made upon the staircase, and one under the stairs, all of which burnt out innoxiously, without spreading beyond the place where the fuel was first laid. Their Majesties and two princes paid the greatest attention to every experiment that was made, and expressed their utmost pleasure at

the important discovery. The whole of this curious exhibition was concluded by lighting a large heap of fagots, intermixed with pitch and tar, in the room that had undergone the same trial twice before; once when these experiments were first shewn to the King alone, and afterwards to the committee appointed by the corporation of the city of London; and the whole combustible magazine burnt out now, as it did then, with amazing fury, but no damage to the floor or ceiling. What deserved observation, perhaps, as much as any thing, was the courage of the Queen and children, in going up stairs, and abiding in the room directly over that which was raging beneath like a furnace.

The nation was now involved in a contest with the revolted colonies of North America; the congress of which states published this year a declaration of their independence. That the King was tenacious of the rights of his crown from the beginning of this great revolution, cannot be called in question; but nothing could be more unjust than to charge him with being the author of the war, or the cause of its continuance. In truth, the Americans had for many years been making a progress which tended, in the natural course of things, to a separation of the two countries. With such a preparation, a spark only was wanted to effect an explosion, and this was elicited, first by the imprudent stamp-act of the Grenville administration, and next by the tax upon articles imported into the colonies, which blew the whole into a flame, that completed the rupture. This, however, is neither the time nor place to enter upon the discussion of a subject which belongs to general and political history. Suffice it to say, that the people went hand in hand with

their monarch in the conflict; and though a vigorous opposition was made both in and out of parliament to the measures of government, no one ventured to call in question the sovereignty of Britain over the colonies. In this supremacy all parties concurred, and the only matter at issue was, the right of the legislature to tax those who were not represented in the British senate. One man only at this crisis had the boldness to recommend an immediate separation, and a formal recognition of the independence of the United States. This was Dr. Josiah Tucker, dean of Gloucester, one of the ablest writers on commerce and political economy England has produced. His principle was, that when colonies have attained such a degree of wealth and population as to be able to support themselves, the authority of the state from whence they emanated must be trivial and precarious. He therefore inferred, that, in all cases of this kind, it is the dictate of prudence and sound policy for the parties to dissolve their connexion by mutual consent. For this opinion and advice the Doctor was treated as a visionary and madman by those who supported, as well as those who opposed, the government. Time, however, and experience gave another feature to the position; and when the independence of America was irrevocably settled by the peace of Paris, the King, on meeting Dr. Tucker at Gloucester, said, "Mr. Dean, you were in the right, and we were all in the wrong."

During the height of this unfortunate contest, a party of English noblemen and gentlemen being at Potsdam, were entertained by Frederick King of Prussia, who took occasion to turn the discourse upon the subject of the American war. He said that it was a difficult thing to govern men by force at such a dis-

tance; that if the Americans should be beaten, which appeared a little problematical, still it would be next to impossible to draw a revenue from them by taxation; that if the English intended conciliation, some of their measures were too rough; and if subjugation, they were too gentle. The sagacious old monarch concluded in these words, "However, gentlemen, I do not profess to be skilled in these matters; for I have no colonies; and I hope you will bring your dispute to a favourable termination, though to my judgment it has a very doubtful aspect."

It redounds to the honour of George the Third, that, amidst the cares and distractions produced by foreign war and intestine feuds, he did not lose sight of the interests of science. At the very time when the empire was dismembered, he encouraged voyages of discovery, and laid down the plan of a royal society of literature, on a much more extensive scale than the Academy of Sciences at Paris. The former scheme was carried into effect by the illustrious Captain Cook; but the latter, owing to the heavy pressure of the public burdens, was laid aside till a more convenient opportunity, which never occurred during that long and eventful reign. It has, however, been taken up in the present, and that upon a scale of the greatest liberality on the part of his Majesty.

At the beginning of the year 1778 the King applied to parliament by a message, the purport of which was, that he might be enabled to make suitable provisions for his younger children out of the hereditary revenues of the crown. This proposal went to the settling an annuity of sixty thousand pounds on the six junior princes; another of fifty thousand pounds on the five princesses; and one of twelve thousand pounds on

Prince William and the Princess Sophia of Gloucester: but these annuities were only to take effect, in the former instance, on the demise of his Majesty, and in the latter, on that of his brother, the Duke of Gloucester. The royal message was cordially received by both branches of the legislature, and the required bill was soon passed without any opposition.

In the summer of the same year, the King, Queen, and the two elder princes, visited Eton school, to hear the speeches of the young gentlemen previous to the holidays. On this interesting occasion the present Marquis Wellesley particularly distinguished himself by the delivery of the great Earl of Strafford's affecting speech at his trial before the House of Lords. The manner in which this pathetic address was spoken by the young nobleman gave great satisfaction, and literally drew forth tears from the whole audience.

As at this period the style of royal living was of the most domesticated kind, so the manners and appearance of the King were equally unostentatious. It was now his frequent practice to walk about the environs of Windsor, sometimes totally unattended, and at others accompanied by one or both of his eldest sons. In one of these rambles with the Prince of Wales, the King happened to meet a carter passing along the road towards Windsor with a load of hay, when by some accident the vehicle was caught in a deep rut, from whence the driver was unable to extricate it. The royal wanderers came up at the time, and instantly followed the impulse of humanity by hastening to the relief of the distressed rustic. By their united exertions, though with considerable difficulty, the cart was lifted out of the hole; when the honest labourer, with an overflowing heart, expressed his thanks, and hoped

the kind gentlemen would take a draught of ale with him at the next house. This grateful proposal was civilly declined, and at the same time the King slipped a guinea into the honest fellow's hand; to which sum the Prince added two more, leaving the yeoman to wonder who his benefactors were; but on his arrival at the public house, and mentioning the circumstance, he discovered that they were the two first persons in the nation.

To convince him of this, however, was not very easy; especially as he could not understand how the youngest personage of the two should have given him a couple of guineas, whilst the bounty of the elder was limited to one. Some of the royal domestics overhearing this curious comment, gave it circulation, and it was not long in reaching the ears of his Majesty, who was highly amused by the circumstance. A short time afterwards, the King, when walking by himself, met the same man again upon the road, and, stopping him, said, "Well, my friend, I find you were dissatisfied with the smallness of my present, and thought the son more liberal than the father; but remember, that I must be just as well as generous. My son has only himself to take care of, and think about; whilst I have not only to provide for a large family, but to have a regard to the welfare of millions, who look up to me for that protection which your own children at home expect and demand from you. Go home, therefore, and be content." Another anecdote, of rather a whimsical nature, happened about the same time; but though the story has been related by some of the biographers of the late King, it has not been correctly given. One Sunday morning in autumn, the Prince of Wales and his brother, with one or two attendants, took a walk after divine

service towards Stoke, near Windsor. While on this excursion, they were surprised by a violent storm of rain, on which they hastened for shelter to the house of a small farmer named Stiles, where they found two young girls (the rest of the family being at church) employed in roasting a goose, which was swinging by a string. The princes were highly amused by this novel mode of cookery, and inquired the reason of it, when they were told, that, though a common practice, it was occasioned in the present instance by a defect in the jack. The females were much pleased with the freedom and civility of their unknown visitors, and told them, that if they would be pleased to stay till the goose was dressed, it should be at their service. The princes politely declined the invitation, and when the day cleared up, departed, each leaving a guinea, to be laid out either for the repair of the jack, or to be spent according as fancy might dictate.

These are light circumstances, but such incidents often contribute to illustrate the human character more accurately than those of a graver cast. At this period the Prince of Wales had a separate establishment of his own; a measure which many intelligent observers reprehended, as, by placing him in a state of independence while under age, it exposed him to numerous temptations, from which, under the parental roof, he would have been in a great measure free. Another arrangement, which now took place, met also with a similar treatment, though not with an equal appearance of justice. This was, the royal determination to send the Bishop of Osnaburg to Germany, that he might there perfect himself in military knowledge, become personally acquainted with foreign courts, and acquire some experience in the art of government, by

taking possession of his little principality. At the same time another separation in the royal family was about to occur, in the departure of Prince William Henry, now Duke of Clarence, for the naval service, as a midshipman on board the Prince George, the flag-ship of Admiral Digby. These were painful sacrifices on the part of the King, but the sense of public duty was in him a paramount principle, to which paternal affection and private considerations were always made subservient.

Augusta

Elizabeth

Charlotte
Augusta
Matilda

Mary

Sophia

Meyer, sculp.

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CHAP. II.

FROM A. D. 1780 TO 1788.

ON the first of November, 1780, Prince Frederick was appointed a colonel by brevet in the British service; and, on the 30th of the following month, he left Buckingham-House for the continent, accompanied by Colonel Richard Grenville. Nothing could be more affecting than the parting between the prince and his royal relatives. Their Majesties wept, and the Prince of Wales was so overpowered at the idea of being deprived for a long period of the sole companion of his early years, that he was unable to speak, or to express his feelings. Having embarked at Harwich, his royal highness, on the second of January 1781, arrived off the port of Ostend, where he landed the same evening, and was received with all the honours due to his rank, by the commandant and magistrates.

The next morning he expressed an inclination to pay a visit to the Capuchin monastery, the turrets of which he had seen from his window; and on being informed of the austere mode of living professed by the fraternity, his curiosity was excited to witness their economy. His desire was readily complied with, and the prince entered the refectory at the time when the friars were at dinner. His royal highness, after

complimenting them on the sacrifice which by their simple repast they made to religious principle, condescended to sit down and partake of their frugal fare. In the afternoon he visited the two convents of the Black and White-veiled Nuns, where his manners were equally courteous.

At an early hour on the following day, the prince left Ostend for Hanover, where he arrived in safety, though the weather was very severe, and the roads in many places were almost impassable. After staying some weeks in the palace of Herenhausen, his royal highness went to Lunenburg, and next to Brunswick, then considered the first military school in Europe. Here he profited by the particular instruction of his uncle the Duke, who was highly pleased with the proficiency he made in the Prussian exercise, and all the accomplishments necessary to qualify him for the command of an army.

While the prince was thus employed abroad, he was not neglected at home; for, on the 23d of March, 1782, he was made colonel of the second regiment of horse grenadiers; and on the 22d of November, in the same year, he received the appointment of major-general. In the ensuing year he entered into possession of his bishopric, on which occasion there were great rejoicings among the Lutheran inhabitants of that principality. The former Bishop of Osnaburg was Clement Augustus, elector and archbishop of Cologne, who died in 1761, after holding this preferment thirty-eight years. His predecessor was Prince Ernest, younger brother of George the First, King of Great Britain, by whom he was created Duke of York and Albany. The dignity was previously held by a Duke of Lorrain, who succeeded another Prince Ernest, of the Brunswick

family, and the father of George the First. By the treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, Osnaburg was made an alternative between the Roman Catholics and Lutherans; and in consideration of the services rendered to the Germanic empire by the house of Brunswick, it was settled that the Protestant turn should be supplied by a younger branch of that family.

Had a vacancy occurred in the reign of George the Second, his son, the celebrated Duke of Cumberland, would have been nominated to the dignity. But though the bishopric was made hereditary in the Protestant line, it was not so with regard to the Roman Catholic possessors, they being chosen out of different families by a chapter of twenty-five canons. When they had a bishop of that persuasion, he was considered as the ecclesiastical suffragan to the archbishop of Cologne; but the Protestant bishop, being merely a temporal prince, had nothing of the spiritual character about him except the title. It was further stipulated by the above-named treaty, that when a Protestant held the situation, the archbishop of Cologne should suspend the exercise of his metropolitan jurisdiction, as far as regarded the members of the Lutheran church.

At the time when Prince Frederick was nominated to this singular preferment, the revenue of the bishopric was estimated at about twenty thousand a year; and the military establishment regularly kept up consisted of twenty-five hundred men. There was, however, only one hereditary officer on the civil establishment, who was denominated the grand steward of the household. Under a Protestant government, there was generally a neat little court at Osnaburg; but when a Roman Catholic held the principality, the case was the reverse, for the bishop being commonly either an

elector, or one who enjoyed several other great preferments with this, the consequence was, that the episcopal revenues were carried out of the country, and spent abroad; as happened when the elector of Cologne was the bishop, who enjoyed six or seven benefices, ecclesiastical and secular, of which Osnaburg was the least, though forty-five miles in length, and twenty-five in breadth, in one of the most fruitful parts of Westphalia.

On the settling of the indemnities at Ratisbon in 1802, it was agreed that the bishopric should devolve to the house of Brunswick in perpetuity, conditionally that the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, should resign all pretensions to Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hexter, and abandon his rights in the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen. Afterwards this bishopric merged in the new kingdom of Westphalia.

It merits observation, that Osnaburg, the capital, was the first town in Westphalia which received the Lutheran doctrine. Here also George the First died rather suddenly, in 1727, at the palace of his brother, the Bishop of Osnaburg, and Duke of York.

The dissensions produced by the nomination of his late royal highness to this dignity, were so vexatious, that little or no benefit ever accrued to him from the revenue, during the whole period of his possessing the title. It gave him, however, some consequence among the Germanic powers, and afforded excellent facilities for improving himself both in military tactics and the direction of civil affairs.

He had not been long in Germany, when he embraced the first occasion that offered of visiting Berlin, where he was introduced to the Great Frederick, by his uncle the Duke of Brunswick, who was high in

the confidence of that monarch. The royal veteran was exceedingly pleased with the young prince, and often took him to review his troops, and survey his plantations.

The last grand review which Frederick held was in Silesia, where his namesake the Bishop of Osnaburg was present; but the manœuvres gave the king so little satisfaction, that he put several officers under arrest, and after his return sent a letter to General Tauenzein expressive of his disapprobation. Of this curious epistle the following is a literal translation:—

"I will here repeat with my pen, what I mentioned to you when I was in Silesia, that my army there has never been in such bad discipline as it is at present. If I were to make generals of shoemakers and tailors, the regiments could not be worse! The regiment of Taddens is not to be compared to the most insignificant battalion of the Prussian landsturm. Rolkirch and Schwartz are not much better. That of Zaremba is in such confusion, that I intend to send one of the officers of my own regiment to bring it into order again. The fellows in Von Erlach's regiment are so spoiled by smuggling, that they have not the appearance of soldiers. Keller's is like a parcel of rough unmannerly boors. Hager's has a miserable commander; and your regiment is very indifferent; so that it is only with Count Von Anhalt, Wendessen, and Heinich, that I can be satisfied. Similar to all this are the regiments in detail. I will now describe to you the manœuvres: Schwartz commits the unpardonable blunder, near Neisse, of not covering sufficiently the heights on the left wing: so that if it had been in earnest, the battle would have been lost. Erlach, on Breslau, instead of covering the army by placing

troops on the heights, marched with his division like cabbages and turnips in defile; so that if it had been in earnest, the cavalry of the enemy would have cut the infantry in pieces, and the battle have been lost.

"I don't intend to lose battles through the laziness of my generals; therefore I herewith command you, that, in case I am alive next year, you march with the army between Breslau and Olau; and four days before I come to the camp, that you manœuvre with the ignorant generals, and shew them their duty. The regiment of Armin, and the garrison regiment of Konitz, are to be the enemy; and whoever does not do his duty, a court-martial shall be held: because, as I should blame every other potentate for keeping people who did not trouble themselves about their business, in his service; consequently I ought not to be censured for doing as I have said. Erlach remains four weeks longer under arrest. You are to make your whole corps acquainted with my opinion."

The closing years of Frederick's long life and reign were occupied, like those of our late venerable monarch, in promoting agricultural improvements. He drained bogs, turned the courses of rivers, settled families on waste lands, and took a great delight in their advancement. Not long before his death, he made a tour round these estates; and, on his return, said to one of his officers, "My dear Backhoff, if you have not been for some time in the environs of Fehrbellin, I must tell you, there is such an alteration for the better, that I really do not recollect to have had so much pleasure as I have now experienced: I undertook this journey because I had no review this year; but I am so well satisfied, that I shall undoubtedly repeat it.—How did it go with you in the late

war? Probably badly. You made no progress in Saxony neither, by reason that we did not fight against men, but cannon. I might have gained a great many victories; but it would have cost me the very flower of my army, and been only shedding innocent blood. I should have deserved to be brought before a court-martial, and publicly punished. Wars in general are terrible." These expressions, coming spontaneously from a monarch who had distinguished himself more than any one in Europe by his warlike exploits, so affected the person to whom they were addressed, as to bring tears into his eyes.

It was on this occasion that Frederick related a remarkable story, respecting the war between Sweden and Prussia, at the close of the preceding century.

"I can form as clear an idea," said the king, "of the battle which was fought near Fehrbellin, as if I had been present. When I, as crown prince, resided at Ruppin, there was a very old citizen who remembered the battle, and knew the field so well, that I once took him with me in my chariot. He informed me of every particular so correctly, that I was highly entertained; and, on my return, thought to have had a little joke with the old man. I asked him, 'Father, cannot you inform me what was the cause of that great quarrel?' 'Yes, please your royal highness,' says he, 'I will tell you. Our last elector, and the king of Sweden, when crown princes, were together at Utrecht for their education; and there were then some disputes and animosities between them, which ran to so high a pitch, that they now thought proper to decide them by the sword.'"

Thus could Frederick think and speak, when age had poured its snow upon his head, and experience

had taught him the value of human life. He was now immensely rich, and many represented him as inordinately avaricious. The following incident, however, is a proof of his generosity. Not long before his death, he sent for general Anhalt to his palace of Sans Souci. When the general came, the king said, "You have lately married one of your daughters." "Yes, sire," replied Anhalt, "I have." "How much did you give with her?" "Ten thousand crowns." "Ten thousand crowns! that is a large sum for a father to bestow upon one child; particularly you who have nothing left for the rest." On the following morning, an order upon the treasury for ten thousand crowns was sent to Anhalt, with a very gracious message from his old master.

At this time the French interest preponderated over the councils of Prussia, so that the appearance of the English prince gave considerable alarm to the agents of the court of Versailles. No apprehension could be entertained of any alteration in the sentiments of the reigning monarch: but his reign was now drawing very near to a close; and, therefore, every engine was put in motion to create a prejudice against England. These arts had their effect upon Prince Henry, but Frederick William, the crown prince, was not to be deceived by them. He was exceedingly attached to his sister, the Princess of Orange; and as the French were even then at the bottom of those dissensions which prevailed in Holland, it was natural for his royal highness to be jealous of their intrigues in his own country. While his uncle lived, however, he acted on the reserve; and so did the two leading directors of the Prussian councils, the Duke of Brunswick, and count Hertzberg, minister of the finances.

The former, in the true spirit of a political tactician, played his cards so well, as to delude the most cunning of the emissaries employed by Vergennes, and to make them believe, that, notwithstanding his personal connexion with England, he supported on principle the alliance of Prussia and France. Hertzberg managed matters to the same purpose, but in a different manner. He courted the crown prince by his zeal for the interests of the stadtholder, and having secured the royal confidence, it was no difficult task to convince him of the danger of trusting a cabinet like that of Versailles, which was so notoriously addicted to political intrigue, that there was not a state on the continent of Europe altogether free from its ambitious influence. While these two able and upright characters were thus endeavouring to free Prussia from the control of France, the arrival of the Bishop of Osnaburg at Potsdam gave fresh vigour to their patriotic exertions, by the accession of a very powerful auxiliary: this was no less than the Princess Frederica, the eldest daughter of the heir apparent by his first consort, Elizabeth Christina Ulrica, Princess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle. She was at this time in her seventeenth year, of a petit stature, but elegantly formed, and with features highly expressive of that sweetness of temper which rendered her a universal favourite. Though her father had taken a second wife, this child continued to possess an uncommon share of his affections; and, what was still more extraordinary, even her mother-in-law willingly bowed to the superior influence of the princess.

Madame Virey, the lady employed in bringing up the young Frederica, was a woman of considerable talent; a perfect mistress of the English language,

and a great admirer of our best writers: which taste she infused into the mind of her royal pupil, who from thence conceived so high an opinion of the nation, the literature of which yielded perpetual delight, that every Englishman was received by her with marked attention. The Bishop of Osnaburg, therefore, soon became a special favourite, and an intimacy commenced, which ripened into more than friendship; and when his royal highness left Berlin, in 1784, a correspondence was agreed upon, with the full knowledge and approbation of the father of the princess, though kept a secret even from the Duke of Brunswick; who, in fact, cherished some hopes of bringing about an alliance between his nephew and his daughter Caroline, afterwards the consort of his present Majesty. A great part of the summer of that year was taken up, by the Bishop of Osnaburg, in visiting other courts of Germany, particularly Vienna, where he received every mark of attention from the emperor Joseph the Second, with whom he visited Schoenbrunn, Munich, and other places.

On the 22d of October, in the same year, his royal highness was gazetted as lieutenant-general and colonel in the Coldstream regiment of Guards; and on the 27th of the following month his patent of creation was made out as Duke of York in England, and Albany in Scotland, and Earl of Ulster in Ireland.

The history of the honours of York is so very remarkable, that it is presumed no apology need be made, for giving, in this place, a short sketch of the several creations, and introducing the same with some genealogical particulars not commonly known.

The founder of the present royal family was Boniface, a native of Bavaria, who in the year 769 became

count and governor of Lucca. He left a son of the same name, who distinguished himself, first by his exploits against the Saracens, and afterwards by rescuing the empress Judith from a monastery, where she was confined by her rebellious son Lothaire, king of Italy. For this last act of chivalry, the count was obliged to seek shelter in France, where he was honoured with several important employments. His son Adelbert the First, became duke and marquis of Tuscany, in which dignity he was succeeded by his son, the second of the name, who married Bertha, the daughter of Lothaire, king of Lorraine, and great-grandson of Charlemagne. This duke Adelbert left two sons, Guido and Lambert; and a daughter, named Hermengarde, who married an Italian prince. Guido died in the prime of life, and Lambert was deprived of his dominions and his eyes by the treachery of his uterine brother, Hugh count of Provence, the son of Bertha by a former husband. According to Leibnitz and Muratori, Adelbert, the third duke, was the son of the marquis Guido; but Mr. Gibbon is of a different opinion, and thinks that the nearest relation in which they stood to each other was that of cousin. This Adelbert, who was the father of the families of Este and Brunswick, left a son named Otbert, who joined Otho of Saxony against Berengarius king of Italy, and by that means united the two countries under the iron crown. This marquis Otbert, after commanding armies and ruling the state, retired from the world into a Benedictine abbey, which he had himself richly endowed; and where, says Gibbon, in his usual sneering style, "the descendant of princes, the favourite of kings, the judge of nations, was conspicuous among his brethren in the daily labour of collecting and feeding

the hogs of the monastery." This piece of sarcastic wit was intended to throw ridicule on the spirit of humility which actuated Otbert, and made him desirous of expiating the sins of his secular life. But it may be observed, that if the prince was sincere in his repentance—and even the infidel historian does not venture to charge him with hypocrisy—his conduct, making allowance for the manners of the age in which he lived and the light which he possessed, merits praise rather than obloquy.

We are told that the life of the second Otbert, son of the penitent marquis, was tranquilly obscure. He had four sons, whose valour imbittered his old age, and involved the family in terrible misfortunes, owing to their zealous support of Ardouin the Lombard, in his unsuccessful contest for the iron crown, against Henry of Saxony. Albert Azo, the eldest son of Otbert, married the niece of Hugo marquis of Tuscany; after which he fixed his principal residence in the castellated town of Ateste, or Este, formerly a Roman colony of some eminence. This marquis was succeeded by his son, Albert Azo the Second, who claims notice as the common father of the Italian family of Este and the German of Brunswick. He obtained, on account of his munificence, the appellation of the Great Marquis; and his age was no less remarkable, as, at his death in 1097, he had passed his hundredth year. He was three times married, first to Cunegunda Guelph, a heiress whose brother was invested, by the emperor Henry the Third, with the duchy of Carinthia and the marquisate of Verona; secondly, to Garsanda, the daughter of Hugo count of Maine, by whom he had three children. His last wife was Matilda, a widow of noble birth. Cunegunda

brought her husband a son, named Guelph, who inherited the maternal estates in Germany, and there planted the house of Brunswick. He was created duke of Bavaria in 1071, and died in the island of Cyprus, on his way to the Holy Land, in 1101. He was twice married: first to Ethelinda, daughter of Otho the Saxon, duke of Bavaria, from whom he was divorced; and secondly to Judith, daughter of Baldwin, surnamed the Pious, count of Flanders, and widow of Toston earl of Kent, the brother of Harold king of England. By this last wife he had two sons, Guelph the Second, duke of Bavaria, who died in 1119 without issue; and Henry, called the Black, duke of Bavaria, who died in 1125, leaving by Wilfilda, daughter of Magnus duke of Saxony, a son of his own name, but denominated, according to the custom of that age, "the Superb."

This last espoused Gertrude, daughter of the emperor Lothaire the Second, by whom he had Henry termed the Lion, from whom lineally descended the dukes of Brunswick-Lunenburg. This last mentioned prince having revolted in 1180 against Frederick Barbarossa, that emperor caused him to be proscribed by public ban; after which his estates were confiscated, those of Bavaria being given to Otho count of Schirin, and those in Saxony to Bernard, the son of Albert of Ouers. Henry the Lion, upon this calamity, retired to England, where he found a powerful protector in Henry the Second, who in 1179 gave him his daughter Matilda in marriage, and afterwards obtained for him the princely domains, or, as they were then denominated, the counties of Brunswick and Lunenburg. Thus the royal blood of England became incorporated with this ancient and august family, ages before the

regal current was blended with the Tudors and Stuarts. Henry the Lion died in 1195, leaving three sons: 1. Otho, who in the lifetime of his father was created earl of York, and afterwards became emperor of Germany, but died without issue. 2. Henry, who by virtue of his marriage obtained the title of count palatine of the Rhine. 3. William the First, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, for which dignity he was indebted to his elder brother, who, on his election to the imperial diadem, raised the paternal estates into a duchy.

After this, the title of York remained dormant till the year 1385, when Edmund, surnamed of Langley, the fifth son of Edward the Third, and earl of Cambridge, was by patent created Duke of York. Edward Plantagenet his son was made earl of Rutland and Duke of York in 1401, but died at the battle of Azincourt without issue.

In 1415, Richard Plantagenet, nephew of the last duke, and son of Richard earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded for conspiring against Henry the Fifth, succeeded his uncle in the title. He began the fatal contest between the two potent houses of York and Lancaster, and lost his life at the battle of Wakefield, when Queen Margaret, the wife of Henry the Sixth, placed his head with a paper crown thereon, by way of mockery, on one of the gates of York.

On the 28th of May, 1474, Richard Plantagenet, surnamed of Shrewsbury from the place of his birth, the second son of Edward the Fourth, was created Duke of York, and soon after, duke of Norfolk and earl of Warren. He is generally said to have been inhumanly murdered in the Tower, with his brother Edward the Fifth, by the orders of their uncle, Richard

the Third; but there are strong reasons for believing that the youngest of these princes was the same person with the celebrated adventurer, known in our histories by the name of Perkin Warbeck. It is certain that the youth so designated was recognized as the Duke of York, both by the duchess of Burgundy and the court of France; nor was this all, for James the Fourth of Scotland received him at his court as the son of Edward the Fourth, and gave him a near relative of his own in marriage, which no monarch in Europe would have done under the impression that the person whom he chose to honour was an impostor.

On the 31st of October, 1495, Henry, the second son of Henry the Seventh, was created Duke of York in parliament; and after the death of his brother Arthur, being then twelve years old, he was created prince of Wales and earl of Chester. He succeeded his father by the name of Henry the Eighth.

In 1601, Charles, the second son of James the First, was, in the second year of his age, before his arrival in England from Scotland, created Duke of Albany, marquis of Ormond, and lord Ardmannoch; and on the 8th of January, 1604, he was created Duke of York, at Whitehall, with public solemnity, at which the king made twenty-five knights of the Bath. This unfortunate prince, after the death of his elder brother Henry in 1616, was created prince of Wales, and earl of Chester and Flint. He succeeded his father by the name of Charles the First.

James, of Great Britain, the second son of the last mentioned monarch, was born at St. James's, October 14th, 1633, and forthwith proclaimed at the court gates, Duke of York, into which title he was afterwards created by patent, dated at Oxford. January

27th, 1643; and by other letters patent, in the eleventh year of Charles the Second, he was made Earl of Ulster in Ireland. He succeeded his brother in 1685, and abdicated the throne in 1688.

In 1716, Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick-Lunenburg, and Bishop of Osnaburg, the brother of George the First, was created Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster. He died without issue in 1728.

In 1760, Edward Augustus, the second son of Frederick Prince of Wales, and brother of George the Third, was created Duke of York. He died in 1768 without having been married. It may not be improper to observe here, that the son of James the Second thought proper to confer the titular honour of Duke of York upon his second son Henry, who afterwards entered into orders in the church of Rome, and was created a cardinal. On the death of his elder brother Charles Edward, commonly called the Pretender, he assumed the title of Henry the Ninth, king of England, though he was more generally known at Rome and elsewhere by the name and stile of Cardinal York.

To return to the subject of the present memoir. On the 31st of January, 1785, his royal highness was appointed one of the lords of the regency of Hanover, and a member of the supreme council for managing the affairs of his Majesty's electoral dominions. In this capacity, the Duke took a leading part in forming the confederacy at that time entered into by the kings of Prussia and Sweden, and the electors of Hanover and Saxony, to preserve the indivisibility of the Germanic empire.

The cause of this association was an alarm excited by the intelligence which the crown prince of Prussia

received, that a secret negociation was on foot between the emperor Joseph and the duke of Bavaria, for an exchange of the territories belonging to the latter. The duke of Deux Ponts, nephew of the elector, at the beginning of this year communicated to Frederick William the result of a conference he had held with count Romanzow, minister plenipotentiary from the court of Russia to the diet at Frankfort, in which that nobleman acquainted him with the nature of an agreement entered into by the emperor and the uncle of the prince. The substance of this agreement was, that the elector should cede to the house of Austria the provinces of Upper and Lower Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg, with the duchies of Newburg and Saltzbach; and that the emperor should give in return the Austrian Low Countries, and the advantages expected from Holland, with the exception of the duchy of Luxembourg, the county of Namur, and a reserve in his favour of the artillery and national troops both of Bavaria and the Netherlands, together with a perpetual right of negociating loans in the latter country. The emperor further stipulated, in favour of the elector and the duke of Deux Ponts, to allow them a gratuity of one million seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, and he also promised to exert his influence to procure the title of king of Burgundy for the elector of Bavaria. This communication was accompanied by a declaration from count Romanzow to the duke of Deux Ponts, saying, that the treaty was in such forwardness, that it was determined to carry it into immediate execution, whether his consent was given or not, and that he had only eight days to form his resolution. Neither the emperor nor the elector seems to have

been prepared for the alarm which this project was likely to create throughout Germany. Politicians, however, had already formed an ill opinion of Joseph II. from the extravagance of his conduct. He began his career, as early as 1778, by laying claim to the succession of Bavaria, and that too in direct opposition to the inclinations of his mother and sovereign, who was most naturally concerned. His demand of the navigation of the Scheldt was equally bold; and it was also known that he meditated, in conjunction with the empress Catherine, a scheme for the conquest of Constantinople, and the entire partition of the Turkish dominions in Europe.

The treaty now entered into between him and the elector did not essentially differ from that of 1778, when the latter was obliged to cede two-thirds of Bavaria without any compensation, rather than encounter the risk of losing the whole of his territories in an unequal contest; his formidable neighbour having assembled on the frontier an army of more than two hundred and fifty thousand men, to support his unjust pretensions. On that occasion the veteran monarch of Prussia interfered in behalf of the suffering electorate. Some months having passed away in fruitless remonstrances, each party had recourse to arms; and the preparations on both sides were so mighty, that had the fate of all Europe been at stake, neither the force employed, nor the means applied to, would have appeared inadequate to the magnitude of the cause.

It is unnecessary to detail the history of this singular war; suffice it to observe, that all the experience and abilities of the great Frederick, exerted with unremitting attention, could gain no advantage over the

emperor, who foiled every attempt of his adversary with a caution and skill that would have done honour to the ablest generals of the age; but then it must be recollected that he had for his instructor the great Marshal Laudohn, who was allowed by Frederick himself to be his equal in the art of war.

After many efforts to dislodge the Austrians from their advantageous post, and to bring them to an engagement, the Prussian hero found himself, for the first time in his life, baffled and defeated by one whom he had affected to treat with contempt, under the appellation of the "Little Joseph." Frederick was, therefore, now compelled by necessity to yield to circumstances, and the elector of Bavaria in consequence submitted to the spoliation of his estates. It was not, however, to be supposed that the hoary politician of Berlin would remain a passive spectator of the ambitious movements of his potent rival. Though now verging on the grave, the news of the fresh designs upon Bavaria roused his energies, and he prepared again to become the assertor and arbiter of the rights of the Germanic body. As soon, therefore, as he was made acquainted with the projected exchange of territory between Austria and Bavaria, he lost no time in communicating the information to those princes who were most likely to be particularly interested by the measure.

Among the rest, the Duke of York was consulted, who immediately sent off an express to England, upon which a cabinet council was held; and his royal highness received full powers to act in conjunction with the court of Berlin, and the other powers who were opposed to the scheme of aggrandizement then under negociation.

When the emperor and elector found that a formidable combination was raised to frustrate their ambitious designs, they began to retrace their steps, and both issued public declarations, disavowing the whole business, and solemnly asserting that no such views had ever been entertained by either of them. It happened, however, unfortunately for the credit of these two sovereigns, that Russia and France had been consulted some time before upon this very treaty, of which both those powers consented to become guarantees; and when the exposure took place, so far were they from denying it, that the empress Catherine publicly justified the proposed exchange on the principles of equity and policy.

While this matter occupied general attention, the world was much engaged by the accounts of aërial voyages, the result of a recent discovery made in France. The old king of Prussia, whose readiness at repartee continued to the last, in one of his conversations at Sans Souci, turning to the Duke of York, said, "that as the French claimed, and deserved, the empire of the AIR, the English had proved themselves masters of the SEA, and the emperor aimed at the sovereignty of the LAND, the only element that remained for him was FIRE; the effects of which he supposed he should be soon obliged to try."

Frederick, while thus occupied, did not confine his views to the subject which had excited his jealousy, but determined, out of this particular occasion, to originate a general principle, that should apply to all future circumstances of a similar nature. He desired, at the close of a long life, which had been crowded with great public transactions, to leave to his successor a legacy of rules; the tendency of which should

be to perpetuate the political ascendancy of his country. Accordingly, he exerted himself with great assiduity in negociating, with the electors of Hanover and Saxony, a league for the preservation of the Germanic constitution; and particularly to prevent such cessions and exchanges of territory as were either contrary to what was called the Golden Bull and other chartularies, or which might be supposed injurious to the balance of power in the empire. This treaty was concluded on the 23d of July, 1785; and among the princes who acceded to it were the elector of Mentz, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the dukes of Brunswick, Weimar, and Saxe Gotha, and the prince of Anhalt. The British ministry entered into the transaction with great readiness, and it is from this period that we are to date the intimate connexion which subsisted for several years between the courts of London and Berlin.

In the mean time the emperor was not idle, for it was hardly possible that he could regard the politics of Prussia with a favourable eye. Kaunitz, his prime minister, while the league was in progress, addressed two letters to the imperial ambassadors at the different courts of Germany, directing them to remonstrate against the irregular and hostile nature of this confederacy, which could not, he said, be considered otherwise than as personal to the emperor himself. With respect to Joseph, he had for a considerable time been absent on an excursion in Italy, and did not return to his capital till a few weeks previous to the final conclusion of the treaty. That measure was first vindicated by the king of Prussia in a circular letter to the German princes, and again soon after in an address to all Europe. These papers produced a laborious reply on the part of the court of Vienna, and a

rejoinder on that of Prussia; the one contending that there was nothing in the meditated exchange contrary either to natural right or the laws of the empire; while, on the other side, it was proved clearly, that the increase of the Austrian power would not only be subversive of the liberties of the minor states, but that it was in fact guarded against by the Golden Bull, which forbade an elector from alienating his dominions.

This was the last public act of Frederick the Great, whose infirmities now increased fast upon him, and a complication of disorders carried him off on the 17th of August, 1786, leaving the throne with an immense treasure for its support, and a country in the highest state of improvement, to his nephew, who assumed the title of Frederick William the Second. The old monarch, a few months before his death, gave a striking instance of his liberality. A disappointed author published a libel, intituled, "Les Memoires du Roy de Prusse," in which the king was treated with uncommon acrimony. The writer was soon discovered, apprehended, and a prosecution instituted; but Frederick, on being made acquainted with the case, and reading the performance, ordered him to be set at liberty, and a present of a bundle of new pens to be given him, "as his last," the king said, "were in very bad order."

When the demise of the old king of Prussia took place, the Duke of York was at Hanover, where in the preceding year he had been much affected by the melancholy fate of his relative, Prince Leopold of Brunswick, who was drowned on the 27th of April, 1785, in endeavouring to save the inhabitants of a village near Frankfort on the Oder. Of this catastrophe the following account appeared soon after in the Leyden Gazette.—

"We have within these few days experienced the greatest calamities by the overflowing of the Oder, which burst its banks in several places, and carried away houses, bridges, and every thing that opposed its course. Numbers of people have lost their lives in this rapid inundation; but of all the accidents arising from it, none is so generally lamented as the death of the good Prince Leopold of Brunswick. While this amiable prince was standing by the side of the river, a woman threw herself at his feet, beseeching him to give orders for some persons to go to the relief of her children, all of whom, in her bewildered state of mind, she had left behind her in the house. At the same time, some soldiers, who were also at that place, were loudly crying for help. The duke endeavoured to procure a flat-bottomed boat, but no one could be found to venture across the river, even though his highness offered large sums of money, and promised to share the danger. At last, moved by the cries of the unfortunate inhabitants of the suburb, and led by the sensibility of his own benevolent heart, he took the resolution of going to their assistance himself. The people about him endeavoured to dissuade him from this perilous enterprise; but, touched to the soul by the distress of the miserable sufferers, he replied, 'What am I more than you or they? I am but a man like yourselves, and nothing ought to be attended to here but the call of humanity.' Unshaken, therefore, in his resolution, he immediately embarked with three watermen in a small boat, and crossed the river. The boat did not want above thrice its length to reach the bank, when it struck against a tree, and in an instant all four disappeared. A few minutes afterwards the duke rose again, and supported himself for a short

time by taking hold of the branch of another tree; but the violence of the current soon bore him down, and he never again appeared. The boatmen were more fortunate, and every one was saved, the duke alone being the victim of his philanthropy."

The loss of this excellent prince was keenly felt by his cousin the Duke of York, who highly esteemed him for his numerous virtues. While, however, his royal highness was plunged in grief at this afflicting occurrence, he experienced some consolation in the sudden arrival at Hanover, of his brother Prince William Henry, now Duke of Clarence. A meeting altogether unexpected, after a separation of five years, could not fail to afford considerable satisfaction to both parties. The younger prince had, during that period, seen a great variety of service in different climates; first, under Rodney, in the memorable relief of Gibraltar, and next in the West Indies, where he continued a long time after the restoration of peace.

General Drinkwater, in his interesting memoir of the siege of Gibraltar, has related the following pleasing anecdote. At an early period of the blockade, when Prince William Henry was there, and had made his first naval essay for the relief of the fortress, Don Juan de Langara, the Spanish admiral, visited Admiral Digby, who introduced him to his royal highness. During the conference between the two admirals, the prince retired; and when it was intimated that Don Juan wished to return, his royal highness appeared in his character of a midshipman, and respectfully informed the admiral that the boat was ready. The Spaniard, astonished to see the son of a monarch acting as a subordinate officer, could not help exclaiming, "Well does Great Britain merit the empire of the sea, when

the humblest stations in her very navy are filled by princes of the blood."

After a long absence from England, the prince landed at Falmouth in August, 1785, from the Hebe frigate, Commodore Gower. During his stay in that neighbourhood, he was entertained by Lord Falmouth, at Tregothnan; from whence he paid a visit to the corporation of Truro. On the invitation of Mr. Daniel, the proprietor of the smelting-house, he went to see the different operations of melting the tin; and there took a beef-steak, broiled on one of the hot plates—with which he was highly pleased. After this he inspected the mines both of copper and tin, asking several pertinent questions; and, on being informed that a considerable revenue accrued from hence to his brother the Prince of Wales, as Duke of Cornwall, each block paying him above twelve shillings; he said he was happy to hear it, for, in all probability, the tin-cash would be very acceptable to his brother George.

Hanover, at the time of its being enlivened by the presence of two members of the Royal Family, exhibited another scene of great animation, in the return of the brave battalions who had pre-eminently distinguished themselves in the siege of Gibraltar. To commemorate that great display of military skill, patience, and valour, the immortal General Eliott had some medals struck in gold and silver, the former for the Royal Family, and the latter as presents to those persons who had particularly distinguished themselves in that arduous service. In transmitting those destined for the officers and soldiers of the Hanoverian brigade, the general took occasion thus to express his feelings to the Field Marshal de Rehden:—

"Sir, I take the liberty of applying to your Excellency in a circumstance, which to me appears very remarkable in many respects. The King, my master, having been graciously pleased to permit that a silver medal should be struck, in order to convey to posterity the remembrance of a military event, which, in my opinion, has been hitherto unprecedented; by this alone, your Excellency will comprehend, that I mean to speak of that renowned brigade of his Majesty's electoral troops, who have displayed the highest courage during so long a time, and in circumstances which would have proved a test for the virtues of the most sublime heroes. Your Excellency, doubtless, will not suspect me to be capable of thus publishing praises, so well deserved, with a view of taking for myself any part of their merit. A general is fully secured from all manner of anxiety, even amidst the horrors of war, when he can depend on the courage and attachment of such troops, who, to the strictest observance of military discipline, join zeal, patience, and bravery—who cannot be daunted by the hardest and most unremitted labours—who fearless can bear sickness and wounds—who have familiarized their eyes to the almost constant prospect of famine, and never enjoyed plenty. Your Excellency knows them well; and I should never have done, were I to say of them all that I feel in my heart. His Majesty having condescended to accept, on this event, a golden medal, as well as the Queen and Royal Family, I took this opportunity to have several more struck upon silver. Deign, sir, to accept one for yourself, and another for lieutenant-general De la Motte, and a third for general Sydow. My wish is, that one of these medals be presented to each of the officers and soldiers who served at Gibraltar from

the month of June 1779, and did not leave the place till the whole of the brigade returned to Hanover. I hope they will look upon it as a token of my friendship and gratitude, which will last as long as I live. If, contrary to my expectations, there should not be a sufficient quantity of medals, I shall take care to have more struck, and send them by the first opportunity. My old friend, General Freytag, with whom I have kept up a constant correspondence during all that time, will certainly not refuse a medal, which has been struck under the auspices of his Majesty. Your Excellency will, I trust, forgive this freedom. The medals being presented by you, will increase in consequence and value."

The face of the medal is a representation of the Rock; with the motto "Per tot discriminæ rerum;" the exergue "XIII Sep. MDCCLXXXII." On the reverse, is a Crown of Laurel with a German motto, "Bruderschaft," signifying Brotherhood; within the wreath are the names of the four principal officers, "Rehden, Lamotte, Sydow, Eliott." The dies were executed by Pingo, and upwards of twelve hundred were struck in gold and silver, for perpetuating the memory of the glorious defence of Gibraltar.

On the arrival of the medals at Hanover, a splendid entertainment was given to the officers of the brigade by his royal highness the Duke of York, who took occasion to pay a compliment to the corps in an elegant speech in their native language.

Having mentioned this circumstance, we may here be permitted to state, that, in England, on the arrival of the twelfth regiment of foot from Gibraltar, after having served in that fortress almost fifteen years, in particular through the whole period of the blockade

and siege, it had the honour of being ordered to do duty at Windsor, where a detachment was employed during the summer in making rides in the forest and parts adjacent. When these works were finished, an Obelisk was erected on the spot, with the following inscription:—

"These Rides were begun, and above forty miles completed, in the year 1784, by a detachment of his Majesty's Twelfth Regiment of Foot, quartered at Windsor, upon its return from Gibraltar.

Bello dimicantes,
Pace laborantes,
Otium fugimus."

The winter of 1785 was remarkably severe all over Europe; but the fact is here worthy of notice, on account of an incident which, amidst the inclemency of that rigorous season, occurred in England.

The King, one day when the ground was covered with snow, regardless of the weather, and never more cheerful than when in exercise, was taking, as usual, his solitary excursion on foot, in the neighbourhood of Windsor, when he was suddenly accosted by two ragged little boys, the eldest of whom appeared to be no more than eight years old. Though ignorant of the quality of the personage whom they were addressing, they fell upon their knees before him, and, wringing their hands, prayed for relief, "the smallest relief," they cried, "for they were hungry, very hungry, and had nothing to eat." More they would have said, but for a torrent of tears, which, running down their cheeks, choked all further utterance. The King, struck with this affecting scene, tenderly desired the weeping supplicants to rise; and having at length, with that affability which ever marked his conduct, encouraged them

to proceed with their story, he learnt that their mother had been dead these three days, and still lay unburied; that their father also, whom they were afraid of losing, was stretched by her side upon a bed of straw, in a sick and helpless condition; and, in fine, that they had neither food, firing, nor friend at home.

This simple detail of wo could not fail to excite pity in the royal bosom; and the question now was, whether the tale had in it any truth. To ascertain this, the King ordered the children to proceed homeward, and, following them till they reached a wretched hovel, he there found the mother, as stated, lying dead, apparently from a total want of common necessaries; with the father, literally as described, ready to perish also, but still encircling with his feeble arm the partner of his misery, as if unwilling to remain behind. The benevolent monarch now felt a tear dart from his eye, and his heart oppressed with concern. With that activity, however, which always distinguished him, he lost no time in asking unavailing questions, but, leaving a little money behind him, hastened back to the Lodge, related to the Queen what he had witnessed, and instantly despatched servants with a supply of provisions, clothing, coals, and every other accommodation which might afford immediate sustenance and comfort to the hapless family. It is pleasing to add, that, revived by the bounty of the sovereign, the father recovered his health; when his Majesty took him into his service, and caused the children to be brought up at his expense.

The Duke of York, who had now been absent from his native land above six years, was desirous of returning home; and having obtained permission for that purpose, he travelled through Flanders to Calais;

where, at the beginning of July, 1786, he embarked in the common packet, and landed at Dover, from whence he travelled post-haste to Windsor, where the King, Queen, and all the princesses, were prepared to receive him with every demonstration of joy and affection.

Intelligence of the Duke's arrival being sent off immediately, according to a previous order, to the Prince of Wales, then at Brighton, his royal highness, without loss of time, threw himself into his carriage, and proceeded to salute a brother whom he tenderly loved, and from whom he had been so long separated. The meeting between the two princes was of a nature almost as affecting as the parting scene had formerly been; only the sympathy which it excited was mingled with sensations of a more cheerful description.

But this emotion of pleasure was soon after changed for one of a different nature. On the second of August, as his Majesty was getting out of his private carriage at the garden gate of St. James's palace, where he was about to hold a council, a paper was presented to him by a woman of decent appearance. The King, according to his wonted gracious manner, stretched out his hand to receive it, when at that instant the woman aimed a blow at his heart. Fortunately his Majesty parried the thrust by a sudden movement; and, as the woman was preparing to repeat the blow, one of the yeomen of the guard seized her arm, when the weapon fell out of her hand. On taking the knife up, and shewing it to the King, the humane and considerate monarch said, "I am not hurt; take care of the woman; but do her no harm, for she is mad." The knife, on examination, was found to be old, and so much worn, that it bent from the resistance of the

waistcoat; otherwise the force with which it was impelled might have made the blow fatal. The paper presented by the woman had written on it, "To the King's most excellent Majesty," and nothing more. The assassin was immediately conducted to the Inner Guard Chamber, where, on being questioned how she could make so daring an attempt? she answered, that they had no right to examine her; but that, when brought before the proper authorities, she would give her reasons. She was then taken to an antechamber, where she remained till near five o'clock; and though spoken to by several of the nobility, she preserved a sullen silence, seeming entirely unmoved by her situation, and the act which had brought her into it. She was next taken before the Board of Green Cloth, for examination by the privy council. In answer to the various interrogatories that were put to her, she talked so incoherently of her right to the crown, that no doubt could be entertained of her insanity. There appeared, however, method and shrewdness in her madness; for she stated that she had presented a petition to the King ten days before, which, upon inquiry, was found to be true; and when asked to recapitulate the contents of that paper, she did it correctly, with a variation only of four words, neither of which affected the sense. In her lodging were found three letters about her pretended right to the crown, addressed to Lord Mansfield, Lord Loughborough, and General Bramham. The owner of the house said, that she had lodged in his house three years, getting her livelihood by needlework, and without ever shewing any signs of insanity. Another person, with whom she had resided for five years before, gave the same account of her conduct. Notwithstanding this, it

appeared so clearly that the poor woman was disordered in her intellects, that the privy council, on making a report to the King, resolved to send her to Bedlam, instead of committing her for trial. The woman, whose name was Margaret Nicholson, appeared to be about thirty-six years of age, and of rather a mild deportment. She was a native of Stockton upon Tees, in the county of Durham, where her father was a barber.

The treatment of this lunatic, as well as of the others who at different periods made similar attempts upon the life of our late monarch, exhibited a striking contrast to that which the court of France pursued in the case of the maniac Damien, for his endeavour to destroy Louis the Fifteenth. Though the madness of that unfortunate wretch was put beyond all doubt, the tribunal before whom he was arraigned pursued the business with as much seriousness and solemnity as if the culprit had been in his perfect senses. The execution which followed was still more disgraceful to those who passed the sentence, and the government that suffered it to be put in force. It cannot be denied, however, that even our own criminal history furnishes an instance of cruelty very discreditable to the times when it occurred, the judicial court which had cognizance of it, and the ministers who carried the judgment into effect.

At the beginning of the reign of George the First, a London apprentice, named John Shepherd, was apprehended, tried at the Old Bailey, and hanged at Tyburn, for treasonable expressions, and for persisting, in the furious zeal of a young and political fanatic, to deny the right of the reigning family to the throne of England.

The attack upon his late Majesty was attended with a remarkable instance of presence of mind and delicacy of sentiment, deserving of notice.

As soon as the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis del Campo, was made acquainted with the transaction, he set off post to Windsor, where he immediately sought, and obtained, an interview with the Queen, not for the purpose of announcing the circumstance that had thrown the metropolis into a general alarm, or to soothe her fears, but to beguile the time with conversation till the King himself arrived, when he went away, leaving his Majesty to relate the story in his own manner. The King was so pleased with the kind service which the ambassador had rendered him in this instance, that the next time he saw him he shook him heartily by the hand, saying how much he felt himself obliged by his conduct. The Queen also was equally affected; and, as a testimony of the sense which she had of the obligation, her Majesty presented the Marquis with her portrait in miniature, painted for the occasion by the late Richard Cosway, and richly set with diamonds.

Soon after this event died the Princess Amelia, the last surviving child of George the Second, in her seventy-sixth year. Her loss was little felt by the royal family of Great Britain, to none of whom did she leave the smallest legacy out of her large property; the bulk of which passed, by her bequest, to the Prince of Hesse Cassel, who was mean enough to refuse giving mourning to her domestics. The habits of the deceased princess were very peculiar. Every morning she regularly paid a visit to her stables, for the purpose of examining the state of the horses; and she never got into or out of her carriage at the

front of the house, but always in the back yard. Her dress was such, that at first view she might have been taken for one of the masculine gender. She took snuff immoderately, and was no less addicted to cards. Her deportment, however, was exceedingly repulsive, even when engaged at her favourite amusement. One evening in the rooms at Bath, which fashionable place of resort she regularly visited, the princess addressed her partner in the technical language of the game, "We are eight, love."—The other jocosely answered, "Yes, my dear;" on which she got up indignantly, threw the cards in his face, and retired. At another time, a general officer, who was standing by the table where the party were playing, perceiving the snuff-box of the princess standing open, incautiously took a pinch; which when her royal highness observed, she ordered the servant in waiting to throw the remainder of the contents into the fire. She was uncommonly attached to her brother, William Duke of Cumberland, whose clumsy statue, opposite to her windows in Cavendish Square, would sometimes engage her attention for hours together. The princess was the patroness of the celebrated Father le Courayer, who had been obliged to leave France on account of the liberality of his opinions; and this venerable man, out of gratitude, bequeathed to her the whole of his manuscripts, which she gave to Dr. Bell for publication; though, it must be confessed, they were little deserving of that distinction.

About the time when this death occurred, the Duke of York was initiated into the ancient order of Free Masonry, at a lodge held for the purpose at the Star-and-Garter Tavern, in Pall Mall. The Duke of Cumberland, as Grand Master of Masons, presided on the

occasion, and the Duke was introduced by his brother the Prince of Wales.

In the summer of the year 1788 the King was attacked with a bilious complaint, for which that eminent physician Sir George Baker recommended an excursion, and the trial of the Cheltenham waters. Accordingly, on the 12th of July their Majesties, with the Duke of York and three elder princesses, left Windsor for Nuneham, the seat of the Earl of Harcourt, where they remained near three hours. After taking some refreshment, and viewing the beauties of that delightful spot, the royal party resumed their journey, and about five o'clock the same evening arrived at Cheltenham, having travelled near one hundred miles in eight hours. The concourse of people assembled every where along the road was immense; but no inconvenience resulted from it, and it was exhilarating to witness the loyal spirit which animated all classes of people.

During their stay at Cheltenham, the King and Queen resided at the seat of Lord Fauconberg, which being close to the town, afforded a ready facility of visiting the Spa early in the morning. On the 16th, the King and Princess Royal began to drink the waters; and having returned to breakfast, the whole party set off at ten o'clock to visit the ancient town of Tewkesbury, where they examined attentively the interior of the Gothic church. While here, a circumstance occurred which strongly evinced the paternal feeling of the King. In riding through the town, his Majesty observed the parapets of the bridge crowded with spectators, who appeared in so perilous a situation, that he kindly said, "My good people, I fear some of you will fall. Do not run such hazards to see your King.—I will ride slowly, that you may all see him."

While at Cheltenham, the sovereign was wholly without a military escort; and when an officer who commanded a detachment in the neighbourhood waited to know what guards would be required, his Majesty replied, "None, whatever; I can have no better guards than my people." The band of Lord Harrington's regiment, only, were permitted to attend the Royal Family.

Many incidents occurred during this visit, of an extremely interesting nature; and though some of them may have been related in other publications, it is presumed that their incorporation with the present memoir will neither prove unentertaining nor unedifying.

The King walking out one morning, unattended and at some distance from Cheltenham, met a honest rustic hurrying forwards on the road in great heat. "So, friend," said his Majesty, "you seem to be warm."—"Yes, sir," answered the countryman, "I have come a long way this morning, on purpose to see the King."—"Well, my good friend," said the monarch, putting a guinea into his hand, "there is something to refresh you after your journey."—"Thank you, sir," rejoined the farmer, "but can you tell me where I can see the King?"—"Friend," replied the good-natured sovereign, "you see him before you."

During his walks about the town, accompanied by the Queen and princesses, he was constantly surrounded by crowds of people, who poured into the place from all parts of the country. His Majesty was gratified with these testimonies of loyal affection, and cheerfully observed to the Queen, "We must walk about for two or three days, to please these good people; and then we may walk about to please ourselves."

To those more immediately near his person he declared several times, that the hours passed at Cheltenham, and in the vicinity, were among the most agreeable of his life, and had amply repaid him for all the years of anxious solicitude which he had experienced during his eventful reign.

On the 25th of July the King, Queen, and princesses, went to visit the city of Gloucester. They stopped first at the bishop's palace, and afterwards proceeded to the cathedral, where they were received by the venerable Dean Tucker, at the head of the Chapter, who addressed his Majesty in a congratulatory speech, to which a suitable answer was given. The mayor and corporation were next admitted to the royal presence to deliver their address, which was read by the town clerk. From the palace the royal party went to inspect the pin manufactory, for which Gloucester is famous; and they also paid a visit to Mr. Raikes, the celebrated printer, and founder of Sunday-schools. In a conversation with this excellent man, the King thanked him for the benefit he had rendered the community; and the Queen well observed, that he must feel a peculiar happiness in having contributed so much to that of others. They next went into the county infirmary, inspected its economy, and made several inquiries respecting the patients. On the 29th, the royal family went to dine with Lord Camden; who, to do honour to the occasion, ordered his cellar doors to be thrown open, that the crowds which thronged round the house might be regaled with ale and other refreshments.

The King, Queen, princesses, and Duke of York, next paid a visit to the Bishop of Worcester, at Hartlebury Castle; where, after breakfast, and in-

specting the library, the royal party walked on the green terrace in the chapel garden, purposely to shew themselves to an immense assemblage of people, who flocked in from the vicinity. The day being exceedingly fine, rendered the spectacle highly attractive. After dinner the royal family returned to Cheltenham.

As the meeting of the three choirs of Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester, for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the clergy of those dioceses, was about to take place at the latter city; his Majesty expressed his inclination to honour the solemnity with his presence. Accordingly, on the 8th of August, the day preceding the commencement, the whole royal party left Cheltenham for Worcester, and, having accepted the bishop's invitation to take up their abode in his palace, they arrived there about eight in the evening. On this occasion all the houses in the city were illuminated, and many were decorated with emblematical devices, manifesting the loyal feelings of the inhabitants. On the following morning, the clergy of the chapter were introduced, to pay their respects to the King and Queen, when the bishop, on behalf of himself and his brethren, delivered an address; in which his Majesty was thanked for the regard shewn by him to religion and the church. Another appropriate address was then delivered to the Queen, after which the whole reverend body had the honour to kiss the royal hands. At ten o'clock a levee was held in the palace, which was attended by all the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood. Lord Coventry, as recorder of Worcester, introduced the mayor and corporation to present an address; after which their Majesties proceeded to the cathedral, where a temporary throne had been erected for the royal family. When they were seated, the nobility,

clergy, and magistrates, arranged themselves on each side, and the music commenced; consisting of the Overture in Esther, the Dettingen Te Deum, the Coronation Anthem, and some select portions of the works of Handel, to whose music the King was much attached. A similar ceremonial and entertainment took place the next day, and on the ensuing morning the King honoured the corporation with a visit in the town-hall, when a grand procession of the trades with their banners led the way; the maces were borne by the aldermen, and the sword of state by the mayor.

After viewing the pictures and other curiosities in the hall, the royal visitors were shewn into the grand apartment, where an elegant collation had been prepared. The mayor having been apprised of the abstemious habits of the King, presented a jelly, saying, that he hoped it would be honoured with his Majesty's gracious acceptance. The King replied, "I do not recollect ever drinking a glass of wine before dinner in my life; but upon this interesting and pleasing occasion, I will venture." The mayor then filled a glass with some rich old Mountain, when his Majesty immediately drank—"Prosperity and happiness to the corporation and citizens of Worcester." This being made known to the populace, produced universal shouts of gratulation and applause in the hall, the avenues, and throughout the whole town. The King then addressed himself to the corporation, and asked them, whether there was any thing in his power that he could do for them, to mark his sense of their loyalty? The Earl of Coventry, for the whole body, answered, that they begged to tender their most grateful thanks for the honour which his Majesty had done their city; but that they had nothing further to

wish from his goodness, than that he would favour them by sitting for his picture, to be placed in their hall, as a memorial to posterity of the distinction that had been conferred upon Worcester. The King readily consented, saying, "Gentlemen, I grant you this, or any other request you can reasonably make."

The Royal Family then left the hall for the cathedral, to hear the Oratorio of the Messiah; and, on their return to the palace, the crowd voluntarily opened a passage, forming an orderly phalanx on either hand, without suffering any intruder to break in upon the line of procession. In the evening there was a grand miscellaneous concert at the music-room, where an elegant box had been fitted up for the reception of the Royal Family.

During the meeting at Worcester, the concourse of visitors of all ranks was immense, and the joy of the people unbounded. All were particularly delighted with the exemplary conduct of the King and Queen, who regularly attended prayers in the private chapel every morning, when the service was performed by the bishop. Besides a donation of two hundred pounds to the charity, their Majesties left one hundred pounds for the relief of the poor; in addition to which the King gave three hundred pounds to the bishop, for the release of the most deserving debtors in the city and county prison.

After their return to Cheltenham, the royal travellers paid a visit to Stroud, celebrated for its woollen manufacture; and here they witnessed the same loyal spirit that pervaded every place which they honoured with their presence. A respectable party of gentlemen on this occasion attended their Majesties, for the purpose of conducting them through this extensive district,

and pointing out such objects as were most particularly deserving of attention.

The time had now arrived for their departure from Cheltenham; previous to which, however, they made another excursion to Gloucester, where they were received by that excellent prelate Bishop Halifax, for whom the King had a particular esteem. His Majesty then visited the dean, and expressed a desire to see his study. Accordingly he was ushered into a small room, which was in complete confusion: an old wig lying on one table, the shaving apparatus on another, and a night-gown thrown over a chair. The King, however, took not the least notice of the confusion, but entered into a desultory conversation with the doctor, who observed with concern that there was something wrong in the intellectual faculty of his illustrious visitor.

His Majesty frequently wandered from the subject which he had started himself, and he also displayed a levity in his manner very different from his customary deportment. He had heard that the doctor's second wife had been his housekeeper, and all at once, while they were talking about the bishop, the King asked whether he was married, and to whom. He was answered that the maiden name of the bishop's lady was Cooke; on which he quickly rejoined, "And pray, Mr. Dean, who did you marry?" "Please your Majesty," answered the reverend dignitary, "I married a Cook too."

While at Worcester, similar symptoms of aberration of mind occurred, which could not fail to create some uneasiness in those who were immediately about the royal person. On the first morning after his arrival in that city, the King went out, as usual, plainly dressed;

but when he came to the bridge, he was recognized, and a crowd was soon collected. Instead of being alarmed or displeased by their gazing, his Majesty turned round, and said, "This, I suppose, is Worcester new bridge?" "Yes, please your Majesty, it is," exclaimed a loyal cobbler: "Then," said the King, "my boys, let us have a huzza for it!" Upon this, suiting the action to the word, he took off his hat, and shouted; in which he was joined by the multitude, who continued huzzaing him all the way to the palace.

On the second morning, the King was up, and walking abroad as early as half after five. He went first to the lodgings of his equerries, colonels Digby and Gwynne, where he found the maid-servant cleaning the door. On inquiring for the two officers, she laid down her mop and pail, to ring the bell; but the King stopped her, and desired her to shew him where the gentlemen slept. The servant obeyed, and his Majesty went and roused them himself, after which he set off on his rounds. The colonels leaped out of their beds in as much surprise as if an enemy had come upon them in camp.

The King having enjoyed this frolic, then walked off, and they were obliged to run all over the town to find him. At length the time came for the departure of the Royal Family from Cheltenham, the waters of which well, it was hoped by many, had answered the end of the visit. On the 13th of August their Majesties in one carriage, and the princesses in another, left the town about eight in the morning; a vast crowd of nobility, gentry, and common people, being assembled, to testify their respect on the occasion. They went through the principal street very slowly, bowing courteously to the multitude as they passed along, and

sometimes speaking to those persons whom they knew. At half after one, they arrived at Nuneham, the seat of the earl of Harcourt, where they dined; and then set out for Windsor, which place they reached, amidst the acclamations of the people, about half-past nine the same evening. The history of this remarkable excursion, it was deemed necessary to give in the present memoir, as bearing a near relation to the events which followed soon after, and in which the Duke of York was particularly concerned. His royal highness and the Prince of Wales, at the beginning of the year, made an excursion to Plymouth, on a visit to their brother Prince William Henry, who had lately arrived from the West Indian station.

CHAP. III.

FROM A. D. 1788 TO 1791.

A MODERN writer of no ordinary character has observed, that it is not easy to imagine, or to parallel in history, a period of more perfect serenity than that which England presented in the autumn of 1788. The King, accompanied by the Queen, and surrounded by his family, after having tried the effects of a relaxation from public business, and of the medicinal waters of Cheltenham, had returned to Windsor: not, indeed, in a state of vigorous health, but by no means in any such state of declining indisposition, as to cause an alarm among his subjects.

The Prince of Wales, as usual, passed the summer in his marine pavilion at Brighthelmstone. Mr. Pitt, occupied in the functions of his station, was detained at the capital; while Mr. Fox, whose faculties of body and mind had not been a little exercised and exhausted by a toilsome attendance in Covent Garden during the extreme heats of August, in order to secure the election of Lord John Townshend for the city of Westminster, now sought some necessary repose from the hurry of political life. He accordingly quitted England, and repaired to Italy, through Switzerland, as a scene calculated to amuse and entertain, while it restored

and invigorated a constitution impaired by constant exertion.

The other leaders of ministry and opposition, having now suspended their political animosities, were dispersed in peaceful inactivity over different parts of the kingdom. From this state of public recreation and festivity, the nation was rudely and suddenly roused, by the reports of his Majesty being attacked with an unexpected and dangerous illness. The precise nature of the malady was for several days unascertained, and of course unexplained, even to those persons whose residence about the court should have enabled them to obtain early and authentic information. Meanwhile common fame augmented the evil, and the death of the sovereign was believed to have either already taken place, or to be imminent and inevitable.

Time, however, gradually unfolded the truth, and changed the apprehensions of the nation in regard to the real situation of the royal patient. His disorder was now understood to be an affection of the brain, which produced a temporary privation of reason. As the cause of this alienation of the mental powers was extraneous and violent, a hope was indulged that it would only be of short duration; but the issue was uncertain, while the suspension of the executive government, and of every function attached to the regal dignity, was immediate and indisputable. A species of interregnum in fact took place; though unaccompanied by any of those circumstances which usually characterize that state of anarchy.

The people, anxious, and with eyes directed towards their sovereign, betrayed no symptoms of confusion, or tendency to civil commotion. Mr. Pitt, the prime

minister, continued to exercise, with the tacit consent of the kingdom, the powers delegated to him before the indisposition of his royal master; and thus the political machine, well constructed and properly organized, sustained no derangement or injury whatever from this shock, except the inconvenience inseparably connected with delay in the transactions or negociations pending with foreign courts.

In the mean time the heir to the monarchy had quitted Brighthelmstone on the first information of his father's malady, and repaired to Windsor, whither he was followed in all haste by the Duke of York. On the first appearance of the dreadful complaint, Sir George Baker was sent for, but after prescribing some remedies which proved ineffectual, it was deemed necessary to call in the other royal physicians, when various consultations were held, and means employed, for near a month, to reduce the fever; which, however, rather increased than abated.

The general opinion was, that the regular physician of the household, in recommending the waters of Cheltenham as likely to improve his Majesty's health, had been mistaken in regard to the quantity directed to be drank. Others thought that his Majesty had kept himself on too low a diet during the time of his taking those powerful waters, and that he had besides exposed his person too much to the vicissitudes of the weather while on his late tour.

But whatever might be the proximate cause of the complaint, all the medical attendants agreed in dating it from the time of the King's going to Cheltenham. One eminent practitioner, and a resident in that town, who made his observations with an experienced eye, thought it his duty, while his Majesty was there, to

call upon a principal person about the King, and to deliver his judgment. He knew the nature of the waters well, and said the physicians would certainly do an injury to the King, for that they were ignorant of what they were about.

Meanwhile the members of the administration, as well as the chief of their opponents, then in the kingdom, hurried up to the metropolis in a state of great agitation, and every moment exhibited couriers on the Windsor road, passing backwards and forwards with unusual celerity. An express was also despatched to the continent for the purpose of finding Mr. Fox, and to hasten his return to England.

During the night of the ninth of November, the King's disorder seemed to have reached a crisis; and it was attended with such an excess of frenzy, that it was confidently believed he could not possibly live many hours. Mr. Pitt was then at Windsor, where he continued all that night and most part of the next day, which gave some kind of ground to a report that his Majesty was dead. The news spread rapidly throughout the capital, and dejection and melancholy appeared depicted on every face. Providentially, however, the news soon received a decided contradiction; but the distress of the public mind still continued, on finding that the hopes of a recovery hung upon a very slender thread.

What served to render the situation of ministers peculiarly difficult under this calamity, was the near termination of the period for which parliament stood prorogued. The day appointed by the writ for the meeting of the two houses was the thirtieth of November; but it had not been intended that they should assemble till the month of January. The suspension

of the royal functions gave them no alternative. Circular letters were therefore sent to the members of the legislature on the fourteenth, signifying to them, that the indisposition of the sovereign rendered it doubtful whether there would be a possibility of receiving his commands for the farther prorogation of parliament. In this case the two houses must assemble, and the attendance of the different members was earnestly requested.

Parliament being met, the chancellor observed in the house of lords, that the reason of their being thus unusually called together, without the ordinary notice, for the despatch of business, arose from the severity of the King's indisposition, which rendered it impossible for him to approach the royal person in order to receive his commands. Lord Camden then remarked, that the customary practice of giving forty days' notice previously to the meeting of parliament, was not, in his opinion, absolutely necessary. There was, he said, an express statute which limited the notice, in case of treason or rebellion, to fourteen days; he, therefore, recommended an adjournment for that term; and, at the same time, moved that the chancellor, by order of the house, should address an official letter to every individual peer.

In the lower house, Mr. Pitt opened the subject of the meeting concisely, but with great feeling. He then said, that every authority had been consulted respecting the course to be pursued in the present exigency; but that none of them pointed out either the possibility of directing a new prorogation, or the means of enabling ministers to open the session of parliament in a regular manner. Under these circumstances, therefore, he recommended an adjournment for a fortnight. This

proposition was received in deep silence by the opposite side of the house, and assented to by all in mute acquiescence. The great leader of the phalanx had not yet arrived; and consequently time was wanted to adjust and determine on the plan of action to be adopted under circumstances so extremely delicate, and wholly unprecedented.

In the interval which took place, the afflicted monarch was removed from Windsor to Kew, whither he was accompanied by the Duke of York, while the Prince of Wales returned to Carlton House. It is said that the King had a strong presentiment of his growing malady some time before it came on. About a week previous to his being taken ill, after a private concert, he went up to Dr. Ayrton, the leader of the band, and laying his hand graciously on the doctor's shoulder, said, "I fear, sir, I shall not be able long to hear music; for it so affects my head, that it is with some difficulty I can endure it." Then turning round, he softly ejaculated—"Alas! the best of us are but frail mortals."

The prognostic was too soon fulfilled, and it is painful to record what followed. While the nation at large was immersed in sorrow at the melancholy condition of the sovereign, the party in opposition were most actively employed in carrying on intrigues for the possession of power and place. The principal agent in this scandalous business was that political harlequin, Richard Sheridan, who unfortunately had gained too much influence at Carlton House, as appears from the following letter, addressed to the prince, at this awful juncture:—

"Sir,—From the intelligence of to-day, we are led to think that Pitt will make something more of a

speech, in moving to adjourn on Thursday, than was at first imagined. In this case we presume your royal highness will be of opinion, that we must not be wholly silent. I possessed Payne yesterday with my sentiments on the line of conduct which appeared to me best to be adopted on this occasion, that they might be submitted to your royal highness's consideration; and I take the liberty of repeating my firm conviction, that it will greatly advance your royal highness's credit, and, in case of events, lay the strongest grounds to baffle every attempt at opposition to your royal highness's just claims and right, that the language of those who may be, in any sort, suspected of knowing your royal highness's wishes and feelings, should be that of great moderation in disclaiming all party views, and avowing the utmost readiness to aquiesce in any reasonable delay. At the same time, I am perfectly aware of the arts which will be practised, and the advantages which some people will attempt to gain by time: but I am equally convinced, that we should advance their evil views, by shewing the least impatience or suspicion at present; and I am also convinced, that a third party will soon appear, whose efforts may, in the most decisive manner, prevent this sort of situation and proceeding from continuing long. Payne will probably have submitted to your royal highness more fully my idea on this subject, towards which I have already taken some successful steps. Your royal highness will, I am sure, have the goodness to pardon the freedom with which I give my opinion:—after which I have only to add, that whatever your royal highness's judgment decides, shall be the pride of my conduct, and will undoubtedly be so to others."

Captain John Willett Payne, of whom mention is made in this letter, was a meritorious officer in the royal navy, and afterwards an admiral. He at this time held the situation of comptroller of the household, on the establishment of the Prince of Wales, and was in attendance upon his royal highness, during the early part of the King's illness, at Windsor. That even then, the party, with whom he was connected, were on the alert to profit by the dreadful blow which had fallen upon the monarch and the nation, the following letter to Sheridan furnishes a proof:—

"I arrived here about three-quarters of an hour after Pitt had left it. I enclose you the copy of a letter the Prince has just written to the chancellor, and sent by express, which will give you the outline of the conversation with the Prince, as well as the situation of the King's health. I think it an advisable measure, as it is a sword that cuts both ways, without being unfit to be shewn to whom he pleases, but which, he will, I think, understand best himself. Pitt desired the longest delay that could be granted with propriety, previous to the declaration of the present calamity. The Duke of York, who is looking over me, and is just come out of the King's room, bids me add that his Majesty's situation is every moment becoming worse. His pulse is weaker and weaker; and the doctors say it is impossible to survive it long, if his situation does not take some extraordinary change in a few hours.

"So far had I got when your servant came, meaning to send this by the express that carried the chancellor's letter; in addition to which, the Prince has desired Doctor Warren to write an account to him, which he is now doing. His letter says, if an amendment does

not take place in twenty-four hours, it is impossible for the King to support it:—he adds to me, he will answer for his never living to be declared a lunatic. I say all this to you in confidence, (though I will not answer for being intelligible,) as it goes by your own servant; but I need not add, your own discretion will remind you how necessary it is that neither my name nor those I use should be quoted even to many of our best friends, whose repetition, without any ill intention, might frustrate the views they do not see.

"With respect to the papers, the Prince thinks you had better leave them to themselves, as he cannot authorize any report, nor can he contradict the worst: a few hours must, every individual says, terminate our suspense, and therefore all precaution must be needless: however, do what you think best. His royal highness would write to you himself; but the agitation he is in will not permit it. Since this letter was begun, all articulation even seems to be at an end with the poor King; but for the two hours preceding, he was in a most determined frenzy. In short, I am myself in so violent a state of agitation, from participating in the feelings of those about me, that if I am intelligible to you, 'tis more than I am to myself.

"Cataplasms are on his Majesty's feet, and strong fomentations have been used without effect; but let me quit so painful a subject. The Prince was much pleased with my conversation with Lord Loughborough, to whom I do not write, as I conceive 'tis the same writing to you.

"The archbishop has written a very handsome letter, expressive of his duty and offer of service; but he is not required to come down, it being thought too late.

"I have been much pleased with the Duke's zeal, since my return, especially in this communication to you."

In another letter the writer says,—"The King, last night about twelve o'clock, being then in a situation he would not long have survived, by the effect of James's powder, had a profuse stool, after which a strong perspiration appeared, and he fell into a profound sleep. We were in hopes this was the crisis of his disorder, although the doctors were fearful it was so only with respect to one part of his disorder. However, these hopes continued not above an hour, when he awoke, with a well-conditioned skin, no extraordinary degree of fever, but with the exact state he was in before, with all the gestures and raving of the most confirmed maniac, and a new noise, in imitation of the howling of a dog; in this situation he was this morning at one o'clock, when we came to bed. The Duke of York, who has been twice in my room in the course of the night, immediately from the King's apartment, says, there has not been one moment of lucid interval during the whole night, which, I must observe to you, is the concurring as well as fatal testimony of all about him, from the first moment of his Majesty's confinement. The doctors have since had their consultation, and find his Majesty calmer, and his pulse tolerably good and much reduced, but the most decided symptoms of insanity. His theme has been all this day on the subject of religion, and of his being inspired, from which his physicians draw the worst consequences, as to any hopes of amendment. In this situation his Majesty remains at the present moment, which I give you at length, to prevent your giving credit to the thousand ridiculous reports that

we hear, even upon the spot. Truth is not easily got at in palaces, and so I find here; and time only slowly brings it to one's knowledge. One hears a little bit every day from somebody, that has been reserved with great costiveness, or purposely forgotten; and by all such accounts I find that the present distemper has been very palpable for some time past, previous to any confinement from sickness; and so apprehensive have the people about him been of giving offence by interruption, that the two days (viz. yesterday se'nnight, and the Monday following,) that he was five hours each on horseback, he was in a confirmed frenzy. On the Monday at his return, he burst into tears to the Duke of York, and said, 'He wished to God he might die, for he was going to be mad:" and the Queen, who sent to Dr. Warren, on his arrival privately communicated her knowledge of his situation for some time past, and the melancholy event as it stood exposed. I am prolix upon all these different reports, that you may be completely master of the subject as it stands, and which I shall continue to advertise you of in all its variations. Warren, who is the living principle in this business, (for poor Baker is half crazed himself,) and who I see every half hour, is extremely attentive to the King's disorder. The various fluctuations of his ravings, as well as general situation of his health, are accurately written down throughout the day, and this we have got signed by the physicians every day, and all proper inquiry invited; for I think it necessary to do every thing that may prevent their making use hereafter of any thing like jealousy, suspicion, or mystery, to create public distrust; and therefore the best and most unequivocal means of satisfaction shall be always attended to.

"So far I had proceeded, when I was, on some business of importance, obliged to break off till now; and on my return, found your letter: I need not, I hope, say your confidence is as safe as if it was returned to your own mind, and your advice will always be thankfully adopted. The event we looked for last night is postponed, perhaps for a short time, so that at least we shall have time to consider more maturely. The doctors told Pitt they would beg not to be obliged to make their declaration for a fortnight, as to the incurability of the King's mind; and not to be surprised, if, at the expiration of that time, they should ask more time; but that they were perfectly ready to declare now, for the furtherance of public business, that he is now insane; that it appears to be unconnected with any other disease of his body, and that they have tried all their skill without effect, and that 'to the disease they at present see no end in their contemplation:'—these are their own words, which is all that can be implied in an absolute declaration,—for infallibility cannot be ascribed to them.

"Should not something be done about the public amusements? If it was represented to Pitt, it might embarrass them either way: particularly as it might call for a public account every day. I think the chancellor might take a good opportunity to break with his colleagues, if they propose restriction: the law authority would have great weight with us, as well as preventing even a design of moving the city:—at all events, I think parliament would not confirm their opinion. If Pitt stirs much, I think any attempt to grasp at power might be fatal to his interest; at least, well turned against it."

It is clear from this correspondence, that the party,

instead of waiting a decent time for the result of this severe visitation, and suspending proceedings till the meeting of parliament, were extremely active, at the very commencement of the royal disorder, in labouring to distract the measures of government, with the sole aim of grasping at power. To attain this object, Sheridan formed a plan, as he thought most happily, of drawing the chancellor away from his colleagues. That Lord Thurlow listened to the proposals, cannot well be doubted; but there is every reason to believe, that in doing so he only meant to baffle the intrigues, and to turn the tables upon the faction by making himself thoroughly acquainted with their projects.

In the midst of these transactions, Mr. Fox arrived, after a journey which he performed with incredible expedition, from Bologna, and immediately assumed his pre-eminence in the counsels of his party. Upon this occasion, Captain Payne wrote the following letter to Sheridan:—

"I am this moment returned with the Prince from riding, and heard, with great pleasure, of Charles Fox's arrival: on which account he says I must go to town to-morrow, when I hope to meet you at his house some time before dinner. The Prince is to see the chancellor to-morrow, and therefore he wishes I should be able to carry to town the result of this interview, or I would set off immediately. Due deference is had to our former opinion upon this subject, and no courtship will be practised; for the chief object in this visit is to shew him the King, who has been worse the two last days than ever: this morning he made an effort to jump out of the window, and he is now very turbulent and incoherent. Sir George Baker went yesterday to give Pitt a little specimen of his loquacity, in his

discovery of some material state-secrets; at which he looked astonished. The physicians wish him to be removed to Kew; on which we shall proceed as we settled. Have you heard any thing of the foreign ministers, respecting what the Prince said at Bagshot? The Frenchman has been here two days running, but has not seen the Prince. He sat with me half an hour this morning, and seemed much disposed to confer a little closely. He was all admiration and friendship for the Prince, and said he was sure every body would unite to give vigour to his government.

"To-morrow you shall hear particulars; in the mean time I can only add, I have none of the apprehensions contained in Lord Loughborough's letter. I have had correspondence enough myself on this subject to convince me of the impossibility of the ministry managing the present parliament by any contrivance hostile to the Prince."

Fox had too much discernment not to perceive that the scheme laid before his return, was calculated to embarrass, rather than to further, the views of his political friends. He suspected that the chancellor would be too deep for them, and Lord Loughborough was so well convinced of the fact, that he wrote as follows to Sheridan on the subject:—

"I was afraid to pursue the conversation on the circumstance of the inspection committed to the chancellor, lest the reflections that arise upon it might have made too strong an impression on some of our neighbours last night. It does indeed appear to me full of mischief, and of that sort most likely to affect the apprehensions of our best friends, and to increase their reluctance to take any active part.

"The chancellor's object evidently is to make his

way by himself, and he has managed hitherto as one very well practised in that game. His conversations, both with you and Mr. Fox, were encouraging, but at the same time checked all explanations on his part, under a pretence of delicacy towards his colleagues. When he let them go to Salthill, and contrived to dine at Windsor, he certainly took a step that most men would have felt not very delicate in its appearance; and, unless there was some private understanding between him and them, not altogether fair, especially if you add to it the sort of conversation he held with regard to them. I cannot help thinking that the difficulties of managing the patient, have been excited or improved to lead to the proposal of his inspection, (without the Prince being conscious of it;) for by that situation he gains an easy and frequent access to him, and an opportunity of possessing the confidence of the Queen. I believe this the more, from the account of the tenderness he shewed at his first interview; for, I am sure, it is not in his character to feel any. With a little instruction from Lord Hawkesbury, the sort of management that was carried on by means of the Princess Dowager, in the early part of the reign, may easily be practised. In short, I think he will try to find the key of the back stairs, and, with that in his pocket, take any situation that preserves his access, and enables him to hold a line between different parties. In the present moment, however, he has taken a position that puts the command of the house of lords in his hands. I wish Mr. Fox and you would give these considerations what weight you think they deserve, and try if any means can be taken to remedy this mischief, if it appears in the same light to you."

It is said that on one occasion, when Lord Thurlow had a private interview with the Prince, he at parting carried away the hat of his royal highness instead of his own, and that the circumstance produced considerable merriment among his associates, who from thence became acquainted with the secret negociation which the chancellor was carrying on to secure the favour of the rising sun. One thing, however, which has confounded the sagacity of those historians who have professed to be most intimately informed on this subject, is the rupture of the supposed treaty just at the critical moment when, according to them, it was definitively settled.

Here conjecture has been called in to supply the place of evidence; and while some have supposed that Thurlow, foreseeing a probability of the King's recovery, retreated quickly from the precipice on which he stood, others imagine that he was overreached by Loughborough, whose views were bent upon the Great Seal, in which he was supported by Fox, who had a mortal aversion to the chancellor. The first of these surmises is palpably ridiculous; for at the period in question, the situation of the King presented no chance of a recovery; and the second is negatived by the fact that Loughborough had so far consented to the plan proposed, as to accept the office of president of the council, instead of the chancellorship. That Thurlow received the overtures of a union with these caballers, is put beyond doubt; but it is no less clear, from the written evidence produced, that he never committed himself, during the negociation, so far as to give any pledge of his assent. In truth, he heard all, and said nothing that could implicate him in any case; for neither did his friends recede from him on

this account, nor did his adversaries dare to reproach him for his tergiversation. This the latter would have done, beyond all question, had they possessed substantial proofs of the chancellor's treachery and double dealing. Instead, however, of attacking him for the part he had acted in this affair, they all remained silent, even when he poured out the thunder of his eloquence in denunciations against those courtiers who had deserted their master in his utmost need.

While the party in opposition, who by way of distinction called themselves the Prince's Friends, were thus exerting themselves to supplant the King's ministers, the latter were aware that the public interests required such an establishment as should, in the event of the royal recovery, be attended with as few changes as possible. In deliberating upon the course to be pursued, they discovered three modes of proceeding that might be adopted, and as many forms of executive government employed for the present purpose. When the first two kings of the reigning family went occasionally to visit their electoral dominions, they usually appointed a council of regency, consisting of the principal members of the administration. Parliament, therefore, might now be either called upon to nominate a similar council, or constitute the Prince of Wales regent, with the assistance of such a cabinet; or they might appoint him sole regent, with such limitations and restrictions as should be found proper to supersede any irregularities and innovations. Of these three schemes, the two first were rejected as untenable; and the most obvious objection to the last was the peculiar nature of the English government in being a limited monarchy. After much inquiry and consultation, therefore, it was resolved to leave to parlia-

ment the task of examining precedents, and providing a remedy.

Accordingly, at the re-assembling of the two houses, on the fourth of December, a report of the board of privy council, containing an examination of the physicians, was presented by Lord Camden to the peers, and Mr. Pitt to the commons. It was then suggested, that, when the delicacy of the subject, and the dignity of the personage in question, were considered, parliament would probably perceive the propriety of acting upon the report, rather than of demanding more direct and ample information. Upon this, some of the opposition members expressed their doubts whether parliament could, consistently with its privileges, dispense with particular evidence. Respect was paid to these doubts, and, on the eighth, it was resolved that each house should appoint a committee to examine and report the sentiments of the royal physicians. The report of the house of commons was brought up on the tenth, when a farther proposition was moved by Mr. Pitt for the appointment of another committee, to examine and report precedents of cases, in which the personal exercise of the royal authority had been prevented, or interrupted, by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same.

Immediately upon this motion, Mr. Fox rose, and boldly laid claim to the vacant sceptre in the name and on behalf of the heir apparent, as devolving to him of the nature of a personal right. He said, that the circumstances to be provided for did not depend upon their deliberations as a house of parliament, but rested elsewhere. There was then a person in the kingdom, different from any other person that any existing precedents could refer to—a heir apparent, of

full age and capacity to exercise the royal power. It behoved them, therefore, to waste not a moment unnecessarily, but to proceed, with all becoming speed and diligence, to restore the sovereign power, and the exercise of the royal authority. From what he had read of history, from the ideas he had formed of the law, and, what was still more precious, of the spirit of the constitution; from every reasoning and analogy drawn from those sources, he declared that he had not in his mind a doubt, and he should think himself culpable if he did not take the first opportunity of declaring it, that, in the present condition of his Majesty, his royal highness the Prince of Wales had as clear and as express a right to exercise the power of sovereignty, during the continuance of the illness and incapacity with which it had pleased God to afflict his Majesty, as in the case of the natural demise of the King.

Mr. Fox, perceiving a general expression of surprise on all sides of the house at this hardy assertion, endeavoured to qualify it, by saying—he did not mean that the Prince of Wales could enter upon this exercise at his own pleasure, or that he was entitled to judge of the circumstances which caused it to be requisite. His right was perfect and entire, but the two houses of parliament, as the organs of the nation, were alone qualified to pronounce when he ought to enter into possession of the power. He eulogized the Prince of Wales for not bringing forward his claim himself, and for choosing to wait with patient deference the decision of parliament; which forbearance and moderation (the orator observed) were to be imputed to his having been bred in the principles that had placed his family on the throne, and his known

veneration for those principles as the fundamentals of our constitution. Mr. Fox concluded by saying—that, with respect to precedents, there were notoriously none which applied to the present instance; and that, therefore, no adequate reason could be alleged for the proposed delay.

It was noticed, during the delivering of this speech, that the countenance of the minister assumed a more than ordinary animation; and scarcely had Mr. Fox uttered the bold declaration respecting the natural right of the Prince to assume the sovereignty, than he clapped his hand exultingly upon his thigh, and, turning to the person who sat next him, said, "Now will I un-whig the gentleman for the rest of his life." Pitt was as good as his word, and never did that great man display more skill in political tactics than upon this occasion. In the character of first minister of the crown, he had frequently been considered the determined advocate of prerogative; but now he perceived an opening to clear himself from that stigma, and to turn the tables upon his powerful rival. Accordingly he, with his usual felicity of argument and illustration, asserted freely, that whatever rights might attach to the sovereignty, there could be none to the office of regent but what were conferred by parliament, and that in every case where the regal functions are suspended by the infirmity of the monarch, the two branches of the legislature alone are competent to supply the deficiency, as well with regard to the person to be appointed, as the powers with which he shall be invested. Having taken his stand upon this ground, the minister said—he did not hesitate to affirm, that to assert such a right in the Prince of Wales, otherwise than as it might

be given him by the two houses of parliament, was little less than treason to the constitution of this country; adding in conclusion, that, except by their election, the Prince had no more abstract right to assume the reins of government while his father was living, than any other individual in England. He desired, therefore, that every man in that house, and every man in the nation, would consider, that on their proceedings depended as well the constitution as the interest and honour of the sovereign, who was deservedly the idol of his people.

This called up Mr. Burke, who animadverted in strong terms upon the language of the minister; but it was evident that the latter had gained an ascendancy which could not be shaken, and the motion for a committee of precedents was carried without a division.

A similar line of proceeding took place the next day in the house of lords, where Earl Camden reprobated the doctrine advanced by Mr. Fox in the severest manner. Lord Loughborough, on the other side, defended the principle of his friend by adducing the authority of Lord Coke, who described the Prince of Wales as one and the same person with the King; it being equally high treason to compass or imagine the death of either the one or the other. The learned peer went to a very great length in supporting the paradox, that an heir apparent might assume the executive government in an emergency like the present. "It happened," he said, "that at this time the two houses were legally assembled under the King's writs; but, if the case had been otherwise, it would surely have been warrantable for the Prince of Wales to have called a parliament on his own authority, as heir apparent."

Lord Thurlow expressed great concern that, in the progress of a business so peculiarly critical, the slightest appearance of a difference of opinion, or of unpleasant altercation, should have arisen. Had they waited for the ultimate question, there would not probably have been found much disagreement on any side, and consequently much of the present discussion might have been spared. He added, that nothing he had yet heard gave satisfaction to his mind; and that, therefore, he wished to have the full advantage of every precedent and analogy that could be found. The chancellor, however, commended Lord Loughborough for speaking of a Prince of Wales in the abstract, and without affecting to rest any part of his argument on the personal virtues of the heir apparent, who should always have his applause, when the expression of it did not savour of impertinence.

On the following day, Mr. Fox, after alluding to the manner in which he had been treated by Lord Camden, entered upon an explanation of his former language. In the first place, he declared that he had delivered his private judgment, and by no means spoken from the authority of the Prince of Wales. With respect to the doctrine itself, the Prince, in his conception, had the right, but the adjudication of it lay in the two houses of parliament. He acknowledged that more difference of opinion had prevailed upon the subject than he could have expected; adding, that he was not solicitous about terms, and whether the Prince possessed an inherent right or an irresistible claim, he should be satisfied, provided the sole administration of the government, with the unlimited exercise of all the regal functions, were vested in his royal highness. He concluded by calling upon Mr. Pitt to

state the system he intended to pursue, as being a point of more consequence than the abstract question about which they had been hitherto employed.

The minister declared, that the question which had been started, respecting the rights of parliament, was of too much importance to be slighted. It was one that involved the security of our liberties and the safety of the state. He granted, that if there were no parliament in existence, the heir apparent, in concert with other persons in high situation, might have issued writs and convened a legislative assembly. Such a proceeding would be justified by necessity; but that it would be a legal summons he must absolutely deny. With respect to the measures which it might be necessary to adopt, he was willing to acknowledge, that, as a matter of discretion, and on the ground of expediency, it was highly desirable, that whatever part of the regal power was to be exercised at all, it should be vested in a single person, and that person the Prince of Wales. He also thought it constitutional, and most conducive to the public welfare, that the regent should exercise his authority unfettered by any permanent council, and with the free choice of his political servants. He could not, at this moment, pronounce what part of the royal authority ought to be given, and what withheld; but he had no objection to declare, that whatever was requisite for vigour and despatch ought to be granted; and that, on the contrary, whatever might by possibility be employed so as to embarrass the King, when he should recover and resume his power, ought to be withheld.

At this stage of the business Sheridan got up, and, by his intemperance, involved the affairs of the Prince in fresh disorder. Alluding to the claim of right that

had been advanced for his royal highness, and deprecating any further discussion of it, he, in a lofty tone, warned Mr. Pitt of the danger of provoking that claim to be asserted, which had not yet been preferred. Of this inadvertence, or what else it might be called, the minister immediately availed himself, and said, that he had now an additional reason for asserting the authority of the House, and defining the boundaries of Right, when the deliberative faculties of parliament were directly invaded, and an indecent menace was thrown out, to awe and influence their proceedings. In the discussion of the question, the house, he trusted, would do their duty, in spite of every threat. Men who felt their native freedom, would not submit to such a menace, however high the authority from which it might come.

The day appointed for the house of commons to resolve itself into a committee on the state of the nation, was the sixteenth; and on the preceding day an attempt was made in the lords, by Earl Fitzwilliam and other peers, to deprecate the discussion of a topic, which they well knew tended to bring odium upon their party.

At this critical juncture, the Duke of York also exerted himself to prevent the agitation of the question. No claim of right, he said, had been set up by the Prince of Wales; and he was perfectly assured, that his brother too well understood the sacred principles which seated the house of Brunswick on the British throne, ever to assume or attempt to exercise any power, let his claim be what it might, that was not derived from the will of the people, as conveyed through the constitutional voice of their legal representatives.

This declaration, delivered in a manly and pathetic tone, made a deep impression upon the whole house, which remained silent for some minutes. The chancellor then arose, and after paying some handsome but merited compliments to the royal Duke, turned in a different strain of eloquence upon those peers who, during the present agitated state of public affairs, had abandoned their sovereign, upon whom they depended for many substantial favours. "My own debt of gratitude to the King," said the noble speaker, "is ample; and when I forget it, or forsake him, may God forget and forsake me!"

The two leading propositions introduced by Mr. Pitt in the house of commons, were of a declaratory nature; one affirming that the personal exercise of the royal authority was interrupted, and the other that it was the duty of parliament to supply the defect. The minister acknowledged that any abstract question would be unnecessary, and the discussion useless. But he denied that the question of right now brought before the house was of that nature. It was, on the contrary, an inquiry which stood in the way of all their proceedings. They were neither free to deliberate nor decide, while any doubt of the existing right hung over their heads. They could not speak intelligibly till they knew their proper character, and whether they were exercising their own privileges, or were usurping those which did not belong to them. Mr. Pitt then went over the several cases stated in the report; from all which he concluded, that the whole stream of history was in his favour, and that the house could not refuse the resolutions he offered, consistently with precedent and the constitution. They were now called upon to declare their inherent rights, and if they failed

to do it fully and explicitly, their conduct would undoubtedly be ascribed to motives of personal interest, rather than a regard to the safety of the crown, and the welfare of the country.

Mr. Fox replied to the minister in a very able, but caustic speech, in which, after ridiculing the whole string of precedents as inapplicable to the occasion, he maintained that the plan intended to be pursued would alter the government, and overturn the constitution. "The right to make laws rested in the entire legislature, and not in the concurrence of any two of its branches. The safety of the whole depended, not upon the patriotism of any one member of the legislature, but on the separate interests of the three, prone to the extension of their individual power, and uniting from different views in promoting the benefit of the community." Having advanced and illustrated this metaphysical sophism, which in fact is at direct variance with what was done at the Revolution by the convention parliament, when the regal office was in deliquium; Mr. Fox, with much subtlety, proceeded to dilate on the distinction between the political and natural capacity of the King. He next made a furious attack upon the minister, for saying, "that the heir apparent had no more right to the regency than he had;" and all this for the paltry triumph over a political antagonist, and to insult a prince whose favour he was conscious he had not deserved.

"In regard to myself," Mr. Fox said, "I have ever made it my pride to combat with the crown in the plenitude of its power, and the fulness of its authority. I wish not to trample upon its rights now when it lies extended at my feet, deprived of its functions, and incapable of resistance. Let the minister pride him-

self on a victory obtained against a defenceless foe; let him boast of a triumph where no battle has been fought, and no glory can be obtained; let him take advantage of the calamities of human nature, and, like the unfeeling lord of a manor, riot in the riches to be acquired by shipwrecks, by rigorously asserting a claim to the waifs, estrays, deodands, and all the accumulated profit of the various accidents which misfortune can throw into his power; but for my part, let it never be my boast to have gained such victories, obtained such triumphs, or to have availed myself of wealth so acquired." In conclusion, Mr. Fox said, that the minister "appeared to have been so long in the possession of power, that he could not endure to part with it. He had experienced the entire favour of the crown, and enjoyed the advantage of exerting all its prerogatives; and, finding the whole not too much for the successful administration of government, he had determined to cripple his successors, to deprive them of the advantages which he had possessed himself, and to circumscribe their power of being useful to their country; as if he dreaded that their prosperity would cast a shade upon his fame. With regard to Mr. Pitt's motives, he was unable to assign them; but if there was an ambitious man in that house, who wished to drive the nation into confusion, his conduct, he conceived, would be exactly that which the minister now pursued.

To this philippic, Mr. Pitt replied with great animation. He said, "that the attack which had been made upon him was uncalled for, arrogant, and presumptuous. Whether to him belonged the character of mischievous ambition, that would sacrifice the principles of the constitution to the desire of power, he

must leave to the house and the country to determine. They would decide whether, in the present unfortunate crisis, any consideration that affected his own personal situation, or any management for the sake of preserving power, appeared to have governed his measures. As to his being conscious that he did not deserve the favour of the Prince, he could only say, that he knew but of one way in which he or any man could deserve it, and that was by having uniformly endeavoured, in a public situation, to do his duty to the King and his country. If in thus endeavouring to deserve the confidence of the Prince, it should appear that he had in fact lost it, he should indeed regret the circumstance; but he could at the same time boldly say, that it was impossible for him ever to repent of it. Mr. Fox had thought proper to announce himself and his friends as successors to the present administration. He did not know upon what authority this declaration was made; but he thought the house and the country were obliged to him for this seasonable warning of what they had to expect. It was well known to be the express system of Mr. Fox to aim, through the strength of party, at the power of nominating the ministers of the crown. This, therefore, was the strongest additional reasoning, if any were wanting, why the house should carefully consider the extent of the power they granted, and seriously reflect before they made themselves accessary to the creation of such a permanent weight and influence in the hands of a party, as might be dangerous to the just rights of the crown, when the moment arrived, so much to be wished, and perhaps so soon to be expected, in which the King should resume the exercise of his constitutional authority.

The two first resolutions being carried, the consideration of the third was put off till the twenty-second. Its tenour was to declare that it was necessary, for the purpose of supplying the existing defect, and maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the King, that the two houses should determine on the means by which the royal assent might be given to a bill for constituting a regency.

This resolution was strenuously opposed by Mr. Fox, who pressed for an immediate address to the Prince of Wales, to take upon him the exercise of the royal authority, without any limitations. He contended that this was the obvious course to be adopted, consistently with the principles of the constitution, whereas that now proposed tended to introduce a monstrous anomaly, founded on fraud and fiction.

Mr. Pitt defended the plan he had offered from the heavy charges brought against it, of being a legal forgery. If such (he said) were the genuine description of every act done in the name and without the knowledge of the King, how was the regent to proceed? Was he to act in his own name, or in that of the sovereign? In his own name he could not act, without dethroning the King; and in the name of the sovereign he could not act, without having recourse to this reprobated fiction. It was this fiction, in truth, that governed the proceedings of the courts of justice, that gave protection to our property, and that resulted from the very nature of an hereditary monarchy. It supposed the same power to pass instantly in succession from one person to another, the political capacity of the King, always retaining its integrity perfect. It preserved sacred and inviolate the person upon the throne, amidst the imbecility of infancy and

the decrepitude of age. Certain forms of law were evidential of the will of the King, and whenever they appeared they could not be demurred against. Of this nature was the affixing of the great seal. If the chancellor were now to put the seal to any act, it could not be contradicted, but must be received by the courts, and proceeded on as law.

In the mean time, the imbecility of the King being known, the personal danger incurred by the chancellor in an action of this sort, was such as would deter any man from committing himself. It seemed, however, to afford a natural resource in such an emergency as the present; and parliament might unquestionably authorize and indemnify the chancellor in such an extraordinary exertion of his official duty.

All the resolutions were passed, and sent up to the lords, where they were taken into consideration on the twenty-sixth. Lord Rawdon, subsequently Earl of Moira and Marquis of Hastings, then moved an amendment upon the second resolution; declaring that it was the duty of the two houses of parliament to provide the means of supplying the present defect, by presenting an address to the Prince of Wales, being the heir apparent, and of full age, requesting him to take upon himself the administration of the civil and military government, during the royal incapacity. This amendment was supported by the Duke of York, and the lords Stormont and Loughborough. On the other hand, the Marquis of Lansdown vigorously opposed it, and defended the original resolutions on the authority of that great constitutional lawyer, judge Foster. His lordship observed, that the present parliament was not a convention, but to all intents and purposes a parliament regularly assembled. The King had originally

called them, and he had an undoubted right so to do, because he was living. According to the law and constitution of England, the throne was never vacant, and the King in no age or condition was ever considered as unequal and incompetent to the exercise of the regal functions. It was not to be presumed that these principles were without a meaning; on the contrary, our old principles of law were commonly found to have been suggested by the deepest wisdom, and calculated not only to remedy past evils, but to meet future exigencies.

The chancellor animadverted, with his usual severity, on the amendment of Lord Rawdon, which he characterized as being without a meaning. It requested the Prince of Wales to take upon himself the regency? What did the term regent mean? Where was it defined? He had heard of custodes regnis, of lieutenants for the King, of guardians and protectors, and of lords justices; but he knew not where to look for an explanation of the office of a regent. To what end then address the Prince of Wales to take upon himself a character, the nature of which was by no means ascertained? But the amendment, it seems, attempted something which probably was intended as a sort of definition of the term regent, by adding, that what the Prince was requested to assume, was the administration of the executive government. This again was dark and equivocal. Did it mean the whole royal authority? And if it did, would it be supported by any peer in that house? No man (the chancellor observed) entertained a higher respect for the Prince of Wales than he did; but the Prince had a better interest in the crown, than he could have in the regency; and it was their duty to preserve the power

of the crown safe, entire, and uninjured.—The amendment was rejected by a considerable majority, after which a strong protest was entered upon the journals, headed by the Dukes of York and Cumberland, whose names were followed by those of forty-six other peers.

Inthe lower house, the debates which arose upon the examination of the royal physicians were carried on with extreme and even indecent heat. The opposition relied implicitly upon the judgment of Dr. Richard Warren, who considered the recovery of the King as hopeless. On the other hand, ministers placed full confidence in the opinion of Dr. Francis Willis, whose practice had been wholly confined to cases of lunacy. This gentleman was of the clerical profession, and held the living of St. John, Wapping, but he had taken his degree as doctor of physic at Oxford. He, at this time, kept an establishment in the county of Lincoln, for the reception of insane persons, in the treatment of whom he and his son were remarkably successful. The fame of the doctor being reported to the chancellor by the bishop of Durham, it was resolved to call him in upon this occasion: the consequence of which was, a marked jealousy among the regular medical attendants; and Warren, in particular, could not restrain his resentment within the common bounds of civility. Dr. Willis, however, conducted himself with a steadiness and moderation that did as great honour to his temper, as the course he pursued did to his medical skill and sagacity.

In his examination before the house of commons, he had to undergo a very severe ordeal; especially from the stern rudeness of Burke, and the irony of Sheridan. But the doctor bore all their petulance with firmness, and continued to maintain the position

which he had originally advanced, that the malady was merely temporary, and would be of short duration. Among other facts elicited during this investigation, it appeared that the disorder of the King had so far subsided as to warrant the doctor in suffering him to pare his nails with a penknife. Upon this, Burke, with his wonted acerbity of manner, demanded of the physician by what means he could hold a command over the royal patient, so as to prevent him from doing himself a mischief. "By my eye," answered the doctor, darting at the moment such a look into the face of the orator, that the latter involuntarily turned aside his head in silence and out of countenance.

The plan of ministers respecting the form of government to be now instituted, was such as seemed to render it necessary to consider the Prince of Wales in no other light than as a privy counsellor, and a prince of the blood; and such accordingly was the principle upon which they acted, till their propositions respecting the question of right had been adopted by both houses of parliament. The next measure was the proceeding by bill, or resolutions, to provide for the administration of the executive government during the royal incapacity. In this situation it was deemed proper to communicate to the Prince of Wales the propositions intended to be submitted for parliamentary consideration. Accordingly, a letter was addressed to his royal highness by Mr. Pitt, informing him that it was the opinion of the King's confidential servants, that the Prince should be empowered to exercise the sovereign authority during the illness, and in the name, of his father; providing, nevertheless, that the care of the King's person and the disposition

of the household, should be committed to the Queen; and that the power to be exercised by the Prince should not extend to the personal property of his father, to the granting any office, reversion, or pension, except where the law absolutely required it; nor to the conferring any peerage, unless upon such persons of the royal issue as should have attained the age of twenty-one. Mr. Pitt added, that the ideas he had suggested were founded upon the supposition that the royal malady was only temporary, and might be of short duration. It would be difficult, he said, to fix at present the exact period for which these provisions ought to endure, but it would be open hereafter to the wisdom of parliament to reconsider them, whenever circumstances might appear to render it eligible.

To this letter the Prince returned an answer dated on the second of January, 1789, in which his royal highness expressed his sentiments upon the measure about to be adopted, with some asperity. It was (he said) with deep regret, that he perceived in the propositions, a project for introducing weakness, disorder, and insecurity into every branch of political business; a project for dividing the royal family from each other, for separating the court from the state, and depriving government of its natural and accustomed support; a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service from the power of animating it by reward, and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the kingly station, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity. The Prince then went on to say, that his feelings upon the subject were rendered still more painful by observing, that the propositions were not

founded in any general principle, but were calculated to infuse jealousies and suspicion, which, he trusted, were entirely groundless, among those whose confidence it would ever be the first pride of his life to merit and obtain.

His royal highness added, that in his opinion it was an undoubted and fundamental principle of the British constitution, that the powers and prerogatives of the crown were vested there as a trust for the benefit of the people, and were sacred only as far as they conduced to the preservation of that balance of the constitution which was the true security of the liberty of the subject. He therefore observed, that the plea of public utility must be strong, manifest, and urgent, that could thus require the extinction or suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme power, or its representative, or which could justify the Prince in consenting that in his person an experiment should be made to ascertain with how small a portion of kingly power the executive government of this country could be conducted. The Prince declared, that, if security for the King's repossessing his rightful government were any part of the object of this plan, he had only to be convinced that any measure was necessary or even conducive to that end, to be the most forward in its recommendation. If attention to what it was presumed might be the King's feelings and wishes on the happy day of his recovery were the object, it was with the truest sincerity the Prince expressed his firm conviction, that no event could be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than to know, that the government of his son and representative had exhibited the sovereign power in a state of degradation, of curtailed authority, and diminished

energy; a state injurious in its practice to the prosperity of the people, and mischievous in its precedent to the security of the monarch, and the rights of his family. The Prince farther observed, that it was neither necessary nor proper for Mr. Pitt to suggest to him the restraint he proposed against his dissipating the King's real and personal property. He did not conceive that he was by the law entitled to dissipate it, and he was sure that he had never shewn the smallest inclination to possess such a power. In fine, his conviction of the evils which might otherwise arise, outweighed in his mind every other consideration, and would determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by that melancholy necessity, which, of all his Majesty's subjects, he deplored the most, in full confidence that the affection and loyalty to the King, the attachment to the house of Brunswick, and the generosity that had always distinguished the nation, would carry him through the difficulties that surrounded him, with comfort to himself, with honour to the King, and with advantage to the public.

The composition of this letter has been ascribed in a high tone of confidence to Burke, but there is reason to believe that it was fashioned by the junto which formed the cabinet council then associated to counteract the King's ministers. Let this be as it may, the restrictions proposed by the latter were combated with great fury in detail, and through every stage of their progress. They were, however, triumphantly carried in both houses; but in the lords another protest was entered on the journals against the whole of the proceedings, at the head of which stood the signatures of the Dukes of York and Cumberland.

On the thirty-first, the house of lords, being in a committee, Earl Camden, the president of the council, moved it as expedient and necessary that letters patent, under the great seal, should be issued, empowering certain commissioners to open and hold the King's parliament at Westminster.

The persons nominated were the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lords President and Privy Seal, the two Secretaries of State, Lord Chatham, Lord Weymouth, and some others.

When the name of his royal highness the Duke of York was mentioned, he rose and said, that he felt himself called upon to trouble their lordships with a few observations. He had already given his opinion on the present proceedings, which he could not but regard as illegal and unconstitutional. That opinion appearing on the records of the house, he could not give his consent that his name, by appearing in the list of commissioners, should seem to give a sanction to measures of which he had so solemnly disapproved. He was empowered to say the same for his royal relative who was present (the Duke of Cumberland:) and though he was not precisely authorized by his royal brother the Prince, or by his royal highness the Duke of Gloucester, yet he could assure the house, that their feelings were the same, and the sentiments of them all were on this occasion in the most perfect coincidence.

Upon this it was agreed to omit the names of the princes, but at the same time it was resolved to state in the journals, that the omission had taken place at the express desire of the royal personages themselves.

But though the princes of the blood were averse to have their names in this commission, it appears they had no objection to be on the council appointed for the purpose of advising the Queen.

When that part of the regency bill came under discussion, Lord North moved, that his royal highness Frederick Duke of York and Albany should be one of her Majesty's council. But this was opposed by Mr. Pitt, who said, he would state to the committee why he thought it necessary to give his negative to the noble lord's motion. The council proposed for her Majesty was a council of advice, not of control; there was no necessity, therefore, to bind any of the princes under an obligation to give advice to the Queen, to whom they might give it whenever they thought proper, and when she desired it. As it was impossible to place the person of the King in the care of any one more attached to him than the Queen, it would be highly improper to separate or lessen her Majesty's trust. The house had already decided, that the Prince of Wales, as the heir apparent, ought not to have the care of the person of his father. The committee, then, could not appoint any of the other princes of the blood, without violating the principle they had adopted in the exclusion of their royal relative; and though it might, by the opposition, be added to the catalogue of those articles of disrespect which they had falsely and invidiously imputed to him, yet, as an honest man, actuated by every motive of caution for the public safety, it would be inconsistent with the nature of the trust to be reposed in the Queen's council, to nominate those personages who were, in point of succession, personally connected with the crown.

Notwithstanding this, Lord North persisted in his motion, which was negatived, as also were those which followed in favour of the other princes.

The regency bill then went through all the forms of the lower house; and on the 13th of February it was carried up to the lords, where several amendments were proposed and rejected.

Before its arrival at the third stage, however, all farther proceedings were suspended, by the symptoms of returning health in the royal patient. On the very day that the bill was passed in the commons, the King was declared by the physicians to be in a progressive state of recovery. This improvement continued till the nineteenth of the same month, when the chancellor arose, and, addressing the house of lords, said that intelligence was just arrived of his Majesty's recovery. This news, he was sure, would be agreeable to all parties, and to every man in that assembly.

After this declaration, nothing further, at present, in regard to the regency bill, was requisite; but, in order to mark the evident truth of the restoration to health, it would be prudent to have the experience of a few days, that the physicians might be confirmed in their opinion upon this happy circumstance. His lordship then concluded by moving an adjournment.

Upon this, the Duke of York rose, and said it was impossible for any person to hear with more satisfaction and happiness the information just given by the noble and learned lord; nor could any one possibly assent more readily to the motion than himself; indeed he would gladly have made the motion, had he received the happy intelligence. His royal highness added, that he went the day before to Kew, and solicited the honour of seeing the King, but it was deemed

advisable that he should not, lest it might endanger his Majesty's health: the Duke said, he was convinced his brother would receive this happy intelligence with the greatest joy;—and, observed his royal highness, had he been before informed of it, he would have commissioned me to make for him, in this house, a declaration of similar sentiments.

While the British parliament acted thus cautiously, on a subject of such vital importance, that of Ireland, with characteristic precipitancy and blundering fatuity, voted an address to the heir apparent, humbly requesting him to assume the government of that realm during the continuance of his Majesty's indisposition, and under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of the King, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, to the crown and government thereof belonging.

Six commissioners were delegated to wait upon the Prince with this precious donation, in accepting which he would have been at direct issue with the two branches of the British legislature. Fortunately, however, the heir apparent was saved from this dilemma; and all the satisfaction the Irish deputies enjoyed from their journey was that of dining at Carlton House with the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and nearly all the members of the opposition.

The rejoicings occasioned by the happy restoration of the royal sufferer to the full possession of mental and bodily health, far exceeded any thing of the kind ever witnessed. On the twelfth of March there was a general illumination throughout the metropolis, and in all the villages adjacent. Every square, street, and alley,

exhibited tokens of unbounded attachment to the sovereign, and thankfulness for his recovery. To this festive scene succeeded numerous splendid entertainments, given in honour of the event by public bodies and private persons. On the second of April the Queen had a grand gala at Windsor, where the banquet was the most luxurious of any that had been given in the whole reign.

During the supper, her Majesty sat on an eminence at the bottom of the great hall, with the Prince of Wales on her right hand and the Duke of York on her left. The spectacle was imposing, and the feast sumptuous: but the most remarkable circumstance attending it was, the testimony of respect paid to the Chancellor and Mr. Pitt. On a piece of confectionary was exhibited the Chatham coat of arms, with the cipher of W. P., a representation of the Keys of the Treasury suspended therefrom, and the number 268, being the majority of the house of commons in the late arduous struggle. Next to these devices appeared the arms of Thurlow, with the chancellor's motto.—These marks of distinction spoke more emphatically than any verbal compliments; while at the same time they could hardly fail to have a mortifying effect upon the feelings of some of the party; nor is it to be supposed that the Prince and his brother could cast their eyes upon such objects without some emotion.

The twenty-third of April, being St. George's day, was appointed for a general thanksgiving; when the King, Queen, with all the royal family, both houses of parliament, judges and officers of state, went in solemn procession to St. Paul's cathedral; and in the evening there was another splendid illumination.

But while the voice of gladness reverberated from

every corner of the empire, on account of this national blessing; an affair happened which had very narrowly plunged the kingdom again in darkness and sorrow.

On the fifteenth of May, the Coldstream regiment of Guards had a field-day, when lieutenant-colonel Charles Lenox, nephew and heir to the Duke of Richmond, came up, and, addressing himself to the Duke of York, requested to know whether his royal highness had said, "that he had put up with language unfit for any gentleman to hear?" The Duke, as commander of the corps, instead of giving any reply or explanation, with becoming dignity ordered the colonel to his post. The moment the business of the day was over, the Duke desired the attendance of all the officers in the orderly room, where he called upon Colonel Lenox to state his complaint. This being done, his royal highness acknowledged his having heard that improper language had been put up with by the colonel, but as to the precise words, he declined repeating them. The colonel upon this demanded to know who the author of the report was? The Duke replied, that he desired to receive no protection from his rank as a prince, or his situation as commanding officer; but that when not on duty he wore a brown coat, and was ready, as a private gentleman, to give the colonel satisfaction whenever or wherever he pleased.

Thus the matter stood till the eighteenth, when Colonel Lenox sent the following circular letter to every member of Daubigny's military club:—

"Sir,—A report having been spread that the Duke of York had said, 'Some words had been made use of to me, in a political conversation, that no gentleman ought to submit to;' I, on the first opportunity, spoke

to his royal highness before the officers of the Coldstream regiment, to which I have the honour to belong: his answer was, 'That he had heard them said to me at Daubigny's;' but he positively refused to tell me the expression, or the person who had used it. In this situation, being perfectly ignorant what his royal highness can allude to, and not being aware that any such expression ever passed, I cannot find any better mode of clearing up this matter, than by writing a letter to every member of Daubigny's club, desiring each of them to let me know if he can recollect any expression to have been used in his presence, which could bear the construction put upon it by his royal highness, and, in such case, by whom the expression was used. If any such expression should occur to your memory, (as you must be conscious of the disagreeable situation in which I am placed,) I trust and hope you will take the earliest opportunity of stating it to me. If no such expression occurs to your memory, I would not give you the trouble of an answer, which I should else hope to receive before this day se'nnight.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient humble servant,
"C. LENOX."

The colonel not having received any satisfactory answer to his requisition, sent a written message to the Duke, to this purport,—"That not being able to recollect any occasion on which words had been spoken to him, at Daubigny's, to which a gentleman ought not to submit, he had taken the step which appeared to him most likely to gain information of the words to which his royal highness had alluded, and of

the persons who had used them; that none of the members of the club had given him information of any such insult being in their knowledge, and therefore he expected, in justice to his character, that his royal highness should contradict the report as publicly as he had asserted it."

This letter was delivered to the Duke by the Earl of Winchelsea; when the verbal answer returned, proving unsatisfactory, another message was sent to his royal highness, desiring a meeting, and accordingly the time and place were settled the same evening.

The Duke, who was then residing at Carlton House, took the utmost care to keep the matter a secret from his brother the Prince of Wales, and the only person he consulted upon it was Lord Rawdon, who, painful and delicate as the commission was, could not, in point of honour, refuse to accept the dangerous office of second to his royal highness. The same caution was observed on the following morning, which was the twenty-sixth, when the Duke, to prevent inquiry, left his own hat at Carlton House, and took one belonging to a domestic. The place appointed for the meeting was Wimbledon Common, whither the Duke and his friend proceeded in a hired post-chaise. Fortunately the affair terminated without blood; but it was a hair-breadth escape on the part of the Duke, whose presence of mind and moderation appeared very conspicuous throughout the whole proceeding. Of this duel, the two seconds immediately drew up and issued the following statement:—

"In consequence of a dispute already known to the public, his royal highness the Duke of York, attended by Lord Rawdon—and Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox,

accompanied by the Earl of Winchelsea—met at Wimbledon Common. The ground was measured at twelve paces, and both parties were to fire at a signal agreed upon. The signal being given, Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox fired, and the ball grazed his royal highness's curl. The Duke of York did not fire. Lieutenant-Col. Lenox observed that his royal highness had not fired: Lord Rawdon said it was not the Duke's intention to fire; his royal highness had come out upon Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox's desire, to give him satisfaction, and had no animosity against him. Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox pressed that the Duke of York should fire, which was declined, upon a repetition of the reason. Lord Winchelsea then went up to the Duke of York, and expressed his hope that his royal highness would have no objection to say he considered Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox as a man of honour and courage? His royal highness replied, that he should say nothing; he had come out to give Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox satisfaction, and did not mean to fire at him: if Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox was not satisfied, he might fire again. Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox said, he could not possibly fire again at the Duke, as his royal highness did not mean to fire at him. On this both parties left the ground. The seconds think it proper to add, that both parties behaved with the most perfect coolness and intrepidity.

"RAWDON,
"WINCHELSEA."

On the termination of this affair of honour at Wimbledon, two letters were sent off express to town, one to the Prince of Wales, and the other to the Duke of Cumberland, giving them an account of the proceed-

ings. At the instant of his brother's return, the Prince, with filial attention to the anxiety of his royal parents, set out for Windsor, lest hasty rumour should have given them an incorrect and exaggerated narrative of the business.

Among the remarkable circumstances attending the duel, one was, that the Earl of Winchelsea, the second of Colonel Lenox, should at that time be a lord of the bedchamber; and another, that his lordship's mother had been actually employed in bringing up the Duke from his infancy.

Two days after this affair, Colonel Lenox tendered a requisition to the Duke of York, as Colonel of the Coldstream, desiring that his royal highness would permit a call of the officers of that corps, in order that certain propositions touching his conduct and situation might be submitted to their consideration. His royal highness, with his usual address, replied, that he could not properly oppose any design which might tend to relieve the colonel from his present embarrassment. The meeting of this military convention was accordingly held at the orderly-room; and, after a considerable deliberation, an adjournment took place till the following day, when they gave it as their opinion, that subsequent to the fifteenth of May, Lieutenant-Colonel Lenox had behaved with courage, but, from the peculiarity of the circumstances, not with judgment.

Upon this determination, the colonel effected an exchange with Lord Strathaven, lieutenant-colonel of the thirty-fifth regiment of foot. The transaction produced a great sensation in the public; and the King was so affected by it, that, notwithstanding its fortunate conclusion, he abstained for a time from his wonted pursuits. The Duke of York appeared the least con-

cerned of the royal family, as the following singular occurrence demonstrated. In consequence of the recovery of his Majesty, the birth-day on the fourth of June was celebrated at St. James's with unusual splendour; and the drawing-room was so crowded, that, to prevent confusion, the company passed in at one door and out at the opposite, after making their congratulations. The King was not present, owing to the agitated state of mind into which he had been thrown by the narrow escape of his son. To the surprise of the assembly, however, Colonel Lenox made his appearance in the ball-room, and stood up to dance with Lady Catherine Barnard. This the Prince of Wales did not perceive till he and his partner, the Princess Royal, came to the colonel's place in the dance, when, struck with the impropriety, he took the hand of the Princess and led her away. The Duke of York and the Princess Augusta came next, and turned the colonel without the least particularity or exception. The Duke of Clarence with the Princess Elizabeth followed, when his royal highness imitated the example that had been set by the Prince of Wales, and passed the colonel without notice. The dance, however, went on, and Colonel Lenox with his partner passed down; but, on coming to the Prince of Wales and Princess Royal, his royal highness took his sister, and led her to a seat next the Queen. Her Majesty then addressed herself to the Prince, and said, "You seem heated, sir, and tired."—"I am heated and tired, madam," replied the Prince aloud, so as to be heard by all the room: "I am tired, not with the dance, but tired of dancing in such company."—"Then, sir," said the Queen, "it will be better for me to withdraw, and put an end to the ball."—"It certainly will

be so," rejoined the Prince, "for I never will countenance insults given to my family, however they may be treated by others."—At the end of the dance, therefore, her Majesty and the princesses withdrew, and thus the ball concluded. The Prince, with his natural gallantry, afterwards explained to Lady Catherine Barnard the reason of his conduct, and assured her ladyship that it gave him much pain to be under the necessity of acting in a manner that could possibly in any way subject a lady to one moment's embarrassment.

Out of this rencontre another arose, between Colonel Lenox and Mr. Theophilus Swift, an Irish gentleman, occasioned by some strong language which the latter had thought proper to make use of respecting the duel, in a publication addressed to the King. The parties met at Bayswater, and Mr. Swift was severely wounded, but not mortally.

The affair, in which the royal Duke distinguished himself so nobly, made a great noise all over the kingdom; and even those who were most inclined to think that his royal highness acted wrong in accepting the challenge, could not but pay a respect to his conduct in the field. Bishop Watson, then at Cambridge, was so much affected by the circumstance, that he wrote the following letter to lord Rawdon:—

"My dear Lord—I know you will forgive the liberty I take in requesting you to present in the most respectful manner to the Duke of York, my warmest congratulations on a late event. As a christian bishop, I cannot approve of any man's exposing his life on such an occasion. As a citizen, I must think that the life of one so near to the crown ought not to be hazarded like the life of an ordinary man; but as a friend to the

house of Brunswick, I cannot but rejoice in the personal safety, and in the personal gallantry too, of so distinguished a branch of it.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

The generous magnanimity displayed by the Duke in receiving the well-aimed fire of his antagonist, and repeatedly refusing to return it, made such an impression upon the sister of Colonel Lenox, now the present Countess of Bathurst, that she solicited and obtained the curl which had been shot away. From this period also the purest friendship began and continued through life between her ladyship and the Duke. Of the esteem which his royal highness held for the countess, he gave an affecting proof in his last sickness, by desiring the King his brother to transmit to Lady Bathurst a lock of his hair after his decease, which request was religiously complied with.

In the course of the summer after this affair, the Duke was seized at Carlton House with febrile symptoms, which terminated in the measles; but though the illness was very severe for the time, his vigorous constitution soon triumphed over the disease.

The King and Queen, with the elder princesses, were then at Weymouth, for the benefit of the sea air and bathing. From thence they made an excursion to the beautiful mansion of the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, near Plymouth; and in the middle of September they went on a visit to Longleat, the seat of the Marquis of Bath. While at the latter place, an immense concourse of people assembled from all quarters in the park, with the eager expectation of catching a sight of the King. The noble host, somewhat alarmed, in-

quired of his steward what was best to be done on the occasion, who replied, that, in order to gratify the whole assemblage, he would humbly advise that his Majesty should condescend to exhibit himself from the flat roof of the house; with which the King instantly complied. An attendant, then in waiting, took the liberty to ask his Majesty, who was used to large assemblies, of how many persons he might imagine the *mob* below consisted. On this, the King quickly replied, "*Mob*, sir, implies a crowd that is disorderly: the people below are peaceable. *Multitude*, if you please, but not a *Mob*."

His Majesty had been desirous to have a Wiltshire shepherd, and application was now made by Mr. Kent to the late Mr. Davis, of Horningham, for that purpose; and he accordingly procured a man from Buxton Deverill, of the name of William Daphney. The King and General Goldsworthy had frequent conversation with this shepherd; whose simple manners, acuteness, and country dialect, afforded them considerable amusement.

It happened, however, in the course of time, that some sheep were missing from the royal flocks, and at length the spoliations were traced to Daphney. His Majesty having been consulted about prosecuting him, replied, that he had been himself the innocent cause of the poor man's crime, for that if he had suffered him to remain on the Wiltshire hills, he might have continued as harmless as his sheep; but that it was clear he had been seduced to his ruin by an unprincipled gang which then infested the neighbourhood, and would corrupt an angel. He therefore said, that the culprit should be discharged, but not prosecuted. The poor fellow, overpowered by the royal clemency and

consideration, exclaimed, "I will never cease to serve such a master. If I can no longer do it with my crook, I can with a musket." Upon this he entered into the army, and his destitute wife was transferred by his Majesty into a situation of decent subsistence.

The King had a great regard for the Marquis of Bath, and he evinced the sincerity of his esteem on hearing of his death. When his Majesty again visited Weymouth, Mr. Davis, who had been for many years the truly respectable and intelligent steward at Longleat, called upon some of the royal attendants at Gloucester Lodge, by whom he was informed that the King ought to be made acquainted with his arrival. This was done, and the monarch in consequence appointed an interview. After some casual observations, his Majesty alluded to the recent death of the marquis, and, after observing that "God Almighty had never made a more honourable man," he was so overpowered by his feelings, that he retired to compose himself. On returning, he inquired about the improvements which were in progress during his visit at Longleat, and then took leave of Mr. Davis with his accustomed cordiality and politeness.

While the King and Queen with the princesses were enjoying the pleasure of a tour in the west of England, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York sought a relaxation from care in the north. Towards the latter end of August, their royal highnesses arrived on the race-ground of York, where they highly gratified a numerous concourse of spectators by their appearance upon the Grand Stand.

During their stay here, they took up their residence at the deanery, whither the corporation went in procession, and presented an address to the Prince of

Wales, with the freedom of the city in an elegant gold box. The address was as follows:—

"May it please your Royal Highness,—The Lord Mayor and Corporation of the city of York, animated with the most lively gratitude for the high honour conferred on this ancient city by your presence, beg leave to approach your Royal person, with the utmost respect and most cordial affection. This honour, Sir, is greatly increased by your Royal Highness being the only Heir-apparent to the Imperial Crown of this realm, whom they have ever had the felicity personally to address.

"They cannot resist the present favourable opportunity of expressing their just admiration of, and unfeigned acknowledgment for, the wisdom and moderation which so eminently distinguished the affectionate and princely conduct of your Royal Highness in the most awful and trying situation, when all men looked up to your Royal Highness for protection, with the fullest assurance of receiving it; and blessed as this kingdom hath been by Divine Providence, in the happy recovery of our most gracious Sovereign, (for whom they entertain the warmest sentiments of duty and loyalty,) it is their fervent prayer that when it shall please the Almighty to call his Majesty to a heavenly throne, your Royal Highness may succeed him in the hearts and affections of a free, brave, and loyal people, and long live to reign over them, with the happiness and glory of a Patriot King.

"Your Royal Highness is respectfully entreated to permit your Royal name to be enrolled among the freemen of this ancient city, and to accept the freedom thereof, which is thus humbly offered to your Royal Highness's gracious reception."

To this address the Prince was pleased to return the following answer:—

"My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,—I thank you for your loyal and affectionate address, and for the satisfaction which you express at my visit to the city of York. It gives me very sincere pleasure that my conduct has been properly understood by you, and that my opinions as to the powers necessary to have been trusted to me for the general welfare, have not been mistaken, by the respectable citizens of York, for an extravagant lust of power, or an unbecoming haste to assume the seat, which to be called to as late as possible is the constant and warmest wish of my heart. Impelled with these sentiments, I must, above all others, rejoice in that happy event which is the subject of your joyful congratulation, and which touches my feelings not more as an affectionate son, than as the person the most interested in every thing which concerns the prosperity and happiness of the realm.

"I with pleasure accept the freedom of this ancient city, and your offer of enrolling my name amongst its citizens."

At York the two brothers parted, the Duke returning to town, while the Prince proceeded to Wentworth House, the seat of Earl Fitzwilliam, who gave a magnificent fete in honour of his royal guest on the second of September. Nothing could be more superb and sumptuous than the whole of the arrangements on this occasion. It was in the fine old style of English hospitality. His lordship's gates were thrown open to the loyal population of the surrounding country; and it was supposed that not fewer than forty thousand persons were regaled in his noble park. The scale of this entertainment may be imagined from the state-

ment, that, in the course of the day, his lordship's cellars supplied the populace with not less than fifty-five hogsheads of ale.

The diversions, consisting of all the rural sports common in that part of the kingdom, lasted the whole day; and the Prince, with the nobility and gentry, who were the noble earl's guests, participated in the merriment.

The company in the house were about two hundred, comprehending all the beauty and fashion of the neighbourhood, without any party distinction. The dinner was in the highest style of magnificence; and at night the fete concluded with a ball.

The Prince of Wales, on his return from Wentworth House, met with an alarming accident; which, however, was productive of no ill consequence.

About two miles on the other side of Newark, a cart, in crossing the road, struck the axle of the Prince's coach, and overturned it. The circumstance happened on the verge of a slope, so that the carriage fell a considerable way, turned over twice, and was shivered to pieces. There were in the coach with his royal highness, Lord Clermont, Colonel St. Leger, and Colonel Lake. Two of the royal servants were on the box. The Prince suffered only a slight contusion in the shoulder, and a sprain of the wrist. His royal highness was undermost in the first fall, and by the next roll of the carriage he was brought uppermost; when he, with his usual activity and presence of mind, disengaged himself, and was the first to rescue and extricate his friends. Lord Clermont was the most hurt; being much wounded in the face, and otherwise so severely bruised, that he was obliged to remain at Newark. The other gentlemen were, like

the Prince, fortunate enough to escape with slight injuries. The accident occurred at ten o'clock at night, and it was clear moonlight. The carriage was his royal highness's own travelling-coach, with hired horses and postilions; and the mischance was occasioned by the wilfulness of the drivers, in not suffering the cart to pass. Colonel Lake's post-chaise being close behind, the Prince and Lord Clermont went forward in it to Newark, where his royal highness slept, and the next morning set off to London.

The precipitate return of the Prince, and the earlier departure of his brother, resulted from private information they had received of the high displeasure the King had taken at their conduct during his recent calamity. Their royal highnesses were aware that an unfavourable impression had been produced on the mind of his Majesty, but as they knew not the extent of it, they were in hopes that it would be soon obliterated.

Finding, however, that the feelings of the King continued to be more and more agitated as he became acquainted with the transactions which had taken place, and with the share his two sons had in them; they found it expedient to clear themselves from any charges that might have been brought against them.

Although nearly forty years have passed away since this memorable period, the historian may adopt the language of a powerful writer, and say, that he begins to feel himself walking upon ashes under which the fire is not extinguished. Still, truth must be told; and it cannot be denied, that the King had but too much reason to be troubled on finding to what a height the virulence of party had been carried, while he lay insensible of what was passing around him.

But the most distressing point of all, was the knowledge that the baneful influence of this spirit had seized his own family; and that those who might, and whose duty it was, to have preserved themselves free from the contagion by maintaining a perfect neutrality in the conflict, unfortunately, at the very beginning of it, joined the cabal which was formed to overset their father's confidential advisers. It was palpably evident to every intelligent and unbiassed mind, that the opposition, with all their affected zeal for the supposed rights of the heir apparent, had only their own interests in view; and that the affected alarm which they set up for the constitution, was a mere mask assumed to cover a sinister and selfish purpose. So far were the liberties of the people, or the legal privileges of the crown, from being endangered by the measure of a limited regency, that, on the contrary, ministers, and parliament too, would have committed a fatal error if they had acted otherwise than they did. At all events, it became the princes of the blood to have observed a dignified independence of character, amidst the struggles of the two great parties. This line of conduct would have saved them from the mortification to which they were afterwards exposed; when the King, on awakening out of his delirium, could not but think that those persons had little respect for his feelings, who, taking advantage of his imbecility, endeavoured to introduce a political system which they well knew would, in the event of his recovery, produce a relapse, or another change of administration, either of which circumstances must have tended to anarchy. Happily, the recovery of the King prevented the evil; but he was not to be reproached for esteeming those who had thrown a shield over him

in his infirmity; nor was it altogether uncharitable, that he should feel, in some degree, as Henry the Fourth did when he missed the crown from his pillow.

George the Third had a paternal heart, and no man could have a more tender regard for his family: but he had a perfect sense of what was due to his high station; and, therefore, he could not reconcile it to the principle of duty, that, in an interval of mental vacuity, advantage should be taken to thrust men and measures upon him repugnant to his inclinations.

While the nation was rejoicing at the recovery of his Majesty, Prince William Henry arrived at Plymouth from Halifax, in Nova Scotia, after a long absence on the American and West India station. The King immediately created his royal highness Duke of Clarence; and, in a letter announcing the elevation, complained in very affecting terms of the treatment he had experienced. The Duke, without loss of time, imparted the contents of this epistle to his brothers; in consequence of which the Prince of Wales addressed the following letter to his royal father:—

"Sir,—Thinking it probable that I should have been honoured with your commands to attend your Majesty on Wednesday last, I have unfortunately lost the opportunity of paying my duty to your Majesty before your departure from Weymouth. The accounts I have received of your Majesty's health have given me the greatest satisfaction; and should it be your Majesty's intention to return to Weymouth, I trust, Sir, there will be no impropriety in my then intreating your Majesty's gracious attention to a point of the greatest moment to the peace of my own mind, and one in which I am convinced your Majesty's

feelings are equally interested. Your Majesty's letter to my brother the Duke of Clarence, in May last, was the first direct intimation I had ever received that my conduct, and that of my brother the Duke of York, during your Majesty's late lamented illness, had brought on us the heavy misfortune of your Majesty's displeasure. I should be wholly unworthy the return of your Majesty's confidence and good opinion, which will ever be the first objects of my life, if I could have read the passage I refer to in that letter without the deepest sorrow and regret for the effect produced in your Majesty's mind; though at the same time I felt the firmest persuasion that your Majesty's generosity and goodness would never permit that effect to remain, without affording us an opportunity of knowing what had been urged against us, of replying to our accusers, and of justifying ourselves, if the means of justification were in our power. Great, however, as my impatience and anxiety were on this subject, I felt it a superior consideration not to intrude any unpleasing or agitating discussions upon your Majesty's attention, during an excursion devoted to the ease and amusement necessary for the re-establishment of your Majesty's health. I determined to sacrifice my own feelings, and to wait with resignation till the fortunate opportunity should arrive, when your Majesty's own paternal goodness would, I was convinced, lead you even to invite your sons to that fair hearing, which your justice would not deny to the meanest individual of your subjects. In this painful interval I have employed myself in drawing up a full statement and account of my conduct during the period alluded to, and of the motives and circumstances which influenced me. When these shall be humbly

submitted to your Majesty's consideration, I may be possibly found to have erred in judgment, and to have acted on mistaken principles, but I have the most assured conviction that I shall not be found to have been deficient in that duteous affection to your Majesty, which nothing shall ever diminish. Anxious for every thing that may contribute to the comfort and satisfaction of your Majesty's mind, I cannot omit this opportunity of lamenting those appearances of a less gracious disposition in the Queen, towards my brother and myself, than we were accustomed to experience; and to assure your Majesty, that if by your affectionate interposition these most unpleasant sensations should be happily removed, it would be an event not less grateful to our minds than satisfactory to your Majesty's own benign disposition."

Whether the statement, here mentioned, had the effect of abating the royal resentment, can only be surmised: but certain it is that a reconciliation soon after took place; and the great changes which were now evolving, to disturb the peace of Europe, contributed very much to perfect the union. The Duke of York, from this time, manifested a decided alteration in his political conduct, and no longer lent his personal influence to the party with whom he had been so unluckily for a short time associated. But though his royal highness receded from the tents of opposition, he could not escape the attacks of the press. The public prints teemed with bitter invectives against those branches of the family, who had rendered themselves conspicuous by placing their names upon the protests entered in the journal of the house of lords. The Duke of York was more virulently

assailed in the daily papers than either of his uncles, the dukes of Cumberland or Gloucester; and the Times, a publication then recently established, went so far as to say, that the restoration of his Majesty's bodily health and mental faculties had proved a sore disappointment to the hopes of his second son. What ground the libeller had for so illiberal and preposterous an insinuation, he deigned not to state; nor was there a man of common sense in the kingdom, that could have been imposed upon by the calumny, however it might have been elaborated. It was obvious to the whole world, that the zeal of the Duke arose from the purity of fraternal friendship, and not from any motive of personal interest or ambition: to accuse him, therefore, of indulging the unnatural wish that his parent might not recover, was equally unfeeling, base, and absurd.

False and malicious, however, as the libel was, the most prudent course to have been adopted in regard to it, was to have treated it with silent contempt. Instead of this, a prosecution, in the form of an indictment, was instituted against the publisher; and on the eleventh of July, the trial came on before Lord Kenyon and a special jury, when, after some deliberation, the latter delivered their verdict of guilty; and in the ensuing term judgment was pronounced upon the defendant, to pay a fine of fifty pounds, to be imprisoned twelve months in Newgate, to stand once in the pillory at Charing-Cross, and afterwards give security for five years, himself in five hundred pounds, and two sureties in two hundred and fifty pounds each. The ignominious part of this sentence was afterwards remitted, at the desire of the Duke himself: notwithstanding which, the journalist continued the same

course immediately after his sentence; and on the third of February, in the following year, he was brought up again from Newgate to receive sentence for two additional libels. For the first, which was on the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, charging them with having so demeaned themselves as to have incurred the merited displeasure of the King, he was ordered to pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and to be imprisoned another year, after the expiration of his present term. The second libel was on the Duke of Clarence, accusing him of misconduct in his naval character, and particularly charging him with having returned from his station without the authority of the admiralty, or the leave of his commanding officer. For this last libel, the publisher of the Times was only fined one hundred pounds; which, it must be allowed, was a lenient punishment, considering the malignity of the offence. What little room there was for taxing his royal highness with a dereliction of duty, will appear from the circumstance, that, previous to his quitting Jamaica, the house of assembly of that island voted one thousand guineas, to be laid out in the purchase of an elegant star ornamented with diamonds, to be presented to the prince, as a humble testimony of the very high respect and esteem the people of the island entertained for his eminent virtues, and the happiness they felt in seeing him amongst them; as well as of the grateful sense they had of the minute attention which his royal highness paid to the duties of a profession constituting the support and defence of the British empire in general, and of the West Indies in particular.

When the committee waited upon the prince, to request his acceptance of the star, he received them

in the politest manner, declared himself unconscious of any merit that could entitle him to such a mark of regard, and assured them that he should ever remember with peculiar pleasure their sentiments of loyalty to the sovereign, and affection for his own person.

Thus the aspersion thrown upon the professional reputation of the Duke of Clarence was clearly wiped away by this public tribute of respect, which, coming from those who were the best judges of his merit, must be considered as decisive.

Yet, aggravated as the conduct of the proprietor of this paper was, his imprisonment lasted but a short time; and he was indebted for his liberation to the intercession of the illustrious persons whom he had so grossly vilified.

Such were the most prominent circumstances connected with the royal malady, of which it may be truly said, that it forms an important epoch in the history of England, and particularly of the reigning family. The rejoicings produced by the recovery of the King were so general, that they extended to distant parts of the globe; and at Calcutta an incident occurred worth relating in this place. On the day of the festivity there, an Armenian merchant nobly liberated two hundred poor debtors from the gaol of the city, and sent them home with gladdened hearts to join their families in the general felicity. Compared with this act of munificence, galas, bonfires, and illuminations, sink into contempt.

Nor can we quit this interesting subject without exhibiting another illustrious trait of virtue and generosity at home. As a contrast to the over eager ambition of Fox and his partisans to get possession

of power, in pursuing which object they made no scruple of placing the heir apparent in the front of the battle; let us turn for one moment to contemplate the calm, steady, and disinterested conduct of the minister. Mr. Pitt had no other prospect before him, in the event of a regency, than that of an immediate dismissal from office of every kind, without having made any provision for his support. He had secured neither reversion nor pension, and the small private fortune which he originally received from his father was wholly absorbed. Yet in this state he scorned to truckle for favour; he courted not the lord of the ascendant; and he rejected all offers of compromise that were secretly made to him by the friends of the opposition. Under these circumstances, some eminent merchants of the city of London, who admired him for his talents and revered him for his integrity, entered into a private subscription among themselves, and raised the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, to enable Mr. Pitt to maintain his independence.

When the list was completed, the chairman communicated the result in the most delicate manner possible to the minister, who was much affected by this very extraordinary and flattering testimony of respect. With every feeling of gratitude, however, to the gentlemen who had spontaneously raised this noble contribution, he strenuously declined accepting it; for which he assigned as his reason, that if hereafter he should ever be again called to his Majesty's councils, he should consider himself as tied down in personal obligations to the merchants of London, incompatible with his situation. When asked what he intended to do, in the event of losing the keys of the treasury and exchequer, he frankly said, that he should

go back to Lincoln's Inn, and resume his practice at the bar, either in the Court of Chancery, or the King's Bench, as might be most convenient, not at all doubting, but that by diligent application he should secure an honourable subsistence by that profession to which he had been bred.

This fact was at the time not known, except to the persons immediately concerned, nor was it ever made public till long after the death of Mr. Pitt. Such was the man upon whom faction cast the stigma of being actuated solely by selfish motives in the whole of the proceedings respecting the regency.

That the Duke of York formed the same wrong estimate of this great man's character, cannot be denied; but he was then young, ardent, and strongly attached to his brother: besides which, there was something in the manners of Mr. Pitt, which rather repelled than courted confidence; while, on the contrary, the party opposed to him were mostly men of fascinating address, fond of pleasure, and readily mixing with all those gaieties of life, to which princes in their early years are generally believed to be particularly attached.

The delusion, however, did not continue long; and within a few months, the Duke was so impressed with the conviction that Mr. Pitt had acted throughout upon the most upright principles, that he tendered him, if not his friendship, at least his esteem; and the connexion every day grew closer, nor terminated till death deprived the King of the most faithful servant he ever had, and Britain of the ablest statesman that ever directed her councils.

It may be proper here to state, that while the King remained under the care of his physicians at Windsor,

the Duke of York continued there in close attendance upon his Majesty; but that after the removal to Kew, it was not deemed advisable that his royal highness should be about the person of his father. Upon this, he took up his residence at Carlton House, till the mansion was completed which had been purchased for him a short time previous to this visitation.

York House, as it was then called, formerly belonged to Sir Matthew Featherstone; from whose executors Government bought it, on account of its proximity to the Horse Guards. The building was then committed to the late Mr. Holland, for repair and additions; but though the architect studied convenience in fitting up the interior, he paid no regard to elegance in the appearance of the mansion, which he encumbered with a heavy and tasteless portico. The house being completed and furnished, his royal highness entered into the occupancy at the end of 1789, when he gave a splendid entertainment to a select party of friends.

Here, at the beginning of the following year, he received his brother Edward under very peculiar circumstances, which contributed again to disturb the peace of the family. The young prince, who in 1785 had been sent to Germany for farther improvement in his studies, particularly in military science, after spending some time at Lunenburg and Hanover, went to Geneva, where he fell into such difficulties by running in debt, that, without apprising any person of his intention, he took the resolution of setting out for England. His arrival proved very embarrassing to his brothers, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York; who, though apparently re-established in the favour of the King, were still far from enjoying such a degree

of confidence as could warrant their interposition on this delicate occasion. They well knew the inflexible principles of their father in regard to the duty of obedience, and therefore were fearful that no efforts of theirs could bring about a reconciliation. Fraternal affection however prevailed, and the Duke of York became the mediator on this occasion; in which he so far succeeded, that the fugitive was admitted to the royal presence at Buckingham House, but received orders to proceed immediately to Gibraltar; for which garrison he departed from York House on the 29th of January.

Here his royal highness served till the month of May in the following year, when he was ordered out to Canada, on which occasion the officers of the garrison at Gibraltar manifested their attachment to the prince by giving a ball and supper. Of this entertainment an account was drawn up by Captain Fyers, of the Royal Engineers; and, as expressive of the esteem in which the young prince was then held by the best judges of his professional services, it surely merits a place in this memoir.

The Hotel del' Europe being fixed on for the entertainment, a temporary communication was contrived between that building and the ruins of an adjacent barrack, which was fitted up with singular elegance for the supper room, at the expense of the subscribers. The ball room, of itself an extremely handsome one, and which was besides decorated with the colours of ten regiments, was crowded with company; and it was remarkable that the ships, destined to carry the prince and his regiment to Quebec, arrived with a considerable number of officers from England, on the very day appointed for this entertainment. All the officers

of the British navy and army were there, together with those of the Dutch and Portuguese squadrons; and as the ladies of the place appeared in uniform dresses made for the occasion, the whole formed an uncommonly gay assembly. His excellency the governor, accompanied by all the field officers, waited on his royal highness at his quarters, attended him to the hotel, and entered the ball room at half an hour past eight o'clock. The dancing continued till about a quarter before twelve, when the prince and Sir Robert Boyd, preceded by the managers, and followed by the rest of the company, went into the supper room; and the astonishment then visible in each countenance at the unexpected magnificence of the spectacle, arrested every one for some time. A select band of fifty musicians, playing a grand march as the royal guest moved on towards a canopy of state at the upper end of the room, gave peculiar dignity to the brilliant scene.

The room, which was ornamented in a style superior to whatever had been exhibited in that place, was one hundred and ten feet long, twenty-seven feet wide, and twenty-four feet high: the company descended from a flight of steps nine feet wide, under a lofty arch, into the room; by which means they came, suddenly, to view at one glance the whole of the supper tables, which were calculated for two hundred and forty persons,—while another apartment was fitted up for the remainder of the company. On each side, and at the upper end of the room, Ionic pilasters were disposed at convenient distances from each other, having niches placed in the intervals and over the side boards. A space of fifty feet, in the centre of each side of the room, was occupied by a neat Ionic

colonnade, supporting two rows of balusters; one, the front of the orchestra, the other for uniformity. Festoons of evergreens and flowers, natural and artificial, were formed in a richly ornamented style, and suspended from the volutes of the Ionic capitals. The canopy was very elegantly constructed, and covered with pink silk and silver ornaments. On the top of it was the figure of Fame, holding in her left hand a St. George's ensign, which reached to the roof of the room. On the back of the seat was placed the prince's Coronet, large, and properly gilded; over which, and immediately beneath the canopy, was an illuminated representation of the Rising Sun. The niches on each side of the canopy were filled, the one by Minerva, in the attitude of inviting the prince's attention to Fame above him, the other by Victory preparing a laurel crown. The whole of this end of the room had a most beautiful and striking effect. The supper was a very elegant one, and had more, both of abundance and variety, than this seemingly inhospitable rock appeared capable of affording; so that the lines of the poet, in censure of habitual luxury, might, on this occasion, be applied in commendation of the attention of the managers;—

Earth, sea, and air,
Were this day ransack'd for their bill of fare.

Although Ceres and Bacchus poured forth their stores in abundance, yet Prudence presided over the whole; for perhaps there scarcely ever was an instance of such a number of young men being collected, with a predetermination of conviviality, who passed a night with so much decorum; nor of so large a company being assembled, where every individual was pleased and happy. The festivity of the scene was

considerably heightened by a judicious selection of catches, and other vocal and instrumental music, very well performed; and, among the rest, the following song, written for the occasion, was sung by one of the boys belonging to the Queen's regiment of foot, in a very pleasing manner:—

Ascending Calpe's stately brow,
We see sweet flowers spontaneous grow;
As these their mingling sweets disclose,
The rocky steeps their horror lose:
Regaled, we turn our eyes to view
The distant landscape's purple hue,
The liquid plain's transparent bound,
And scenes for warlike deeds renown'd.
War's rugged paths have also flowers—
Gay mirth, and song, and festive hours;
And from the steep ascent to Fame,
The prospect of a glorious name.
See, o'er yon western mountain's shade,
The evening's blushing radiance fade!
So fades our joy round Calpe's brow;
For ROYAL EDWARD leaves us now!
'Twas he who taught us how to bear
The soldier's toil, the leader's care;
Yet cheer'd fatigue with festive hours,
And strew'd War's rugged paths with flowers.
Ye breezes, safely waft him o'er,
To brave the cold Canadian shore;
To spread afar his rising fame,
And make his own a glorious name!

One mind seemed to animate the whole company; the only contest being who should do most honour to the illustrious guest, and display most, both their personal regard for him, and their affectionate and zealous attachment to his royal father and family. On the thirteenth, the governor was pleased to give out the following acknowledgment in general orders:—

"His royal highness Prince Edward having requested of Sir Robert Boyd to express, in the fullest manner possible, his royal highness's warmest thanks to the whole of the officers of this garrison, who gave him the fete of the 11th instant; Sir Robert Boyd, in compliance with the prince's wishes, has thought proper, by putting it in Public Orders, to assure himself of every officer being acquainted how flattering to his royal highness this mark of their attachment to him has been, and how sincerely he wishes them all to be acquainted with it."

At the time when Prince Edward so unexpectedly returned home, there happened to be in England another royal exile, of a different character, the noted Philip duke of Orleans, who, after experiencing the greatest acts of kindness from his august relative Louis the Sixteenth, endeavoured to deprive him of his throne and his life, by stirring up the people to rebellion. This unworthy descendant of Henry the Fourth was no stranger here, having visited England under his former title of Duke de Chartres, about five years before; at which period he received from the Prince of Wales all the respect due to his elevated rank. On the present occasion his royal highness paid him a formal visit, but the Duke of York declined having any intercourse with him whatever.

The degree of estimation in which this degenerate scion of the Bourbons was now held, appeared soon after in the neglect with which he was treated by the Prince of Wales, who gave a grand fete, at which all the foreigners of distinction then in England were invited, except Orleans. The duke then returned to France, where he continued the same course of base intrigue, and servile prostitution to the prevailing faction, till,

by way of reward, they took away his property, and next his head.

On the 18th of September, this year, a breach was made in the royal family of Great Britain, by the death of Henry Frederick, duke of Cumberland, brother to the King. This prince was born November 7th, 1745, and when young entered into the naval service, but did not attain the rank of admiral till the year 1788. He married the honourable Anne Horton, widow of Christopher Horton, Esq.; and the daughter of the Earl of Carhampton; but she had no issue by either husband.

The duke was ranger of Windsor great park, from whence he had returned to town on the evening preceding his death. So far, indeed, was he from entertaining any idea of his dissolution, that his band was ordered up to town for a concert, at Cumberland House in Pall Mall, on the same night, and he had also appointed to meet his hounds the next morning; but on alighting from his carriage, he found himself so very weak, that he exclaimed, "I feel now that I am going." In the course of the night he expressed himself in the most affectionate and tender manner to the duchess, for her unwearied attention to him through his indisposition; and he also returned thanks to all his attendants. The duke departed this life without the least struggle or motion, so that the vital spark had fled before the persons about him perceived that he was dead. His disorder was an inveterate scrofula, which had long acted upon his constitution with dreadful ravages. His remains were interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster, on the night of the 28th, after having lain in state the whole day in the Jerusalem chamber, adjoining the house of lords. As

the character of this prince has been much misrepresented, no apology, it is presumed, need be offered, for the following sketch, which was drawn by one who knew him long and intimately.

The education of the duke was not equal to his birth; but those who know the indulgence which must unavoidably be extended to persons of his elevated rank, as well as the temptations to which such an exalted station is necessarily exposed, will not be ready to arraign his tutors, or his own capacity, if the improvement was not proportionate to his opportunities. That he did not want abilities, may be safely asserted; and a proof of this declaration may be found in his acquisition of the modern languages, in which he was competently informed, though his knowledge was acquired rather in conversation than from any regular endeavours at an attainment of them. His skill also in musical performance, and judgment in musical composition, as well as taste in selection, must be admitted as evidence of a capacity, that, if in early life it had been properly directed to higher objects, might have been proportionally successful. To those who were not upon an intimate footing with him, his conversation seemed, according to the expression of Hotspur, "bald unjointed chat;' but those who enjoyed his confidence often heard remarks that indicated shrewd observation, and a knowledge of the world. This declaration is so little consonant with the general ideas of the public respecting the character of the duke, that it may be treated with ridicule, as well as received with incredulity; but let it be considered, that the opinions of mankind were adverse to his intellectual reputation, and that, whenever he spoke, his auditors were rather prepared to

expect something frivolous, than to examine whether what he uttered was really so or not.

The truth is, he possessed a strong flow of spirits, which betrayed him into conversation before he had sufficiently reflected upon what he was inclined to say, though his most precipitate observations were always less exceptionable, in point of judgment, than the malignant and satirical have been disposed to represent. Another consideration, which has by no means been attended to so much as candour required, was the indistinct manner in which, perhaps by some defect in his organs, he usually expressed himself. This inaccurate mode of delivery was often the occasion of many injurious misconceptions; for what he said was not always understood, and his hearers, rather than give him the trouble of repetition, have pretended to comprehend his meaning, sometimes conceiving that what he said would not have deserved attention, if it had been intelligibly conveyed; but oftener, more probably, these inarticulate remarks have been inconsiderately admitted, and invidiously related, as certain evidences of folly. His animal spirits were indeed uncommonly active; and upon most occasions, if his life is recollected apart from the habitual prejudices against him, it will be found, that what seemed weakness, was generally the effect of an extraordinary vivacity.

As to the MORAL character of the duke, the public have also been disposed to form a harsh judgment, without any sufficient reason. In the younger part of his life he was certainly inclined to those pursuits of gallantry which are generally expected at the period of juvenile indiscretion, particularly when the means of gratification are possessed in the most tempting

abundance; but the wild and debasing sensuality that marks our present tribe of fashionable young men, was never discoverable in his conduct. He was, upon some well-known occasions, led astray by youth and beauty; but when mankind consider the attractions which distinguished the objects to whom his attachment became so conspicuous, it will be reasonably concluded, that, with the means of obtaining the favours of those objects, it was more natural that he should enjoy them, than to behold such allurements with philosophical indifference, or turn away from them with frigid apathy.

There was one trait in the character of the duke, which, though apparently trifling in its nature, evinced a sense of decorum, and a value for the proper relations of life, that deserves to be recorded, and which can never be considered as the feature of a weak and frivolous mind. It is universally known that he was in the habits of the most familiar condescension with persons who were not at all distinguished for talents, and that a haughty and capricious pride formed no part of his character; but though he would treat with the utmost affability such persons whenever he found them engaged in their proper province, and upon ordinary occasions; yet if he saw that they neglected the duties of their profession, and entered too warmly in the career of pleasure, he always withdrew his countenance, and upon that account alone would wholly relinquish his connexion with them, and, however intimate previously, never afterwards behave to them as if he had before honoured them with his notice.

At the beginning of the ensuing year, the Duke of Cumberland's musical collections and library were sold. The former consisted of the works of almost all

the composers of Europe, for near two hundred years past. His royal highness was possessed of a violin by Stainer, one hundred and twenty-one years old; and the fortunate purchaser gave for it one hundred and thirty guineas. Other instruments fetched equally high prices. The books were sold as extravagantly, but the dearest article of all was the "Antichita di Roma," which had been given to the duke by Pope Clement the Fourteenth. This superb work was bought for the King by Mr. Gray.

It is time now to turn from collateral matter, to the immediate subject of the present biography.

On the seventeenth of March, 1791, the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick held their anniversary meeting at the London Tavern; when Earl Fitzwilliam, the president, was accompanied by the Duke of York, and other personages of distinction. The collection, after dinner, amounted to the unprecedented sum of eighteen hundred pounds, including the benefaction of one hundred guineas from his royal highness the Prince of Wales, and the like sum from the Duke of York

CHAP. IV.

FROM A. D. 1791 TO 1793.

It has already been stated, that the Duke of York, during his long residence in Germany, had frequent opportunities of witnessing the accomplishments of the princess royal of Prussia; and that a correspondence commenced, which was continued after the return of his royal highness to England. This would have produced a nearer connexion before the present year, had it not been for the lamented illness of the King, and the untoward circumstances to which that event gave rise.

The purchase of York House, at Whitehall, had this alliance in view; but matters were not brought to a definitive arrangement till the spring, when every difficulty being removed, the Duke left London at six in the morning of the first of May, for Berlin; where he arrived in less than a fortnight, and on the 24th accompanied his Prussian majesty to the grand review of his troops; there being present besides, Prince Lewis of Prussia, the hereditary Prince of Anhalt Dessau, the Prince of Baden, and several foreigners of high distinction. On the 28th, the king returned to Potsdam; and on the 31st he gave a grand dinner at Charlottenburgh, in honour of the Duke of York.

All matters of settlement being adjusted, and care taken to obtain from the august bridegroom a solemn renunciation of any claim to the throne of Prussia, in case of the failure of heirs male on the part of the reigning dynasty, the marriage was solemnized with great pomp in the palace of Berlin, on the evening of the 29th of September.

About six o'clock all persons who were of princely blood assembled in gala, in the apartment of the dowager queen, where the diamond crown was put on the head of the Princess Frederica. The generals, ministers, ambassadors, and principal nobility, had by this time assembled in the White Hall.

Immediately after the clock had struck seven, the Duke of York led the Princess his spouse, whose train was carried by four ladies of the court, preceded by the gentlemen of the chamber, and the court officers of state, through all the parade apartments into the White Hall. After them went the King, with the Queen dowager, Prince Lewis of Prussia, with the reigning Queen, (the Crown Prince being absent by indisposition;) the hereditary Prince of Orange, with Princess Wilhelmina; Prince Henry, third son of the King, with the hereditary Stadtholderess his aunt; Prince Wilhelm of Prussia, with Princess Augusta; the Duke of Weimar, with the spouse of Prince Henry of Prussia; and the reigning Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, with the hereditary Princess of Brunswick. In the White Hall, a canopy was erected of crimson velvet, beneath which was a sofa of the same kind for the marriage ceremony.

When the young couple had placed themselves under the canopy, before the sofa, with the royal family around them, the upper counsellor of the consis-

tory, M. Von Sack, made a speech in German. This being done, rings were exchanged, and the illustrious couple kneeling on the sofa, were married according to the rites of the Lutheran church. The whole ended with a prayer; and twelve guns, placed in the garden, having fired three rounds, the benediction was given; after which the new-married couple received the congratulations of their royal relatives. Then they returned in the same manner to the state apartments, where the royal family and their party sat down to card tables; after which, the whole court, the high nobility, and the ambassadors, sat down to supper, which was served on six tables. The first of these was placed under a canopy of crimson velvet, and the viands were served upon gold dishes and plates. Lieut.-general Bornstadt and Count Bruhl had the honour to carve, but without being seated. The two other tables, at which sat the generals, ministers, ambassadors, all the great officers of the court, and the high nobility, were served in separate apartments. Those who did the honours at these tables were, at the first, Prince Sacker, minister of state; at the second, General Moellendorf; at the third, Count Junckenstein, minister of state; at the fourth, Count Schulemberg, lieutenant-general and minister of state; and at the fifth, Major-general Bischoffswerder.

During supper, music kept playing in the galleries of the first hall, beginning when the company entered, and continuing incessant till the repast ended. At the dessert, the royal table was served with a beautiful set of china, the workmanship of the Berlin manufactory.

Supper being over, the whole assembly repaired to the White Hall, where the trumpet, timbrel, and other

music, were playing. The flambeau dance then began, at which the ministers of state carried the torches. With this ended the festivity.

The new couple were attended to their apartment by the reigning queen and the queen dowager. The Duke of York wore on this happy day the English uniform; and the Princess Frederica was dressed in a suit of drap d'argent, ornamented with diamonds.

Their royal highnesses left Berlin on the 17th of October, and arrived at Hanover on the 25th, where they staid eight days; and then proceeded to Osnaburgh, at which place they held a court for four days. They then went to Brussels, where they met the duchess dowager of Cumberland, who had just left England. After resting one day at this place, their royal highnesses set out for Lisle, where they were detained a day in consequence of the revolutionary spirit of the populace, whose violent prejudices against aristocracy ran to such a length, that they seized upon the carriages, and insisted upon having the arms obliterated; with which mandate of the sovereign people, the illustrious travellers deemed it most prudent to comply. From Lisle they proceeded, without further molestation, to Calais, where they arrived on Monday the 24th of November, at two o'clock. At Calais they were unpleasantly kept, for want of a proper conveyance, till three o'clock on Friday morning, when they embarked in a yacht, and landed on the beach at Dover soon after twelve at noon the same day. The Duke's servants were in readiness to receive them; and the regiment quartered there fired three volleys, to welcome their arrival.

As the Duchess had been much hurried on the journey, and was particularly indisposed by the voy-

age, though short, it was thought requisite to stop at the York Hotel till the next morning, when, at an early hour, they set out for town, and breakfasted at Sittingbourne. On the Kent road, a party of the Life Guards met, and escorted them the remainder of the way, till they came to York House, where the Prince of Wales, and his brother the Duke of Clarence, were in readiness to greet them. The Prince received the Duchess in the Great Hall, with that unaffected grace for which he was always pre-eminently distinguished. He saluted his new sister in the most affectionate manner, and, taking her by the hand, congratulated her heartily, in the German language, upon her happy arrival. He then saluted in the same manner the Prussian lady who accompanied the Duchess, and had ridden with her all the way in the royal carriage.

In the mean time, the Duke of Clarence hastened away with the pleasing intelligence to the rest of the family at Buckingham House; where, at nine o'clock, the Duke of York was introduced to the King and Queen by the Prince of Wales. The Duchess, however, being somewhat indisposed, after seeing the Prince and Duke of Clarence, was attended by Dr. Warren, upon whose recommendation she retired to repose.

On Sunday at noon the Duke of York walked to Carlton House, and returned with the Prince of Wales, who staid at York House more than an hour. Meanwhile, all the nobility and gentry in town continued to leave their cards; but no persons whatever were introduced to the Duchess.

At about a quarter before four the Prince of Wales arrived again, and within a few minutes afterwards his royal highness handed the Duchess to his carriage,

the Duke of York and Duke of Clarence following them. The Duchess of course had the right hand seat of the coach, and the Prince sat by her; the Duke of York sitting opposite the bride, and the Duke of Clarence to the Prince. There was no guard at the house; but an officer of the guards, being one of the Duke's household, attended uncovered at the door of the carriage several minutes before their appearance. The populace, when the Duchess came out, spontaneously took off their hats, and set up such a shout, that her royal highness, who had so recently witnessed the incivility of republican manners, turned pale and trembled; but being assured by the Prince that this was the ebullition of loyal feeling on the part of the people, she assumed courage, smiled graciously, and bowed repeatedly.

Two officers followed in the Duke's carriage to Buckingham House, where the Duchess had been invited to dine with the Queen. Upon the arrival of the royal party, the Duchess of York was conducted by the Prince of Wales on her right hand, and the Duke of York on her left, into the grand drawing-room, where sat the King, Queen, and six princesses. As soon as her royal highness entered, the whole family rose, and the Duchess, advancing a few steps into the room, dropped upon her knees; but the King and Queen immediately stepped forward, together with the princesses, and, raising the illustrious stranger, embraced her most affectionately.

At five the royal party passed from the drawing to the dining room, where their Majesties, the Prince of Wales, Duke and Duchess of York, Duke of Clarence, and the six princesses, all dined together.

On Tuesday evening following, their Majesties, accompanied by the Princess Royal and Princess Augusta,

in one coach, and the princesses Elizabeth, Mary, Sophia, and Amelia, attended by lady Charlotte Finch, in another, paid a visit to York House, where they were received by the Duke and Duchess, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Clarence, attended by the officers of the household.

After reciprocal salutations in the Great Hall, their Majesties and the princesses were led to the lower apartment fronting the Park, where tea, coffee, and other refreshments, were prepared. The ceremonial on this occasion was thus:—Tea and coffee, introduced by the servants in waiting, received by gentlemen of the Duke's establishment, who handed the same to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, and presented by him to the King. Another, received by the Duke, was handed by him to the Duchess, and presented by her to the Queen. At a quarter after ten their Majesties and the princesses returned to the Queen's house; the Prince of Wales, the Duke and Duchess of York, and the Duke of Clarence, attending them to the carriage.

The ceremony of a re-marriage, according to the ritual of the established church of this kingdom, was rendered indispensable by the Royal Marriage Act; which directs that his Majesty's consent shall not only pass the great seal, but shall also be set out in the license and register of marriage. His Majesty's consent did pass the great seal, at Weymouth, on the very day preceding the ceremonial at Berlin: but the latter direction of the statute could only be complied with in this country, as our archbishop had no authority to grant a license for the solemnization of a marriage in Prussia; nor could a marriage be registered, except in the parish or place where it was performed.

Such being the provision of the law for the security of the state, the evening of Wednesday, the 23d of November, was appointed for the ceremony to take place at the Queen's palace. Accordingly, at seven o'clock the archbishop of Canterbury, (Dr. Moore,) the bishop of London, (Dr. Porteus,) and the lord chancellor Thurlow, arrived at Buckingham House: the archbishop attended by two pages and his train-bearer; and the lord chancellor in his full robes, with the great seal of England carried before him, and his train borne.

At half-past eight o'clock the Prince of Wales, the Duke and Duchess of York, and the Duke of Clarence, entered the palace, and were immediately conducted to her Majesty's drawing-room. In the mean time, the two prelates and the chancellor were in a separate room for near three-quarters of an hour, preparing the form of the register.

At nine o'clock the bishops and chancellor, having intimated that they were ready, were admitted into the drawing-room; upon which the procession, attended by the officers of the chapel royal, proceeded to the grand saloon; where books of the marriage ceremony were delivered to all the royal family by the archbishop. A table was here provided, which had formerly been used at the ceremony of christening the royal children; but, at the desire of the archbishop, another table was directed to be placed in the saloon, so as to form an altar, and narrow enough for his grace to reach across and join the hands of the royal pair.

At half-past nine the ceremony was performed by the archbishop, assisted by the bishop of London, his Majesty standing at one end of the altar, and her

Majesty at the other extremity; the Duke and Duchess of York being in the centre; the archbishop opposite to them; the lord chancellor standing behind his grace; the Prince of Wales next the Duchess; and the Duke of Clarence, close to his brother of York. The princesses were seated on chairs at a little distance from the altar. The Prince of Wales gave the bride away; and as soon as the religious service was finished, the Duchess of York went to his Majesty, and attempted to kneel, which the King with some difficulty prevented, and, raising her in his arms, embraced her most affectionately.

The certificate of the marriage was then signed by their Majesties, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Clarence, and lastly, by the chancellor; after which, his lordship with the prelates retired, and instantly left the palace.

The royal family now returned to the drawing-room; and at a few minutes before eleven o'clock, the Duke and Duchess went back to their own house, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and Duke of Clarence, an elegant supper having been provided for their entertainment.

On this interesting occasion, the Duchess of York was dressed in white satin, with tassels and fringe of gold, and a profusion of diamonds. In her head-dress she wore feathers, and three brilliant pins, which were presented to her by the King at the preceding visit. The whole royal family also presented the Duchess with a most elegant and valuable assortment of diamonds, consisting of ear-rings, necklace, and other ornaments. The Duke was in his regimentals, the Prince wore a chocolate-coloured suit, and the Duke of Clarence was in his full uniform.

On Thursday the 24th, her Majesty held an extra drawing-room, for the purpose of publicly receiving the Duchess of York. At three o'clock her royal highness went to St. James's palace in her state coach, accompanied by the Duke, and attended by lady Anne Fitzroy, escorted by a party of Life Guards. Upon her royal highness's arrival, she went first to her Majesty's apartments, who was waiting to receive her. After paying her respects to the Queen, she returned through the guard chamber, and went into the drawing-room, where, after paying her respects to the King, and graciously condescending to gratify the curiosity of the brilliant circle that had assembled on the occasion, for about half an hour, she withdrew with lady Fitzroy, and returned to York House.

The dress of her royal highness, on this occasion, was remarkably splendid. The shape and train were composed of a white tissue, spotted very richly with silver, and trimmed with broad silver fringes, there being also a fall of the same half way down the arm, trimmed in like manner: the sleeves were of white satin decorated with silver foil, and the bottom terminated in an edging of diamonds: the stomacher was of white satin; and at the top was a very large bow of brilliants, with a splendid lacing of the same, which nearly covered the stomacher. The petticoat was of white satin, covered with crape, richly spotted and sprigged with silver, tied in festoons with silver flowers, and tastefully trimmed and decorated with silver fringe. The Duchess's hair was dressed high, and ornamented in a very rich style, being decorated with white feathers and gauze, crape and blond; on the left side was a very large double sprig of brilliants of uncommon lustre; while a bandeau of brilliants

encircled the right part of the head-dress, to which were added the three diamond pins, set to resemble stars, that had been presented to her royal highness by the King. She also wore the diamond ear-rings presented to her by the Queen, and a number of other rich ornaments of brilliants, which sparkled with uncommon lustre.

The Duke of York was in his regimentals, and he also wore a great number of diamonds: but what attracted most notice, was his sabre, which was a present from the king of Prussia, of great value.

All the royal family, except the bride and bridegroom, wore elegant silver favours; and the rest of the company strove, by the costliness of their dress, to do honour to the illustrious stranger.

Scarcely had this addition been made to the royal family, than a question arose, of no less grave import than—the precise rank to which her highness of York was entitled to take in this country. This subject having engaged much attention, both in and out of the court circle, it was resolved by their Majesties to have the point settled by the college of arms. Accordingly, the question was submitted to the learned professors of blazonry, who, after turning over many ponderous volumes, and examining a number of precedents in the records of the herald's office, gave their judgment,—that rank dates from birth, and has no relation to marriage; in consequence of which, it was decreed, that the princesses of England should take precedence of the princess of Prussia.

The novelty of a royal marriage in England gave a peculiar degree of interest to the present nuptials; and a general expression of satisfaction was manifested throughout the nation, at an event from which

much happiness was anticipated. The corporation of the city of London led the way in addresses of congratulation, first to the King, and next to the Duke and Duchess of York.

On the 19th of December, at two o'clock, the lord mayor, in the city state coach, followed by the sheriffs, and a numerous train of aldermen, the recorder, and two hundred common council men, arrived at St. James's, where they were introduced to the Duke of York, who sat in one of Prince Edward's apartments, on a chair of state, when the recorder read the address as follows:—

"May it please your Royal Highness,—We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, ever fervently attached to the House of Brunswick, feel the most lively satisfaction in approaching your Royal Highness with our sincere congratulations on your marriage with the Princess Royal of the august House of Prussia.

"Zealous as we are on every occasion to shew our loyalty and attachment to your illustrious Family, we feel a peculiar satisfaction in the present opportunity to testify our sincere joy at your Royal Highness's union with a Princess so truly distinguished.

"That a union so auspicious may be a source of uninterrupted felicity to your Highness and your royal Consort, is the ardent wish of the citizens of London."

To this address the Duke returned the following answer:—

"My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,—I return you my most hearty thanks for this address, so full of sentiments of attachment to the House of Brunswick, and of affection to me.

"Your expressions of joy on the occasion of my marriage, give me the highest satisfaction; and the city of London may rely upon my unabating zeal for their welfare and prosperity, and on my constant endeavours to preserve their affection and regard."

The lord mayor and his brethren were then introduced to the Duchess, who sat on a chair of state in one of the apartments on the Queen's side, with her attendants on each hand. The recorder then read and presented the following address, which was received very graciously:—

"May it please your Royal Highness,—We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, with peculiar satisfaction embrace the earliest opportunity to greet your Royal Highness on your safe arrival in this kingdom, and to offer our warmest compliments of congratulation on your auspicious nuptials with his Royal Highness the Duke of York.

"Truly happy to testify how sincerely we participate in the general joy of your Royal Highness's union with an illustrious son of our beloved sovereign, we cannot but express our ardent wish that you may long experience every degree of felicity which can result from so distinguished an alliance."

To this address the Duchess returned the following answer:—

"My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,—I thank you for your congratulations, so expressive of love and duty to the King our sovereign, and of affection to the Duke of York and myself. They make impression on my mind, and it shall be my constant and unremitting study to continue to deserve the esteem of the city of London."

On the 21st of this month, Richmond House, in the Privy Garden, was burnt to the ground; but a great part of the valuable furniture, the whole of the library, papers, and most of the pictures and curiosities, were saved, in a great measure, by the exertions of the Duke of York, who at the first alarm hastened to the spot with about three hundred of the Coldstream regiment, and kept off the mob. During the conflagration, a favourite spaniel, belonging to the Duke of Richmond, was observed at the window of an apartment, jumping, and endeavouring to force his way through the glass. On his grace offering a reward to any person that would save the dog, a waterman, by means of ladders fastened together, mounted to the window, threw up the sash, and, at the risk of his own life, brought the animal down safe. The Duke of Richmond gave the man ten guineas, and the Duke of York one, for this act of courage.

London never exhibited a gayer appearance than during the whole of the ensuing season; and the celebration of her Majesty's birth-day, in January, surpassed, in splendour of dress and equipage, every thing of the kind that had been witnessed for many years.

The circle in the drawing-room consisted of the King, Queen, Princesses, the Prince of Wales, Duke and Duchess of York, Duke of Clarence, Duke of Gloucester, Prince William of Gloucester, and his sister the Princess Sophia, the foreign ministers, officers of state, and a numerous circle of the nobility and gentry.

Between twelve and one the company began to assemble, occupying chiefly the three antechambers, when a few persons, as the crowd increased, passed

into the drawing-room itself, though contrary to etiquette. A great number of the principal nobility came early, and about two o'clock, when the arrival of their Majesties and princesses was announced, the lane through which they passed was formed by six or seven rows in each apartment. As his Majesty went along this avenue to the drawing-room, he noticed the persons of fashion on both sides, but without stopping for conversation.

The Queen, however, spoke for one or two minutes to almost every one known to her Majesty; and the right side of the last antechamber was nearly occupied by ladies, with whom she conversed separately, and with great affability, for some time.

The drawing-room filled immediately after the royal entry, when the King remained on the right side, and the Queen on the left, very near the doors, and without approaching the throne.

By this time the crowd was so great, that many ladies were more than an hour in passing from the doors to the circles, though not distant more than four yards; and several being unable to support the fatigue, went away without reaching them. The pressure was chiefly on the side of the room occupied by her Majesty, for there were the princesses, and as many ladies as could approach them, forming not so much a circle about the Queen, as a lane extending on her left, as far as the Princess Sophia, the most distant of the royal group.

The Duke of Clarence entered the drawing-room at five minutes before four; the Duke and Duchess of York in about ten minutes after; and the Prince of Wales nearly at the same time. The Prince and his two brothers, after paying their respects, went to dis-

tant parts of the room, and were surrounded by circles of their friends. The Duchess of York, during the short time of her stay, remained with the Queen; but her royal highness, soon after her arrival, became indisposed, and, on going into the antechamber, fainted away. Hartshorn and water were immediately brought; and when her royal highness was sufficiently recovered, she went home.

The Duchess, this being her first appearance at court on a birth-day, was more magnificently dressed than she had been since her arrival. All that art could accomplish, as well in elegance as in richness, was displayed; and she may be said, without a quibble, to have shone in every sense of the word. The petticoat was of white crape, interspersed with jewels in the form of stripes, trimmed round the bottom with a wreath of pineapples set in brilliants, and richly festooned with mosaic crape, edged with small wreaths of the same. It was fastened on the left side with a superb diamond bow; the train was of crape in gold, and the body Nakara satin richly spangled.

The jewelry worn by her royal highness was supposed to be the finest collection in Europe, for the dress of a lady. It consisted of a necklace composed of a single row of brilliants; a stomacher of three festoons of large brilliants, and tassels, and a very deep fringe of brilliants hanging from each festoon; a pair of sleeve bows with large tassels; a very large diamond feather for the head-dress; a pair of superb single-drop ear-rings, the present of her Majesty; a fan entirely of diamonds, with an ivory mounting, the sticks pierced and set with brilliants in a mosaic pattern; but the outside ones were set with a single row of diamonds, while very large brilliants fastened

the fan at the bottom. The shoes were of purple leather, ornamented with a running pattern of brilliants from the toe to the instep, and a row of large diamonds round the quarters, with a fringe of diamonds hung so as to play with the motion of the foot.

When her royal highness set out from York House to go to court, she was saluted with a concert of marrow-bones and cleavers; the inharmonious sound of which had such an effect upon her nerves, that she appeared very much alarmed, till her attendants succeeded in making her understand that it was meant as a compliment. She then recovered her spirits, and courteously bowed to the performers, who, as well as the crowd, rang the air with their acclamations.

In the evening, at the ball, a singular act of audacity took place. While the Prince of Wales was talking to the King, he felt a quick pull at his sword, and on looking round perceived that the diamond guard of the hilt was broken off, and suspended only by a small piece of wire, which, owing to its elasticity, did not break. The person who was supposed to have been guilty of this daring attempt was exceedingly well dressed, and had much the exterior of a man of fashion. The diamonds, on the part which was the object of attack, were worth three thousand pounds.

On the last day of January, 1792, parliament assembled, when the King began his speech with announcing the change that had taken place in his family, and expressed his confidence that he should be enabled, by their concurrence, to make a suitable provision for the establishment of the Duke and Duchess of York.

After the departure of his Majesty, motions were made and carried, in both houses, for addresses of congratulation to the King, the Queen, and the royal

pair. To these compliments proper answers were given; and on the seventeenth of February, the chancellor of the exchequer presented to the commons a copy of the treaty entered into between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, on the marriage of the Duke of York and the Princess Frederica. By this contract, it appeared that his Prussian majesty gave to his daughter one hundred thousand crowns; which sum, in case of her death without issue, was to revert to the king;—that his royal highness had settled on the princess four thousand a year, and the interest of six thousand pounds for pin-money and daily expenses;—that his Britannic Majesty granted a counter-portion of one hundred thousand crowns to her royal highness, and engaged to secure to the princess, in case of the death of the Duke, eight thousand a year for her jointure, with a residence and suitable establishment.

On the seventh of March, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee, Lord Mornington, now Marquis Wellesley, in the chair, for the purpose of taking into consideration that part of the King's speech which referred to the Duke and Duchess of York.

The chancellor of the exchequer then said, that the satisfaction which the house had expressed on the happy event of the marriage of his royal highness the Duke of York, rendered it needless for him to trouble the committee much at length upon the business now before them. He should be unpardonable if he expatiated upon a topic so well known, and which had received such general concurrence. The subject now before the committee was the consideration of a mode to enable his Majesty to make a suitable provi sion for their royal highnesses the Duke and Duchess

of York. The way in which he should propose that this should be accomplished, would be to empower his Majesty to grant out of the Consolidated Fund the sum of eighteen thousand pounds annually; which added to the twelve thousand already granted to his royal highness out of the civil list, and to seven thousand out of the Irish revenue, would render the amount of his income thirty-seven thousand pounds per annum. Lastly, he had to mention what he hoped would be a distant contingency, if the event should ever happen—that of her royal highness surviving the Duke. In that case, he should propose that the jointure of her royal highness should be eight thousand a year, payable out of the Consolidated Fund. Mr. Pitt added, that he should propose the payment of the annuity to be computed from the fifth of July 1791. He concluded by moving, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum, or sums, of money, not exceeding eighteen thousand pounds in the whole, be annually charged on the Consolidated Fund, to enable his Majesty to make provision for the establishment of their royal highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York."

Mr. Fox said, he did not rise to oppose the motion, nor did he object to it in any sort whatever; but he thought, on such an occasion, some principle should be fixed and laid down, for the satisfaction and information of the public, as to the species and amount of provision meant to be made by that house for the several sons of his Majesty on their marriage. He desired to be clearly understood as speaking his own private individual sentiments as a member of parliament, without having consulted one person of any description. He put every consideration of personal

respect or personal gratitude, that he might owe to any branch of the royal family, wholly out of the question; and meant to speak with the same indifference of the royal personages to whom he should allude, as if they had been princes who lived one hundred years ago, or who might live one hundred years hence. Feeling the blessings of our excellent constitution, and rejoicing that monarchy made so essential a part of it, he was of opinion, that a handsome revenue should be provided for the prince on the throne, and for every branch of the royal family. He declared he thought that, except in an extreme case indeed, propositions of that nature should always come to that house from the crown, as the present proposition did; and he was not of opinion that the children of the sovereign should be completely independent of the crown, but that the King's civil list should be given with a view to enable his Majesty to make such provisions as the nature of the case might require. While the relation of father and son continued to exist, Mr. Fox thought the princes might be safely left in some sort of dependence on the crown; but that a more distant relationship between the princes and the crown ought to be looked to as a case perfectly possible to happen, and in that case the princes ought neither to be left to depend entirely on the pleasure of the crown, nor on the will of parliament. With respect to provision for the princes of the blood, the first question, when application was made to parliament, would naturally be—Is the civil list adequate to the purposes of fully maintaining and supporting them? He presumed that it was not, or they should not hear of any motion of this kind. The house should make up their opinion on this point, before they determined on measures of this

nature. If the civil list was not adequate, and if the care and control of the maintenance of the princes should be vested in his Majesty, then the civil list ought to be augmented, and made adequate to that purpose. He thought that, in this case, some line ought to be drawn, and some solid principle adopted. The present motion, Mr. Fox said, if he understood it correctly, meant to give the Duke of York an annuity of eighteen thousand pounds a year from the Consolidated Fund, exclusive of what his royal highness had from his Majesty's civil list, and was to have further from Ireland. These sums amounted, in his mind, to a handsome provision; but it was to be remembered, that, upon setting off in life, the prince must necessarily incur a very considerable expense, for which a provision of not one shilling was made. Now in what situation was the Duke? He arrives at maturity, and marries; and is to have an establishment for his family, for which purpose we give him nothing but a mere annuity. He believed that the most narrow in their way of thinking, and the most rigid economists, must allow that a town residence was necessary for his royal highness, and that too a splendid one, and that also he should have one equally splendid in the country. What was the case here? The Duke of York was to have a sum of money by way of annuity, and that was all. What was he to have for fitting up his dwelling? What sum of money was he to set off with? Parliament gave him a certain sum by way of income, and might say it was sufficient. True, but then they left him to provide the means of beginning life as he could. How was he to raise money for this purpose? The only property he had by this resolution was an annuity, on which he would be compelled to

raise money. Was this the proper way to make provision for a splendid prince?

Mr. Fox then expatiated on the bad and usurious terms on which money was usually raised, when borrowed on a life estate or annuity; and thence inferred, that some consideration was due to that circumstance, and that the house ought not to conceive, when they fixed on eighteen thousand pounds a year as the amount of the annuity in question, that they voted his royal highness the Duke of York a clear eighteen thousand a year. He concluded, that by obliging a prince to borrow money immediately on his annuity, they put him in the way of temptation, involved him in difficulties, and taught him to be a bad economist: and, the age of the Duke of York, as Mr. Fox observed, was not a time of life when they had a right to expect much economy, or particular attention to his own private affairs. He wished the house to lay down a principle for the provision of suitable residences for the princes of the blood royal, or to grant a sufficient sum for the purpose. He argued against the house, on so important an occasion, doing any thing that would look like limiting the marriages of the royal family; remarking, that if they should have in their addresses regard to what was called additional security to the Protestant succession, that it would become the house, as well out of affection for the royal family, as from a reverence for the constitution, to vote an adequate support. He did not approve of the practice which subjected princes to perpetual application to parliament, without any thing like a principle to govern these applications. There should be provision for the issue of this family. Here they were placed in a worse situation than any private family in England.

Either the immediate descendants from the throne, at least, should be provided for by a resolution of that house, or by the civil list; and if the civil list was not equal to that end, it should be made so.

It might be said, if these were his opinions, why did he not move something on the subject? He certainly would move nothing, for the reason he had already stated; namely, that, generally speaking, he thought all such matters came more properly from the crown, and because it belonged to every man to regulate his own conduct by such rules as he thought right. It was sufficient for him to have stated his opinion.

The chancellor of the exchequer agreed with Mr. Fox in most of the topics advanced on this subject; particularly, that points of this nature should originate with the crown. He had it not in command, however, from his Majesty, to make any other proposals than those already submitted to the committee; and, not having received any other commands, it would be the height of presumption in him to make any of his own mind; and he believed the house seldom felt itself inclined to go beyond the point recommended by his Majesty in these cases: but there was one particular on which he thought it became him to give his opinion, and which had been alluded to by the right honourable gentleman who had just spoken. "Whether the establishment in question would be defrayed out of the civil list, and whether the other branches of the royal family should be provided for by parliament?" The answer was evident from the tenour of a message which he had the honour of being charged with from the crown last year, respecting the establishment of his royal highness the Duke of Clarence. In that message, his Majesty had stated the insufficiency of the civil list to provide

for the younger branches of the royal family. This was clear proof that the civil list was not adequate to the purpose. It was upon that ground gentlemen had voted twelve thousand pounds a year to the Duke of Clarence. He therefore took it for granted, that the house allowed the inadequacy of the civil list for any establishment of the branches of the royal family; and now he put it to the committee, whether there could remain a doubt on that point? or whether, if it was inadequate to the supporting of the Duke of Clarence with twelve thousand a year, it was possible to pay out of it eighteen thousand a year to the Duke of York? The truth certainly was, that the civil list was not more than adequate to the ordinary expenditure of the civil government.

Mr. Pitt said, he agreed with Mr. Fox that it was not right the royal family should be entirely dependent on the King; but that, he observed, was not precisely the subject then before them, and he should not, on such an occasion, presume to offer a syllable to the committee, which he had not expressly in command from his Majesty to state. The time might hereafter come likewise, when it would be necessary to make some provision for the issue of their royal highnesses. As to the Duke's residence in town and country, that was a subject indifferent to the purpose of the day; and besides, it was known that his royal highness was provided with two houses before his marriage; and the honourable gentlemen should recollect, that the annuity was to take date from the fifth of July, 1791. One half year of the annuity was already due, which might be applied to any object his royal highness pleased. As to the supposed increase of the royal progeny by the marriage, no man could receive greater gratification

and happiness than he should when it became realized. Mr. Pitt further said, that the eighteen thousand a year was not an annuity for life; but that the vote went to enable his Majesty, during his pleasure, to allow the Duke of York a provision not exceeding that sum yearly. He concluded with observing, that, in bringing forward the resolutions now under consideration, he had merely discharged the duty incumbent upon him to his Majesty and the Duke of York; and that beyond the limits prescribed, he had no authority to advance.

Mr. Fox rose to explain. He avowed the most sincere affection for every branch of the royal family; and persisted in the rectitude of his observations. He said, that, under the right honourable gentleman's explanation, the case of his royal highness was still more hard than he had imagined, since he now understood it was not an annuity for life, upon which he might borrow money, that his royal highness was to have; but one during the King's pleasure, upon which he could not raise sixpence. Mr. Fox reasoned upon this with some earnestness, and asked, if it was not decoying a prince into extravagance and distress to say, "Here's a sum which you shall have as an annuity to live on," when, in fact, a considerable part of that annuity must be sunk, in the first instance, to enable the Duke to set off with; as it were, to begin the world. He observed, that his royal highness could gain but little by what the right honourable gentleman called the half-year's annuity in advance, for the Duke had now been married five or six months, and consequently had been, during all that time, at additional expense. But even supposing that he had the full half-year in hand, both of the English and

Irish annuities, it would amount to no more than twelve thousand five hundred pounds; a sum greatly inadequate to the purchase of two houses, and the furnishing of them. The right honourable gentleman could not be truly serious, when he said it was well known that the Duke had a town and a country residence before he was married: for as his royal highness never had received any grant for purchasing and furnishing them, he must of course have done both upon credit, and was consequently obliged to pay interest for the money. He therefore hoped an amendment would be made, by suggesting a mode better calculated to answer the desired effect.

A similar train of argument was made use of in the house of lords by the Earl of Lauderdale, but without producing any change in the measure; and the resolutions were all carried as originally proposed.

Whatever may be thought of this settlement, and certainly, as compared with some others of a recent date, it was far enough from being splendid; it exhibited, in every respect, a striking contrast to the parsimonious spirit of the Prussian government. The marriage portion of the Duchess, considering her rank as princess royal, and the immense wealth which Frederick the Great left behind him, was contemptible. But this was a marriage of pure affection; and it should be remembered, that the King of England covered the portion of her royal highness with a sum of equal amount, besides bestowing upon the young couple donations fully adequate to their outset in life; but of which, as the nation was not burdened, it had no right to call for an account.

All this, however, was not unknown to Mr. Fox, nor was he a stranger to the fact that the two royal

residences alluded to, were already purchased and secured as the property of the Duke of York. Still it must be admitted that there was much cogent argument in what was stated respecting the propriety of a specific grant by way of outfit; and it is rather extraordinary, that the forcible point of view in which Mr. Fox put the case, did not make a stronger impression upon the minister and the house. Probably it was thought that the private situation of the Duke did not render such an additional vote at all necessary; and further it was to be considered, that his royal highness derived emoluments from the profession to which he belonged, with a prospect of still further advantages.

Though the royal nuptials had an exhilarating effect on the fashionable world, the genius of song was mute in the midst of the general gaiety which the novelty inspired. Even the muses of Isis and Cam were silent on an occasion, which, more than others, might have been expected to have produced epithalamiums in abundance. But, strange to say, neither English ode nor sonnet appeared in honour of a union that promised such felicity; and the only verses that can be now recollected, were the following, written by Hannah Cowley, and introduced into an Epilogue to the dramatic entertainment of "A Day in Turkey."

Now we know a Prince can cross the seas
To obtain a Wife, a nation's hearts to please.
"The age of chivalry" again returns,
And love with all its ancient splendour burns:
Yes—Tell the rapt orator whose magic pen
So late chastised the new-found Rights of Men—
Who fear'd that honour, courage, love, were lost,
And Europe's glories in the whirlwind tost;

Tell him "heroic enterprise" shall still survive,
And "loyalty to sex" remain alive;
"The unbought grace of life" again we find,
And "proud submission" fills the public mind
Tow'rds Her, now borne to Britain's happy coast—
A husband's honour, and a nation's boast:
"Just lighted on this orb the vision shines,
"Scarce seems to touch," and as it moves refines!
Oh, may she long adorn this chosen isle,
Where the best gifts of fate unceasing smile!
When "like the morning star" at wondrous height,
She soars at length beyond this world and night;
Still may your blessings to her name be given,
While soft she fades into her native heaven!

It is hardly necessary to tell the reader, that the passages distinguished by inverted commas, were taken from the splendid monument of Burke's immortal genius, then just published, the "Reflections on the French Revolution;" wherein that great writer described the effect produced upon him on first seeing the ill-fated Maria Antoinette of Austria, the wife of Louis the Sixteenth of France.

But if the British muses were backward in celebrating this alliance, an Epithalamium in Hebrew metre came out upon the subject; but whether the performance of an Israelite or a Christian, we are not informed. Of this piece, the following is a literal translation:—

When Jehovah had created Adam, and placed him in the Garden of Eden, he blessed him exceedingly, and gave him a virtuous Wife.

A virtuous Wife is above every gift, above gold and silver. Eden itself would have been a desolate land, if there had been no help for Adam in it.

Happy is the man that findeth a virtuous and prudent Wife. Most happy art thou, O Prince, who hast found this virgin.

Behold the daughter of a great King, of fair countenance, of a good heart! Behold, she cometh all glorious, united to thee in the bands of love!

Now ye are joined in hand and heart, walk in all the ways of Jehovah, like our gracious King and Queen, blessed with peace and prosperity.

Blessed may ye be with the fruit of the womb, for this is the gift of God! May your sons and daughters be as the olive trees round about your table!

Being full of years, may you go down to the grave in peace! and sitting at the right hand of God, enjoy pleasures for evermore!

While Britain was thus exhibiting to the world a picture of national and domestic tranquillity, in the reciprocal affection of princes and people; the continent of Europe presented scenes of an opposite description. The French, by the extravagance of their revolutionary proceedings, had created no less alarm than horror among the surrounding states; and soon after the arrival of the Duke of York at Berlin, a secret convention was formed at Pilnitz, on the 27th of August, 1791, between the emperor Leopold and the king of Prussia, for their own security and the re-establishment of Louis the Sixteenth in his right as an independent sovereign.

At the close of the year, the emperor made an open declaration of the necessity he was under to put his forces in motion to protect the Low Countries against hostile incursions. Upon this, the French assembly caused the most vigorous preparations for war to be made; but before the sword was actually drawn, Leopold died on the 1st of March, of an inflammatory fever, having been ill only three days. He was succeeded by his eldest son Francis, who followed the same course as his father, and before the end of April,

1792, the French and Austrians came in contact near Tournay; when, after a slight skirmish, the former retreated. Other actions soon followed, but nothing for the present decisive occurred on either side.

As soon as the news of this rupture reached England, a proclamation was issued strictly forbidding all his Majesty's subjects from fitting out privateers or letters of reprisal against France, under the severest penalties; and in his speech at the prorogation of parliament, on the 15th of June, the King, after thanking the commons for the provision which they had enabled him to make for the establishment of the Duke of York, said, "I have seen with great concern the commencement of hostilities in different parts of Europe. In the present situation of affairs, it will be my principal care to maintain that harmony and good understanding which subsists between me and the several belligerent powers, and to preserve to my people the uninterrupted blessings of peace."

But however desirous his Majesty might be to adhere strictly to a line of neutrality, it soon became evident that the state of his continental relations would not suffer him to remain a passive spectator of the great struggle which had but just commenced.

When the Prussian armies joined the Anstrians, and, under the command of the duke of Brunswick, entered France with the avowed determination of marching to Paris, a jealousy of England immediately took possession of the National Assembly, and the most ridiculous reports were put into circulation, for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the people against this country. Among other remarkable fictions, the war minister, in one of his despatches, declared, that the leagued powers were not those

from whom France had most to dread. Insurrections, he asserted, were kindled throughout the provinces, particularly in the south, where a rumour prevailed that the Duke of York was to be placed upon the throne of France. This was after the abolition of the monarchical government, upon which the assembly nominated commissioners to visit the sections of Paris, for the purpose of undeceiving the citizens relative to the scheme attributed to them, of having a design either to restore the deposed sovereign, or to place upon the throne the Duke of York or the Duke of Brunswick.

To complete this ridiculous farce, Chabot immediately proposed to dissipate what he called those idle suggestions, by calling upon the members to swear that they abhorred such doctrines, and that having long experienced the vices of kings, and of royalty itself, they regarded them all with horror! This goodly proposition was received with universal acclaim, and the whole assembly rising, swore to abide by the previous proscription.

Then another republican made the following motion, "Let us swear that no stranger shall ever give law to France!" Upon this the assembly again rose, and took this oath also.

After this swearing, a third member completed the climax, by saying, "Let us swear that no king, no monarch, shall ever sully our liberty." The assembly then rose once more, and vociferated their assent to this unmeaning declaration.

The absurd story of a design to place the Duke of York upon a throne which no one could possess with safety or honour, was not ill adapted to the credulity of an ignorant and infuriated people; who might be

easily led to connect this supposed project with the recent marriage of his royal highness and the princess royal of Prussia.

Though no man of common sense could be so deceived, the manner in which the fable was treated by the assembly, sufficiently shewed a predetermination to provoke hostilities with England. Throughout the whole of their proceedings, indeed, this enmity to the British government was manifest; of which their election of Paine and Priestley as members of the assembly, and the reception given by them to the deputies from the seditious societies in England, furnished ample proofs.

But, in truth, the scenes which were now hourly taking place in Paris, and throughout France, were calculated rather to repress than to stimulate ambition; and that man would have richly merited all the mercy of a republican mob, who could be so infatuated as to indulge the desire of a throne, with such an example as France before his eyes.

At the moment when this visionary idea was said to constitute one of the actuating motives of the allied potentates, the French people, who had long vaunted their superiority over all other nations in polished manners, were giving the world a striking proof how quickly men may degenerate from civilization to barbarity.

On the night of the second of September, a horrible massacre was committed in Paris, when the prisons were forced, and some hundreds of poor helpless unoffending beings inhumanly dragged out and butchered, for no offence but their loyalty.

Among these innocent victims was the princess de Lamballe, whose head was cut off and carried on a pike, after which her members were separated, the

heart torn from the body, and the trunk dragged for two days about the streets.

On the eighth of the same month, another scene of cruelty was exhibited. The prisoners from Orleans having arrived at Versailles, were there all slaughtered by the mob, who went from Paris purposely to meet them, though escorted by two thousand men and six pieces of cannon. The guards pretended they were overpowered by the lawless crew, who, not content with their first massacre, afterwards gratified their infernal vengeance by destroying every suspected person in Versailles.

The prisoners murdered in this place were chiefly dignitaries of the church, and officers of the king. Among them were the bishop of Mandes, the duke de Brisac, and the minister de Lessart. The cannibals tore the bodies of these victims into innumerable pieces, and shared the mangled limbs among them. The duke de Rochefoucault, whose benevolence was unbounded, also fell, being taken from his carriage as he was passing to his country house, and murdered on the road. Many of his own tenants, to all of whom he had acted as a second father, were among the assassins.

In such a country, where no government existed, and where no rights were respected, an ambassador had little security to depend upon for his personal safety, and accordingly Earl Gower, the English minister, with his countess, quitted Paris and returned home. There was nothing of a hostile nature in this proceeding, which in fact was rendered imperative by the deposition of the king, to whom alone the ambassador was accredited. Notwithstanding this, the French assembly thought proper to cause a declaration to be drawn up by Brissot, justifying

their abolition of monarchy, and complaining of the conduct of foreign powers.

In allusion to England, the National Assembly said, "One of these potentates, whose principles by France are respected, and whose alliance is greatly valued, professes a strict neutrality, and a resolution not to interfere with the internal government of France, yet expresses at the same time the keenest solicitude about the king's situation, and thus declares a resolution to be neutral, and not to be neutral, in the same breath; the ambassador is accordingly recalled, under the pretext that the king is suspended."

Then, after a laboured attempt to shew that the legislature had authority to bring Louis the Sixteenth to trial, they go on to say, "France, long before her own revolution, had condemned one of her own kings (Louis the Fourteenth,) who obstructed so passionately that last revolution, to which England owes her liberty, and the House of Hanover her crown. What authority had a French king to oppose the exercise of an inalienable right in the English people to change their own government, and to alter the line of succession to their throne? And how comes it to pass, that the cabinet of St. James's should at present adopt the principles which it reprobated not a century ago? If France has not a right to change her constitution, nor to suspend her executive power, we must then conclude that the English were rebels, and the Elector of Hanover an usurper. But assuredly no Englishman, no well-informed man, will maintain such a doctrine; and, indeed, the French nation is far from apprehending any hostile dispositions on the side of England, the assurances of whose government are

solid, and the friendship and loyalty of whose people may firmly be depended upon. When the cabinet of St. James's has more calmly compared the conduct of the republic with the true principles of policy, it will clearly see that the French nation has alone the right to decide, by its representatives, whether the first public functionary have incurred forfeiture, and whether the constitution is to be the exclusive mode of the government of the nation, in whose decisions on these points no earthly power has any right to interfere."

The conclusion of this elaborated piece of sophistry is in the same mixed strain of bravado and hypocrisy. "A nation," observes this organ of the assembly, "so united as to undergo without danger such a probation, is as formidable to her adversaries as she will be constant in her attachments to all foreigners; for all her virtues are linked together. She will therefore calmly wait till more sound reflections bring back to her the neutral powers who have taken the alarm at the last revolution. Trusting in the rectitude of her intentions, the justice of her cause, the power of her arms, the bravery of her citizens, and especially their unshaken resolution to live free or perish, she will continue to preserve a good understanding with the neutral powers, and to cultivate the commercial and friendly interests which connect them with her; and it is, therefore, hereby declared, that all the agents of France, actually residing with due credentials at foreign courts, are there to continue their services as long as their character and treaties are respected. France will observe those treaties with scrupulous exactness, and will therefore shew the greater ardour in pursuing, by every means, the reparation of any

real injuries or affronts that may be offered to her. In doing the most impartial justice to other governments, she is entitled to demand a similar return, and will employ every means in order to attain it."

It would have been easy to point out the fallacies in this manifesto, had such a supererogatory task been necessary; but it was thought proper to exhibit the above passages, to shew the spirit of the demagogues who had usurped the supreme power in France, and yet called themselves representatives of the people, with about the same justice as the long parliament in England did in the reign of Charles the First. The order to the French diplomatic agents to remain in the neutral courts, though stated as a proof of moderation and a desire of peace, had in reality an opposite design, being intended for no other object than to foment disaffection and sedition in the countries where those privileged spies might be permitted to continue their residence.

Notwithstanding the pacific professions that were made on both sides, it was soon manifest that each looked to a speedy rupture as certain. Preparations were accordingly made on the part of the English government to be in readiness in case of extremity, and the naval and military establishments were put into complete order. On the eighth of August a grand review of troops was held upon Bagshot Heath, where their Majesties were joined at an early hour in the morning by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and other personages of distinction. At nine they began the manœuvres, which were various; and the contest of the two parties was almost as animated as if it had been a real engagement. At the commencement of the review, all the forces passed in companies

and troops before the pavilion which was occupied by the royal family. The evolutions were so uncommonly rapid, that none but good horsemen could keep pace with them; and all the operations were conducted in a manner that gave great satisfaction to the veterans who were present. In the afternoon, a new experiment was tried in the springing of a mine. One of Colonel Moncrieff's square redoubts was erected upon a round hill, that the effects to be produced by the explosion might be more discernible. The miners broke ground against the side of the hill, one hundred and fifty-two feet from the redoubt, and about twenty below its base. The first gallery was driven one hundred and twelve feet in length, and about three feet in width, and three and a half in height, from which began a turning only twenty-two inches wide and three feet high, reaching under the redoubt: a second turning of six feet was made for the chamber, into which was put a wooden box of gunpowder, and lined with pitched canvass. This box contained seven hundred and twenty pounds of powder, and was exploded by means of a wooden trough in which was a canvass pipe of powder; this was ignited by means of a small box of combustibles, which gave the first explosion, so as to cut off and light the pipe communicating with the chamber. At the explosion, the whole redoubt rose about forty feet, and vanished in dust and smoke, leaving a large excavation where it stood, of nearly forty feet wide, and twenty in depth. The small mine had been exploded a few days before, to determine the resistance of the ground.

A spectacle of this description, connected with the feverish state of the times, could not but induce a suspicion that the British government, with all its

desire of peace, was apprehensive of being soon called to adopt, at least, measures of defence against the disturbers of Europe.

From this time, to the opening of the new year, every hour gave clear indications of an approaching war; and the dismissal of the French minister, Chauvelin, put an end to whatever hopes might have been entertained of the continuance of peace.

The murder of Louis the Sixteenth decided the question; and seven days after that infamous deed, the King sent down a message to both houses of parliament, wherein, after stating that he had caused several papers to be laid before them, he said, "In the present situation of affairs, his Majesty thinks it indispensably necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land; and he relies on the known affection and zeal of the house of commons, to take the most effectual measures, in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions, for supporting his allies, and for opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but are particularly so when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society."

Upon this, the national convention, on the first of February, declared war against the King of England and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, by a formal decree, in which various allegations were brought forward in justification of that proceeding; but the principal was the attachment manifested by the two potentates to the "traitor Louis Capet."

In consequence of this, another royal message was brought down to the commons, in which his Majesty informed them, "that the assembly then exercising the powers of government in France, had, without any previous notice, directed acts of hostility against the persons and property of his subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and that they had also, on the most groundless pretensions, declared war against his Majesty and the United Provinces. Under the circumstances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, his Majesty said he had taken the necessary steps to maintain the honour of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people; and therefore he relied with confidence on the firm and effectual support of the house of commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war, and endeavouring, under the blessing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the farther progress of a system, which not only struck at the security and peace of all independent nations, but was pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice."

This communication produced long and warm debates, but the supporters of government far outnumbered its opponents; and no wonder, for the French revolution had created such an alarm, that many of the most powerful families, with their connexions, who had hitherto voted uniformly against the minister, now rallied round his standard, and distinguished themselves by the ardour of their zeal in advocating the war which had now commenced.

CHAP. V.

FROM A. D. 1793 TO 1795.

WHILE the party opposed to government were strenuously labouring to throw the odium of aggression upon his Majesty's ministers, the French armies were giving a practical refutation of the charge, by marching into Holland; where, on passing the frontier, Dumourier their commander issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, filled with the grossest personal abuse of the English monarch, the princess of Orange, and the king of Prussia. In this manifesto, the republican general expressly avowed that it was the intention of his masters to revolutionize all the countries around them. "Send back into Germany," said the gasconading chief, "that aspiring house, which for a century past has sacrificed you to its ambition. Send back that sister of Frederick William, who retains at her command, for the purpose of controlling you, the ferocious Prussians, whenever you shall attempt to throw off your chains. The calling in of those Prussians, is every time an insult to the standard of your brave troops. The house of Orange fears, and with reason, that the spirit of liberty shall subdue it. A republican army will not long be subservient to tyrants. Soon the troops of Holland, soon the conquerors of

the Dogger Bank will join to the French their armies and their fleets. The first who unite themselves under the standard of Liberty shall receive not only the certainty of those places which they occupy in the service of the republic, but promotion, and that at the expense of the slaves of the house of Orange. I enter among you, surrounded by the glorious martyrs of the revolution of 1787. Their perseverance and their sacrifices merit your confidence and mine. They form a committee, which will speedily increase in number. This committee will be very useful in the first moments of your revolution; and its members, with no ambition but to be the deliverers of their country, will re-enter the different classes of social order whenever your national convention shall assemble."

Such was the profession of the Gallican leader, and there can be no doubt that a similar call would have been made upon the English people, to proscribe their monarchical government, and to send back to Germany the reigning family, if the republican hordes could have effected a landing.

Dumourier did not publish this proclamation without authority, for at this very time the convention at Paris decreed, "That the French generals were empowered to declare, that the stadtholder had forfeited all his official employments; that nobility, and every species of tyranny, under which the people groan any where, should be abolished; and that commissioners should be sent into Holland, to organize the government there, as soon as the French got possession of the country."

In this critical state of affairs, the stadtholder published an energetic appeal to the people, urging them, in the most forcible language, to repel the invaders. But this address failed to elicit a patriotic spirit; and

it was evident that the French had too many well-wishers throughout the United Provinces, who only waited for an opportunity to declare themselves in favour of the levelling system which they so much admired.

On the 25th of February, the strong fortress of Breda surrendered to the enemy without resistance; for which disgraceful act, the governor, Count Von Byland, was some time afterwards tried, and punished in a singular manner. Instead of losing his head as he deserved, he was condemned to have the fatal axe brandished over him by the hands of the common hangman, and then to be confined for life in the state prison of Louvestein.

On the very day that Breda was so shamefully given up, the Duke of York, who had the chief command of the army destined for foreign service, left the metropolis at the head of three battalions of the Guards. At half past six in the morning, the men were all paraded before the Horse Guards, and at seven, the King, attended by the Prince of Wales, the Duke, and several other general officers, came down the Mall from Buckingham House. After his Majesty had been about half an hour on the parade, the battalions marched by him in companies, moving to slow time, the officers saluting as they passed. They then went off by Storey's Gate, and took the Kent road. When the whole had passed, his Majesty, with his suite, fell in the rear, and accompanied them to Greenwich, where the battalions embarked immediately on their arrival. On this occasion, the Queen, with the three elder princesses, and the Duke of Clarence, rode down to Greenwich, and witnessed the embarkation; but the Duchess of York was so

much depressed in her spirits, that she could not bear to witness the departure of her consort in the career of peril and glory. His royal highness, who on this occasion was assisted by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Sir William Erskine, General Lake, and other officers of high character, reached Helvoetsluys on the fourth of March, and the troops immediately proceeded to the relief of Williamstadt, the siege of which fortress had been carrying on vigorously for some time; but the place being strong by nature and art, held out against all the efforts that were made by the French forces, whose operations were conducted by the two able engineers, Dubois de Crance and Marescot. The baron de Boetzlaer, who commanded the garrison, was made a lieutenant-governor during the siege; and he merited that commission, as well as the subsequent honours which were conferred upon him for his bravery and loyalty.

The arrival of the Duke of York was very opportune, for the enemy being in possession of the fortresses of Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenberg, were enabled to concentrate their main strength against this important post. Accordingly, they opened a battery within two hundred yards of the walls of Williamstadt; but the besieged made a successful sally, and both of the republican engineers were slain on the spot. Still the blockade went on, and Dumourier having erected some formidable batteries at the village of Moerdyck, collected a flotilla to assist his operations, and to prevent the approach of the British vessels. The latter, however, succeeded in making their way, and their boats were employed with considerable effect in annoying the enemy's works.

In this service, Lieutenant Western, of his Majesty's

frigate the Syren, particularly distinguished himself; but on the 21st of March he was unfortunately killed by a shot from the entrenched camp of the French at the Noord post. The loss of this enterprising young officer was severely felt, and three days afterwards his body was buried in the great church of Dordt with military honours; the Duke of York being present, with the officers and troops under his command.

A sudden change now took place, for De Flers, who had been left to conduct the siege, finding himself vigorously attacked on the one side by the English, and threatened on the other by the Prussians, broke up from before Williamstadt, and retreated with part of his army to Breda, while the rest made their way to Antwerp.

The speedy evacuation of Holland followed, in consequence of which, the English forces were at liberty to advance into the Netherlands against the main body of the French, who were encamped near Tournay. In the mean time, Dumourier having excited suspicions by his conduct, was superseded in the command which he held, and a body of commissioners proceeded, by the orders of the convention, to put him under arrest. But the general, being aware of their business, anticipated the deputies by seizing their persons, and sending them to the Austrian head-quarters, after which, finding that there was no reliance to be placed on his troops, he fled with some of his officers to Brussels, and from thence to Mons, where he put himself under the protection of the Imperialists.

This defection, however, did not produce the important consequences, in favour of the allies, that were expected. The republican army, instead of falling into disorder, or hoisting the standard of royalty, con-

tinued true to the convention, and readily obeyed their new commander, General Dampierre, a man of tried courage and of approved talents, who did not, however, deem it prudent to act offensively, but entrenched himself in a strong position at Famars, under the protection of the cannon of Valenciennes.

In the mean time, a military congress was held in the city of Antwerp, which assembly consisted of the Prince of Orange and his two sons, the Duke of York, Lord Auckland as ambassador from England, Mynheer Vanderspiegel on the part of Holland, the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan envoys, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg commander-in-chief of the Austrian forces, the counts Metternich, Stahremberg, Mercy d' Argenteau, and the generals Knobelsdorff and Keller. At this convocation the plan of operations was settled; and, as a preliminary step, it was resolved to put an end to the armistice which had been concluded between Dumourier on the part of the French, and the Prince of Cobourg on that of the Imperialists.

The Prince of Cobourg being now inspirited by the accession of a considerable body of Prussians, and assured of receiving effectual support from the British and Hanoverians under the Duke of York, determined to drive the republicans from their entrenchments. Accordingly, on the seventh of April he advanced against the camp at Maulde, of which he soon gained possession, and then proceeded to form the blockade of Condé, while at the same time he made preparations to invest Valenciennes. The French, on the other hand, were equally active, and after gaining some advantages over the allies in different skirmishes, they came to the resolution of making a general attack upon the camp at Quiverain, in order to prevent the

threatened siege of Valenciennes, and to raise the blockade of Condé. With this view, one body of the republicans, on the morning of the 1st of May, marched against the advanced posts of the left wing of the Imperialists, while a simultaneous assault was made by another on those of the centre; but they were repulsed every where with considerable loss both of men and cannon.

Notwithstanding this, Dampierre determined to renew the attack on all the positions of the allied forces; and, to effect this object, he summoned to his aid large detachments from Lisle and other neighbouring garrisons, proceeding himself with the main body from the camp of Famars. The action, which commenced about seven o'clock in the morning of the eighth of May, was primarily directed against the posts occupied by General Clairfait, which extended from the Scheldt to the abbey of Vicogne, and next against the Prussian corps, which was stationed to defend the wood in the front of the high road leading from that place to St. Amand. Upon these points the French army directed all their efforts, but without being able to carry their object.

Though baffled in this quarter, they took up a strong position in the neighbouring woods, and not only kept the Prince of Cobourg in check, but cannonaded the Prussian camp at St. Amand. In the mean time, the Duke of York, who arrived about six o'clock at the camp at Maulde, despatched a brigade of Guards and a battalion of Hanoverian infantry, to the relief of the Prussian general, who in consequence was enabled to reinforce himself and maintain his position; till his force being weakened by being obliged to send some detachments to support the

Austrians, his situation became very perilous. At this critical juncture the Duke of York marched in person with the Coldstream, the flank battalion, and that of the third regiment, to his assistance. When the Coldstream, which was upon the left, arrived, the enemy had nearly reached the road, and indeed they already commanded it in a great degree by their artillery; notwithstanding which, the guns belonging to the battalion were brought up, and by a well-directed and well-supported fire, kept the battery that had been opened upon them in check, and did also considerable execution. The battalion now advanced into the wood, where they attacked and drove the enemy before them; but in going forward they unfortunately became exposed to the fire of another battery, from which they suffered severely. They then fell back to their first position at the edge of the wood, which they maintained for the rest of the day; but though exposed to a very heavy cannonade, the enemy made no attempt to approach them. Nothing could exceed the spirit and bravery displayed by the men and officers of the battalion upon this occasion; nor was less praise due to the alacrity and intrepidity with which the other regiments advanced into action. They took different positions in the wood, where they were, at times, exposed to a severe cannonade; from which, however, they received little injury, the direction of the fire being in general above them. There were found, on the following morning, forty or fifty of the French lying dead on the ground upon which the fire of the Coldstream had been directed. Major-general Lake commanded the battalions which went into action; and his royal highness professed himself much indebted to him for his exertions.

The importance of the service rendered by his Majesty's troops on this occasion, was acknowledged in the strongest and most explicit terms by the generals of the different armies. It was universally admitted, that, by their timely co-operation, the enemy were prevented from advancing upon the high road, and therefore no doubt could remain of their having contributed in a very high degree to secure the fortune of the day. At the abbey of Vicogne and the village of Raimes, the action continued with almost equal and unremitting fury, till eight o'clock in the evening. General Clairfait, however, was every where successful in maintaining his ground; notwithstanding which, the enemy, though completely defeated in their main object, remained in the woods within a small distance of his posts.

On the ninth there was but little firing, and it was not clearly known what the enemy intended. His royal highness therefore thought it proper to let the troops remain till the evening at St. Amand and Maulde. Every thing being now quiet, and intelligence having been received that the troops opposed to General Knobelsdorff were retreating, the British began their march for Tournay; when the Duke was stopped at the village of Maulde by a message from General Clairfait, informing him that the enemy had erected batteries all along his front, as well as upon some part of General Knobelsdorff's, which, if they were allowed to complete and possess, would render it extremely difficult for him to maintain his position. Upon this, his royal highness immediately stopped the march of the troops, and went himself to St. Amand, where he was met by the generals Clairfait and Knobelsdorff, when it was agreed that the Austrians and Prussians should assault

the whole of the batteries at daybreak, whilst the Duke of York retained possession of the camp of Maulde.

This was done accordingly, and had the desired success. The enemy had withdrawn their cannon in the night; but they were entirely driven from the batteries, several were killed, and upwards of one hundred prisoners were taken, with very inconsiderable loss on the part of the allies.

Thus defeated upon every occasion, the enemy fell back upon Orchies, leaving four thousand dead upon the field, among whom was General Dampierre, who, early in the battle, received a mortal wound, in consequence of his thigh being carried away by a cannon-shot. The command then devolved upon General La Marche, who strictly followed the plan of his predecessor; and, though obliged to retreat, he did it in good order. The loss sustained by the allies did not, in the whole, amount to more than five hundred men in killed and wounded.

Amongst the latter, on the part of the English, was the serjeant-major of the Coldstream regiment, of the name of Darley. He performed prodigies of valour, and when his arm was broken and shattered by a ball, he continued to fight with the most animated and determined bravery for near two hours, during which he put to death a French officer who made an attack upon him, but at length his leg being broken by another cannon-shot, he fell, and was made prisoner.

As soon as his situation was known, the Duke of York sent a trumpeter to the French camp, to say that the surgeon who attended him should be liberally rewarded for his trouble, and requesting that no expense might be spared in procuring him every comfort

that his situation required and circumstances would admit. His royal highness also directed his secretary, Captain Hewgill, of the Coldstream, to write the following letter to Serjeant-major Coleman, of the battalion of that corps then in England :—

"Head Quarters, May 10,
TOURNAY.

"Serjeant-Major Coleman,—I write to you by desire of his royal highness the Duke of York to acquaint you, for the information of Mrs. Darley, that her husband is alive, and, though in custody of the enemy, has written a few lines to say he is well treated and taken care of.

"The Duke feels much for his unfortunate situation, and has given orders that a trumpeter shall be sent to-morrow to him, with whatever he wants, and a letter to acquaint the French surgeon attending him, that he will pay all the expenses of his cure. He has one arm and thigh broken, besides two other wounds; there may, therefore, be some doubt of his recovery, which I think you should take an opportunity of communicating to your daughter. His royal highness, as well as every officer and soldier of the Coldstream, can bear witness of his good conduct and gallantry in the action of the eighth. Brave as a lion, he fought with his broken arm, till a second shot brought him to the ground; and since his confinement he has dictated a letter, wherein he explains his money concerns with an incredible degree of accuracy and honesty. In short, all our prayers attend this valuable man, and I have authority to say, from the commander-in-chief, that he will never forget him.

"E. HEWGILL."

Preparations were now made by the Prince of Cobourg for a general attack upon the French camp of Famars, and the whole republican line from Orchies to Maubeuge. To prevent the fortresses in the neighbourhood from furnishing assistance to the enemy, Count Colloredo was so stationed as to keep Valenciennes in check, while General Otto did the same by Quesnoy, and the Prince of Wirtemberg continued the blockade of Condé. These precautions being taken, and the plan of attack arranged, early on the morning of the 23d of May, three bodies of troops destined for the service were assembled. The first column, commanded by the Duke of York, consisting of sixteen battalions of English, Hanoverian, and Austrian infantry, with a detachment of cavalry, and a train of heavy artillery, was to cross the Rouelle near Orchies, in order to turn the right flank of the enemy; while the second, under the command of General Ferraris, after carrying the French works on the right bank of the same river, was to co-operate with his royal highness.

After a sharp cannonade, two divisions of Austrian hussars passed the river without opposition, and at the same time a body of infantry advanced to take the batteries in flank, on which the enemy suddenly retreated to the heights behind the village of Famars. As soon as General Ferraris had carried the entrenchments by assault, the Duke of York took a survey of the new position occupied by the French; but finding it imprudent to commence an attack on their front, preparations were made to turn their flanks early the next morning, which, however, the enemy prevented by withdrawing in the night.

In the mean time, General Clairfait, at the head of

a strong body of Imperialists, attacked the heights of Anzain, where the French made a desperate stand, and defended themselves for a long time with uncommon resolution; but at length the Austrians proved victorious, and completed a conquest which was of the last importance to the general object of the campaign.

This was indeed one of the most brilliant but sanguinary engagements that had occurred during the war; and the result of it was extremely favourable to the views of the allies, who obtained possession of the entrenched camp and the heights of Anzain, overlooking the citadel of Valenciennes. It was very evident, however, that the French had no intention to risk a battle; and though they defended the redoubt behind the village of Famars during the former part of the night, they evacuated that also before the dawn, and, after throwing a body of troops into Valenciennes, effected their retreat with all their artillery and stores to Bouchain on the other side of the Scheldt.

In this engagement, the English and Hanoverians, under the immediate orders of the Duke of York, distinguished themselves by their firmness and bravery, particularly the brigade commanded by Major-general Abercrombie, to whom his royal highness paid a flattering but just testimony of respect. The killed and wounded on the part of the British did not exceed thirty-two; and in the whole, the loss of the allies fell short of eight hundred men. That of the enemy, on the contrary, amounted to eight pieces of cannon, eight baggage waggons, upwards of three hundred prisoners, and a great number of horses; but the number of the slain, which must have been considerable, was carefully concealed.

General La Marche, who had succeeded Dampierre in the command of the French army, now resigned that situation to general Custine, who, though a man of talent and enterprise, found himself incapable of making an effectual stand against a numerous and victorious foe. Reluctantly, therefore, he abandoned the fortresses in the vicinity to their fate, and as the allies were provided with a formidable train of artillery, their progress was rapid, and the speedy surrender of the garrisons became inevitable. Condé, on the 10th of July, after a blockade of three days, capitulated to the Imperial forces commanded by the Prince of Wirtemberg, and the garrison, which had been greatly reduced, were made prisoners of war.

The attention of all Europe was now drawn to Valenciennes, the capture of which was regarded as decisive of the fate of France. The Duke of York, to whom the conduct of the siege was entrusted, summoned the commandant to surrender in the name of the emperor, which circumstance, however trivial in itself, was considered as of great import, and indicative of a war for the sake of conquest and partition. To this requisition, General Ferrand, the governor, returned an answer, in which he professed more confidence, perhaps, than he really felt; although the works were strong, having been constructed by the famous Vauban, and the garrison was well supplied with every thing necessary for a prolonged defence.

Just as the combined army arrived upon its ground, a body of the enemy, coming from Bouchain, attacked an advanced party of Hanoverians; but were driven back with some loss by six squadrons of cavalry. In this affair Prince Ernest, now Duke of Cumber-

land, was personally engaged, and particularly distinguished himself by his activity and courage.

At this time some difference of opinion arose on the part of the besiegers respecting the mode of conducting the operations. Colonel Moncrieff, an English officer of great merit, forcibly urged an immediate attack upon the body of the place; but his advice was overruled, and the judgment of the Count de Ferraris, who was assisted by Colonel Fromm, chief engineer in the Austrian service, was preferred. Accordingly, in submission to their judgment, it was resolved to carry on the siege by the regular but slow process of military art. By this means, though eventually successful, the allies were detained before the place near six weeks, during which the besieged made several vigorous sallies, but were always driven back with loss.

At length, on the night of the 25th of July, the covered way and the advanced fleche were carried, and the troops completely established themselves in the horn-work. Three attacks were made, one upon the saliant angle of the ravelin of the horn-work, another upon the saliant angle of the half-bastion of the right, and one upon the fleche. Nine hundred men were destined for each assault. For each of the two first an advanced guard was formed of one hundred and fifty men, followed by three hundred more, with the necessary artificers and miners, supported by the rest of the column. The troops employed in the attack upon the right were divided into three parts, one of which turned the fleche to the right, another to the left, and the third advanced in front. The column destined for the attack of the saliant angle of the ravelin was composed of British, Hanoverian, and Hessians, the other two of

Austrians. One hundred and fifty men of the brigade of Guards, under Colonel Leigh, formed the advanced party. They were followed by the same number of the brigade of the line, with as many Hanoverians, commanded by Colonel Doyle; one hundred and fifty Hanoverians, and three hundred Hessians, composing the rest of the column. A detachment of the company of artificers under Captain Sutherland, accompanied this column, and performed the duty allotted to them with great activity and resolution. This attack was commanded by Major-general Abercrombie, under the superintendence of the Austrian general Erbach. The springing of the globes of compression was the signal for attack. Of these there were three; one towards the saliant angle of the ravelin, one towards that of the half-bastion upon the right, and one between the two. They were sprung at short intervals from one another: the first at nine o'clock. The two columns upon the left then advanced with the utmost celerity, rushing out from the sap, which had been carried the preceding night within a very small distance of the crest of the glacis. The rush was so great, that the enemy were almost instantaneously driven from the covered way; and soon after abandoned all the outworks. The miners now descended into the ditch, and got possession of those of the enemy's mines which had escaped the effects of the globes of compression. These were found loaded, and several of the miners were taken. The horn-work was entered by the gorge, the probability of which had been anticipated; but it was deemed useless to attempt a lodgment, for want of proper communication; and indeed it was nearly impossible to effect it. The original orders for this case were, therefore, to spike the guns and retire.

A passage, however, being discovered, which went underground from the ditch into the work, and no enemy appearing in the countergarde to interrupt the workmen, his royal highness at once determined to take the advantage of the moment. The lodgment was, therefore, made before daylight; and the troops were in consequence placed in a state of security. This was of the greatest moment, for as the horn-work was found to be strongly mined, it must, in the common line of operations, have taken up considerable time, and occasioned the sacrifice of many lives, to have gained possession of it. Having attained this object, measures were adopted immediately to profit of the success by erecting a battery, for the purpose of effecting a breach in the countergarde between the horn-work and the body of the place.

The attack on the fleche, upon the right, was conducted with equal vigour and success, several of the enemy being killed, and some taken.

At the same time, the Croats upon the side of Mount Anzain and St. Sauve carried several detached works, killed fifty of the enemy, and took thirty prisoners.

During these operations, Major de Drieberg, commandant of the second battalion of Hanoverian grenadiers, advanced with a detachment from Briquet to the crest of the glacis upon that side, where he remained till day-break, and, by keeping up a fire upon the works, made a useful diversion.

The total loss of the combined troops upon this occasion did not exceed one hundred and fifty men and officers, killed and wounded. Among the slain, the Duke of York particularly lamented the loss of Ensign Tollemache, the heir-apparent to the Scotch earldom of Dysart.

Moncrieff. P. Ernest. P. Adolphus. Abercrombie. Doyle. Congreve.

Engraved by T. Ozias, from a Painting by J. P. de Loutherbourgh.

This gallant young man had not attained his twenty-first year; and it was considered as somewhat remarkable, that his father had fallen in a duel during the American war.

The outworks being thus carried, his royal highness, on the following day, sent a summons to the commandant, and another to the municipality of Valenciennes, informing them, that, unless they capitulated immediately, the place would be stormed. Upon this, General Ferrand requested a truce for twenty-four hours, which was agreed to; and on the 28th the articles were signed, the garrison being allowed the honours of war on the first of August, and to retire into France, but on condition not to serve against the allies during the war; deserters from the combined army to be delivered up; the inhabitants to be protected in their persons and property, and to be permitted to remove, if they chose, with their effects within six months.

By the lists delivered, the garrison appears to have consisted originally of nine thousand seven hundred and eleven men, including officers; but not above seven thousand five hundred marched out of Valenciennes; all of whom soon after broke their engagements, according to the French custom, and again appeared in arms.

The official despatch, announcing this achievement to the British government, states, that "The alacrity with which the troops underwent the hardships and severe duty of the siege, as well as the resolution which they displayed in situations of danger, deserved the highest praise. Batteries were allotted at different times to be worked by the royal artillery, and every commendation was due to Major Congreve, and to the officers and men of that corps, who upon this occasion fully supported the reputation they had so long enjoyed.

Though Colonel Moncrieff was not charged with the direction of the siege, the greatest advantages were derived from his professional knowledge, activity, and zeal; particularly in taking, and keeping possession of the horn-work. The most dangerous, as well as the most laborious parts of the siege, fell to the lot of the Imperial forces, who had about thirteen hundred officers and men killed and wounded. On the part of the British and Hanoverians, the loss did not amount altogether to more than one hundred and fifty."

A few days after this conquest, the French were driven from the strong position which they occupied behind the Scheldt, and were obliged to fall back upon Arras. The front of this camp, which had obtained the name of Cæsar, was covered by the Scheldt, its left by the Censé, both strengthened by inundations, and protected by works, as the right was by the fortress of Cambray; while behind lay the woods and heights of Bourlon, which were likewise fortified with the utmost care. To reduce this strong post, the British troops, seven battalions and six squadrons of Hanoverians, two battalions and five squadrons of Hessians, and four battalions and ten squadrons of Austrians, marched from their respective camps on the morning of the 6th of August, and joined the same evening in a camp near St. Aubert, under the command of the Duke of York. The entire body marched early on the following morning in one column, by the villages of St. Hilaire, Boussiere, and Wambaix, and, forming afterwards into two divisions, crossed the Scheldt at Crevecœur and Manieres. During the march, a body of republican cavalry appeared upon the right flank towards Cambray, but retreated in great confusion on the approach of some horse towards them, and the firing of a few

shot from the Austrian light artillery. As the allied troops had been eleven hours upon their march, and the heat was excessive when they reached Manieres, it was impossible to proceed any further, and accordingly a camp was taken upon the adjoining heights.

In the evening, just after the 15th Light Dragoons had been watering their horses, Lieutenant-colonel Churchill observed a body of French cavalry at a small distance; upon which he instantly took the first squadron that happened to be in readiness, leaving orders for the others to follow, and charged them with so much vigour and success, that, besides killing several, he took two officers, forty-four privates, and sixty horses.

The same day a column of the Austrians under the command of General Clairfait, having advanced upon Youy and Thun L'Eveque, possessed themselves, with little opposition, of all the enemy's posts along the right of the Scheldt. A third column, under General Colloredo, marched at the same time upon Navres, to be in readiness to co-operate with either of the others, as circumstances might require. These dispositions being made, the Duke of York put his corps again in motion on the morning of the eighth, having divided it into three columns, directed upon the villages of Graincourt, Anneux, and Cantain, with the intention of attacking the enemy upon the heights of Bourlon, but it was discovered that they had gone off in the night; and as there was reason to believe that the army behind the Scheldt had done the same, his royal highness took the whole of the cavalry, (two squadrons of the Greys, and the Austrian regiment De la Tour, excepted,) and went in pursuit. He fell in with the vanguard at the village of Murguion, where two pieces

of cannon, the artillery men belonging to them, and several more prisoners, were taken by the Eleventh Light Dragoons and the Hussars of Barco. The enemy in their retreat set fire to the village, which occasioned a considerable delay, there being no other passage than the bridge across the rivulet on which it stands. This obstacle was at last overcome, and the fugitives were followed to the next defile, near the village of Villiers. Here a large body of cavalry, apparently about four thousand in number, with some battalions of infantry and eight pieces of cannon, were seen on the opposite heights. The French, however, continued their retreat; and as no advantage seemed likely to accrue from further pursuit, the troops, after halting some time, returned to the camp. The same day General Clairfait crossed the Scheldt at daybreak, but found that the enemy had abandoned their position during the night: General Alvinzy, however, who commanded a smaller column upon the right, fell in with a post near Hordaing, and took some prisoners.

From this time till the middle of the month, nothing of moment occurred, owing to the tardiness and indecision of the Imperial councils. This want of energy was so repugnant to the ardent feelings of the Duke of York, that he sharply remonstrated with the Prince of Hohenlohe, the Austrian quarter-master-general, on the subject. That commander, however, instead of quickening his motions, complained of the promptitude of the British prince, and even threw out reflections upon him for his exertions in pursuing the enemy. But this was not the only cause of dissatisfaction which the Duke experienced in his present circumstances; for the cabinet at home, flushed with

the late success in Flanders, sent orders to his royal highness to undertake the siege of Dunkirk. With whom the idea of this measure originated, has never been clearly ascertained; but it appeared so preposterous, that his royal highness, as well as the other generals, made strong representations against it, without producing any effect. Reluctantly, therefore, the Duke proceeded to put the orders which he had received into execution, and while the Prince of Cobourg laid siege to Quesnoy and invested Maubeuge, his royal highness pursued his march in the direction of Orchies, Tourcoing, and Menin, with the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian troops, to which was added a body of Austrians under the command of Lieutenant-general Alvinzy.

Having taken up a position near Menin on the 18th of August, the hereditary prince of Orange made an attack the same day upon the French posts of Mauvaix, Blaton, and Lincelles. This was in some degree advantageous to the operations of the Duke of York, as it served to cover his march, and to keep the enemy in a state of uncertainty with regard to his designs. The former of these attacks miscarried; and though in the latter his serene highness succeeded, it was not without much loss.

About one o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy in their turn attacked the post of Lincelles in great force. The prince, who had made large detachments from his camp for the different enterprises, requested the Duke to send three battalions to the support of his troops. The three nearest battalions, which happened to be those of the First Coldstream, and the third regiments of Guards, were accordingly ordered to march, under the command of Major-general Lake,

for that purpose. Upon their arrival at Lincelles, they were mortified to find the post in the possession of the enemy; the Dutch troops having been forced to abandon it, and retreat by a different road from that which the British had taken. To have fallen back under these critical circumstances, would have given the enemy, who were evidently superior in numbers, an opportunity of entirely defeating the detachment. General Lake therefore embraced a resolution worthier of the troops which he commanded, and it was attended with glory and success. He determined upon an immediate attack. The enemy occupied a redoubt of uncommon magnitude and strength, upon a height adjoining to the high road in front of the village of Lincelles. The road itself was defended by other works strongly pallisadoed; while woods and ditches covered their flanks. The battalions were instantly formed, and advanced under a very heavy fire, with an order and intrepidity to which no praise could be adequate. After firing three or four rounds, they rushed on with their bayonets, stormed the redoubt, and drove the enemy through the village. At the end of Lincelles the French rallied under the protection of some other troops, and kept up for some time a severe fire; but they were again defeated, and so entirely put to the rout, that they did not again make their appearance in that quarter. On this occasion they lost eleven pieces of cannon, two of which had been before captured from the Dutch. There were about fifty prisoners taken, but the number of killed and wounded could not be ascertained with any precision, though it was supposed to be between two and three hundred men. By the concurring testimony of the prisoners, the enemy had twelve battalions upon their post, and

must have been upwards of five thousand men, while the English force consisted in the whole of no more than eleven hundred and twenty-two. The loss of the latter, considering the difficulties and resistance with which they had to contend, was not so great as might have been expected; but the commander in chief had to regret the deaths of Lieutenant-colonel Bosville of the Coldstream, and Lieutenant de Peyster of the royal artillery.

The Duke in his despatches bestowed warm praise upon all the officers and men who were engaged in this gallant action, particularly noticing the conduct of Colonels Grinfield, Hulse, and Pennington, and Major Wright of the artillery.

As soon as the retreat of the Dutch troops was known, several battalions were ordered from camp to support the Guards; but before their arrival the action was over: however, they remained to strengthen the post during the night.

About the same time Field-marshal Freytag, at the head of the Hanoverians, defeated the French at Oost Capelle, Rexmode, and Hoendschoote, taking from them eleven pieces of cannon and two hundred prisoners; while the Duke of York on the 22d marched from Furnes to attack the camp of Ghivelde, and make an approach upon Dunkirk. The army advanced in three columns; the cavalry along the strand, another division upon the road leading by the canal upon Ghivelde, and a third to the left. The advanced posts of the enemy were driven back, with the loss of two or three men wounded, and night coming on, the French halted within a short distance of their camp, which they abandoned during the night; as they afterterwards did a redoubt, where they left four guns, and

then took up their ground within a league of the town. There was a great deal of firing in the evening at the advanced posts in the gardens and enclosures lying in front of the camp, and upon the Downs, by which the Austrian regiments of Starray and O'Donnel had upwards of fifty men killed and wounded; but in the issue the enemy were routed. At this time the French made an opening in the dike of the canal between Dunkirk and Bruges, by which means they were enabled to inundate a great part of the country from the sea. On the other hand, Field-marshal Freytag made himself master of the posts of Warmouthe and Eckelsbeck, with the bridge of Lefferinck's Hocke.

In order to get possession of the ground which it was necessary to occupy previous to the siege, the British commander resolved to attack the enemy, who were still posted at some distance from Dunkirk. Accordingly, on the 24th the battalions destined for this service proceeded to attack the outposts between the canal of Furnes and the sea. At the same time Lieutenant-general D'Alton advanced with the reserve, who were encamped upon that side, to their support. The enemy were completely repulsed, and driven with loss into the town, leaving one piece of ordnance and some prisoners. But the ardour of the British troops on this occasion carried them further in the pursuit than was intended, so that they actually came under the cannon of the place, by which means a considerable injury was sustained. This was indeed the more likely to happen, and more difficult to be prevented, from the country being covered with trees and strong enclosures. Lieutenant-general D'Alton was killed by a cannon-shot towards the conclusion of the affair; and his death was very severely felt. The courage and ability which he had displayed

in the course of many campaigns, raised him to the highest rank of estimation in the army in which he served.

His royal highness had likewise to lament the loss of Colonel Eld of the Coldstream regiment, and of several other valuable men. The two British battalions engaged were commanded by Colonel Leigh and Major Matthews; and the grenadier battalion of the Hessians by Colonel Wurmb. The Duke particularly expressed his sense of the exertions of Major-general Abercrombie, Major-general Verneck, and of Lieutenant-general Wurmb.

Having gained this advantage, the army took up the ground which it was intended they should occupy; and the advanced posts were carried within a short distance of the town. But the British arms were now to experience a sad reverse. The French government, in order to save Dunkirk, despatched a large body of troops for the relief of the place, under General Houchard, who was accompanied by two members of the convention, named Hentz and Duquesnoy. The accession of this force gave the republicans such a decided superiority in number, that it was resolved to harass the besiegers by general and frequent attacks. Accordingly on the 6th of September the enemy assailed the whole of Marshal Freytag's posts, as well from the town of Bergues as from the camp of Cassel. The combined troops behaved with the utmost bravery, and the enemy were repulsed at Warmouthe, Eschelbeck, and several other places; but at last, by bringing up fresh forces, they gained possession of Bambreke, Ronsbrugghe, and Poperinghe.

By the loss of these posts, the field-marshal found himself under the necessity of falling back in the

night upon Hondschoote, where he formed a camp, with his right upon the canal and the left extending towards Leyrel.

In the retreat of this night, Prince Adolphus, now Duke of Cambridge, and Field-marshal Freytag, were for a short time in the possession of the enemy. A patrol of cavalry, which ought to have been in their front, having taken another road, they went into the village of Rexpoede, through which one of the columns was to pass, but which was then occupied by the enemy. His royal highness was wounded with a sabre on the head and arm. The field-marshal was also wounded in the head; in consequence of which he became unable to take the command of the army for some time. Captain Ouslar, one of Prince Adolphus's aides-de-camp, was killed, and another, Captain Wangenham, was severely wounded. From this perilous situation, his royal highness and the field-marshal were relieved by the intrepidity and presence of mind of General Walmoden, who, upon discovering that the enemy were in possession of Rexpoede, immediately collected a body of troops, attacked the place without hesitation, and defeated the French with great slaughter. The helmet of the prince was cut quite through in this affair, and one of his eyes was very much injured; upon which it was deemed advisable that he should return to England, and on the 13th he arrived in London, from whence he proceeded to Kew palace.

On the evening of the sixth, the enemy made a sally from Dunkirk; directing their attack chiefly against the right, where they kept up a heavy fire for some time; but the fourteenth regiment of infantry, commanded by Major Ross, in the absence of Colonel Doyle who was ill, and the Austrian regiments of Starray

and Jordis, being ordered up to support that part of the position, they were driven back into the town. The loss, on this occasion, however, was considerable; though that of the enemy was much greater. Colonel Moncrieff was so dangerously wounded in this attack, as to be incapacitated for service, which proved a very serious loss at that critical period, when a mind so active and fertile of resources as his, was particularly wanted, to repel a powerful and enterprising foe.

The French, conformable to their plan, now followed up the advantage which they had gained, and in the evening of the seventh made another attack upon the post occupied by the Hanoverians, but were repulsed. This, however, did not prevent them from renewing their efforts the next day, when they made an attack upon every point, and, notwithstanding the greatest exertions of bravery in the troops, and of ability in General Walmoden, they succeeded in forcing the centre of the line. Upon this, the Hanoverian commander retired behind the small canal running from Beltam to Steenkirk. The loss in this action was very severe, and many gallant officers fell. But the enemy also suffered considerably, and had three pieces of cannon taken from them during the contest, with several prisoners.

While the Hanoverians were thus engaged, the Duke of York sent two battalions of Hessians to their support; but finding that this aid was ineffectual, his royal highness was reduced to the disagreeable necessity of collecting his whole force, and abandoning the position which he had taken up before Dunkirk.

As the case was urgent, it became impossible to carry off the heavy ordnance; and accordingly thirty-two guns, and a great part of the stores intended for

the siege, were left behind. The army then broke up in the night of the eighth, and encamped on the following morning at Adenkerkque. The retreat was conducted in an admirable manner by General Sir William Erskine, who commanded the rear-guard; and though the enemy made two sorties, they were repulsed in both, without being able to do any mischief.

Thus ended the unfortunate expedition against Dunkirk, which, as hath been already observed, was undertaken against the decided opinion of the Duke of York, whose remonstrances were disregarded by the military administration in England. During the whole of this arduous service, his royal highness evinced the most steady disposition; and, by his vigilance, saved the army he commanded from being overpowered by numbers. It appeared that Houchard had collected forces for this enterprize from every quarter of the country, from the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, and particularly that which had occupied the camp of Cæsar.

The mortification attending this disaster was aggravated by the culpable conduct of the British government in exposing the army to such a perilous service, without a supply, in the first instance, of proper ordnance and stores; and afterwards, of neglecting to send a naval force to cover the besiegers from the annoyance of the enemy.

Considering, therefore, all the circumstances under which the commander in chief was placed, this portion of his professional history reflects a lustre upon his military character: since, abandoned as he was by the administration at home,—and left, by the defeat of his auxiliaries, to his own resources, in the face of vindictive and increasing enemies, who were possessed of every local advantage,—the wonder is that his royal

highness should have returned without any material diminution of his army from the walls of Dunkirk.

The National Convention of France fully expected that the force sent by them would have annihilated the besiegers; and when they found that the Duke of York had, contrary to their hopes, effected his retreat with inconsiderable loss, they became enraged, and, forgetting the services of Houchard, ordered him up to Paris, where he was rewarded with the guillotine. The charges on which he was tried and condemned, were these:—first, that after defeating the English he did not drive them into the sea; secondly, that when he had surrounded the Dutch, he did not cut them in pieces; thirdly, that he sent no succours to the troops butchered near Cambray; and, fourthly, that he abandoned Menin, and, in his retreat, exposed his army to considerable danger.

In the mean time, the Duke of York retreated to Furnes, from whence he purposed marching to Menin; but on learning that the Dutch had evacuated that place, he diverged to Thoroute, in order to oppose the further progress of the enemy, and to act in conjunction with General Beaulieu, who commanded a corps of Austrians near Courtray. This movement was executed on the 14th of September; when Lieutenant-general Ehrbach with two battalions of Austrians, two of Hessian infantry, and four squadrons of British cavalry, under the command of Major-general Harcourt, received orders to advance to Rousselaire. Upon the 15th the main body of the army proceeded to the same place, and Lieutenant-general Ehrbach's corps to Ledegheim, it being the intention of his royal highness to attack the enemy, and force them to repass the Lys. Information was here received of the

Prince of Cobourg's being on the march towards Lisle, with a large body of troops, which he had put in motion as soon as he heard of the evacuation of Menin.

During the advance of the British army, the enemy attacked General Beaulieu's advanced posts, on which eight battalions were sent to his support; but the French had been repulsed before their arrival.

This measure was only intended to cover the retreat of the French, as they had begun to abandon Menin early the same morning; and in the course of the day they entirely abandoned that important post, which was taken possession of in the evening by General Ehrbach.

The Austrian Netherlands being thus materially relieved, the Prince of Cobourg earnestly pressed the Duke of York to march with his troops to Engel Fontaine, where they accordingly arrived on the 16th of October. Previous to their reaching this place, the prince, on being acquainted with the march of his royal highness, was enabled to draw from thence four battalions to strengthen his other posts; and a fifth followed as soon as the English had taken up the ground.

Meanwhile, the enemy having collected in great numbers, attacked on the 15th and 16th the corps under General Clairfait, which was posted with its right near Birlemont and its left near the village of Wattigwies. On the first day, the left wing of the enemy was entirely defeated. Having advanced into the plain which lay upon that side, between the two armies, they were charged by the Imperial cavalry, and driven back with great slaughter, and the loss of twelve pieces of cannon. The attack made by them upon the

left of the Austrians was more obstinately supported, notwithstanding which they were finally repulsed.

On the following day the enemy, having drawn the greatest part of their force to the right, again attacked the left of General Clairfait's corps and the village of Wattigwies. They could upon this side approach within cannon shot of the Austrians under cover of an immense wood, called the Haye d'Avesnes, which in the event of a repulse secured their retreat. The French brought a great quantity of heavy artillery to the edge of this wood, under the protection of which they attacked the village. The utmost firmness and bravery were displayed by the Austrian troops upon this occasion. The enemy were several times repulsed with great loss; and they were repeatedly driven from the village after they had carried it; but being enabled by a great superiority of numbers to bring continually fresh troops to the point of attack, they at last succeeded in maintaining possession of that post. The communication between General Clairfait's corps and that of General La Tour, which observed the intrenched camp of the enemy, being by this means cut off, it was judged necessary by the Prince of Cobourg to abandon the position that had been taken for the purpose of investing Maubeuge; and accordingly the army repassed the Sambre in the night without the smallest loss.

Lieutenant-general Benzowsky, who commanded a detached corps upon the left of the army, defeated a body which was opposed to him, killed a great number of the French, and took four hundred prisoners, with eleven pieces of cannon. Count Haddick who was detached by General La Tour, likewise gained a considerable advantage, penetrated to Sorbe Chateau,

and took three pieces of cannon. Jourdan commanded the republican forces in this affair, and the National Convention decreed, that he had not only distinguished himself by his courage, and the excellence of his plans, but that he was the only French general who had defeated Cobourg in a pitched battle.

On the 21st of the same month the enemy attacked the advanced posts of the camp at Menin, particularly those of Werwick and Hallein, but they were every where repulsed. The next day they renewed their attempt with great violence, and at last succeeded in gaining possession of Werwick. Menin being hereby exposed, General Ehrbach, who commanded there, found it necessary to evacuate the town, and retire with his corps, consisting of Austrians and Hanoverians, upon Courtray. The French likewise attacked the troops posted at the camp of Cisoing upon the 21st and two following days, but they were driven back with considerable loss, having had near four hundred killed and wounded. The Inniskillens and sixteenth regiment of light dragoons behaved with great spirit on this occasion. The efforts of the enemy were chiefly directed against two posts on the left and right of both which they at different times gained possession, but were again driven from them by reinforcements sent from the camp.

In the mean time the republicans entered Furnes, which was abandoned at their approach. They then proceeded against Nieuport, but recourse having been had to the measure of inundating the country, they were obliged to retreat; and soon after the place was effectually secured by the arrival of Generals Grey and Dundas with fresh troops from England.

The Duke of York now determined to make every

possible exertion for the protection of Austrian Flanders, which seemed in imminent danger from the attempts of the enemy upon the whole frontier of that province. Consistent with this intention, his royal highness resolved to attack the enemy at Menin. General Walmoden, to whom the execution of this design was intrusted, went upon the 26th to Courtray, to take command of the corps which had recently occupied the camp at Menin; while Lieutenant-general Busche took the command of that which had been posted at Moucron, but which had fallen back upon Worcoing. The attack was to be made upon different points by these two corps, in conjunction with that of Lieutenant-general Wurmb, which then lay in the neighbourhood of Thoroute. On the morning of the 27th his royal highness marched with the troops which had been encamped near Tournay, to take up the position he had formerly occupied between Beysieux and Cisoing. Different posts, which the enemy had established upon the Marque, were, in the mean time, driven back; and a picquet of six officers and one hundred and fifty men, that had been posted at the village of Saingain, retreated across the plain towards Lazennes; which place they had nearly reached, when a squadron of the Second Dragoon Guards, led by Major Crawford, advancing with rapidity, gained their right flank, and charged them so vigorously that not a single man escaped; one hundred and four being taken, and the rest killed on the spot.

Meanwhile the enemy had made some progress in another part of the country: having attacked Nieuport, and passed, though only in a small body, the canal of Ypres, at Shooreback. In consequence of this, General Wurmb fell back upon Ghistel, in order to

cover Bruges and Ostend. This change of position rendered abortive the plan which had been formed for the attack of Menin. His royal highness, however, still keeping that important object in view, sent a reinforcement of three battalions to General Busche, who had by this time advanced again with his corps to Moucron, and dislodged the enemy from that post, of which they had taken possession. It was, therefore, now determined that the attack on Menin should be made on the 29th, by that corps, and the one under General Walmoden; the latter advancing directly upon the town, and the former upon the right bank of the Lys, against the village and heights of Hallouin. In order to favour this enterprize, by drawing the attention of the enemy to another quarter, the Duke of York sent on the preceding evening two battalions of Austrian infantry, and some companies of light troops, with two twelve-pounders and two howitzers, under the command of General Werneck; and two battalions of British infantry, with one squadron of the Seventh and one of the Fifteenth Light Dragoons, two twelve-pounders, and two howitzers, to attack Lannoy, which the enemy had entrenched and occupied with fifteen hundred men. Major-general Abercrombie, who commanded this detachment, had orders to expose the troops as little as possible, but to confine the attack to a cannonade, until the enemy should be driven from their post. This plan had the desired success; for after resisting some time the heavy and well directed fire of the British and Austrian artillery, which was gradually advanced to within a very small distance of the town, the French gave way, and retired in great disorder, some towards Lisle, and others to Roubaix. They were pursued with great spirit by

Lieutenant-colonel Churchill, at the head of the Light Dragoons, who killed and wounded near one hundred of them, and took fifty-nine prisoners. Several others were slain, and many more were taken by a party of Austrian infantry who entered the town.

There were captured in all about one hundred and fifty prisoners and five pieces of cannon, besides several tumbrils and baggage-waggons. The killed were supposed to amount to between two and three hundred.

In point of numbers, the loss of the assailants was very inconsiderable; but unfortunately Captain Sutherland, of the Royal Engineers, an officer of acknowledged merit, fell upon this occasion. Though not called upon to be present at the attack, he was led by his zeal to accompany the detachment. Towards the close of this gallant affair, accounts were received from General Walmoden, stating that the enemy had evacuated Menin the preceding night, and that they had the appearance of giving up their attack upon Ypres. Thus it was evident that the march of the Duke of York from Englefontaine, and the judicious movements made by his royal highness, had the effect of obliging the enemy to abandon the enterprizes in which they had engaged on that side of Austrian Flanders.

Still bent upon following up the course which had proved so successful in checking the operations of the French, the Duke gave orders for an attack upon Marchienes. This accordingly took place on the 29th, when eight battalions were placed under the command of Major-general Kray. They marched at midnight from Orchies in three columns, each headed by two officers and sixty volunteers, supported by three hundred men besides; but none of them were permitted to load. The rest of the troops of the different columns,

with the artillery, followed at some distance. A detachment from the corps of the Austrian major-general Otto, posted by Denain, marched about the same time in four columns, that the town might be attacked at once on all sides. The latter troops, however, were discovered by the enemy's outposts, and prevented from penetrating into the place by the opposition which they met with. Those under General Kray, one column of which advanced upon the high road from Orchies, and the two others upon the left of it, got, about two o'clock in the morning, within a short distance of the town, before they were perceived. The volunteers at the head of the column which was upon the road, fell in with a picquet about two hundred yards from the gate, which they surprised, killed the greater part, and pursued the rest so closely, that they entered the place along with them. The troops in the town made little resistance. After being driven from the market-place, where they had at first assembled, they retreated to a neighbouring convent, where they proposed terms of capitulation, which General Kray consented to, as they surrendered prisoners of war, with the sole condition of the officers being permitted to wear their swords. There were one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine prisoners, officers included; besides which twelve pieces of cannon were taken, with a number of tumbrils.

This was the last affair of any moment during the campaign of 1793, in which the Duke of York was particularly concerned. The army now went into winter-quarters, those of his royal highness being first at Ghent and next at Courtray, where it received considerable reinforcements, as well from the different regiments in England, as by additional corps of Hano-

verians, Hessians, and Darmstadt troops, which were taken into British pay.

In the course of the winter, the noted General Mack, being sent to the court of London to concert measures for the ensuing campaign, had an interview with the Duke of York; who, after arranging every thing for the security and comfort of the forces, followed the general, and embarking at Ostend on board the Vestal frigate, landed at Ramsgate, after a passage of fourteen hours, on the 7th of February, 1794.

This visit of his royal highness was for business, not relaxation or pleasure, and at the end of a month he returned to the continent, where the republican general Pichegru had already taken the field, and transmitted the following challenge to the Prince of Cobourg:—

"General,—I summon you, in the name of the French republic, to give up immediately Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé, otherwise I shall attack and vanquish you."

At this time some symptoms of disunion appeared in the confederation that had been formed against France. The King of Prussia, who had hitherto manifested the greatest zeal in the cause, now gave signs of defection, by notifying to the Diet of Ratisbon, that unless his troops received subsistence at the public expense, he should be under the necessity of withdrawing his army on the Rhine, and of contributing no more than his simple contingent to the war. He also opposed the general arming of the inhabitants of the Germanic empire; a measure which the Prince of Cobourg had recommended, and the Imperial council approved.

In this critical posture of affairs, the English and

Dutch governments consented to purchase the further assistance of his Prussian majesty by a subsidy, for which he consented to keep sixty-two thousand men employed. The emperor, Francis the Second, acted with more dignity, for, preparatory to his solemn inauguration as Duke of Brabant at Bruges, he took the field in person at the head of two hundred thousand fighting men.

Nor were the republicans unprepared for the terrible encounter. Though France was a prey to all the horrors of despotism and anarchy, insomuch that every city had the appearance of an immense slaughterhouse, the National Convention possessed such a terrible authority, as to be enabled to boast, at the beginning of the year, of having one million and a half of men ready to meet the enemy on all points. War in short seemed to be the only occupation of man; and Paris alone, from its three hundred forges and fifteen founderies, furnished eleven thousand five hundred and twenty stand of arms, as well as eleven hundred pieces of brass ordnance, every month.

Such was the fearful note of preparation, when the combined armies, consisting of Austrians, British, Dutch, Hanoverians, and Hessians, to the amount of one hundred and eighty-seven thousand men, assembled, on the 16th of April, on the heights above Cateau. After being reviewed by the emperor, the Austrian and British armies passed the Selles, and encamped in front of the town of Cateau, while the Dutch did the same immediately in its rear.

At nine the next morning, the three armies moved forward in eight columns. The first, composed of Austrian and Dutch troops, under the command of Prince Christian of Hesse Darmstadt, advanced upon

the village of Catillon, where they took four pieces of cannon, and from thence proceeded across the Sambre, and took a position at Favril, between that river and the Petite Helpe, so as to invest Landrecy on that side.

The second column, commanded by General Alvinzy, and consisting of the reserve of the Austrian army, moved forwards upon Mazinguet, and having forced the enemy's entrenchments at that place, as well as at Oisy, proceeded to Nouvion, and took possession of the wood.

The third column, which consisted of the main body of the Austrian army, and with which his Imperial majesty and the Prince of Cobourg went themselves, marched along the high road leading from Cateau to Guise, and, after carrying the two villages of Ribonville and Wassigny, where the enemy were strongly entrenched, pushed the advanced guard forwards, which took possession of the heights called the Grand and Petit Blocus, and on the following morning advanced as far as Henappes.

The fourth and fifth columns were formed of the army under the command of the Duke of York, who took the direction of the first himself, having Lieutenant-general Otto under him; while the other was led by Sir William Erskine. The column of his royal highness was intended to attack the redoubts and village of Vaux, as well as to render itself master, if possible, of the wood called the Bois de Bohain, which had been strongly entrenched by the enemy.

In consequence of the very great defiles and ravines which were met with in the march, the column did not arrive at the point of attack till one o'clock in the afternoon. As soon as the cavalry of the ad-

vanced guard appeared on the heights, the enemy began a very severe cannonade, from the effects of which, although very near, they however were enabled, in a great measure, to cover themselves by the natural inequalities of the ground. The Duke, having examined the enemy's position, and finding it very strong, determined to turn it by their right; for which purpose he ordered the whole column to move forwards, under cover of the high ground, leaving only a sufficient quantity of cavalry upon the heights to occupy the enemy's attention. Strong batteries were likewise formed, which kept up a heavy fire, and protected the movements very considerably.

As soon as the troops had gained sufficiently the enemy's flank, the advanced guard, under the command of Major-general Abercrombie, was directed to begin the attack; and two companies of the light corps of O'Donnel, supported by the two grenadier companies of the first regiment of Guards, under the command of Colonel Stanhope, stormed and took the Star redoubt, above the village of Vaux, while the three battalions of Austrian grenadiers, led on by Major-general Petrash, attacked the wood, and made themselves masters of the works which the enemy had constructed for its defence.

The fire of the French was at first very severe, but when the combined troops approached, the republicans began to retreat on all sides, and were soon put to flight. Upon this the Duke of York immediately detached a part of the cavalry, consisting of Hussars, and one squadron of the sixteenth regiment of Light Dragoons, commanded by Major Lippert of the former corps, round the wood to the right, who completely succeeded in cutting them off, took four

pieces of cannon and one howitzer, with a considerable loss of men on the part of the enemy; whilst the cavalry of the advanced guard on the left, under Colonel Devay of the Archduke Ferdinand's hussars, pursued them through the wood, and drove them into the village of Bohain, which they abandoned immediately.

While these movements were going on, Sir William Erskine was equally successful with his column, which was intended, by the villages of Marets and Premont, to turn the wood of Bohain, in order to facilitate the operations of his royal highness. Sir William met with no resistance till he arrived at Premont, where he found the enemy strongly posted. Notwithstanding this, he instantly formed his line, and having detached the brigade of British infantry, and the Austrian regiment of cuirassiers of Zetchwitz, with four squadrons of British light dragoons, under the command of Lieutenant-general Harcourt, to turn the position, he attacked it in front with three battalions of the regiment of Kaunitz, supported by a well-directed fire of the Austrian and British artillery of the reserve, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Congreve, and succeeded completely in driving the enemy from the redoubts, where two pieces of cannon and a pair of colours were taken. From thence he proceeded to turn the wood with a part of the corps, leaving the rest upon the position at Premont.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth columns were intended to observe the enemy on the side of Cambray. The first of these, composed of Austrians, and commanded by Count Haddick, pushed forwards, as far as the village of Crevecœur, and detached some light

troops across the Scheldt, without meeting with resistance. The seventh column, consisting of Austrians and Dutch under the hereditary Prince of Orange, moved forwards upon the high road leading from Cateau to Cambray, and advancing beyond Beauvois with the eighth column, composed chiefly of Dutch troops, commanded by General Geylau, covered the hereditary Prince of Orange's right flank, and took their station in front of St. Hilaire. Neither of these last columns, however, was engaged; but on the following morning the enemy attacked the Prince of Orange's advanced guard, who repulsed them easily. What added greatly to the general satisfaction upon this occasion was, the inconsiderable loss sustained by the combined armies, whilst that of the enemy was very great. The British, in particular, were exceedingly fortunate. The honourable Captain Carleton of the Royals, a young officer of promising merit, was the only person of rank killed, and his death was feelingly regretted by the illustrious commander in chief.

The enemy had in these attacks upwards of thirty pieces of cannon taken from them, of which nine fell to the lot of the column led by the Duke of York, and two were captured by Sir William Erskine.

The signal success which attended these operations induced the emperor to begin immediately the siege of Landrecy. Accordingly the hereditary Prince of Orange, to whom the direction of the siege was intrusted, moved, on the evening of the 18th, with the greatest part of his camp from Beauvois, and took a position for the investment of that fortress; while his Imperial majesty, with the grand army, covered the operations on the side of Guise; and that of the Duke of York did the same towards Cambray.

On the morning of the 20th, the Prince of Orange made a general attack upon the posts which the enemy still occupied in front of Landrecy; and not only succeeded in getting possession of them all, but took by storm their intrenched camp, and a very strong redoubt which they had thrown up at the village of Eloques, within six hundred yards of the place. He took advantage of this redoubt to cover the left flank of the trenches, which were opened the same evening. According to the original plan, it was determined to withdraw the detached corps of each army as soon as the position for the investment of Landrecy was properly secured; and in consequence the troops under the command of the Duke of York were about to retire on the morning of the 22d, when the Prince of Cobourg sent to request the assistance of his royal highness, as the enemy had attacked his posts at Grand Blocus and Nouvion. The Duke, without loss of time, marched immediately in person, with five battalions of Austrians, and Sir Robert Lawrie's brigade of British cavalry: but before he arrived, the affair was over, General Bellegarde having repulsed the enemy with great slaughter, and taken from them four pieces of cannon and one howitzer.

On the following day, the Prince of Cobourg requested his royal highness to send him a detachment of cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy, who were reported to have assembled at the camp of Cæsar. This desire was also promptly complied with, but General Otto, who accompanied the party, found the French in such great force, and so strongly posted at the village of Villers-en-Cauchie, that he sent back to the Duke for a reinforcement, which was immediately detached, consisting of two squadrons of the Zetchwitz cuirassiers,

General Mansel's brigade of heavy cavalry, and the Eleventh regiment of Light Dragoons. As they could not arrive till dark, General Otto was obliged to delay the attack till the next morning, when it took place soon after daybreak. He then ordered two squadrons of Hussars, and two squadrons of the Fifteenth regiment of Light Dragoons, to charge the enemy, which they did with the greatest success; and finding a line of infantry in the rear of the cavalry, they continued the charge without hesitation, and broke them likewise. Had they been properly supported, the entire destruction of the enemy must have been the consequence; but by some mistake, General Mansel's brigade did not arrive in time. The enemy, however, were completely driven back, and obliged to retreat in confusion into Cambray, with the loss of twelve hundred men killed in the field, and three pieces of cannon.

The French being determined to take ample revenge upon the British forces, now prepared to throw all their force upon the position of the Duke of York, on the heights of Cateau. With this design, they made an attack upon him on all sides at the dawn of day on the 26th; but, instead of accomplishing their object, they sustained a terrible defeat. Of this battle the Duke wrote a short account on the field, for the information of government; but two days afterwards he despatched a more detailed narrative to Mr. Secretary Dundas, as follows:—

"It appears (says his royal highness) that the attack of the enemy was intended to be general along the whole frontier from Treves to the sea. The corps which attacked that under my command, consisted of a column of eight and twenty thousand men, and seventy-nine pieces of cannon, which marched out of Cambray

the preceding night at twelve o'clock; while a smaller one, of indefinite force, moved forwards by the way of Premont and Marets. The enemy formed their line at daybreak, and, under favour of a fog, advanced to the attack of the villages in my front, which, being occupied by light troops only, they possessed themselves of without much resistance; and advancing, formed their attack upon Troisville, into which they actually entered, but were dislodged again by the well-directed fire of grape-shot from two British six-pounders, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Congreve. Their movements being now plainly seen, and their left appearing to be unprotected, I determined to detach the cavalry of the right wing, consisting of the Austrian cuirassier regiment of Zetchwitz, the Blues, the First, Third, and Fifth Dragoon Guards, and Royals, under the command of Lieutenant-general Otto, and to turn them on that flank; whilst, by a severe cannonade from our front, I endeavoured to divert their attention from this movement. Some light troops likewise were directed to turn, if possible, their right flank; but having received a very severe fire from a wood, which they imprudently approached too near, they were obliged to retire: they, however, immediately rallied, and after driving the enemy back, took from them two pieces of cannon. General Otto completely succeeded in his movements. The enemy were attacked in flank and rear; and, although they at first attempted to resist, they were soon thrown into confusion, and the slaughter was immense. Twenty-two pieces of cannon and a great quantity of ammunition were taken. Lieutenant-general Chapuy, who commanded this corps, and three hundred and fifty officers and privates, were captured.

"While this was passing on our right, we were not less fortunate on our left. The cavalry of that wing having moved forwards to observe the enemy's column, which was advancing from Premont to Marets, the Seventh and Eleventh regiments of Light Dragoons, with two squadrons of Archduke Ferdinand's Hussars, attacked their advanced guard with so much spirit and impetuosity, as to defeat them completely. Twelve hundred men were left dead on the field; and ten pieces of cannon, and eleven tumbrils filled with ammunition, were taken."

On this occasion, the service lost General Mansel and Captain Fellows, of the Third Dragoon Guards.

In consequence of this brilliant exploit, the town of Landrecy capitulated on the 30th, and the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war. On the other hand, General Clairfait was defeated about the same time at Moucron; where, being surrounded, he had to cut his way through to a new position between Tournay and Courtray. Upon receiving this intelligence, the emperor earnestly intreated the Duke of York to march as quick as possible to St. Amand, and from thence, if necessary, to Tournay, to the assistance of Clairfait.

With this request his royal highness readily complied; and of the result, he, on the 2d of May, wrote the following account:—

"I marched at twelve o'clock on the night of the 31st, with all the troops under my command, from the camp near Cateau, and proceeded here with part of the cavalry yesterday evening; but from the excessive heat of the day, and a severe storm which lasted the whole night, the infantry were not able to arrive till this morning. I went over, by appointment, to meet General Clairfait, in order to consult with him upon

the necessary operations for compelling the enemy to retire from Flanders, and had at the same time an opportunity to inquire more fully into the unfortunate affair of the 29th. General Clairfait told me, that the enemy had taken the advantage of his absence at Denain, to attack and carry the post of Moucron, and consequently Courtray itself, which was incapable of defence: that, with regard to the affair of the 29th, it had been his intention to attack the enemy as soon as six battalions of Austrian infantry, which had been sent to him from the emperor's army, were arrived; but that the French were beforehand with him, and began themselves the attack: that his troops behaved with much courage and resolution, from eight in the morning, when the battle began, till four in the afternoon; but that as soon as the order was given to retreat, owing to the intricacy of the country, they fell into a confusion, from which it was impossible to rally them."

On the 10th of May the French made another desperate attack upon the Duke of York at Tournay, in different columns, to the amount of thirty thousand men; but after a sharp engagement, which lasted five hours, they were repulsed, leaving behind them thirteen pieces of cannon, and above four hundred prisoners. The attack began at daybreak, when the enemy attempted to turn the Duke's left flank, but were driven back by the Austrian regiment of Kaunitz, which was posted in a wood to cover the rest of the corps on that side. The French directed their next efforts against the centre, upon which they advanced, under a heavy cannonade, with great resolution; but a favourable opportunity presenting itself, of attacking them on their right flank, which did not seem to

be protected, Lieutenant-general Harcourt was detached for that purpose, with sixteen squadrons of British cavalry, and two of Austrian hussars. The general having succeeded in gaining their flank, attacked them so vigorously, that they immediately began a retreat, in the course of which they were soon broken, and suffered considerable loss.

While this was passing in the corps under the particular command of the Duke of York, that of the Hanoverians, on his right, was attacked with equal vigour; but this also, after a severe contest, terminated to the advantage of the Hanoverians, who maintained their post, and repulsed the enemy, causing them to flee in every direction.

Being discomfited in this quarter, the French made, on the day following, a desperate attack in great force on the corps of General Clairfait, which had the night before crossed the Heule. The action lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon till eleven at night, when the Austrians succeeded completely in driving the enemy back into the town of Courelai; but not being able to take possession of the place, they retreated behind the river Mendal, and next to Thielt, where they took up a position to cover Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend.

The emperor now came to the resolution of making a general attack with his whole force, in order, by a joint co-operation of the troops, to compel the enemy to evacuate Flanders. For this purpose, on the 16th, at night, the army moved forward in five columns. The two on the left were intended to force the passages of the Marque, and, by a vigorous attack on the posts along that river, to cover the operations of the three remaining columns, which were destined

to force the posts by Roubaix, Waterloo, and Moucron, and thus by favouring the passage of Clairfait over the Lys, and then forming a junction with his corps, to cut off the communication between Lisle and Courtray.

Unfortunately the two columns on the left forced the passage of the Marque too late, and were then so much fatigued by the length of the march, as not to be able to accomplish the remainder of the proposed plan; while the column on the right, under General Busche, finding the enemy at Moucron in much greater numbers than had been expected, was under the necessity of relinquishing the attack, and of retreating to its former position at Warcoing. Lieutenant-general Otto, however, had better success, in proceeding with his column through Leers to Waterloo, from whence, after some resistance, he drove the enemy, and pushed on to Turcoing.

Meanwhile the column under the Duke of York, consisting of seven battalions of British, five of Austrians, and two of Hessians, with six squadrons of Light Dragoons, and four of Hussars, moved forward from Templeuve to Lannoy, which the enemy, after a short cannonade, evacuated. Here the service lost Major Wright of the Royal Artillery, who was a brave and deserving officer. His royal highness having left two Hessian battalions at Lannoy, proceeded to Roubaix, where the enemy were found in great strength both of men and cannon; but though the resistance was proportionally vigorous, it proved equally unavailing, and the French were soon compelled to retire towards Moucron.

As the Duke at this time could gain no intelligence of the two columns on his right and left. notwith-

standing every effort was made to obtain it, he did not think it prudent to advance any further. He resolved, therefore, to leave his advanced guard under the command of General Abercrombie at Roubaix, and with the remainder of his corps take up a position on the heights behind Lannoy. Orders for this purpose were actually given; but when his royal highness informed the emperor, who had advanced to Lannoy, of his intention, the necessity of co-operating with General Clairfait induced his majesty to direct that the Duke should proceed to the attack of Mouveaux.

In obedience to these orders, his royal highness directed the attack to be made by General Abercrombie, with the four battalions of Guards. The enemy were found strongly entrenched; but after cannonading the place for some time, the flank battalion advanced to storm it with the utmost vigour, supported by the first battalion, and seconded by the seventh and fifteenth Light Dragoons, under Colonel Churchill, who compelled the enemy to retire, with the loss of three pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of men, who were cut down in the pursuit, which was continued as far as Bouderes.

The Duke of York, upon maturely considering the nature of his situation, directed General Abercrombie to remain at Mouveaux with the four battalions of Guards; and having posted four Austrian battalions to cover Roubaix, his royal highness detached the second brigade of British infantry, under Major-general Fox, to take post on his left, on the great road leading from that place to Lisle. The cavalry were divided with these several corps, for the purpose of patroling, as the nature of the country did not

admit of their being of any other use. The advanced posts communicated on the right with those of General Otto, who by this time had gained possession of Turcoing.

Early on the following morning the enemy attacked the latter post in such great force, that Colonel Devay, who commanded there, applied to the Duke of York to make a diversion in his favour; with which request his royal highness complied instantly, by sending two battalions of Austrians, giving them at the same time express directions, if they should be pressed, to fall back; instead of which, by some mistake, they joined the colonel. Owing to this circumstance, an opening was made on the right, of which the enemy instantly took advantage, by making an attack on the Duke's corps, and thereby obliging his royal highness to employ the only battalion he had left, to secure a point of the utmost consequence. At this critical moment a very considerable column of the enemy, amounting to fifteen thousand men, appeared advancing from Lisle, whilst another corps, having forced its way through General Otto's position by Waterloo, commenced an attack on the rear.

The few troops that remained with the Duke soon gave way to such superior numbers, nor was it possible for his royal highness, with all the efforts he could use, assisted by those of the officers who were about him, to rally the men. At this moment the advanced parties of the enemy's column from Lisle shewed themselves upon the road between Roubaix and Mouveaux, by which means it became impossible to succeed in the attempt which his royal highness made to join the brigade of Guards. Thus perilously circumstanced, the Duke turned his attention to gain

General Fox's brigade; but upon proceeding to Roubaix for that purpose, he found this position also occupied by the enemy. Thus completely cut off from every part of his corps, nothing remained for the Duke but to force his way to that of General Otto, in order to concert with him on the proper measures to be adopted for the deliverance of the troops of his royal highness.

Accordingly, taking with him a few dragoons of the sixteenth regiment, he pushed on in the face of the enemy, and after a sharp conflict succeeded in attaining the Austrian post; but the project of marching upon Lannoy, to which General Otto had consented, as a measure which promised to facilitate the retreat of the British troops, being given up, and the Hessians having abandoned the place, his royal highness found himself under the painful necessity of continuing with General Otto's column during the remainder of the day.

Previous to this, the Duke had sent orders to General Abercrombie to retire from Mouveaux, to the heights behind Roubaix, where it was his royal highness's intention to have assembled his corps; and where the Coldstream battalion had accordingly been posted, to cover the communication till the retreat should be effected. In consequence of these directions, the general began his retreat, but when he arrived at the heights of Roubaix, he found himself surrounded on all sides, without the possibility of assembling the corps, upon which he determined to push on for Lannoy. This he accomplished amidst the repeated attacks of the enemy, who poured in upon him from all quarters. General Abercrombie now found Lannoy also in possession of the enemy, but he avoided the

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The Duke of York forceing his way through the Enemy near Roubaix.

town by marching round it under a very heavy fire, and soon after reached Templeuve.

In the mean time, Major-general Fox, after standing, with great resolution, a very vigorous attack from the principal part of the column which came from Lisle, began his retreat; but finding himself cut off from the brigade of Guards, and Lannoy occupied by the French, he directed his march upon the village of Leers, at which place he fortunately joined the corps of Lieutenant-general Otto.

The loss in this disastrous affair was necessarily very serious, but not so great as might have been expected, considering the overwhelming force with which the insulated parties had to contend, in a country particularly favourable to the views of the enemy; who, from their perfect acquaintance with the localities, were enabled to seize, and employ to advantage every opportunity of annoyance.

On all these accounts, with the badness of the roads, the loss of the horses, and the timidity of the drivers, the leaving behind a part of the artillery became inevitable. What the loss really amounted to, was not accurately stated in the official return; but, according to the French report, it consisted of not less than sixty pieces of cannon, and two thousand prisoners.

As this misfortune proceeded solely from the attention paid by the Duke of York to the orders of the Emperor, the latter immediately caused the Prince of Cobourg to write the following handsome letter to the British commander:—

"Sa Majesté m'enjoint de donner a V. A. R. les assurances les plus positives que non seulement elle est pârfaitement satisfaite de la maniere, pleine de zêle,

d'intelligence, et de valeur, dont V. A. R. ses braves généraux, et ses braves troupes ont executé tous les mouvemens qui on eie lieu successivement dans les journées du 17 et du 18, mais qu'elle lui donne par cette lettre le témoignage certain et bien décidément irrécusable que V. A. R. n'a fait aucune manœuvre, qui n'ait été une suite essentielle de la disposition générale, ou qu'elle n'ait engage V. A. R. à faire par les messages successifs, que dans le courant de l'affaire elle a recu de ce Monarque."

"His Majesty has enjoined me to give to your Royal Highness the most positive assurances, that not only is he perfectly satisfied with the manner, ardent zeal, skill, and valour, in which your Royal Highness, the gallant generals, and the brave troops, have executed all the movements which successively took place in the battles of the 17th and 18th; but that he gives, by this letter, a decided and unexceptionable testimony that your Royal Highness has not made any manœuvre but what was essential to the general arrangement, and which your Royal Highness was not engaged to execute by regular messages received during the whole affair, from the Monarch himself."

Flushed with their success, the republicans, four days afterwards, made an attack upon the combined army, under the command of his Imperial majesty; but were repulsed, after a long and obstinate engagement. The onset began at five o'clock, but did not appear to be serious till towards nine, when the whole force of the enemy, consisting of more than one hundred thousand men, was brought against the right wing, with the intention of forcing the passage of the Scheldt,

in order to invest Tournay. At first they drove in the outposts, and obliged General Busche's corps to fall back upon the main army; but General Walmoden, with the Hanoverians, maintained their position. The French, however, by constantly bringing up fresh forces, were enabled to continue the attack without intermission till nine o'clock at night.

The troops of the right wing being in consequence greatly fatigued, it became necessary to support them from the corps under the immediate command of the Duke of York. For this purpose, besides seven Austrian battalions, his royal highness detached General Fox with the second brigade of the British; and nothing could exceed the spirit and gallantry with which they conducted themselves, particularly in storming the village of Pontechin, which they carried at the point of the bayonet. The enemy upon this began to retreat, and during the night withdrew all their posts, falling back towards Lisle, leaving seven pieces of cannon and five hundred prisoners behind them; but the killed and wounded amounted to little short of twelve thousand, which was accounted for by their being exposed during the space of twelve hours to an incessant fire of cannon and musketry.

While these operations were going on, Count Kaunitz attacked a French army that had crossed the Sambre, and obliged them to repass the river in great confusion, having lost fifty pieces of cannon and above five thousand men.

At the same time, the Prussians under Marshal Mollendorff completely surprised the republicans at Kayserslautern, and defeated them with great loss. The enemy encamped there, amounting to about twelve thousand men, were strongly posted in a situation

covered with redoubts and entrenchments; besides which, several dikes had been cut, and the bridges were every where destroyed; while three positions were prepared, to facilitate their retreat in case of accident. Notwithstanding this, the Prussians forced the works, killed above one thousand men, and took twice the same number, with all the artillery.

At this period, some of the most ferocious members of the National Convention displayed an uncommon spirit of rancorous hatred against England, by denouncing Pitt "an enemy to the human race:" but this was not all, for they followed up the ridiculous proscription by the inhuman decree, that "Henceforth no quarter should be given to any of the British or Hanoverian troops." This murderous edict, which passed on the 31st of May, was accompanied by the following address to the French armies:—

"England is capable of every outrage on humanity, and of every crime towards the republic. She attacks the rights of all nations, and threatens to annihilate liberty. How long will you suffer to continue on your frontiers the slaves of George—the soldiers of the most atrocious of tyrants? He formed the congress of Pilnitz, and brought about the scandalous surrender of Toulon. He massacred your brethren at Genoa, and burned our magazines in the maritime towns. He corrupted our cities, and endeavoured to destroy the national representation. He starved your plains, and purchased treason on the frontiers. When, therefore, the events of battle shall put in your power either English or Hanoverians, bring to your remembrance the vast tracts of country English slaves have laid waste. Carry your views to La Vendée, Toulon, Lyons, Martinico, and St. Domingo—places still reeking with the

blood which the atrocious policy of the English has shed. Do not trust to their artful language, which is an additional crime, worthy of their perfidious character and Machiavelian government. Those who boast that they abhor the tyranny of George, say, can they fight for him?

"No! no! republican soldiers—you ought, therefore, when victory shall put in your power either English or Hanoverians, to strike; not one of them ought to return to the traitorous territory of England, or to be brought into France. Let the British slaves perish, and Europe be free."

As soon as the Duke of York was made acquainted with this atrocious decision of the sanguinary banditti then at the head of the French government, instead of giving way to passion, he adopted a resolution worthy of a British prince, by causing the following General Orders to be read at the head of his army:—

"His royal highness the Duke of York thinks it incumbent on him to announce to the British and Hanoverian troops under his command, that the National Convention of France, pursuing their gradation of crimes and horrors, which has distinguished the periods of its government as the most calamitous of any that has yet occurred in the history of the world, has just passed a decree, that their soldiers shall give no quarter to the British or Hanoverian troops. His royal highness anticipates the indignation and horror which has naturally arisen in the minds of the brave troops whom he addresses, upon receiving this information. His royal highness desires, however, to remind them, that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's cha-

racter, and exhorts them not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part, which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world.

"His royal highness believes that it would be difficult for brave men to conceive that any set of men, who are themselves exempt from sharing in the dangers of war, should be so base and cowardly as to seek to aggravate the calamities of it upon the unfortunate people who are subject to their orders. It was indeed reserved for the present times, to produce to the world the proof of the possibility of the existence of such atrocity and infamy. The pretence for issuing this decree, even if founded in truth, would justify it only to minds similar to those of the members of the National Convention. It is, in fact, too absurd to be noticed, and still less to be refuted. The French must themselves see through the flimsy artifice of an intended assassination, by which Robespiere has succeeded in procuring that military guard, which has at once established him the successor of the unfortunate Louis, by whatever name he may choose to dignify his future reign.

"In all wars, which from the earliest times have existed between the English and French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generous, as well as brave enemies, while the Hanoverians, for a century the allies of the former, have shared in this reciprocal esteem. Humanity and kindness have at all times taken place, the instant that opposition ceased; and the same cloak has been frequently seen covering those who were wounded and enemies, whilst indiscriminately conveying to the hospitals of the conquerors. The British and Hano-

verian armies will not believe that the French nation, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget their character as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree, as injurious to themselves as it is disgraceful to the persons who passed it. On this confidence, his royal highness trusts that the soldiers of both nations will confine their sentiments of resentment and abhorrence to the National Convention alone; persuaded that they will be joined in them by every Frenchman who possesses one spark of honour, or one principle of a soldier; and his royal highness is confident, that it will only be on finding, contrary to every expectation, that the French army has relinquished every title to the fair character of soldiers and of men, by submitting to and obeying so atrocious an order, that the brave troops under his command will think themselves justified, and indeed under the necessity of adopting, a species of warfare for which they will then stand acquitted to their own conscience, to their country, and to the world: in such an event, the French army alone will be answerable for the tenfold vengeance which will fall upon themselves, their wives, their children, and their unfortunate country, already groaning under every calamity which the accumulated crimes of unprincipled ambition and avarice can heap upon their devoted victims. His royal highness desires these Orders may be read and explained to the men at three successive roll-callings."

The effect of this address was not confined to the British army; for the French soldiery, on being made acquainted with it, refused to execute the inhuman orders of their superiors, and the decree itself was soon afterwards repealed.

While the Duke of York was thus hazarding his person in the field of battle, and exhibiting the noblest spirit of heroic humanity towards his ferocious enemies, his amiable consort at home very narrowly escaped destruction by a fire, which broke out at Oatlands on the sixth of June. This accident originated in a room adjoining the laundry, and the flames raged with great fury about an hour and a half, during which they communicated to the grand armoury, where arms to the value of two thousand pounds were totally destroyed; and had it not been for the activity of the neighbouring inhabitants, the whole premises would have been levelled with the ground. The entire damage was estimated at somewhat more than three thousand pounds. The Duchess beheld the dreadful conflagration from her sleeping room, which was in the centre of the mansion, and from which the flames were kept by pulling down a gateway, over which the wing joined the house. His Majesty, on hearing of the misfortune, went to Oatlands early the next morning, and gave the necessary orders for clearing the ruins, and rebuilding the wing which had been destroyed, at his own expense.

Our attention must now be directed again to the progress of the campaign in Flanders. On the 16th of June, the hereditary Prince of Orange attacked and defeated the French army, which had repassed the Sambre, and taken up a position near Gosselies, in order to cover the siege of Charleroi, before which place they had already begun to open their trenches. On this occasion the republicans lost seven thousand men, twenty-two pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of military stores and baggage.

But whatever advantages might attend these par-

tial actions, it soon became evident that the allies were engaged in an unequal contest. They were now, in fact, opposed to an armed nation; and as fast as one army was annihilated, a more numerous one arose in its place, so that the colossal power of the republic, instead of being reduced, became more invigorated and terrible, by exertions which necessarily brought into the field all the physical strength of an immense population.

General Jourdan, after sustaining this check from the Prince of Orange, immediately called up reinforcements from the army of the Moselle, which enabled him to recross the Sambre, and to commence fresh operations against Charleroi, which surrendered at discretion on the 26th.

At the same time, Pichegru attacked and defeated General Clairfait, who had marched to the relief of Ypres, which was then besieged by Moreau. The Austrians having retired in confusion to Ghent, Ypres capitulated; and thus the republicans, by occupying all the banks of the Scheldt, put the Duke of York, who lay before Tournay, into a perilous situation. Feeling that his position was no longer tenable, his royal highness quitted it, and leaving a small garrison in the town, marched with all the British and part of the Hessian troops to Renaix, in order to be in readiness to support Oudenarde, which was menaced and actually summoned by the enemy.

On the very day that Charleroi surrendered, the Prince of Cobourg, assisted by the Prince of Orange and General Beaulieu, not being of course acquainted with that event, marched with the combined army, divided into five columns, and early the next morning made preparations for the relief of the place. Having

attacked the enemy's entrenchments in the direction of Lambrisart, Espinies, and Gosselies, the allies obliged a few detached bodies to retreat, notwithstanding the protection they received from several redoubts. Such, however, was the resistance experienced by the assailants, that it was evening before the left wing arrived at the principal heights, which were fortified by an extensive range of field works, lined with an immense number of heavy artillery. Although a variety of unforeseen obstacles presented themselves to impede the allies, an attempt was made to force this strong position with the bayonet, while on the other hand, Jourdan, having obtained powerful reinforcements, determined to risk a pitched battle. He accordingly advanced with a numerous army, and made such a disposition of his forces, as enabled him to bring the greater part to bear upon the left wing of the allies. Notwithstanding this, the assailants repeatedly penetrated the French lines, and even formed several times under the fire of their cannon.

At length the superior numbers of the republicans prevailed, and at seven in the evening, Jourdan, having drawn his troops out of their entrenchments, made three effective charges upon his opponents, who fell back under cover of the night, first on Marbois, and next on Nivelles, with the intention, if possible, of protecting Namur. Thus ended the battle of Fleurus, the loss of which was chiefly caused by the fall of Charleroi, a circumstance that enabled the French to bring their whole besieging force into the field.

The loss of the combined armies on this occasion was never accurately stated. The Prince of Cobourg, in his letter to the Duke of York, stated it at fifteen hundred; while the French swelled it out to ten thou-

sand men. That it must have been very considerable, we may reasonably conclude, from the consequences which it produced: for the allied forces now broke up, and retreated in all directions, leaving Bruges, Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde, Brussels, and Namur, exposed to the enemy. The British troops and auxiliaries, under the command of the Duke of York, participated of course in the general disaster; and his royal highness, after a fruitless attempt to form a junction with General Clairfait, and being at the same time cut off from Ostend, found himself under the necessity of retreating towards the Dutch frontier. The British ministry, alarmed for the safety of his royal highness, now intreated the earl of Moira, who was at the head of a considerable force, intended for another expedition, to change his route, and proceed to the coast of Flanders, for the purpose of relieving the Duke of York, who was then surrounded on all sides. That nobleman accordingly embarked without delay, and, by means of a rapid movement, succeeded in joining the Duke with ten thousand men between Brussels and Antwerp, after defeating the French, first at Alost, and again at Malines. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, the enemy, on the 19th of July, renewed their attack upon all the outposts of the British commander in chief; and being greatly superior in numbers, obliged his royal highness to abandon the situation which he had taken up, and to continue his retreat to the Meuse.

The same success attended the republicans in other quarters. The Prince of Saxe Cobourg having assembled the remains of his army at Halle, advanced, and assumed a formidable position at Mons; but on the second of July he was attacked by the French, who

drove his troops out of the town, and compelled them to retire upon Soignies. Here the Austrians threw up entrenchments, and fortified the post so as to render it to all appearance impregnable. Notwithstanding this, the republicans braved the fire of a numerous artillery, and, by the mere force of the bayonet, gained a decided victory. The Imperialists then fled to Brussels, from which city, however, they were soon driven, as well by the refractory inhabitants as by the French.

Flushed with their success, the republicans now determined to recover the fortresses which had been taken from them by the allies. This was no difficult matter, for the troops left to garrison these places were so few in number, and entirely unsupported, that resistance became hopeless, especially as the sanguinary members of the Convention had decreed, that those who held out after a limited period should be exterminated. Such was the state of things, when the French general Scherer summoned Landrecy, with a threat that if the terms were not complied with in twenty-four hours, all the foreign troops should be put to the sword. Upon this, the governor, in order to save the lives of his brave comrades in arms, immediately surrendered at discretion.

Scherer next appeared before Quesnoy, which yielded in the same manner; and in a few days after, Valenciennes, the taking of which had cost so much time and expense, followed the example of the former places; as also did Condé, the name of which fortress, according to the revolutionary fashion, was now altered by a decree of the Convention to that of Nord Libre.

But though the garrisons obtained quarter, the unfortunate emigrants found in these places were all butchered; and it appears from the acknowledgment

His Royal Highness

Kent and Strathearn.

Born Nov.r 2. 1767. Died Jan.y 23. 1820.

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of Carnot himself, who was commissioned to put the decrees of the Convention in force. that nothing but the dread of retaliation restraine 'm and his colleagues from murdering the for , troops, as well as the devoted royalists.

The Duke of York, in consequence of these reverses, continued his retreat to the river Dommel, where he took up a position with his right extending to Boxtel. Strong as the situation was, it proved insecure, for on the 15th of September, the republicans made a general attack upon all the posts, and succeeded in forcing that which was most advanced, with considerable loss to the troops of Hesse Darmstadt, by whom it was occupied.

As the line upon the Dommel could not be maintained while the enemy were in possession of this post, it became necessary to regain it; and at the same time to ascertain whether the attack was supported by the whole French a y. For this purpose General Abercrombie marched with the reserve during the night, having directions to reconnoitre the post at daylight, and to act as he should judge best from what he could discern of the force of the enemy. In the execution of this mission, the general found the French in such strength as left little room to doubt of the proximity of their army, and he accordingly retired, but in such good order as to prevent the enemy from making any impression upon his detachment, although they followed him for some distance.

About this time the Duke received private intelligence, upon which he could depend, and which was confirmed by the observation of the patrols and the reports of deserters, that the enemy were reinforced by the corps which had been hitherto acting in West

Flanders, and also by a column of the army which had been employed in the reduction of Valenciennes and Condé. According to the same information, his royal highness was further assured, that a column, which had been marching towards Maestricht, had taken a sudden turn, and was in full advance upon the British position. From these accounts, and what was known of the previous strength of the enemy, it appeared that the actual force now on the march to attack the Duke, could fall but little short of eighty thousand men. The hazard of an action with such a very great disparity of numbers, became a matter of the most serious consideration; and therefore, after mature deliberation, his royal highness did not think himself at liberty to risk, in so unequal a contest, either the British troops, or those of the allies, who were serving with them under his orders.

The reliance which he had on their courage and discipline left him no doubt of resisting the first efforts of the enemy; but it could scarcely be expected, that even by the utmost exertion of these qualities, they would be able to withstand the reiterated attacks which the vast superiority of the French would enable them to make, and which experience had shewn to be the general principle upon which they acted. These reasons, enforced by subsequent intelligence, that the enemy were pushing considerable columns towards the left and most vulnerable part of the British line, determined his royal highness to retreat immediately across the Meuse. The army accordingly marched at three o'clock, and without any loss took up a position, which had been previously reconnoitred, about three miles in front of Grave, from whence they crossed the river on the following morning.

While the Duke of York was thus retreating into Dutch Brabant, and the hereditary Prince of Orange was obliged to cross the Dyle, to prevent his army from being surrounded; the Imperialists, under generals Clairfait and Kray, were continually engaged in obstinate conflicts with the republicans all the way from Liege to Maestricht.

On the 17th of September, the French attacked the Austrians in their positions for an extent of more than five leagues. Their principal object was to dislodge Kray from the entrenched camp which he occupied before Maestricht, and to attempt at the same time the passage of the Meuse in three different places, below Liege, near Visè, and at Fouron-le-Compte. Being furnished with fifty pieces of cannon, they opened a brisk and mortal fire on the Austrians; and about eleven in the forenoon General Kray was obliged to remove his tents, and retire under the walls of Maestricht. At this instant General Clairfait arrived, with four battalions and six pieces of cannon; which force, having joined Kray, enabled him to renew the combat; and towards nine o'clock at night the enemy retreated, leaving fifteen hundred dead on the field of battle. Notwithstanding this check, the French, the next day made an attack, in great force, on the left wing of General De Latour, with such impetuosity that the Imperialists, after a long combat, were obliged to retreat towards Hervè. At the same time the enemy attacked the camp of reserve, commanded by General D'Alton, and, after an engagement of three hours, compelled the Austrians to retire upon Aix la Chapelle with considerable loss.

These successes encouraged Jourdan, the republican general, whose army was now strengthened by power-

ful reinforcements, to make a general attack, on the first of October, upon the whole line occupied by General Clairfait. The Austrian field-marshal had placed his centre before Juliers; his right extended along the left bank of the Roer, on the side of Ruremonde; and his left was supported by Duren, having the river in his rear. Before his centre was the plain of Aldenhoven, bordered on every side by gentle hills; and at the extremity of the plain was a large avenue, through which the enemy had to penetrate before they could assail the main body. On the heights were redoubts at equal distances, amply furnished with artillery, which took the enemy in flank, and made a cross fire. The French, on their side, had planted cannon at the verge of the declivities on the side of the passage, to play upon such of their own troops as might fall back, or endeavour to retreat from the annoying fire of the redoubts. The republicans advanced with their wonted intrepidity and impetuosity; but were mowed down by the artillery on the hills to the right and left, as well as by the batteries in front. During the three hours that the attack lasted, they lost a dreadful number of men; whilst the Austrian army remained firm, and suffered comparatively but little. While, however, victory appeared to hover over the Imperialists, a sudden reverse took place: for at this critical moment, General Clairfait was informed, that his other wings, instead of making the resistance that had been expected, were forced; in consequence of which he became in danger of being turned and overpowered. Upon this, he was under the necessity of making a speedy retreat to Cologne, which he entered in perfect order, and with trifling loss. The field-marshal had previously caused two redoubts to be constructed at the head of the

bridge of Cologne, to protect the passage of the Rhine in case of accident. The defence of this pass he confided to the emigrant legion of Bourbon, saying, "I know that I give you a post extremely difficult to guard; but the necessity I am under, and the high opinion I entertain of your bravery, persuade me that I cannot entrust it to better hands."

The result answered the confidence reposed, for the legion maintained the post during five hours, repelling all the enemy who attempted to fall on the rear guard, nor did they retire till the whole army had passed the river.

While Jourdan was making this progress along the left bank of the Rhine, where Mentz alone remained in the possession of the Austrians; Pichegru, with the army of the North, was no less successful in the invasion of Holland.

Having, by numerical force, obliged the combined army to retreat from the frontier, the French invested Crevecœur and Bois-le-duc, the former of which fortresses was bombarded and taken on the 29th of September; and the latter, to the great surprise of the conquerors themselves, capitulated on the 10th of the following month. These acquisitions enabled Pichegru to concentrate all his strength, for the purpose of defeating the army of the Duke of York, who had taken up an advantageous position in the neighbourhood of Pufflech, having his wings supported by two rivers. Notwithstanding this, the French, on the morning of the 19th, attacked the whole of the advanced posts of the right wing in very great force, particularly that of Drutin, which was defended by the 37th regiment; and that of Applethern, where the Prince of Rohan's light battalion was stationed.

Nothing could exceed the gallantry with which all the troops behaved; but at last the post on the left of the 37th, which was occupied by a detachment of the Rohan hussars, being forced, Major Hope, who commanded the regiment, and distinguished himself exceedingly, was obliged to retreat upon the dike along the Waal, where he continued for some time without much annoyance.

Unfortunately, however, a strong body of the enemy's hussars, being mistaken for the corps of Rohan, the regiment allowed them to approach unmolested, when they immediately began an attack; and the narrowness of the dike, which on every other occasion would have afforded a security to the infantry, in this instance acted against them, as they were driven off it by the enemy's charge, and in consequence suffered severely. Several officers were made prisoners in this unlucky affair, and only Major Hope and fifty men escaped. General Fox also fell into the hands of the enemy, while engaged in spiriting up the troops; but he had the good fortune to extricate himself almost immediately. On this occasion the emigrants suffered considerably, for the republican General Jardan made a most destructive charge upon the legion of Rohan, which he completely defeated and almost destroyed. After this engagement, the Duke of York, who had not intended to risk an action in that position, which he only kept in order to preserve a communication with Grave, now determined to pass the Waal, and to take up the different cantonments already marked out for the defence of the river, leaving General Count Walmoden with a corps to cover the town.

This resolution was carried into effect, and the Duke occupied a position at Arnheim, for the purpose of

throwing supplies into Nimeguen, which was then threatened by the enemy.

On the 27th, the French attacked the British outposts, and drove them in; upon which a new position was taken opposite to the left of the town, against which a heavy fire was kept up by the French; who, the same evening, attacked the outposts of Fort St. Andre, which in consequence fell back to the Fort. In this skirmish, General Abercrombie and Colonel Clarke were wounded; as also was Captain Picton, of the 12th regiment, in a sally made from Nimeguen on the morning of the 26th.

At length, on the 5th of November, the French broke ground under the direction of General Souham, and began to construct their batteries; on which Count Walmoden, who had the charge of defending the place, made a sortie with the 8th, 27th, 28th, 55th, 63d, and 78th regiments of British infantry, under the command of Major-general De Burgh, and two battalions of Dutch, supported by the 7th and 15th British light dragoons; the Hanoverian horse guards, one squadron of the 2nd regiment of Hanoverian horse, one squadron of the 5th regiment of Hanoverian dragoons, one squadron of the 10th Hanoverian light dragoons, and the legion de Damas in the Dutch service. This sortie had every success that could be expected from it. The troops advanced to the enemy's trenches under a severe fire, and even jumped into them without receiving a shot. The loss of the enemy, which was almost entirely effected by the bayonet, amounted to five hundred men; while that of the combined force, in killed and wounded, fell short of two hundred. Among the latter was General de Burgh, who was wounded while leading on his men with great gallantry.

As it now appeared evident that the place could not be taken, unless all intercourse with the English army should be cut off, the enemy opened three strong batteries for that purpose, two directed against the bridge and one upon the town. The fire of the former was so effectual, that one of the boats which supported the line of communication was destroyed; and though Lieutenant Popham, of the navy, quickly repaired the damage, the Duke of York, finding that his troops had no chance of success in contending with a force which was hourly accumulating, determined to withdraw every thing from the town, beyond what was barely necessary for its defence. Accordingly, as soon as the bridge was repaired, all the artillery of the reserve, with the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian battalions, retired without suffering any inconvenience, leaving picquets to the number of two thousand five hundred men, under the command of General De Burgh, to keep the enemy in check.

On the 7th of November the reserve quitted Nimeguen without loss; and the Dutch troops would have proved equally fortunate, had not a chance shot carried away the top of the mast of the flying bridge, which, in consequence, swung round, and the men were taken prisoners to the amount of about four hundred. The bridge of boats was entirely burnt; and the flying one, of which the enemy obtained possession by the above accident, was destroyed by the fire of the British artillery. On this occasion, the French, according to their customary mode of exaggeration and invention, published a report, in which they accused the English with firing on their allies the Dutch, while attempting to make their escape by the flying bridge: and though this story was completely refuted, it has been admitted

into most of the histories of the revolutionary war as a certain fact.

Nimeguen, being thus abandoned, opened its gates on the following day to the French, who immediately began to erect new works, both there and on several other points, for the security of their present conquests, and the reduction of the entire country.

In the mean time, the Duke of York fixed his head-quarters at Arnheim, where it was thought the troops would have been safe from all attack during the winter. Accordingly, his royal highness having made every arrangement for their comfort, and given directions for a continuance of the retreat if necessary, left generals Walmoden and Harcourt in the command, while he proceeded himself into the interior, to consult with the hereditary prince of Orange about the measures proper to be adopted in the present exigency of affairs.

All hope now rested upon the season, the inclemency of which, it was thought, must compel the enemy to seek repose. Their own commanders indeed recommended a suspension of military operations during the depth of the winter, as indispensably requisite for the health of the troops. But the French government turned a deaf ear to the remonstrance, and, in spite of the nature of the country, and the severity of the weather, determined to prosecute the war in Holland through the whole winter.

The passage of the Waal being first resolved upon, General Daendels, a Dutch revolutionist, was intrusted with the enterprize.

At the beginning of December, such active exertions were made at Nimeguen and other places, that an immediate attack on the British and Hanoverian posts being anticipated, due preparations were taken to

avoid a surprise. Accordingly, at six o'clock on the morning of the 11th, about eighty boats of various sizes, with troops on board, fell down a branch of the Waal, and were carried silently by the stream to the Arnheim side of the river, near the post of Ghent; where, favoured by a thick fog, they effected a landing, and immediately commenced a vigorous attack on the battery there, which, though it returned the fire, could not be defended against superior numbers, who were covered by a very heavy discharge of shot and shells from the strong works they had erected on the opposite side of the river. Major Theile, with the Hanoverian regiment of Stockhausen, a battalion of that of Saxe Gotha, and the picquets which he had called in, made an effort to recover the battery, but was repulsed. Meanwhile the Hanoverian general of infantry, Busche, arrived, and led these troops to a second attack, without being able to expel the French; but on receiving a reinforcement, consisting of the first and second battalions of grenadiers, he ordered a third assault to be made with the bayonet, which charge was executed without firing a single shot; and the enemy, after spiking some guns and burning a few houses, fled with great precipitation to their boats. Unfortunately the gallant General Busche, in returning from the pursuit, was struck in his arm and chest by a cannon shot, which proved fatal in a few minutes. His loss was very much regretted, as also was that of Major Bachmeister, of the regiment of Saxe Gotha, who fell in the action. This attack was made by the French on several of the combined posts at the same time, particularly Fort St. André, Douvert, Panderen, and the Isle of Byland. At the latter place some of their boats were sunk by the fire of the batteries, and the greatest part

of the troops on board were drowned.—The season now began to assume a dreadful aspect, and as the year closed in, the frost became more than commonly rigorous. Upon this, Pichegru, who had but just recovered from a very serious indisposition, left Brussels, and hastened to take the command in Holland; where, on his arrival, finding that the Maese and Waal were already able to bear the passage of troops, he determined to take advantage of the opportunity to complete his object. Accordingly, on the 27th, two brigades, under the generals Daendels and Osten, received orders to march across the ice to the isle of Bommel, while another detachment advanced against Fort St. André. These combined movements succeeded effectually; and the reduction of the two fortresses, which at any other period of the year would have cost an immense slaughter, was now accomplished almost without bloodshed, and that too when the mercury in the thermometer was lower than it had been known for thirty years. Sixteen hundred prisoners, and a great number of pieces of cannon, were taken; but the rest of the Dutch troops succeeded in effecting their retreat to the lines between Gorcum and Cuylenberg; after which the enemy crossed the Waal in immense numbers, and took positions at Thuyle, Wetleren, and Wartenberg. They made at the same time a successful attack upon the lines of Breda, Ouderbosch, and Sevenhagen; but the most important achievement of all was the capture of Grave, after a blockade of two months, the garrison surrendering at discretion.

These rapid movements of the enemy induced the commanders of the allied forces at Arnheim to make an attempt to check their progress. This enterprize

was entrusted to Major-general David Dundas, who, on the 27th of December, marched with ten battalions of British infantry under General Lord Cathcart, Major-general Gordon, and Colonel Mackenzie; six squadrons of light cavalry, and one hundred and fifty hussars of Rohan, under Major-general Sir Robert Lawrie; and four battalions and four squadrons of Hessians, under Major-general De Wurmb. This force was divided into three columns; the left being intended to attack by the dike, the centre to attack so as to keep the church of Wardenberg upon its left wing, and the right column, consisting of four British battalions and the hussars, to keep their left bearing upon Vliet, to burn Tuyl, and attack it in the rear. Lord Cathcart found the road by which his column had to march so impracticable, that, being obliged to make a great circuit, he could not come up in time. In consequence of this, General Dundas, finding, on his arrival near Wardenberg, that the enemy had abandoned it during the night, thought it advisable to push on with the other two columns, and to begin the attack upon Tuyl immediately. This was executed with such gallantry and spirit by the troops, that, notwithstanding the natural strength of the post, the abbatis of trees that were made, the batteries of the town of Bommel, which flanked the approach, and the great numbers of men by whom it was defended, the place was soon carried, and the enemy driven across the river with considerable loss. On this occasion, the greatest praise was due to the officers and men for their conduct, which was highly exemplary, in regard to the fortitude and perseverance with which they supported every fatigue, and all the hardships peculiar to the season.

Notwithstanding this ephemeral advantage, a removal of the British head-quarters became indispensable; and on the third of January, 1795, all the troops took up a position at Amerongen. The severity of the weather now increased to such a degree, that the enemy were enabled to pass the Waal near Bommel, after which they soon drove in the out-posts of the combined armies, and took possession of Tuyl. General Dundas, however, thought he should be able to defend Meteren, and to check the further progress of the French; but the advanced posts of the Hessians, nearest to his position, having also been obliged to fall back, orders were given to him and General Dalwick to unite their forces immediately, and at day-break of the fifth to make a vigorous attack on the enemy, and to spare no efforts to drive them across the Waal. Instead of this, General Dundas was himself attacked at Geldermalsen by a large body of cavalry and tirailleurs. The charge was so impetuous, that at first they had the advantage, and took two pieces of cannon; but when the reserve came up, the guns were recovered, the enemy repulsed, and the post preserved.

The violence of the frost having by this time converted the whole country into a kind of plain, which gave to the French the greatest facility in their movements, General Dundas thought it necessary to fall back in the night upon Bueren, where General Dalwick was stationed. This circumstance, with the excessive fatigue which the troops had undergone, at a season of the year, and in situations where they were often obliged, for the want of cantonments, to pass the night without cover, determined the generals to take up a position behind the Leck, for which the

necessary dispositions had been previously made. But just as the orders were given for the removal, a sudden thaw came on, which offering a prospect of holding the position on the Waal, it was judged expedient that the troops, who had not yet crossed the Leck, should remain in the cantonments they then occupied, while the rest proceeded. Unfortunately, however, the frost set in again with additional severity during the night of the seventh; but as the troops were already put in motion, and counter-orders might have prevented a combination from the extent of the line, General Dundas assembled his corps, and marched towards Bueren early on the morning of the eighth, after detaching in advance two battalions, who were afterwards to proceed against Thiel.

On their arrival at Bueren, they found all the British posts on the Lingen driven in, and the French established there in great force. Upon this, Lord Cathcart was ordered to reconnoitre the enemy; when, taking a detachment of thirty Hulans, with the light companies, and part of the 27th regiment, he proceeded along the dike, charged the advanced guard, and put them to rout with some loss. His lordship, finding that the entire force near him did not exceed eight hundred men, with some hussars, and one piece of cannon, he determined immediately to dislodge them; and accordingly, the remainder of the 27th regiment, the 14th, and two field pieces, were brought up for the purpose. The 14th regiment formed on the ice to the left of the dike, and the 27th across the enclosures on the right, supported by the picquets, the detachment of Hulans, and a squadron of light dragoons. The field-pieces were conducted along the dike by the grenadiers; and all the troops

marched as quick as possible, driving the enemy before them. On arriving at Buremalsen, they found that the French had passed the river, and were collected at Eldermalsen, from whence they kept up an incessant fire of musketry and grape-shot.

The British, however, continued to advance without once halting; and the 27th regiment, gradually changing its direction to the left, charged the village across the ice beyond the burnt bridge, and seized the cannon; while the 14th regiment entered the place on the right. The enemy then retired with great precipitation, but soon returned in much greater numbers, and, notwithstanding the fire of the field-pieces from the opposite shore, made repeated attacks upon the village where the British were posted. The steady countenance of these troops reduced the efforts made against them to a distant firing; and on the arrival of the 28th, that regiment immediately formed on each side of a windmill, with their field-pieces. The corps in the village were then ordered to repass the Lingen, and form behind the dike, which movement was executed with the greatest regularity; and they passed through the interval of the 28th in good order, and without the loss of a man, though followed by great numbers. The 28th could not be so placed as to cover this passage effectually, without being exposed to a very heavy fire, which they faced and returned in the bravest manner. Their fire again cleared the village, and at sunset all remained quiet till eleven o'clock, when the several corps returned to headquarters. The loss on this occasion was considerable; and two officers, Colonels Buller and Hope, were severely wounded.

As the frost continued to present a favourable

opportunity for his purpose, Pichegru determined to cross the Waal in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen with his whole army, which was accordingly effected; and entire battalions of infantry, squadrons of cavalry, detachments of artillery, with an immense number of waggons, passed over the river, without the assistance of either bridges or boats. All the troops, however, had not reached the place of destination, when a sudden thaw, by cutting off the communication, seemed to hazard the success of the enterprize. At this critical moment, when the confidence of the enemy seemed likely to sustain a serious mortification, the frost resumed its empire with additional severity, and enabled the invaders to complete their object.

On the 14th, they made a general attack upon all the British out-posts between the Leck and the Waal; but were repulsed every where, especially by the picquets opposite Rhenen, at which point they advanced in very superior numbers. Notwithstanding this, it was deemed advisable to commence an immediate retreat to Amersfoort, which was carried into execution the same night without the least interruption. On this occasion, all the vessels lying in the Leck, containing forage and stores, were burnt, and the greater part of the ammunition, contained in fifteen ordnance ships at Rotterdam, was also destroyed. All the sick, with the exception of about three hundred, were removed; but letters of recommendation to the French general, with proper officers and attendants, were left, for the accommodation of the wounded soldiers; and it is just to mention, that they were treated with humanity.

The fate of Holland being now sealed, the Stadtholder and the Princess of Orange, with the here-

ditary prince and his family, accompanied by several persons of distinction, embarked on board a small vessel at Scheveling, and landed at Harwich on the 21st of January, where also the Duke of York arrived the day after; and finding that the royal exiles had departed for London, he staid only to take some refreshment, and immediately pursued the same route.

Previous to his departure from a country which could no longer be defended, the Duke gave proper directions for conducting the troops into Germany, as it was impossible to embark them on any part of the Dutch coast. Accordingly, on the 27th they marched from Deventer, and the rest of the cantonments on the Yssel, leaving Lieutenant-general Abercrombie with the Guards, and Colonel Strutt's brigade, to take the necessary steps for the removal of the sick, stores, and provisions; as well as for the destruction of whatever of the latter could not be carried away.

These measures were promptly carried into effect; but about six hundred sick, whose cases would not admit of a removal, were left at Deventer, Zwoll, and Zutphen, under the care of Major M'Murdo, with a captain, two subalterns, and the necessary medical attendants.

The first column of the British army, now reduced to one-third of the original number, after experiencing the utmost distress in a fatiguing march through an inhospitable country, arrived on the 29th at Oldensaal, from whence they proceeded to Bentheim, which they reached the following day. General Coates's brigade, having set out some days sooner, had already taken up cantonments at Rheine, and other places behind the Ems. General Abercrombie brought up the rear a few days afterwards, and thus terminated the cam-

paign in Holland; where the allied troops suffered perhaps as much from the inhabitants as from the enemy and the severity of the climate; for such was the ingratitude of the Dutch, that, in the line of march, they refused to give shelter to the men who had been fighting their battles; and at Groningen the gates were entirely shut against them.

The French continued to follow the combined forces to the Ems, and on the 24th of February they gained possession of the advanced posts of Nienhuys and Velhuys, which were under the command of Colonel Strutt, and occupied by the loyal emigrants and a detachment of the corps of Rohan and Bouille. These troops, after the most gallant resistance, were forced, with the loss of about one hundred men killed and wounded, to fall back upon Nothern, leaving the two posts in the hands of the republicans.

Upon this, General Abercrombie, who commanded at Bentheim, immediately put his force in motion to attack and re-occupy the posts; but that measure was rendered unnecessary by the retreat of the French, who left them and all the others on the 26th, directing their march to Hardenberg in the way to Zwoll.

Soon after this, however, an attack was made upon the posts of Lord Cathcart; who in consequence was obliged to retire with his whole force across the Ems and Rhude.

From thence the troops proceeded, without farther molestation, to Bremen, where the treatment they experienced formed a striking contrast to that which they had received from the inhabitants of the United Provinces. In the language of an officer, whose journal of the operations of the British army, during this memorable campaign, was published after their return,

the inhumanity of the Dutch could only be exceeded by their perfidy.

The English, on their first landing in Holland, were received with every demonstration of joy, and their heroism called forth universal praise. But no sooner did a reverse take place, which never would have happened, had the natives of the country been true to themselves, than every insult was offered to our brave soldiers in their distress. After the evacuation of Nimeguen, when the troops sought repose in winter-quarters in tents on the banks of the Waal, the Dutch not only refused to afford them any assistance, but even behaved to the sick and wounded in the hospitals with such gross brutality, as to provoke the resentment of the French soldiers, who, though not in general so well disciplined as those of other nations, yet in this instance treated the English with kindness, when they witnessed the barbarity of the people towards the men who had shed their blood in the defence of Holland.

On the arrival of the army at Bremen, the transition appeared like a dream, or a fairy vision: "We could hardly give credit to our own senses," says the author of the journal; "we who had been so lately buffeted about by fortune, driven like vagabonds through frost and snow, over all the wilds of Holland, and who, in our greatest extremities, when we asked for sustenance with money in our hands, were answered only with a shrug of the shoulders, 'Nothing for an Englishman.' Now to be seated in the most elegant apartments, servants attending readily to anticipate every wish, beds of the softest down to repose upon, without being disturbed in the morning with the thundering of cannon, or the usual alarms of war! It seemed like

some enchantment, but it was real. The elegant and generous entertainment we met with, far exceeded any thing we ever experienced before, and, I may venture to say, ever will again."

On the 14th of April, the troops began their embarkation in the transports that had been collected for the purpose, at the mouth of a creek near the lake of Bremen; and the entire fleet, with the convoy, consisted of above two hundred sail. On the 24th, the vessels had all cleared the Weser, soon after which a storm came on, and drove them far to the north of their regular course. At length, on the 27th, they came in sight of the Northumbrian hills, and the weather moderating, they steered southward towards the Nore, but parted into different divisions, one going into Harwich, another up the Thames, and a third down channel to Portsmouth, where they all arrived in safety.

It is some satisfaction, in relating this melancholy story, to be able to state, that the ingratitude of the Dutch to their defenders, and treachery to their own government, did not long go unrequited.

In order, therefore, to complete this sketch of one of the most important events of modern history, it may be proper to narrate the proceedings which took place in the United Provinces, upon their invasion by the French.

As soon as the stadtholder and his family had retired to seek an asylum in England, a French officer, with letters from General Pichegru, entered Amsterdam, and repaired to the house of the burgomaster. The same evening a multitude of the inhabitants paraded the streets, with the tricoloured cockade in their hats, and singing revolutionary songs. On the

following morning a detachment of hussars posted themselves before the stadthouse, where the tree of liberty was planted with great pomp, and the government of the city conferred on a violent republican named Krayenhoff, while De Winter, then a general in the French service, took the command of the fleet.

On the 20th of January, Pichegru made his public entry into Amsterdam, and, at the same time, divisions of his army occupied Dordt, Rotterdam, the Hague, and Helvoetsluys; and to complete the wonders of this revolution, a body of horse, supported by detachments of artillery, advanced along the ice, and forced a squadron of ships of war, then frozen up in the Zuyder Zee, between West Friesland and the island of Texel, to surrender. At Haerlem, the burgomaster, Vermeulen, was compelled to sign an order to the governor not to oppose the will of the people; or, in plain English, to remain passive while the mob enjoyed their privileges of misrule and anarchy. This was followed by a proclamation written by General Daendels, one of the chiefs of the revolution of 1787, wherein he called upon the inhabitants of the United Provinces to shake off the yoke of tyranny under which they had but too long languished. The tree of liberty was then planted in the great square; and a pastor named Hovens, having mounted the pulpit in the great church, delivered to the people an harangue on the necessity of forming a new social compact, founded upon the solid basis of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

As the people had taken into their heads, that the change which was now wrought would be attended with a happy release from all public burdens, their new rulers were careful to undeceive them by issuing

the following notification at Amsterdam :—"Some inhabitants of this town, entertaining an opinion that, by virtue of the fortunate revolution we have experienced, no further taxes are to be paid, and no more inquiries made into the exaction of duties and contributions; the representatives hereby declare that all the citizens remain obliged, in the same manner as before, to pay the taxes and charges imposed by the laws and ordinances of the country."

In pursuance of this decree, the following demand was made, as the first payment for the blessing of French fraternization.

"The representatives of the people belonging to the armies of the North, of the Sambre, and of the Meuse, taking into consideration the wants of the army of the republic, and the necessity of furnishing it with the objects of subsistence, supplies of provision, and clothing, of which it has occasion, in the countries where it is established, wishing to avoid the means of particular requisitions, and the intervention of subaltern agents, think it most agreeable to address themselves to the States-General, and formally invite them to supply, in the space of one month, the following articles; viz.—200,000 quintals of wheat, avoirdupois weight—5,000,000 rations of hay—200,000 rations of straw—5,000,000 bushels of corn—150,000 pairs of shoes—20,000 coats and waistcoats—40,000 pairs of breeches—150,000 pairs of pantaloons—200,000 shirts—50,000 hats——To be delivered further, within two months, 12,000 oxen.

"These different objects are to be delivered at Thiel, Nimeguen, and Bois-le-Duc, at three different times.

"The representatives of the people anxiously expect that the States-General will comply with the above

demand, and do every thing in their power to prevent their fellow-citizens from being troubled with the forms of a requisition, always perplexing to the inhabitants; and that they will use every exertion to complete their contingent. They hope, that the slow form of ordinary administration, and the doubts of the competency of their authority, which may put some stoppage to this operation, will be carefully set aside. They have a right to flatter themselves, that all the citizens of the United Provinces, and all the constituted authorities, will use the same zeal to second their views and amicable intentions. Every necessary measure shall be taken to settle for the payment of the above articles."

The concluding declaration was nothing more than a vague promise that the Dutch might receive, one time or other, French assignats for the substantial articles furnished to their new friends, who very honestly told them, that unless the demand was complied with, an indiscriminate visitation of the inhabitants would be had recourse to, for the raising of the necessary supplies. Upon the same principle, it was ordered that the French soldiers should be quartered in private, and by no means in public houses.

A proclamation was likewise issued, commanding all the people of the United Provinces, Dutch Brabant, and Flanders, to deliver whatever cattle might be demanded by the invaders: and further, the council of state was directed to return, within eight days, exact statements of the treasures of the several cities and towns of the Union. This proclamation was followed by another, decreeing that all shopkeepers and retailers should be obliged to receive assignats in payment for their commodities, at the rate of nine sous for a livre, from French soldiers, and other individuals

employed in the army; and for the purpose of preventing false declarations being made by dealers of the sums thus received, they were required every week to give in lists of the same; for which they were to obtain acknowledgments in writing, or rather assignats, under another form, and of equal value. In order also to secure all the coin and bullion in the country, the exportation of any money, gold or silver, was prohibited under pain of death.

One of the first acts of the revolutionary States-general, was to send despatches to the several Dutch consuls in the Baltic, Mediterranean, and other places, directing them to warn the captains of all ships belonging to the United Provinces against entering any British ports. Orders were also sent to the commanders of men-of-war and Indiamen, then in England, to return home without delay. Meanwhile, however, the British government was on the alert, by laying an embargo on all Dutch vessels, among which were some of considerable value. Commissioners were in consequence sent over to demand these ships in the name of the Batavian republic; but Lord Grenville, then at the head of the foreign department, refused to acknowledge the deputies in their new character, and they returned without being able to gain any satisfaction. Of this treatment neither they nor their masters had any reason to complain; after having entered into an alliance with France, and overturning the constitution of their country, in submissive obedience to the dictates of the National Assembly.

H. Robinson sc.

George III

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CHAP. VI.

FROM A. D. 1795 TO 1799.

THE reverses of fortune experienced by the Duke of York in no degree lessened his reputation, either for valour, judgment, or humanity. On the contrary, his military talents were universally confessed by veterans in the art of war; while the goodness of his heart endeared him to all who served under his command. His bravery in battle was admired by the enemy, and had a most animating effect upon his troops. The affair at Turcoing would have been still more disastrous than it was, had the Duke lost his presence of mind. But, by maintaining his courage and coolness amidst the dangers which gathered around him, he cut his way through the hostile ranks of infantry, and, plunging his horse into the river, effected his escape to the German entrenchments. His arrangements were generally allowed to be highly judicious; and he evinced uncommon skill, intrepidity, and steadiness in that most difficult and painful duty, the conducting of a retreat, which, whenever it became indispensably necessary, was always managed with a regularity and firmness, that the foe, though ardent and numerous, invariably preserved a respectful distance.

The circumstances under which the Duke was placed were of a nature altogether peculiar and unprecedented; so that neither the most consummate ability in a general, nor inflexible resolution in his soldiers, could have insured success. The plan of the allies was radically defective at the outset, for, instead of concentrating their forces, and bearing upon France with their combined power, they insulated their means, and in consequence were defeated in detail. At the very opening of the campaign, the Duke of York foresaw the result, and protested against a system of operations, in which he was reluctantly obliged to take an active and responsible part. Independent of this, a spirit of jealousy and selfishness shed its malign influence over the allied counsels, so that while they had a desperate and united enemy to contend with, the Austrians and Prussians, forgetful of their true interest, were divided in principle. The latter power, though the first to enter into the war, soon gave indications of retrocession, and could only be kept from concluding a separate peace by the lure of British gold. The emperor, it is true, acted with somewhat more consistency; but however honourable his personal motives might be, it appeared but too obvious that his ministers were pursuing a course rather calculated to injure than promote the mighty cause which they professed to support.

At the very time that the British army was combating for the preservation of the Netherlands, and especially West Flanders, the cabinet of Vienna betrayed such an unconcern about those possessions, as to justify the suspicion which the Duke of York conceived, that there was a secret design formed of abandoning those provinces.

It is certain, however, that the Austrian councils were enveloped in a mist of doubt; and that there was nothing decided in the measures adopted for the prosecution of the war. The consequence of all this was, as might be expected, a want of cordiality between the respective armies, which coldness gave rise to much angry reflection, and many complaints on both sides. The dissatisfaction of the British troops was loudly expressed, and that with reason; for on several occasions they found themselves exposed to the fury of the republicans, without receiving any support whatever from the Imperialists.

The action at Turcoing, for which it was difficult to assign any military reason, appeared so like a premeditated intention to sacrifice the Duke of York and his army, that it was no easy matter to keep the discontent of the troops from breaking out into open rupture. Though his royal highness had himself sufficient cause to be displeased with the conduct of the Austrians, yet feeling the vast weight of the charge that was laid upon him, and fully aware of the ruinous effects that must inevitably be the result of any public dissension among the leaders of the combined armies, he wisely suppressed his resentment, and endeavoured to advance the common interest by a spirit of conciliation, when he found that his advice was disregarded. The generosity of this condescension made a strong impression upon the minds of the Austrian commanders; and though they were not at liberty to deviate from the orders of the military council which directed all their operations, they readily acknowledged the soundness of the advice which they could not follow, and to admire the fortitude of the illustrious personage from whom it came. Had the arch-

duke Charles been then at the head of the Imperial forces in Flanders, with a perfect freedom to act according to circumstances, and to the best of his judgment, there is every reason to believe that affairs would have taken a very different turn, notwithstanding the tergiversation of the Prussian monarch.

Such, we happen to know, was the matured opinion of the Duke of York, who was compelled to yield to measures which his vigorous mind disapproved, and to act with men who, whatever might be their professional merit, were attached to a system, the rules of which were set at defiance, and overturned every moment, by undisciplined armies and uneducated generals. Hence, by the mere force of numbers, the impulse of enthusiasm, and an utter disregard of human life, the French republicans, after recovering from their first alarm, were soon enabled to repel the attacks of the well-trained and organized hosts of veterans that assembled on their frontiers.

The allies, by their conduct in neglecting the opportunities which fortune threw in their way, and by dissipating the means which they possessed, gave a practical lesson to their adversaries, who, careless of the expense, quickly proved superior to the experienced masters in the art of war, from whose errors they derived knowledge. In consequence of this, after the battle of Fleurus, the tide of success ran almost continually in one direction, and at the end of the campaign of 1794, the Hall of the National Convention at Paris exhibited a tablet, on which were inscribed the conquests that had recently crowned the arms of the republic.

From this record it appeared that the ten provinces of the Austrian Netherlands; the seven United Pro-

vinces; the bishoprics of Liege, Worms, and Spire; the electorates of Treves, Cologne, and Mentz; the Palatinate; and the duchies of Deux Ponts, Juliers, and Cleves,—were all subjugated in the north: while Savoy and the principality of Nice and Monaco acknowledged the republican government in the south. The entire population of these countries was estimated at thirteen millions; which, added to the twenty-four millions contained in France, gave the republic an aggregate number of thirty-seven millions of subjects. All these achievements were accomplished within less than a year and a half; during which period the French armies had gained twenty-seven general battles, been victorious in no less than one hundred and seven inferior actions, and had besides taken one hundred and sixteen strong cities and fortified places. These successes, it was observed, were obtained against the best disciplined armies in Europe, who were elated with their past triumphs over warlike enemies, and commanded by generals of consummate experience and brilliant reputation; while the forces of the republic, at the commencement of the contest, consisted of officers and soldiers few of whom had seen service, and commanded by generals hitherto without renown.

However lofty this boast might be, the truth of it could not be well denied, when the history of the campaign was impartially reviewed. Under these circumstances the dissolution of the coalition, by the secession of some of the minor states, was not a matter to excite surprise; but after making every allowance for the departure of Spain, Tuscany, and Hesse-Cassel, from the alliance, nothing could be said to justify the King of Prussia in pocketing the subsidies of England, while he was at the same time carrying on a

secret negotiation with the Convention. The language of this potentate, in the manifesto which he published to justify his conduct in concluding a separate peace, may be held up as one of the finest specimens of political sophistry ever woven, to make treachery a virtue of necessity.

In this appeal the monarch says, "After three bloody campaigns, fertile in death and desolation, is not suffering humanity brought sufficiently low? His majesty cannot wholly sacrifice himself, and leave his dominions entirely a prey to destruction, for the sake of participating in the future experiment of a war, the result of which, if it were even as favourable as possible, would still be inferior to a present negotiation for peace. All considerations of foreign and domestic relations, as likewise the sacred duties which his majesty owes to the prosperity of his provinces, to his subjects longing for peace and tranquillity, and to the happiness of his own royal bosom, summon him most urgently to renounce forthwith a war whose future issue must only prove ruinous past redemption."

On this it may be remarked, that Frederick William would have acted with more discretion, in retiring silently from the confederacy, than in offering an apology which only served to bring to recollection his previous denunciations of vengeance against the French encroachments, and his avowed determination to re-establish the ancient monarchy.

At that time the King of Prussia saw nothing but danger in the progress of republican principles; but now, when the French were evidently gaining an ascendancy which threatened the annihilation of all the thrones in Europe, his royal bosom panted for peace and tranquillity. The truth is, Prussia had

suffered less than the other members of the confederacy, for Austria was stripped of some of its most valuable appendages, and had lost an incalculable number of lives. England, indeed, had not been deprived of any of her territories, but she had incurred heavy expenses for the prosecution of a war, of which the cabinet of Berlin was not only the principal instigator, but had derived from it pecuniary advantage. Notwithstanding all this, neither the disasters of the campaign, nor the defection of some of the allies, dispirited the British government; and although the King, as elector of Hanover, was under the necessity of acceding to the treaty of peace concluded by Prussia, yet, in his regal capacity, he maintained an inflexible resolution of prosecuting the contest. At the opening of the session of parliament, therefore, his Majesty observed, "That the efforts made by our enemies, and to which alone their successes were owing, had produced among themselves the pernicious effects that might have been expected; and that every thing which had passed in the interior of the country evinced the progressive and rapid decay of their resources, and the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system, which would prove both ruinous to France, and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations."

The debates which ensued were rendered remarkable by the vacillation of some of those members of the house of commons, who had hitherto been among the most strenuous supporters of administration. On the motion for an address, Mr. Wilberforce proposed an amendment in favour of an immediate negociation for peace. In advocating this measure, the honourable member observed, that the confederacy against France

was now dissolved, and that her internal disorders were appeased; how then was it possible to conquer a people who had resisted with such success the combined forces of Europe, even amidst the distraction of insurrections? The retrospect of our affairs (he said) was bad, but the prospect before us was still worse; for, like the waves of the ocean, the armies of France seemed rapidly to overthrow every thing that stood in their way. Mr. Wilberforce added, that, He was well aware of the impossibility of forcing a government upon France, when that country was united in opinion and in act; and he scrupled not to say, that though a friend to monarchy, he did not conceive a monarchy to be the fittest form of government for France in its present circumstances, when the current of prejudice set so strongly against it.—This speech, and the motion to which it was the prelude, astonished the minister, particularly as he had never once made any declaration against concluding a peace with the republican rulers of France. All that this country demanded was security, and Mr. Pitt maintained that the existing state of things gave no prospect of the kind. The house being of the same opinion, the amendment was rejected,—and a vigorous prosecution of the war was determined upon by an overwhelming majority. Thus supported, the minister brought forward his estimate of the supplies for the ensuing year; the military service of which amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand landsmen; and the loan proposed was for eighteen millions, the largest sum ever voted at one time by parliament up to that period.

Such was the critical state of affairs, when the King thought proper to place his second son at the head of the military establishment. His royal highness,

who had been made a full general on the 12th of April 1793, was, on the 18th of February 1795, constituted Field-marshal and Commander-in-chief of all the British forces. Jeffery Lord Amherst, the predecessor of the Duke of York, was, at the time of his resignation, near fourscore years of age, and totally incapacitated for a situation which required uncommon exertion, and a mind free from all professional partialities. Lord Amherst was an intrepid soldier, and an excellent general of the old school, but his achievements were chiefly confined to North America; where, though he enlarged our colonial possessions, by wresting from France several valuable fortresses, he fought no regular battle, because the enemy never brought into the field any army of magnitude in those regions. Such, however, was the reputation acquired by General Amherst in America, that when the revolutionary war broke out, he was considered as the fittest man in the service to hold the high situation of commander-in-chief. Yet the result did not justify the confidence that was placed in his judgment; for to whatever cause it might be owing, never was a military system worse planned or worse conducted than the one which was uniformly pursued throughout the whole of that unfortunate contest.

Here was a lesson from which some practical results might have been expected, for the improvement of the British army. But no such beneficial change took place in the organization of this complicated and important machine. Every thing at the peace was suffered to remain in each department exactly as it had stood years before: though the test of the American war proved the necessity of simplifying operations and correcting abuses. When the Duke of York landed in Holland, in

order to open the campaign in Flanders, he had soon occasion to lament the deteriorated state of the army that was placed under his direction. The valour of the troops, indeed, inspired confidence; but though their physical strength, patience of fatigue, and dauntlessness of spirit, warranted full assurance that in the heat of battle they would not flinch, yet something was obviously wanting to render these high qualities invincible, when opposed to enemies of a new and formidable description. This would have been no easy task even in a time of peace, but in the face of an active and powerful foe it became peculiarly difficult. By perseverance, however, his royal highness succeeded, and he enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing his troops in such a condition as gave them, in many respects, a degree of distinction over the boasted veterans of the continent; and when at last, by the sinistrous course of events, which no skill or valour could resist, they were under the necessity of quitting the countries where they had gathered immortal laurels, their retreat was steady and dignified, neither disgraced by wanton revenge nor licentious disorder. Such were the beneficial effects produced by the personal exertions of the Duke of York, and carried on under his immediate inspection.

At home, a new scene now called for the labours of his royal highness; and no one who turns to the page of history, and considers the turbulent character of the times, will venture to say that the situation which he now undertook was a sinecure.

Error and abuse had for many years prevailed, and been increasing in every department of the military administration: so that while a general reform was rendered absolutely necessary, it became extremely

difficult to determine where the salutary work should begin. Evils of extraordinary magnitude called for immediate correction; and numerous deficiencies, of essential moment to the organization of an efficient establishment, were to be supplied. But amidst the many excrescencies to be removed, changes to be made, and regulations to be introduced, for the improvement of a system which was confessedly of vital importance to the nation; the prominent disorders were in some respects so complicated, and mixed with professional merit and personal influence, that peculiar caution was required, to avoid inflicting private injury while endeavouring to promote the public good. The King, who, ever since his accession, had paid particular attention to the constitution and management of the army, saw and lamented the corruptions which prevailed; but as he was unable to overcome the inveterate prejudices and habitual indolence of the persons in whom he was obliged to confide, few and trifling were the alterations introduced for the good of the service, till the appointment of the Duke of York to the station of field-marshal and commander-in-chief of the forces, presented a fair opportunity for commencing and perfecting the necessary renovation. His Majesty, however, was too prudent a man to recommend any sudden innovations of great magnitude; or such as from their novelty might create alarm and jealousy in the army and the nation. It was his opinion, grounded on experience, that the important work of reorganizing such a complicated machine, made up of different elements, should be carried on progressively, to avoid raising the passions of the people against the operation of measures, the beneficial tendency of which they could neither perceive nor understand.

To this sage principle, the foundation of all practical wisdom, the Duke of York cordially acceded; and thus, "et Pater excitat," he entered upon the laborious charge of new-modelling the œconomy of the army, in order to meet the gigantic power which even now threatened the subjugation of all Europe.

One of the most crying enormities in the old regimen, and which had gone on without redress, was that of regulating military advancement solely by a scale of prices. This anomaly in the British army was carried to such an excess of absurdity, that sometimes boys on the lower forms at school, and even infants in the nursery, were gazetted as lieut.-colonels of regiments, to the detriment of veterans grown grey in the service of their king and country, and to the palpable deterioration of the profession itself. As, however, the custom of obtaining rank by purchase could not be got rid of altogether, his royal highness, the new commander-in-chief, at the entrance upon his office, established a regulation which in some degree checked the present abuse, and laid the basis for further improvement. This rule was, that no person should take rank, or obtain a commission as a field-officer, who had not actually served six years. Thus one evil was cut up by the roots, and no objection could be raised against it, since the measure was of a prospective nature only, and did not affect the interests of those who had profited by the preposterous error of the ancient system.

In the same judicious spirit of looking forward to the substitution of an efficient force for the support of the British empire in its vastly extended territories, the royal Duke turned his thoughts to the subject of military education.

While almost every great state on the continent

possessed some institution solely applied to the purpose of training up young candidates for fame, in the service of their country, England alone, as if in proud contempt of all such preparatory discipline, remained without any establishment of the kind. The Royal Academy at Woolwich could hardly be said to offer an exception; for, being exclusively confined to the artillery and engineer departments, the education there received was wholly of a scientific character, and that scarcely rising above mechanical operation. Something, therefore, far beyond this, was wanting, to qualify officers for the conduct of armies on a large scale, where the leaders would have to combat with men trained to all the arts of war, whether of direct evolution or secret stratagem; and where, of course, every thing would depend on the eye and the judgment, on quickness of penetration and promptitude of decision, to counteract practised skill, and to overcome superiority of numbers.

Hitherto young officers of the English line, who were ambitious of excelling in the profession of arms, were wont to spend some time at one of the high military schools in Germany, of which that of Brunswick bore the greatest reputation. Though several generals of renown, by having gone through this course of preparation, had stamped a sort of sanction upon the custom, it was not a practice that did any honour to the British government or the national character. On the contrary, it was a reflection upon both, by evincing a total indifference to that mental dignity, without which valour and strength are qualities of little worth. Knowing by experience the value of a professional initiation, and convinced of the injury which the service sustained by the neglect paid to it in England, his royal highness bent his early thoughts

closely to the supply of this radical defect, and with such assiduity did he labour, that in no long time he had the satisfaction of seeing a military college founded under the express sanction of his Majesty, and with the full consent of parliament.

At the first establishment of this royal foundation, the institution was divided into two departments, junior and senior. The former was meant for the education of youths between thirteen and fifteen years of age, who, previous to admission, were examined in the rudiments of grammar, Latin and English, and the elements of arithmetic. After this, they passed through a regular course of instruction in all the branches necessary to accomplish them for the military service. Having gone through the requisite studies, and given proofs of their proficiency, the commander-in-chief, who always attended the examinations in person, took notice of the most deserving, and recommended them to his Majesty for commissions in the line; and so rapid was the progress of the institution, that within two years several of the early cadets were gazetted on no other ground than their merit.

The second department was calculated entirely for the benefit of officers who had already acquired a sufficient knowledge of regimental duties, but stood in need of further qualifications in the higher branches of the profession, and to enable them to hold staff employments. The attention of these adult pupils was therefore particularly directed to the functions of the quarter-master-general in the field.

For this class of students a particular body of precepts was drawn up, under the immediate direction of the illustrious commander-in-chief.

These instructions were not a compilation from

military books, but simply comprised a practical exercise, of which the theory and principles were strictly conformable to the rules of war, though necessarily confined in the application to the nature of the country where the operations might take place. The object of these directions, therefore, was to render a select number of officers competent to assist generals commanding armies, in the prompt execution of their orders, and to carry into effect, various and extensive details relating to actual operations in the field of battle.

It must be evident, that the success of a plan depends very much upon a knowledge of the scene of operations. If a general is ignorant of the localities where he has to act, and is opposed by natural obstacles with which he has not been previously made acquainted, his best schemes will be frustrated. Yet how can a commander who has a large force to direct, numerous duties to fulfil, and a vast space of ground to occupy, bestow the necessary time and labour, at a great personal risk, in reconnoitring the positions of the enemy, examining the country in his front and upon his flanks, even as far as the advanced posts? That he may do so is admitted, but in that case every thing will ultimately depend upon himself; and in order properly to accomplish his object, he must remain upon the different spots of observation a sufficient length of time to make a sketch of them upon paper, to the extent of all the roads in the environs of his camp.

Now, when it is considered that such an occupation would unavoidably interfere with his other duties, it follows, that either this part of the service ought to be performed by a corps of officers directly appointed for the purpose; or else we must suppose the possi-

bility of making good dispositions, and of giving clear and precise orders, without any local knowledge, and without regard being had to the circumstances of the ground; which would be as absurd as to say that an army of blind men stood the best chance of success. To those who think that a verbal written report would answer the purpose, it may be replied, that such a statement, without a plan in drawing, cannot correctly point out the advantages or disadvantages of the position to be occupied; because, in that case, it is the subaltern who judges of the ground, and not the general. Whatever is committed to writing, necessarily assumes some tincture of the opinion of the writer. A plan in drawing admits of no opinion; it is a mere representation of the ground, and nothing more.

However ably or correctly a written report may be made, it will always be more difficult to comprehend the general description, and to combine the separate details, than to judge of the same things in a plan, where the eye is able to discover at once all the parts, and to connect, without confusion, the distinct features with the general form.

Such are the advantages which a general may derive from plans of a country; but the question here arises, how are these to be obtained in a time when the exigences are pressing, and call for prompt decision? It may here be observed, that what would take one man eight or ten days to execute, eight or ten men in concert would effect in one day, by fixing upon an established sign to express the features of the ground which it becomes necessary to reconnoitre, in order to regulate and determine the several parts of the position.

Such was the idea of practical science struck out by the Duke of York, and upon which the instruction of the superior department of the college of High Wycombe was founded. Another branch consisted in the choice of the positions of batteries and entrenchments, by which every part of a camp may be protected and defended, together with the theory adapted to all emergencies in which field fortification can be advantageously employed. A third division of instruction applied to the measurement and tracing out of camps, and the attentions and precautions relative to every part of castrametation. Lastly, the young officers in this class were taught the external duties of the camp, and those relative to the marching of armies; the method of foraging, and of covering foraging parties, and also of escorting convoys; the conduct to be pursued by detachments charged with commissions relative to war, as well as with the measures and dispositions to be adopted for winter quarters.

For admittance to the practical instruction thus afforded at Wycombe, it was rendered indispensable that an officer should have some knowledge of geometry and trigonometry, and be able to take the plan of a country; that he should be acquainted with the elementary principles of the fortification of towns, and of the war of sieges; that he should have acquired the necessary ideas of artillery, upon the throwing of shells, the calibre and range of cannon, their weight and that of their carriages, the manner of serving them, and the number of men required by this service, both for the battery and the field.

Such was the general plan adopted for this branch of studies, on the first establishment of the Royal Military College at High Wycombe; but the system

there and at Marlow afterwards underwent some considerable alterations, and received several important additions; in all of which the Duke of York took an active concern.

With the same attention to order, military precision, and improvement, his royal highness imposed upon himself the arduous task of revising the several codes of general regulations and orders, that had been framed and promulgated from the time of the great Duke of Marlborough down to the Duke of Cumberland. Out of all these complicated systems, he extracted a more simple digest, with such new ordinances for the good of the service, as were rendered expedient by the changes which had taken place in the condition of the army and the manners of the times.

According to the new establishment, it was ordered, that a half-yearly return should be made of all the general and staff officers serving at home or on stations abroad, specifying every other alteration that had taken place in each regiment during that period. Besides this, it was required that there should be half-yearly confidential reports made to the commander-in-chief; and a general monthly return of the troops, with a list subjoined of the officers serving in the district, with their respective stations. General officers serving in home districts, were also enjoined to send monthly, to the quarter-master-general, a return of the quarters of the troops under their orders; and those commanding on foreign stations were required to transmit, in addition to the former returns, an account half-yearly of the casualties in the troops under their command, a list of the officers who had leave of absence, and particulars of the disembarkation of detachments or regiments within their districts. Nor

was this all; for the regulations demanded weekly reports of the condition of each corps; and so exact was the Duke of York, that to prevent abuse in the issue of forage, he gave out the following special injunctions:—

"His Royal Highness directs generals commanding districts, to order musters of the horses in camp to be made weekly by the majors of brigade, in presence of the commanding officers of regiments, and the resident officers of the commissariat department. These musters are to be made at uncertain times, and on the shortest notice. His Royal Highness relies on the general officers enforcing this order in the strictest manner, and that they will report any deviation from it, or any abuse which may hereafter occur in the issue of forage, for his Royal Highness's information."

Thus the whole system in a short space of time assumed a new and lively form; of which, regularity and economy constituted the distinguishing characteristics. All murmuring was silenced by the practical benefits flowing from the regulations that were adopted, in the creation of an effective force, and the comfort of those who were employed, as well privates as officers. The pay of the soldiery was raised in an uncommon degree; a considerable addition being made to that of the subalterns; while the field-officers and captains received their full pay, with the exception of a small deduction for general purposes.

An essential improvement was also introduced into the mode of keeping the military accounts; and the whole commissariat department, which from time immemorial had been an infinite source of fraud, underwent a purgation, and though, in consequence of the extraordinary measures which the government now had

recourse to, for the purpose of speedily raising an efficient force to meet the exigencies of the times, army agency became a profitable line of business; the abuses to which it led did not escape the commander-in-chief, who applied thereto such checks as were calculated at least to keep the service from sustaining any irreparable injury.

In his attention to the personal comforts of the soldiery, the Duke was indefatigable; and it may truly be said, that to this object almost all his plans and regulations had an immediate tendency. Of this, a more striking and amiable instance could not be adduced, than the directions given out by his order for the management of military hospitals. These regulations were not of a general and indefinite character, but so minute and specific, that the least deviation from the system laid down, might easily be detected and exposed.

To convey a proper idea of the value of this important establishment, it will be necessary to give an extract or two from this valuable code of health.—

"A commissioned medical officer is to visit the hospital at least twice in the twenty-four hours. His visiting duty is to commence from Lady-day to Michaelmas precisely at nine o'clock, and from Michaelmas to Lady-day precisely at ten o'clock, in the morning; the evening visit is to be made at eight o'clock; and the utmost punctuality is required in the hours of attendance, from the commissioned officers and hospital mates: and all the wards are to be purified every day with the fumes of nitrous gas, formed by mixing half an ounce of vitriolic acid, and half an ounce of nitre, placed in a sand-heat, under the immediate direction of the mate.

"A written report of the state of the hospital is to be made every morning; also a monthly return of the hospital to the military superintendant.

"The hospital bedding, and clothes of the sick, who have had any infectious fever, must be baked in an oven, or steeped in running water for at least forty-eight hours previous to their being thoroughly washed or scoured.

"The straw from the bed of a man who dies, is to be immediately burnt, and the place or bed where he lay to be well washed with soap and boiling water.

"A return of the medicines that have been received the preceding half-year, such as have been consumed, or sent to other services, and what are wanted for the ensuing six months, signed by the resident mate, or other person in charge of the same, and the senior medical officer, accompanied with an affidavit, that none of the stores have been, to the best of their knowledge and belief, converted to any other use except that of the hospital, unless by an order in writing from the senior medical officer, is to be transmitted to the surgeon-general half-yearly.

"By command of his royal highness the Commander-in-chief, no medical officer is to absent himself from the hospital, without leave from the general commanding the district, obtained through the military superintendant, and with the concurrence of the surgeon-general.

"Every medical officer, doing duty in the hospital, is to leave his name and address in writing with the resident mate; and every one going away on leave of absence, is to leave directions where he may be found.

"The medical officer, in charge of the hospital, is

to take care that separate wards are allotted for fever or small-pox patients; and every possible care taken, by ventilation and cleanliness, to prevent the origin, and to check the progress, of infection; but if contagion should take place, the wards must be thoroughly cleansed, ventilated, and fumigated with nitrous gas, and the infected must be instantly separated from the more healthy. In the progress of treatment, these patients are to be kept as separate as possible from each other, by allotting a greater space to each bed than is usual for other patients; and convalescents from such fever being very apt to relapse, they must not be too soon discharged, unless to a convalescent hospital.

"Previous to any patient being admitted into the hospital, he must be washed, and made perfectly clean, with warm water and soap, have his hair cut and combed, and be furnished with a well-aired and clean shirt.

"A specific return of the patients is to be sent by the 20th of each month, to the secretary of the army medical board, under cover to the secretary at war, for the information of his royal highness the Commander-in-chief; and a specific return of cases is to be sent, under cover, at the same time, to the surgeon-general, stating particularly what operations have been, or are likely to be, performed.

"Each attending medical officer is to keep a journal of his practice; in which the name, age, general constitution, disease, and treatment of his patients, are to be regularly entered and fully detailed; together with the day of their admission, discharge, or death.

"An orderly hospital mate is to be on duty from the hour of attendance in the morning, to the same

hour the following morning; to visit the wards frequently, and to be constantly, during that period, in the hospital. This duty is to be performed in rotation, according to seniority. The orderly mate, coming off duty, is, when relieved, to report to the commissioned officer in charge of the hospital, who will report to the military superintendant, its present state, with whatever alterations have happened during the preceding day, and such other remarks as may occur.

"The same officer is also to attend to the night duty; to see that every thing is quiet and regular; and if any thing extraordinary occurs, he is to make a report of the same.

"The resident hospital mate, or medical storekeeper, is not to deliver out any medicines to patients, unless prescribed for by name in the day-book. He is also to see the dispensary locked after the hours of business, and to keep the key himself.

"When wine is indispensably necessary, it is to be given as long as the case absolutely requires it, but no longer; and it must be given by the attending medical officer, unless previously mixed with medicines or food. Porter, or good beer, whenever the case will admit of it, is to be given in lieu of wine.

"The purveyor is to make a weekly return of the state of the hospital to the officer in charge thereof, and to keep an exact copy of the monthly state sent to the medical board and surgeon-general. He is to provide every patient with a clean shirt at least twice a week, clean paliasses once a month, and sheets every fortnight, or oftener if necessary. He is to report all kinds of misbehaviour, either in the patients or servants, to the heads of the hospital, who will report to the military superintendant. He is also to give a

report to the same officer of every article of necessaries furnished to the soldiers, with the time of giving the same; and nothing is to be furnished at the expense of the soldiers themselves.

"A return is to be transmitted to the surgeon-general half yearly, of purveyors' stores, that have been received during the preceding six months; also of such as have been used or sent to other services, and of what may be wanting, signed by the purveyor and senior medical officer, accompanied by an affidavit from each, that none of the stores have been, to the best of their knowledge and belief, converted to any other use than that of the hospital, unless by an order in writing from the senior medical officer, or surgeon-general; and when any one, who has the charge of public stores, has leave of absence, or is ordered to be removed, he is not to quit his station until regularly relieved, and his charge delivered over to his successor, with the approval of the senior medical officer.

"The steward is to act chiefly under the purveyor's directions; to take care that the proper quantity of provisions be given out in due time to the cooks and nurses, and that they are regularly served to the patients; to see that the wards are kept clean, and that proper utensils are issued for the purpose. If at any time a quantity of the breakfast or supper remains, more than can be consumed by the patients, the steward is to see that it is returned to the cooks for future use, unless otherwise directed. It is his duty also to see that the provisions are properly dressed and served; that the cooks have the breakfast ready to be distributed to the patients at eight, the dinner at one, and the supper at seven o'clock, and the kitchen fires extinguished at nine. He is

to report all irregularities to the head of his department."

These directions are followed by others, equally minute, useful, and perspicuous, for the conduct of the ward-master, matron, nurses, and orderly-men.

Such was the feeling concern which the Duke of York manifested towards the sick and infirm soldiers: nor did his watchful care stop here, for, in the same active spirit of benevolence, his royal highness, on the discovery of a prophylactic against that destructive pestilence the small-pox, immediately instituted an inquiry into the subject, for the benefit of the service. After consulting Mr. Keate the surgeon-general, Sir Lucas Pepys president of the college of physicians, and other men of high reputation, the Duke desired Dr. Jenner to go down to Colchester, and inoculate with vaccine matter such of the privates of the 85th regiment as had never been infected with the variolous disease. The doctor and his nephew accordingly went thither; and the consequence was, that the cow-pox shewed itself in so mild a manner, that scarcely a man was off his duty during the whole process, and yet so effectually did the inoculation take place, that on exposing several of the men to the small-pox, not one of them was affected by it. The soldiers' wives and children were also vaccinated at the same time, and with the same fortunate result. The Duke of York, upon this, became a warm patron of the new practice; which, under his powerful influence and authority, was introduced into all the branches of the military establishment of Great Britain throughout the four quarters of the world. At the outset of this discovery, vaccination met with a zealous advocate in Dr. George Pearson, a physician of considerable eminence in the

metropolis, and principal medical officer of St. George's Hospital. This practitioner took so lively an interest in the cow-pox, that he set on foot a dispensary for the purpose of gratuitous inoculation; and of this institution the Duke of York very readily consented to become the patron, thinking that in so doing he was contributing alike to the extension of an important discovery and the honour of the author.

When, however, it appeared that the motive of Dr. Pearson, in founding this pretended charity, was nothing more than to appropriate all the merit of the new practice to himself, and that Dr. Jenner was not once mentioned in the scheme, his royal highness was so hurt, that he indignantly commanded his name to be withdrawn from the books, not only as the patron, but as a subscriber.

Upon this, an application was servilely made to Dr. Jenner, requesting him to occupy a place in the institution; but feeling, as became him, the indelicacy with which he had been treated, he very properly declined the distinction. Had the doctor consented afterwards to become a leading member of this vaccine establishment, the name and support of the Duke of York would have been continued; but, with a due regard to the principles of equity, his royal highness refused to sanction a project, which, whatever might be the ostensible plea, was in reality founded in palpable injustice. To vaccination itself, however, the Duke continued a steady friend, of which he gave many proofs, particularly as president of the Small-pox Hospital in the parish of St. Pancras, where several regulations were adopted at his suggestion, in order to give a wider scope for the operation of the recent discovery, to subdue prejudices,

and to check the ravages of the variolous contagion.

In short, no practical object tending to lessen the evils of suffering humanity, was ever offered to the consideration of the Duke of York, at any period of his life, without receiving the most deliberate attention, and, if found worthy of it, his liberal support.

To enumerate all the charitable foundations which he patronized would be needless; but those which, in a more especial manner, received his attention and protection, were the Philanthropic Society, in St. George's Fields, instituted for the prevention of crimes, by the admission of juvenile culprits and the children of convicts. Of this laudable institution, his royal highness became the first patron, and by his interest, after it had stood the test of eighteen years' experience, he procured for it a charter of incorporation.

With the same regard to utility in the exercise of benevolence, the Duke very readily gave the countenance of his protection to the plan of "A Refuge for Persons discharged from Prisons and the Hulks,—unfortunate and deserted Females,—and others, who, from loss of character, or extreme indigence, may be prevented from procuring a maintenance, though willing to work." This design originated with the late Rev. Mr. Whitaker of Egham, who, on submitting his ideas to the Duke of York, was encouraged to proceed; and although his royal highness was at that time deeply immersed in public business, and actually engaged in promoting the interests of the Philanthropic Institute, he cheerfully consented to take the lead in founding this kindred establishment.

Thus, a multiplicity of business, infinitely exceeding whatever had formerly occupied the time and atten-

tion of a commander-in-chief, only served to quicken the energies of the Duke of York; and to render him active in devising or promoting means for the amelioration of human distress, the removal of natural evils, and the moral improvement of the lower classes of society.

It is to men of industrious habits alone, that the world is indebted for designs and establishments which have proved beneficial to society. Characters constitutionally fond of ease, and averse to employment, however distinguished by splendour of genius or depth of learning, are seldom entitled by their active virtues to rank among the benefactors of mankind.

In tracing the history of charitable foundations and institutions of practical good, it will be found that most of them owe their origin to persons who have been much engaged in public employments, or been occupied in extensive business, but who neither set up any pretensions to extraordinary patriotism nor brilliancy of talent. The truth is, that he who makes a pleasure of his duty, will turn all the opportunities that occur within his observation to a useful purpose; and if he has any liberality of sentiment, he will endeavour to be serviceable, to improve the condition of the objects which come under his immediate inspection, and for whose interests he feels a lively concern. Such was the Duke of York at the important period when he assumed the direction of the military establishment; and yet, though his avocations were heavy and multifarious, his habitual regularity, diligence, and wish to do good, made him always lend a willing ear to suggestions calculated for general advantage, as well as for the particular improvement of the service committed to his care.

Among other things to which the active mind of his royal highness was directed at the very commencement of his official course, a favourite one had the benefit of the married soldiers for its object. Two institutions were the consequence of this feeling; one, a "Lying-in Charity for the Wives of Soldiers belonging to the regiments of Foot Guards;" and the other, "An Asylum for rearing up and educating One Thousand Children, the legal offspring of British soldiers." The support of the first, of which the Duchess of York became the patroness, was derived solely from voluntary subscriptions; but for the latter a parliamentary grant was obtained, which still continues to be voted yearly among the estimates for the expenditure of the army.

While thus labouring to promote the moral and intellectual culture of the rising generation, his royal highness did not neglect the religious improvement of the soldiers. The important office of military chaplain was taken into consideration, and a particular establishment instituted, for the purpose of examing and appointing clergymen to that situation.

So careful, however, was the Duke not to interfere with the religious principles of the soldiers, that, though all were required to attend divine service, the rights of conscience were duly respected, in allowing the men full liberty to worship God according to the form in which they had been bred. Of this, the following is an instance.—

When the 13th regiment was quartered in the city of York, the greater part of the men being Roman Catholics, Mr. Rayment, the officiating priest at the chapel in Little Blake-street, waited on the colonel, to request that they might be allowed to attend chapel

on the Sunday forenoon. As this would have interfered with some arrangements of the corps, a refusal was politely returned to the application: but the commanding officer said they should attend in the afternoon. The colonel, it seems, was not aware that, according to the Roman ritual, the men would be by this regulation deprived of the important service of high mass, which is always celebrated in the morning. Upon this, Mr. Rayment wrote to the Duke of York on the subject; and the consequence was, that on the following Sunday every man was at early service.

By such minute attentions to the personal convenience, the family comfort, and even private sentiments of the military, did the commander-in-chief succeed in gaining the confidence and good-will of all ranks. The result of this improved and well-regulated system appeared in the steady loyalty of the soldiery at a time when the other bulwark of the nation was in open mutiny, and the most insidious attempts were making to excite a similar spirit throughout the army.

Under these appalling circumstances, the military in every part of the kingdom maintained a dignified firmness; and while the seamen of the grand fleet were dictating their own terms, obviously with the expectation of seeing their example generally followed by the kindred service, not a single defection occurred throughout the army at home or abroad. This conduct had the happiest effects, for it strengthened the state, revived the spirits of the people, and ultimately reduced the revolters themselves to moderation and their duty.

Had it not been for the timely and spontaneous measures of prudence adopted by the Duke of York as commander-in-chief, in all probability a great por-

tion of the British army would have imitated the example of the seamen; the consequences of which must have been humiliating and destructive to the government and the nation.

Scarcely had this storm passed away, when another arose, equally alarming, in Ireland, where the spirit of sedition, and emissaries of rebellion, had been long secretly practising all the arts of delusion, to excite the people to civil war.

The gloomy state of affairs in England, and the prospect of effectual assistance from France, at length emboldened the revolutionary party to organize their means, and to prepare for actual hostilities. They first began, however, with the practice of seducing the King's troops, and with such success, that in the space of a month, four of the Monaghan, two of the Wexford, two of the Kildare, and as many of the Louth militia, were detected and shot for treasonable practices.

In the line, however, no corruption took place, notwithstanding which, the insurgents had a strong confidence in their own numerical strength; which, according to the lowest account, amounted, in the provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster alone, to two hundred and seventy thousand men. That this estimate was correct, may be inferred from the quantity of arms seized at this time by the general officers in Leinster and Ulster only; consisting of about fifty thousand guns, two thousand bayonets, five thousand pistols, as many swords, two hundred and fifty blunderbusses, one hundred and twenty musket barrels, one hundred sword blades, twenty-two pieces of ordnance, and above seventy thousand pikes. About the same time, some thousands of pikes were taken in other parts;

and at the beginning of May 1798, five pieces of cannon, and a number of warlike instruments, were seized in the city of Dublin. In this state of things General Lake was appointed to the command in Ireland; but though his force was considerable, the rebels were not disheartened by the appearance of a regular army; being unfortunately persuaded by their leaders, that they had, among the King's troops, at least one in three adherents, who would at the first onset join the standard of liberty and independence. Under this delusion, and relying upon foreign aid, the rebels projected a simultaneous insurrection, to commence at Dublin. The plan was well laid; but the government was vigilant, and the soldiery did their duty to a man, so that the capital was preserved by their promptitude and activity in the most critical circumstances, when in another hour the fate of the city and its loyal inhabitants would have been decided; for bodies of people, armed with pikes and other weapons, were lurking in lanes and by-places, ready to start forth on the first signal, and would have occupied all the streets, and assassinated the yeomen before they could have reached their respective stations. Early on the very morning of the day the intended carnage was to take place, the troops were drawn out of the garrison, and so disposed as to command all the avenues, and to cut off every communication between the disaffected parties. Three thousand insurgents, however, succeeded in getting into Dublin during the preceding night, and a large body of rebels assembled in the environs, while large groups were collecting in other parts, and hastening forwards to co-operate in the work of destruction. But at this awful moment Neilson, the rebel chief, was apprehended; and the United

Irishmen, finding that the military remained true to their allegiance, dispersed in different directions.

But though the primary object of the rebels was frustrated, it did not prevent the insurrection from spreading through several districts; and at last it assumed the appearance of a regular warfare, in encampments, sieges, and battles. The aspect of things was dismal in the extreme, especially after the defeat of a body of cavalry and the North Cork militia, at Oulart, in the county of Wexford, on the 27th of May. In that affair, the whole detachment of infantry, with the exception of the colonel and four of his men, fell; but the cavalry effected their escape. Flushed with this success, the insurgents increased in numbers and boldness; but their efforts to alienate the soldiers from the line of duty proved abortive. The following is the proclamation which the revolutionary leaders circulated for that purpose:—

"ERIN GO BRAGH; (i. e. Ireland for Ever.) To all Irishmen and soldiers, who wish to join their brethren in arms, assembled for the defence of their country, rights, and liberties.—We, the honest Patriots of our country, do most earnestly intreat and invite you to join your natural Irish standard. This is the time for Irishmen to shew their zeal for their country's good, the good of their posterity, and the natural rights and liberties of Ireland. Repair then to the camps of Liberty, where you will be generously received, and amply rewarded. We know your hearts are with us; and that all you want is an opportunity to desert those tyrants who wish to keep you as the support of their oppressive and hellish schemes to enslave your country.—Done at Wexford, by the unanimous voice of the people, 14th of June, 1798. God save the people."

This is not the place to enter into the particulars of so painful a history as that of the Irish rebellion; nor would the subject have been introduced here at all, had it not afforded a striking proof of the benefits produced by the administration of the Duke of York. No small portion of the military service was made up of the natives of Ireland, many of whom, it may well be supposed, were warmly attached to their parental soil, and to the religion in which they were bred. But when the demagogues of rebellion called upon these soldiers to shake off the yoke of tyranny and oppression, the men, sensible that the charges alleged against the government were false, continued unmoved by the language of temptation, even though it was armed with priestly authority. It required, indeed, no remarkable sagacity to discover that the professions held out by the instigators of rebellion were mere contrivances, to cover purposes which the incendiaries did not dare openly to avow. The truth of this was made manifest at the termination of the disturbance, in the confessions of the principal leaders themselves, who all declared, upon oath, that Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform were only pretexts to impose upon the bigoted credulity of the people; and that the real object aimed at, was the subversion of the existing government, and the erection of Ireland into an independent republic.

But if the soldiery, at that momentous crisis, were so far on their guard, as to be proof against the delusions put in force to entrap them; the cause must be sought for, not in the strictness of discipline, or the severity of the executive power, but in that wisdom and benevolence which had provided the most effectual security for the nation, in the establishment of a gene-

ral system of well-organized economy through every department of the military service,—alike essential to the great purposes of the state, and the personal comfort of the humblest individuals employed in this complicated body of moral machinery.

Considering, therefore, the extraordinary and seasonable benefit rendered to the public by the judicious regulations which the Duke of York introduced for the management of the army, the University of Oxford, in a solemn convocation held on the 16th of June 1799, presented to his royal highness the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, by diploma.

CHAP. VII.

A. D. 1799.

Our attention must now be again directed to the operations on the continent. At this period, the affairs of Europe, by the absence of Buonaparte in Egypt, the defeat of the French fleet off the Nile, the successes of the Russians and Austrians in Italy, offered what the British ministry considered a fair opportunity of retrieving Holland from the subjugation to which it had been reduced, under the new denomination imposed upon it by the conquerors, of—the Batavian Republic.

As the entire suppression of the rebellion in Ireland now placed a great military force at the disposal of government, it was resolved to strike an immediate blow near at hand, while the allies were combating the French in other quarters. But an army of thirty thousand men being necessary for the object intended, application was made to the emperor Paul of Russia, who consented to furnish seventeen thousand five hundred and ninety-three troops, with a sufficient number of ships for their conveyance to the place of destination. While the preparations were making for the transportation of this force, the hereditary prince of Orange repaired to Lingen on the Ems, where he was joined by those

of his countrymen who espoused his cause, and were capable of bearing arms.

In England, at the beginning of summer, a camp was formed on Shirley common, near Southampton; for which place all the regiments of the line on duty in Ireland were embarked with the utmost despatch; and those that were ordered first for service had their full complement of men made up from skeleton regiments, the last being afterwards wholly recruited, many of them with additional battalions, by volunteers from the militia, agreeable to a recent act of parliament passed for the purpose.

All these preparations excited, of course, uncommon attention both at home and abroad; but for some time conjecture was perplexed, to divine the real object of the enterprize. When, however, at the latter end of June, the camp on Shirley common broke up, and the troops marched into Kent, where they pitched their tents on Barham downs, while transports were collecting at the neighbouring ports, there could be no longer any doubts on the subject, and the coast of Holland was with one voice pronounced to be the meditated scene for the display of English valour. Yet the French and Dutch governments seem to have been early apprized of the projected invasion; nor could it be well otherwise, since several agents and spies had been kept in constant employment passing backwards and forwards for some months, so that it was scarcely possible that the design could be long a secret. The enemy were, indeed, fully made acquainted with the object of the expedition as early as the month of June; when they immediately began to adopt active measures to counteract and defeat it. Their military force in the Netherlands was suddenly augmented by a forced

conscription; an army of observation was assembled along the coast of Flanders, from Dunkirk to Ostend; the fortifications on the island of Walcheren, and at the mouths of the Scheldt, were repaired and strengthened; while a French army began to be organized in Holland, under the command of General Brune.

On the part of the expedition, no time was to be lost; as the season was fast approaching when the best planned military operations were liable to be defeated by the elements alone. Government being aware of this, ordered the camp to break up on the 8th of August, and the troops collected there to march off for Margate, Ramsgate, Deal, and Dover, preparatory to their embarkation. The first division of these troops comprised the flower of the British army, consisting chiefly of old regiments whose conduct had been tried on former occasions, and who were inured to arduous enterprizes by actual service in various climates. It was determined that there should be two successive expeditions; the first commanded by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, having for his second Sir James Pulteney; and the other by the Duke of York.

On the 9th of August, the troops of the first division began to embark on board the transports and ships of war at the respective stations. These forces, consisting of about fifteen thousand men, were thus distributed:—First brigade, two battalions of Guards, under Major-general D'Oyley; second brigade, two battalions of Guards, under Major-general Burrard; third brigade, the 2d, 27th, 29th, 65th, and 85th regiments, under Major-general Coote; fourth brigade, 1st Royals, 25th, 49th, 75th, and 92d regiments, (the two last Highlanders,) under Major-general Moore. The reserve attached to the third brigade, were the

23d and 55th regiments, two troops of the 18th Light Dragoons, under Colonel Macdonald; and lastly, a detachment of the Flying Artillery, with the corps of Engineers.

On the morning of the 15th, the whole fleet, amounting to nearly two hundred sail, commanded by Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, in the Isis, got under weigh, and put to sea. The weather, which had been previously very tempestuous, now wore the appearance of being settled; the day was uncommonly fine, and the wind as fair as could be desired. Towards evening the several divisions of the fleet were united; and the whole armament, which nearly covered the straits of Dover, held a north-easterly course, with a pleasant breeze. During the night the squadron made a fast approach to the coast of Zealand; and on the following day, the weather having assumed a threatening aspect, the admiral hauled his wind, upon which all the ships wore, and steered a course north and by west.

On the 15th, the wind still blowing fresh, a junction was formed with the fleet under Lord Duncan, who did not, however, take the command from admiral Mitchel, as the latter had a special appointment for a particular service. From the 15th to the 20th, the weather continued very stormy, insomuch that many of the vessels sustained considerable damage, and the fleet was widely dispersed. However, on the evening of the latter day, the wind having somewhat abated, signals were made to collect the scattered ships, and on the next morning the headmost ones fell in with the coast of Holland, when the whole fleet lay off and on, all night.

Early on the 22d, the weather being moderate, the squadron came to an anchor, at the distance of five

miles from the Texel Roads. The signal was now given, and every preparation made for landing the troops; but towards evening, the wind again freshened, so that the fleet was compelled to weigh anchor, and put to sea for the night. Nothing could be more unfortunate than this disappointment; for though a descent on the coast of Holland had been judged, from the beginning of the armament, to be the object of the expedition, yet the particular part of the country was known only to the commanders-in-chief, by whom it was kept a profound secret, though the general belief was, that the coast of Zealand, either at the entrance of the Meuse or the Scheldt, was pitched upon, in the first instance, for the enterprise: and it must be owned, that there were many solid reasons for this preference.

In that part of the United Provinces, the friends of the stadtholder had concentrated their force, which was considerable and respectable. The adjacent parts of Brabant were in a state of insurrection, which held the French in check; and the inhabitants only waited for a fit opportunity to make a powerful division against their oppressors. Besides all this, there were commodious harbours for the shipping on that coast, from whence an easy intercourse could be kept up with England. Finally, in the event of a successful junction with the Orange party, the position occupied by the British army would have broken the connexion between the northern and southern provinces, and thus have secured a short and facile route to the capital. Such, there can be little doubt, was the original plan; but now unluckily it was altered, partly owing to the changeableness of the weather, but chiefly to some private information received by the admiral, that the

Dutch fleet in the Texel would be surrendered at the first summons. The latter consideration had such an effect, that an immediate descent on the coast of North Holland was resolved upon; and to that measure all the consequences, which ruined the military expedition, are to be ascribed.

When the British squadron first appeared off the Texel, the enemy had no suspicion of a descent, and were quite unprepared for opposition in that quarter. The recurrence of the storm which forced the fleet again to sea, was also a great misfortune; for had the weather proved favourable, and an immediate landing been effected, the whole province of North Holland, as well as the Dutch fleet, would probably have fallen an easy conquest.

On the two following days, after leaving the coast, the storm rather increased than abated, so that some of the transports were under the necessity of bearing away for England. By this time all the fresh provisions and vegetables in the fleet were consumed, and even water began to be scarce. Indeed, the general appearance of things was so unpromising, that serious apprehensions were entertained for the fate of the expedition; and the return of the armament began to be contemplated as a measure of absolute necessity.

However, on the 25th, hope revived, by the subsidence of the tempest; and on the ensuing morning, the whole fleet once more came to anchor off the northern extremity of the province of Holland. The most active exertions were now made to expedite the disembarkation; for which purpose the different vessels were thus arranged: the transports were stationed on the outside; nearest to them were the ships of the line; the frigates lay next; closer to the shore, and

withinside them, were the armed brigs, cutters, bomb-vessels, and gun-boats, to cover the landing.

At three in the morning of the 27th the signal was given, the troops having been previously furnished with sixty rounds of ball-cartridge, and two days' provisions in their haversacks; besides which, their canteens were filled with spirits and water. To effect a landing on a hostile coast, in the face of an enemy prepared to dispute every inch, is always hazardous; but in the present circumstances it was peculiarly difficult. The extremity of North Holland forms a narrow peninsula, the west side of which, where the landing took place, is washed by the German ocean; the northernmost, and whose angle forms the Helder Point, faces the Texel Island; and the channel between, called the Mars Diep, is the principal entrance into the Zuyder Zee. The Helder Point, which is a bold high beach, from whence several piers of unhewn stones project into the sea, was crowned by a strong battery called Kyckduyn, commanding the passage of the Texel Roads, but overlooked itself on the land side by the heights of Hueysden. From this point the coast stretches due south, presenting to the sea a flat beach, on which a heavy surf breaks even in the calmest weather; but when the wind blows hard, no boat can live in an attempt to reach the shore. Ascending from the strand, the land rises into sand-hills, formed into three ranges of unequal heights, the valleys between being narrow and winding; while the hills, intersected by ravines and defiles, break into abrupt ridges, forming so many natural redoubts. Between the sand-hills and the Zuyder Zee, the land extends into a marshy plain, divided by dikes and inundations. About seven miles from the Helder, the

road turns off at right angles with the sea coast, and passing in front of some farm houses, leads directly into the country.

It was directed, that all the launches which carried troops from the transports, should assemble under the sterns of such frigates as lay nearest to the landing place; and, according to this arrangement, the army was ordered to disembark in the following manner:—

Major-general Coote's brigade, with a detachment of the light artillery, were to effect a landing on the right of the whole, under the command of Sir James Pulteney. After this, the rest of the army, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was immediately to follow; Major-general D'Oyley's brigade taking its position on the right, Major-general Burrard's, occupying the centre, and that of Major-general Moore being posted on the left. This plan of operations, however, was not precisely executed, for the first boats that received the men from the transports, pushed directly for the beach, under a press of sail, without attending to the general orders; and the soldiers, on reaching the shore, jumped out, and instantly formed under cover of the flotilla, which kept up an incessant fire of shot and shells during the whole of the engagement that succeeded. Thus the body of troops, which attacked and defeated the enemy, was composed of the reserve, and of detached parties of different regiments, chiefly of the third brigade.

In the mean time, the enemy, who on the preceding evening had collected his forces at the village of Callants Oge, posted his infantry and riflemen on the sand-hills, while his cavalry and artillery remained on the plain behind. In this position he observed the landing with apparent indifference; but as soon as

the British marched from the strand, and began to ascend the heights, an advance ensued, and the action commenced.

The first object of contention was an eminence, on which was erected a telegraph or signal post, that proved afterwards of great use in directing the fire of the armed vessels and gun-boats. This point of defence, after a smart combat, was carried by the flank companies of the third brigade, in which the grenadiers of the 29th regiment displayed their gallantry and spirit in a remarkable manner, for, finding themselves encumbered with their knapsacks whilst charging the enemy through the heavy sand, they one and all threw away both them and their provisions.

About noon the engagement became general, and was warmly contested on both sides; but the inequalities of the ground did not allow of more than one battalion to be drawn up in line, so that the advanced parties of the British were supported and relieved by fresh detachments, who, as soon as they landed, marched up from the strand to the field of battle. The invading army had neither cavalry nor artillery; but these wants were remedied by the co-operation of the vessels, the terrible fire from which, kept the flanks from being turned by the enemy.

About five in the evening, the last ridge of the sand-hills was cleared of the foe, who retired further towards the plain; at which time the brigade of Guards, under General D'Oyley, marched along the strand with two field-pieces, which had been brought up by the sailors, to attack the enemy in his last position. The latter, now forming a close column, with some artillery in front, sustained the attack with firmness, and retired in good order to a position about

six miles distant, without being pursued by the British, for the want of cavalry.

Thus ended a desultory, but well-fought action, which was immediately followed by important consequences. The force collected to oppose the invaders was estimated at seven thousand, all Dutch, well appointed, and commanded by General Daendels, who had gained some reputation in the French service, to which he owed his commission, having been exiled from Holland before the revolution, on account of the inveteracy of his enmity to the stadtholderate. Considering all circumstances, therefore, the prompt and vigorous attack of the British was a measure of urgent necessity; for had the enemy been allowed time to assemble a larger army, and to take advantage of the rising ground, by planting cannon on some of the heights, the dislodging of them would have been attended with great difficulty and slaughter. The loss of the Dutch in this affair, according to their own report, amounted to eleven hundred men, one of whom was a colonel. The British loss, considering the small proportion of the army engaged, was also considerable, amounting to five hundred men.

The principal officers who fell were Lieutenant-colonel Smollet of the Guards, and Lieutenant-colonel Hay of the Engineers. The latter received a cannon shot which shattered his thigh; but he had the melancholy satisfaction of commending with his last breath a numerous family to the care of the commander-in-chief, and of dying with the consolatory reflection, that they would be provided for by the government.

The left wing, composed of Major-general Moore's brigade, and that of the Guards under General Burrard, was not engaged, being destined to attack the

batteries on the Helder. But the enemy saved the troops that trouble; for, on perceiving the event of the battle, the garrison, consisting of about three thousand men, spiked the guns, destroyed the carriages, and retired silently during the night. Detachments of the British then took possession of the batteries, and the next day the rest of the forces marched into the town of Helder, accompanied by several loyal Hollanders, who mounted the Orange cockade, displayed the ancient flag on the steeple, and cut down the tree of liberty in the square.

On the day after this achievement, the British soldiers were gratified by the landing of a reinforcement of five thousand men, from England, under the command of Major-general Donn, who had been prevented from reaching the coast sooner by the violence of the weather.

At this time, all the Dutch ships of war, then afloat in the Mars Diep, got under way, and retiring within the Zuyder Zee, came to an anchor under the protection of the Texel Island. Admiral Mitchell, however, having entered the Mars Diep with his whole fleet and two Russian ships, proceeded in pursuit of the enemy, previously despatching the Circe frigate, to take possession of the vessels that were laid up in the Nieuve Diep, with the arsenal and naval stores. This service succeeded completely, and thirteen ships of war, three Indiamen, and a sheer-hulk, were surrendered without the least opposition.

Meanwhile, a flag of truce came from the Dutch admiral Story with proposals, for the purpose of gaining time, under pretext of receiving instructions from the Batavian government. An answer was immediately returned, with positive orders not to alter the

position of the ships, and to submit within an hour, or to take the consequences.

The Dutch commander, finding his situation hopeless, and that his seamen were mutinous, yielded to necessity, and gave up the fleet, consisting of eight ships of the line, three frigates, and a sloop of war; all of which, with the stores, were afterwards sold for the benefit of the captors.

During these operations, the hereditary prince of Orange, having collected a small number of adherents in the eastern provinces, attempted a division on the frontiers of Overyssel, but without success; and his party being soon dispersed, he embarked at Emden, and reached the Texel just after the surrender of the Dutch fleet. Two proclamations were now issued to the inhabitants; the first from Sir Ralph Abercrombie, stating that the British army entered the country, not as enemies, but as friends; on which account the people were called upon to lay aside all party spirit, and to unite against their common oppressors.

The other proclamation was a temperate but energetic appeal from the Prince of Orange to his countrymen; offering to put himself at their head, for the re-establishment of their ancient rights and independence.

Neither of these addresses had any effect; nor could another, written shortly afterwards in a more peremptory manner by the prince, rouse the phlegmatic Dutchmen to a patriotic exertion, even though they had now a fair prospect of ridding themselves of the French republicans, who had already ruined their commerce, and were draining the country of its internal wealth.

For some days the British army remained stationary,

suffering severely from the inclemency of the weather, against which there was no other shelter than what could be obtained by digging trenches in the sand. The supply of provisions was also irregular, owing to the storms which frequently prevented any intercourse with the shipping. As these hardships, however, affected all alike, they were endured without murmuring. Whilst the troops occupied this position, they were employed in throwing up breast-works and redoubts at several points of defence; till the 1st of September, when they received orders to break up from this dreary spot, and proceed into the country. Accordingly the army advanced, and took up a position on the course of the Groote Sluys of the Zype, having Oude Sluys on the left flank, and the German ocean on the right. By this change a fertile tract of land was gained, which, though of small extent, was sufficient to subsist the troops, by furnishing an abundance of black cattle and sheep, besides horses and waggons, which were much wanted. The position was also a remarkably strong one, being defended by the great dike or embankment, running in front of the canal, and extending irregularly across the isthmus. All along this bank, small redoubts were erected, and cannon mounted upon them, so that the dike was not less adapted to stop the progress of an enemy, than of an inundation.

In this situation the army anxiously waited for the arrival of the second expedition; and, in the mean time, it occupied quarters which were comfortable, when compared with those on the sand-hills. The troops were cantoned in farm-houses, which formed excellent barracks, all the offices being contained under one roof: and these commodious dwellings were so numerous, and equally distributed, that the face

of the country had the appearance of a continued village.

The enemy not finding himself pursued, and being at this time reinforced by the advanced guard of the French army, began to recover from his panic, and to take up positions in front of the British lines. Nothing, however, occurred of a hostile nature, though the troops were often roused by false alarms, and that in the dead of the night, to keep them on the alert.

At length the commander-in-chief, having been apprised that a formidable attack was meditated against his right, made the necessary preparations to repel it. The Batavian government, by forcible exertions, had collected a number of Dutch troops from those called National Volunteer Guards, which were raised by the several districts throughout the United Provinces. These levies having been recently joined by a part of the promised succours from France, composed all together a body of about twelve thousand men.

On the morning of the 10th of September, at daybreak, the enemy were in motion, and commenced a general attack, dividing all their force into three columns: the right, composed wholly of Dutch troops, under the command of General Daendels, directed its operations against the British posts of Saint Martin and Enigenburg; the centre column, likewise Dutch, marched on against Krabendam and the Sleiper Dike; while the left, consisting entirely of French soldiers, under General Brune, advanced upon Camperdown, and the Dike near Potten. The position of the British, at the head of the dike of the Zype, was bravely defended by the 20th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Smyth, who was severely wounded. The enemy, however, though galled by a heavy fire, con-

tinued to advance with intrepidity, and his right column pushed on to St. Martin's, of which it obtained a temporary possession; but the centre not being able to penetrate the British lines, and the left column of the French having been checked in its career by our right, consisting of two brigades of Guards, the whole of this combined force was obliged to retreat before noon. After this, both armies resumed the positions they had previously occupied, the British being at Schagen, and the enemy near Alkmaar. The latter lost on this occasion near one thousand men in killed and wounded, including a general, who was slain. The loss of the British amounted to about two hundred killed, wounded, and missing.

Although no ground was gained by the victory, it had the effect of intimidating the foe from trying any more offensive operations, so that the invaders remained for some time in perfect security and repose, ardently expecting the time when augmented strength should enable them to enter upon a wider field of action.

Great, therefore, was the general joy, when the Duke of York arrived at the Helder, on the 13th of September, in the Amethyst frigate, after a passage of four days, from Deal. His royal highness brought with him three brigades of troops, viz. the 5th foot two battalions, 35th two battalions, under the command of Prince William of Gloucester; the 4th foot three battalions, 31st regiment, Major-general the Earl of Chatham; 9th foot three battalions, Major-general Manners; 7th Light Dragoons, and artillery. The 11th Light Dragoons had landed some time before. The satisfaction produced by this supply received a con-

siderable addition by the disembarkation, at the same time, of eight battalions of Russians, amounting to eight thousand men, under the command of General D'Hermann.

These forces had arrived from Revel the preceding day, and were speedily followed by the rest of the division, consisting of three thousand men. Another division, from Yarmouth, soon after joined the allied army, making altogether the Russian auxiliary troops seventeen or eighteen thousand effective men. The only cavalry among them consisted of one troop of hussars, and two or three troops of cossacks. The former was a part of the gardes-du-corps of the emperor, and composed of picked men of the largest dimensions, and superbly appointed. The cossacks were of a more slender make, but had better countenances than the Russians. They were mounted on small ambling horses, with long tails and manes; but notwithstanding their indifferent appearance, the animals were swift, sure-footed, and tractable. The riders were armed with carbines, scymetars, pistols, and spears of a great length.

Prior to the arrival of the Duke of York, the British army had been established in an advanced position in the country. The 69th regiment was encamped outside the Helder, where it remained as a rear-guard during the campaign. A body of marines did duty on the Texel island, that of Warengen, and at the arsenal of the Nieuve Diep. The hereditary prince of Orange, who had landed at the Helder a few days before the Duke of York, was employed in forming into regiments a number of Dutch loyalists, volunteers from the fleet and deserters from the enemy.

As soon as the reinforcements landed, they were

distributed along the lines, which therefore became greatly extended. Major-general Moore's brigade took an advanced position on the left, at Colhorn; while the Russians formed the right wing of the allied army, by relieving the Guards, who were posted at Petten; and the Duke of York, who was declared in public orders, captain-general and commander-in-chief of all the allied forces, fixed his head-quarters at Schagenburg, a village on the canal of the Zype. During these movements, Admiral Mitchel was busy in making preparations to co-operate with the army; while a flotilla of gun-vessels, under the direction of Sir Home Popham, was assembled, to act on the inland navigation as on the coast, according to circumstances.

The same motive which induced General Brune to attack Sir Ralph Abercrombie before the arrival of the auxiliary troops, now determined the British commander-in-chief to anticipate the French and Dutch reinforcements, which were hourly expected from the Lower Rhine and the Netherlands. The first measure adopted was to detach General Abercrombie with seven thousand men against Hoorn, which city, having been always well inclined to the house of Orange, immediately threw open its gates, and received the British troops with acclamations of joy.

Meanwhile the most active exertions were making for the general attack; and upon Thursday, September the 19th, at an hour before daybreak, the allied army was in motion, consisting of thirty thousand men, all in high health and spirits, well appointed, and furnished with a fine train of artillery.

The first column on the right, composed principally of Russians, under General D'Hermann, was destined to attack the left wing of the enemy, consisting wholly

of French, commanded by General Vandamme, to force his position of the heights of Camperdown, and to take possession of Bergen.

The second column, under General Dundas, was intended to co-operate with the first, by carrying the enemy's posts at Warmanhuysen on the plain, and Schoreldam, near the sand-hills.

The object of the third column, under Sir James Pulteney, was to get possession of Oude Carspel, at the head of the long dike leading to Alkmaar. This post covered the enemy's right wing, which occupied the plain in front of Alkmaar, and was entirely composed of Dutch troops, under General Daendels. The fourth column, commanded by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, as already observed, was on a detached service. The obstacles which presented themselves on every side, to obstruct the advance of an army in such a country, cannot easily be conceived. The sand-hills begin to rise abruptly from the flats immediately behind the town of Campe, and stretch considerably in breadth, in a south-easterly direction, towards Alkmaar. The plain beneath is intersected by several canals, which have no communication with each other. Between these lay numerous villages, which were easily converted into strong points of defence by mounting a few cannon on the top of the dikes, with troops posted behind them. On the first ridge of sand-hills, and in the fortified villages, the left wing of the enemy was posted and intrenched; while his right occupied the plain covered by the redoubts of Oude Carspel. The bridges across the few passes that led to these places were destroyed, and abbatis laid at different distances. At half-past three in the morning, the first attack was made by the Russian column, under General

D'Hermann in person, and with such vigour that the enemy gave way at the first onset. In vain did he attempt to avail himself of the natural strength of the ground, by rallying his scattered troops behind the eminences; for the intrepid assailants pressed so close as not to allow him a moment's pause, still destroying or making prisoners of his rear. Thus the pursued and pursuers poured along the open downs and hills, until they arrived at the wooded tract of country which surrounds the town of Bergen. Here the access was easy, but the evacuation difficult. The Russians, flushed with success, entered the place sword in hand; but finding no enemy there, they relaxed their efforts, lost all discipline, and gave themselves up to pillage. The French, seeing this disorder, seized the opportunity which it afforded; and being supported by fresh troops from Alkmaar, attacked the Russians at different points with the greatest impetuosity. The latter, who had supposed their victory complete, were totally disconcerted at this unexpected renewal of the combat. Their forces were divided; some battalions were too far advanced among the woods, the skirts of which they had not taken the precaution to guard, and others were too far retired; but the main body was busied in filling the ruined church of Bergen with their spoils. Thus, notwithstanding the exertions of the officers, and the natural courage of the men, the first and second in command having unfortunately been made prisoners, the Russians were obliged to retreat to Schorel.

Meanwhile the second column, under General Dundas, commenced an attack at daylight on the village of Warmanhuysen, which was strongly fortified. Three battalions of Russians, led by General Sedmoratsky,

gallantly stormed the place on its left flank, while it was entered on the right by the first regiment of British Guards. After this success, the greater part of the column marched to Schorel, the rest being detached to keep up the communication with the forces under Sir James Pulteney.

The Russians, who had been obliged to retreat from Bergen, were compelled also to quit Schorel; but at this critical moment, the place was attacked and retaken by General Manners's brigade, which being immediately reinforced by two battalions of Russians, and the 35th regiment, under the command of Prince William of Gloucester, renewed the action, till, exhausted by fatigue, the whole corps retired upon Petten and Zyper Sluys.

In the mean time, that part of the second column which had taken Warmanhuysen, having been joined by the first battalion of the 5th regiment, advanced upon Schoreldam, which position they maintained, under a galling fire, till the fate of the right wing rendered it no longer tenable.

During these operations, the centre, or third column, under Sir James Pulteney, proceeded to attack the enemy's right wing at Oude Carspel, a strong village extending three or four miles to the suburbs of Alkmaar, and surrounded by canals, fortified with redoubts, and batteries full of cannon. The third brigade was destined to attack on the right flank, while the remainder of the corps stormed on the centre and left. It was stopped, however, in its advance by a broad canal, which ran in front of the works, and the bridge was destroyed. The brigade, therefore, had the mortification to witness the gallantry of their comrades, without being able to share in the danger.

Notwithstanding this, the two battalions of the 40th regiment, under Colonel Spencer, supported by the two battalions of the 17th, having discovered an approach on the left, immediately prepared to storm it. This intrepid corps was received by a terrible discharge of small arms, grape, round shot, and shells. From this destructive tempest, it took a momentary shelter behind an angular embankment, upon which the enemy, supposing that the British had retreated, sallied out in pursuit; but he was soon compelled to face about, and was so closely followed, that the 40th regiment entered the lines with the fugitives at the point of the bayonet, just as part of the third brigade found means to enter on the other side, by crossing the canal in canoes. Upon this the enemy abandoned their works, and retreated in confusion, taking the road to Alkmaar.

Brilliant as this achievement was, it was dearly bought, the two battalions of the 40th losing upwards of one hundred and fifty men, including eleven officers. Though it put the third column in possession of an important post, and of the batteries and guns of the enemy; Sir James Pulteney deemed it expedient, in consequence of the disaster on the right, to abandon the place the same night; and the troops, after a harassing march, during which they were lighted by the fire of the burning villages, arrived, at an early hour in the morning, at the respective stations occupied by them before the battle.

For the same reason, it became necessary to recall the fourth column, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, from Hoorn; and thus the whole army resumed its former position.

Such was the termination of the battle of Bergen,

previous to which the enemy had made uncommon exertions to augment his means, and to strengthen the whole line of his defence. The actual number brought into the field has not been exactly ascertained; but the lowest estimation at which it can be taken, is twenty-eight thousand, of which the majority were French. Opposed to this force, the allies had little more than twenty thousand; since about fifteen thousand were not principally engaged, though they contributed, by their operations, to the general object.

It was allowed by all competent and impartial judges, that the plan of operations, and the disposition of the force employed, were conceived and arranged by the commander-in-chief with considerable ability; and the truth was obvious, from the circumstances and result of the action. The execution of the three grand movements was completely successful, and that of the fourth on the right was equally so, as far as depended on the exertions of the British troops. The failure on that side, which rendered nugatory all the other advantages, was owing to the impetuosity, and not to the want of courage, of the Russian soldiers.

The loss of the enemy in this affair amounted to three thousand men and sixty officers, who were made prisoners; besides which, there was every reason to believe that the killed and wounded did not fall much short of that number. Sixteen pieces of cannon were also taken; but as they could not be brought away, they were destroyed.

The allied army likewise suffered severely; the loss of the British being nearly fifteen hundred, and that of the Russians double the number. The latter lost almost the whole of their field artillery, consisting of twenty pieces of cannon. The Russian general

Tchertchekoff, the second in command, who with General D'Hermann fell into the hands of the enemy, died on the following day of his wounds.

The unfortunate result of this battle, after so promising a beginning, excited no little emotion, and produced a variety of opinions, according to the bias of men's minds. The Russian general D'Essen, in a letter written from head-quarters to his Imperial master, endeavoured to throw the odium of the disaster upon the British government, by saying, that the soldiers were both in want of necessaries, and hurried into action immediately after coming off from a long voyage.

But these complaints, if founded in truth, might have been made by the British troops with more reason, particularly those who had but just arrived from England. The same general, however, acknowledged that the Russians stood in need of artillery, horses, and many other necessary articles; which neglect could not be imputed to the British administration. In fine, D'Essen seems to have been in a state of fright when he drew up this contradictory apology; for at the close of it he threw out a general reflection upon the whole mass of Russian soldiery, by observing, that "their retreat began in confusion." The effect of this letter upon the capricious mind of the emperor was as might have been expected,—his rage knew no bounds; and in his fits he abused his own subjects and those of his ally.

But while the Russians were striving to justify themselves, and the discontented English were willing to discover errors in their own government, the French published a pompous account of the action, in which the allies were treated with the utmost contempt, and

all the merit of generalship was claimed for Brune and his coadjutors. This laboured and very inaccurate narrative was translated into English, and printed with remarks equally partial and unjust. It was asked in a tone of triumph, by these hypercritics, why General Abercrombie, with so large a force as seven thousand men, was detached upon an extended line of operation on the left, without the possibility of the disaster on the right being foreseen, and its effects provided against?

As the heap of impertinent censure fabricated by idle men turns upon these points, a few plain observations will suffice to shew the fallacy of the whole. In the first place, to begin with the cause of the reverse that took place. The Russians were led by their two chief commanders; and therefore it would have been little short of prophetic intuition to imagine, under such circumstances, a confusion and defeat after a victory. Had these troops preserved any thing like order, the flying enemy would neither have rallied, nor been supported by fresh supplies. The disaster which ensued, and gave the French an advantage, was merely fortuitous, and such as no sagacity could have anticipated. On the other point, it will only be requisite to state the immediate advantages proposed to be obtained by this attack. These were, the possession of Hoorn, the establishment of the allied army in a more advanced position, and the acquisition of a wider territory for its support.

The peninsula of North Holland suddenly enlarges itself from the narrow slip of land at its northern extremity, projecting into the Zuyder Zee at Enkhuysen, from whence to Camperdown on the opposite side it extends in breadth about thirty-six miles, and then

abruptly contracts again towards Hoorn; so that at Shaerdam, which is only two miles from that city, the isthmus is not more than sixteen miles across from sea to sea. This then appears to have been the most eligible, as well as the most secure, position for an invading army. Besides, at Shaerdam all the transverse canals unite, and have one common outlet into the sea. This, therefore, was a situation affording effectual protection to the troops, by broad canals in front, with high dikes or embankments of great solidity running in parallel directions across the country. In addition to all this, the wings of the army would have been covered by the two seas, and its centre by a town strongly fortified; while a fine and productive country in the rear yielded ample supplies. To co-operate with the movements of the army, Admiral Mitchel fitted out a small squadron of bomb-vessels and armed brigs, calculated for shoal water, with which he proceeded against the towns on the Zuyder Zee; and with such success, that the Orange flag was hoisted every where, and a counter-revolutionary spirit manifested, though with what sincerity it was not easy to determine.

From the landing of the Duke of York at the Helder to the end of the month, several partial reinforcements of troops arrived, and joined the army. These belonged to the different divisions, and had either been compelled to put back, or were driven into some neutral port during a stormy passage. With these came six thousand Russians, and that very seasonably, to reinstate the loss which had been sustained on the 19th. By these additions, the effective numerical strength of the allied army amounted, at this time, to about forty thousand men. Towards the latter

end of this month, the most active preparations were made from the right to the left of the line. Pontoons were constructed, and waggons and horses collected, all indicative of a speedy movement forward for another general battle. But hitherto the weather was very unfavourable; the storms were violent, and the rain incessant; so that the roads became impassable, and the fields might be easier navigated than marched through. The enemy taking advantage of this seasonable aid of the elements, strengthened all his advanced posts by erecting additional works, and he also received, in the mean time, fresh supplies of forces.

At length, on the 29th of September, the weather, to appearance, having become more settled, the whole army got under arms; and at the dawn of day, the several brigades were in motion; but on the right the tide rose so high, with a tremendous surf, that there was no possibility of marching along the beach; and the roads were so completely inundated, that the troops were frequently up to the knees. As, therefore, nothing could be effected on this day, the brigades returned to their respective stations.

On the 1st of October, the rains having ceased, and the roads become more passable, a change of position took place along the whole line, preparatory to a general action. All the brigades on the left marched to the right, while those on the right inclined to the centre. Every arrangement having been made, on the following morning at half-past six, the right wing was in motion. The disposition of the combined British and Russian forces was now materially different from that of the 19th of September. On the present occasion, the right and left wings were composed entirely of British troops, whilst the Russians formed the

centre. The enemy, however, defended the same ground, and nearly in the same manner, as at the battle of Bergen. His left, composed of French troops, occupied the sand-hills overlooking both the plain, and the villages of Campe, Groete, Schorel, as far as Bergen; besides which, the advanced post of Schoreldam, at the head of the dike, was strongly fortified. The Dutch troops were on the right, and chiefly concentrated at Lang Dike and Oude Carspel, which points of defence had been also much improved by additional works. The British and Russian movements were conducted in four columns. That on the right, commanded by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was to march along the tract towards Egmont-op-Zee, in order to turn the enemy's left flank.

The second column, composed wholly of Russians, under General D'Essen, marched by the Sleiper Dike to Camperdown, and then defiled off at the foot of the sand-hills towards Bergen. A detachment of this column, commanded by General Sedmoratzky, proceeded from the Zuyper Sluys to co-operate with the British in the attack upon Schoreldam; and then to proceed to Bergen. In aid of these troops, seven gunboats moved along the Alkmaar canal, under the direction of Sir Home Popham.

The third column, commanded by General Dundas, after seconding the operations of the Russians, was to penetrate in the midst of the sand-hills; and to support the efforts of Sir Ralph Abercrombie's corps on the right, in driving the enemy from his last position.

The fourth column, commanded by Sir James Pulteney, was stationed on the left of the whole, opposed to the enemy's right, in order to take all advantages of the turns of the day, either by attacking with effect, or of sustaining the other columns.

At half-past six, the right column marched out of Petten, and proceeded along the Sea Dike. Its advanced guard, being Colonel Macdonald's reserve, immediately attacked and carried a redoubt in front of the village of Campe, from whence the enemy were driven, as well as from the heights above. The main body of the first column was conducted at the same time, by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, along the strand, towards Egmont-op-Zee. The road leading to the sand-hills being thus cleared on the right, the centre columns began to move. The Russians advanced and drew up on the plain, and proceeded to attack the enemy's lines in front of Schorel; but General Dundas, having detached a part of the third column to support the Russians, marched on with the remainder, and ascending the sand-hills at the town of Campe, immediately attacked the enemy, who were posted on the heights. The latter did not long stand the conflict, but retreated precipitately over a wide range of hills; and in the pursuit, the regiments composing this brigade, namely, the Queen's, the 27th, 29th, and 85th, became unavoidably separated.

While General Coote's brigade and Colonel Macdonald's reserve were thus pushing one division, the enemy maintained the contest in great force between Schorel and Schoreldam, from whence and the dike he kept up a heavy cannonade. At length, about noon, he was driven from this position by the Russian column, supported by the gun-boats on the canal, and by General Burrard's brigade, which last took possession of Schoreldam.

The Duke of York, perceiving that the troops on the sand-hills were unequally engaged, and needed support, as the enemy, in retreating towards Bergen,

frequently rallied, and received fresh succours, immediately ordered the Earl of Chatham to advance from the plain, and ascend the heights.

This movement was promptly executed, and the brigade arrived critically to the support of the 85th regiment; after which, by extending its line, it was enabled to outflank the enemy, who was thus driven from the left range of hills, and forced to take shelter in the woods, where he again rallied, and attempted to regain his position on the heights, by a particular pass which led between them. This pass was defended by the 85th, and, notwithstanding the reiterated attempts to force it, that gallant corps maintained the position during the rest of the day. The 27th regiment was attacked in a similar manner; but the reception which the enemy met with proved so warm, that, after experiencing one repulse, no further attack was made. It was now three in the afternoon, when the third column possessed the ranges of sand-hills quite across, from the wood of Bergen to the sea-shore, where it joined the reserve of Colonel Macdonald.

In the mean time, the enemy having rallied at Bergen, appeared again in strength, occupying a long ridge which stretched, right and left, across a sandy plain. As it was necessary to dislodge this force, a general charge was ordered, in which the 29th regiment took the lead, and was followed up by the whole line with such vigour, that though opposed by a terrible discharge of musketry, cannon, and howitzers, the position was carried, and the enemy fled.

Whilst these conflicts were going on near Bergen, the first column, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, proceeded along the strand to a short distance from

Egmont-op-Zee. Here on the hills, which rise very high, the enemy had posted his select infantry, while a strong body of cavalry and artillery stood drawn up on the beach, obviously determined to make a resistance.

Notwithstanding this formidable appearance, General Moore's brigade charged the enemy's strongest position, and were received with equal firmness, so that a most sanguinary contest was carried on till the close of the day. On this occasion the 92d regiment particularly distinguished itself; and its gallant colonel, the Marquis of Huntley, was struck with a rifle-shot in the shoulder, while animating his men to the charge. General Moore also received a musket-shot in the thigh; which, however, did not prevent him from continuing his exertions, till a second ball, in the face, compelled him to quit the field.

But it was chiefly to the example and orders of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, that the brave column owed the success which crowned its efforts. That veteran officer exposed his person every where, amidst showers of bullets; and though two horses were shot under him, he appeared cool, steady, and insensible to danger.

Notwithstanding the dusk of evening had now begun to darken the earth, the enemy resolved to make another desperate struggle. Accordingly, his chasseurs advanced with spirit in the face of the British column, and charged the artillery with such impetuosity, as to carry off in triumph two of the guns. But this success was momentary; for some squadrons of the 7th and 11th Light Dragoons, headed by Lord Paget, suddenly issued out from a recess between the sand-hills, and charged the French so furiously, that only a few escaped, leaving the cannon behind them.

About sun-set the reserve joined the first column, upon which the enemy abandoned the ground, and retired towards Beverwyck. During these successful operations, the column stationed on the left, under Sir James Pulteney, though not engaged, kept the right of the enemy in awe, and prevented any detachments from being sent to the support of the left, which stood in the utmost need of it.

Although the action was in effect decided before dark, it was not till break of day the next morning, that the enemy withdrew all his troops, and retreated towards Alkmaar.

The force which the French and Dutch brought into action in this affair, amounted to about five-and-twenty thousand men, and their loss was supposed to be at least three thousand. Seven pieces of cannon and three hundred prisoners were taken.

On the part of the allies, the principal loss was with the English, and consisted of near sixteen hundred in killed and wounded, among whom were ninety-two officers. The Russians sustained a loss of six hundred, and one of their generals was wounded.

In this engagement, the judicious disposition of the combined force, made by the special direction of the Duke of York, appeared conspicuous, and attracted general admiration. By placing British troops on the right, and directing the most vigorous efforts against the left, composed wholly of the French, the right of the enemy was uncovered; so that the Dutch, who composed that wing, were obliged to give way, and retreat during the night upon Purmerend.

On the night after the action, the combined British and Russian army occupied the field of battle; but the next morning the whole advanced, and took pos-

session of the places which had been abandoned by the enemy; namely, Oude Carspel, Bergen, Alkmaar, Egmont-op-te Hoof, and Egmont-op-Zee.

Thus terminated the battle of Alkmaar, which proved more decisive than could have been expected, from the obstinacy and numbers of the enemy, who now retired upon his last position in North Holland, the pass of Beverwyck; and thus left the whole peninsula in the hands of the victors.

In addition to the preceding account, which, being official, is rather dry, it may be proper here to state, that the French, although in possession of the hill of Camperdown, an elevation of more than three hundred feet, made no resistance to the first attack of the British, but merely fired a gun, and retired skirmishing. When the advanced brigades gained possession of the sand-hills, the main column proceeded forward in the same order; but it was occasionally obliged, after the termination of the dike, to reduce its front, on account of the narrowing of the beach, as the tide had not subsided; so that the right flank of the cavalry was continually in the water. Notwithstanding these inconveniences, the column went on without interruption six or seven miles, but much harassed and fatigued in consequence of the heaviness of the soil, which yielded every step up to the ancle. At length the French, having lined some high hills with a body of tiralleurs, or riflemen, began to keep up a very smart fire upon the British; and being in a short time considerably reinforced, they galled our troops from almost every eminence and outlet. In spite, however, of the tediousness of the march, and this formidable resistance, our forces advanced with their characteristic ardour and persever-

ance; and though perfectly ignorant of the system of sharp-shooting, and annoyed on all sides by destructive weapons; though every moment deprived of some of their officers, who were wounded; and although they were themselves neither equipped for light service, nor had the advantage of a particular corps for that purpose; the troops fought their way forward for four miles, under all these unfavourable circumstances.

To have an idea of the sand-hills, the reader must conceive in his mind the unequal billows of a tempestuous sea. A very loose light sand forms the soil; and the hills, by frequently running in parallel lines, afforded most excellent positions for the enemy. It was, in fact, a country, of all others the most favourable to the French mode of making war; and gave them decided advantages over an invading army. Our system, on the contrary, and favourite weapon, were now of little use. The movement of solid lines, and the imposing aspect of a charge of bayonets, could not be injurious to troops scattered over an immense surface, and frequently acting in small detached bodies, which alternately occupied and abandoned the eminences, and were always protected by the long and mischievous shots of lurking riflemen. The principle of the latter was only to fire, hide, or run, as self-preservation, assisted by skill and experience, dictated.

To profit by disaster, and learn lessons from an enemy, may be said to constitute one of the first qualities of a general. In this respect, the royal commander of the combined army was not deficient. Observing the superiority of the French system, and feeling for the loss which it produced in his ranks, he resolved to introduce, when occasion offered, the rifle

practice into the British service. This establishment accordingly took place immediately after the conclusion of the present expedition, and selections from different regiments being made by the officers of the second brigade of the Royals, the new Rifle corps was placed under Colonel Coote Manningham of the 41st, as the chief, and Colonel Stewart of the 67th regiment, as the second in command.

But to return to the state of the army in North Holland. General Moore's brigade having suffered prodigiously, both in men and officers, regiments from the main column were continually sent to its support, which measure became indispensable, as the forces of the enemy increased every moment. Only the 92d regiment and some of the Guards remained with the cavalry and artillery on the beach, where they suffered very much by a galling fire from the hills, and at the same time a strong body of the French appeared on the heights above Bergen.

This was a most critical moment; for the British on the sand-hills were exhausted by fatigue, and were every minute weakened in numbers. In attempting to storm the position of the enemy, they were driven back; notwithstanding which, their natural intrepidity seemed to rise in proportion as the resistance they met with became formidable and destructive. They accordingly renewed the attack with unabated fury; and although their ranks were thinned by the incessant fire of the French, no symptoms of fear or disorder appeared among them.

At this critical juncture, when the 79th had nearly lost all its men without making any visible impression on the enemy, the remainder of the column received orders to charge, when the whole pushed up

the heights with undaunted vigour; and rushing through a most tremendous fire, drove the foe from their position. Our guns had necessarily been advanced to check the French artillery, and two troops of the 15th Light Dragoons were detached to guard the cannon. Lord Paget, who commanded the cavalry, ordered them to lie concealed in the first gap of the sand-hills, in order to take the enemy by surprise, should any attempt be made to seize the guns. Vandamme, the French general, imagining that our artillery was unprotected, determined to take them, and retrieve the day, by getting in the rear of our right; accordingly, five hundred cavalry were ordered to charge our cannon, of which they soon gained possession; but whilst engaged with the artillery men, two troops of the 15th rushed into the thickest of the enemy, who left the guns, and fled in all directions.

Ashamed, however, of being defeated by a handful of men, the French rallied, and advanced again; but when they came up within forty yards, the third troop of the 15th arrived, and drove them off completely. The British cavalry remained all night on the beach, the head of their column forming a line with the infantry on the sand-hills; but neither horses nor men could get any water; and the next morning the troops were so worn out, that it was determined not to advance till they had been refreshed. Owing to the badness of the roads, however, they had to wait in anxious expectation of bread and liquor, till four in the afternoon.

At this moment, a report came, that the French were quitting Egmont-op-Zee. Not a moment was to be lost; the troops were under arms immediately, and marched forwards without expressing a murmur

of discontent, leaving their provisions on the beach. It was thought that there would have been a battery to attack and carry; but the French had retired altogether from Egmont, and not one was to be seen in a pursuit of three miles. After the posts in front had been occupied, the infantry went into cantonments, consisting of barns and huts; but the cavalry lay all night on the beach, and were again without water.

Incredible as it may seem, the horses were fifty, and some of them sixty hours without hay or drink. The whole army, indeed, suffered as much almost as human nature could endure, but victory crowned their exertions, and success invigorated their courage.

The Duke of York, in his official despatch to government, bore this handsome testimony to the merits of the troops which he commanded:—"Under Divine Providence, this signal victory obtained over the enemy, is to be attributed to the animating and persevering exertions which have at all times been the characteristics of the British soldier; and which on no occasion were ever more eminently displayed: nor has it often fallen to the lot of any general to have such just cause of acknowledgment for the distinguished support he that day experienced from the officers under his command."

On the British troops approaching Alkmaar, the gates were thrown open, the Orange flag was hoisted, and the bells were rung. Stores, forage, and provisions, in abundance, were also found; and a general change in the municipal government took place.

With this progress by land, the flotilla fitted out by Admiral Mitchel kept equal pace. A small squadron, under the command of Captain Bolton, of the Wolverine, proceeded against the town of Lemmer, the

garrison of which made some shew of resistance, but without effect, and possession was immediately taken by a party of two hundred seamen, who were attacked the next morning on all sides by very superior numbers. The enemy, however, was vigorously repulsed with considerable loss; while the British had neither a man killed or wounded. After these successes, the flotilla coasted onwards to the mouth of the Pampus, leading to the inlet called the Wye, or Y, where it captured four gun-boats, destined for the defence of Amsterdam.

The enemy now concentrated all his forces, apparently with the determination to risk another general engagement, for the preservation of his strong position near Beverwyck, situated at the head of the Wye, which divides North from South Holland. This estuary communicates with the Lake of Haerlem, a few miles to the west of Amsterdam, by works of such a stupendous construction, that all the waters of the Zuyder Zee may be poured down on the southern provinces. It was, therefore, the interest of the allied forces to follow up their successes by another vigorous attack on the enemy, without allowing him to profit by the strong passes and advantages of Beverwyck.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 6th of October, the advanced posts of the combined army pushed forward, preparatory to a general movement, and took possession of several villages and sand-hills in front of Beverwyck. At length the Russian column, under General D'Essen, in attempting to gain the heights near the post of Baccum, was firmly opposed and attacked by a strong body of the enemy's troops. Upon this, the British column on the right, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, marched to the support of the

Russians; and the enemy, at the same time, bringing up fresh forces, the action, though not intended to have been fought on that day, became general along the whole line, and was contested with fury on both sides.

About two in the afternoon, the French cavalry, led on by General Brune, attacked the advanced British and Russian lines with such impetuosity, that the right and centre began to give way, and retire upon the villages of Egmont. There, however, the allied columns made a determined stand, and vigorously repulsed the enemy. Meanwhile the brigade of General Coote had marched out of Bergen, and passing by Alkmaar, took up a position at Lemmen, which it maintained the whole day, and kept the enemy effectually in check on that side.

Though the evening set in with a deluge of rain, the engagement continued with variable success, but unabating obstinacy. Even the increasing darkness, combined with the tempestuous weather, did not terminate the conflict. The fire of the musketry was incessant, and became quite vivid, running along the undulating line of the hills, and extending into the plain, in different directions, whilst the murky atmosphere was occasionally illuminated by flashes of artillery and the light of exploding shells. At length about ten o'clock the firing ceased, and the enemy abandoned the field. The British and Russian troops lay on their arms all night, occupying the ground where the action terminated, a little to the south of the villages of Egmont; the enemy falling back upon his positions at Beverwyck.

In this battle many brave and valuable men were killed or wounded. Major-general Hutchinson received a rifle-ball in his thigh; Colonel Bainbridge

of the 20th, and Colonel Dickson of the 4th, fell during the action; and Colonel Maitland of the Guards, and Major Campbell of the 20th, died afterwards of their wounds.

The regiments that suffered most, were the third battalion of the 1st Guards, the three battalions of the 4th foot, the two battalions of the 20th, and the 31st and 63d regiments. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to upwards of fourteen hundred, including seventy officers. That of the Russians was between eleven and twelve hundred.

Five hundred prisoners, mostly Dutch, were taken; but of the actual loss sustained by the enemy, no estimate could be formed, that being a point upon which the French always observed a profound secrecy.

The allied army was now placed in circumstances that required uncommon talents and fortitude. Directly opposed to it, lay a vigilant and powerful enemy, in a position almost impregnable, and strengthened by the accession of six thousand fresh troops, who were well sheltered and supplied with necessaries. The British and Russians, on the contrary, were far from their resources, and lay exposed in an inhospitable, naked, and exhausted country. Under these circumstances, prudence dictated a retreat; and this measure was accordingly resolved upon by his royal highness the commander-in-chief, after a consultation with Sir Ralph Abercrombie and the lieutenant-generals of the army.

On the morning after the battle, all the men were busily employed in preparing some kind of shelter against the weather; but about seven o'clock in the evening an order was issued for the troops to fall in, and the different brigades to form immediately. It

was dismally dark, and the rain fell in torrents. In this situation the arrangements were at length effected, but in great confusion, and about ten o'clock the whole army was in full retreat, the right wing proceeding towards Petten along the sea shore, and the rest by Alkmaar. Fires had been previously kindled on the heights, to deceive the enemy; and upon the whole, the retreat was conducted with more order than could well have been expected. The intense darkness was still accompanied by deluges of rain; so that the whole country was a quagmire; and the firmest footing lay in the pools of water.

Notwithstanding these dangers and difficulties, the greater part of the troops arrived safely at their old quarters near the Zype, on the evening of the 8th; and those who had been kept back by fatigue, or other circumstances, came in on the following day. The medium length of this harassing march, was about thirty miles. As soon as the enemy discovered that the allied army had retrograded, some regiments of French chasseurs were despatched to observe its motions. These cavalry shewed themselves within cannon-shot of the British advanced posts, and were enabled to make some prisoners, among whom were about three hundred women, who were sent to Amsterdam; but, after being kept there three days, obtained permission to return; and the children amongst them were both tenderly used, and presented with new clothes.

On the 9th of October, the combined British and Russians occupied all their old posts; and the enemy at the same time fixed his head-quarters at Alkmaar; from whence, on the following day, he commenced offensive operations by an attack upon Winckel and

Drixhorn. The former post was defended with great spirit by Prince William of Gloucester, at the head of the 30th regiment; which, however, after some execution, was obliged to retire. In consequence of the loss of this post, it became expedient to inundate part of the country to the left of Schagen.

As, however, every thing indicated the speedy approach of a rigorous winter; and it was impossible that an invading army could be maintained until spring, in an impoverished country, and opposed by a superior force, furnished with all the requisites for active operations; it was determined to withdraw the combined troops from North Holland, and to return to England as expeditiously as possible.

To carry this resolution into effect, two expedients only were to be considered. Either to lay the whole country under water, or to negociate an armistice with the enemy. The former measure was thoroughly practicable; but as it would have plunged the unoffending inhabitants in utter ruin, and was repugnant to the feelings of the commander-in-chief, he rejected the idea, and chose to send a conciliatory message to the French general Brune. The overture was so favourably received, that General Knox went to Alkmaar on the 15th, as the bearer of the following Proposals:—

By virtue of the authority, and in obedience to the order, of his royal highness the Duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russan army, Major-general Knox will have the honour of communicating with General Brune, commander-in-chief of the French and Batavian army, and of stating to him, That in consequence of the difficulties arising from the very unfavourable and unusual state of the weather at this season, we have judged it expedient to reoccupy the position of the Zype.

That in this situation, with cantonments amply adequate to the amount of our forces, having an uninterrupted and certain means of keeping up our communication with England, and masters as we are of the Helder, the Texel, the Zuyder Zee, and the ocean, it depends upon us either to await the period when a favourable change of weather and of circumstances may enable us to renew offensive operations, or to withdraw our army by degrees, and without risk, from this country; retaining possession of such detached points as might be judged most favourable for annoying the enemy, or for securing real advantage to ourselves.

In the event of our recurring to this last-mentioned measure, it will become our duty to neglect no means which can contribute to the preservation of the brave troops entrusted to our care; and for this purpose, (however distressing, however ruinous to the inhabitants and to the country, the alternative may be,) we shall be compelled to avail ourselves of those dreadful expedients which it is in our power to adopt. Having perfectly at our disposal the sea dikes, both towards the ocean and the Zuyder Zee, as well as the interior dikes; we should, in that case, be reduced to the terrible necessity of inundating the whole country of North Holland; and of adding to this calamity every destructive evil which must necessarily result from an attempt to force or interrupt our retreat. We should, under such circumstances, also be constrained to make use of the ample means we possess, of rendering the navigation of the Zuyder Zee henceforth impracticable, by obstructing the Mars Diep, and destroying the Nieuve Diep,—works upon which so many years' labour, and such immense sums, have been expended.

Our system of carrying on war having, on all occasions, been governed by the most liberal principles, necessity, and the strongest sense of duty, could alone induce us to adopt a system repugnant to the sentiments which have ever directed the conduct of the English nation. From these considerations, and from our persuasion that General Brune and the Dutch people must be actuated by similar motives, and equally desirous

to prevent an useless effusion of blood, by the amicable arrangement of a point which is perhaps the object of both parties; and from our anxiety, in case of a different result, to stand justified to the whole universe, from whatever destruction may in consequence devolve upon this country, we propose and offer to General Brune, and to the Batavian Republic,—That the English and Russian troops shall evacuate, before the end of November next, all the coasts, the islands, and the interior navigation, of Holland, without committing any act detrimental to the great sources of its navigation, or laying the country under any inundations: for this purpose, we propose, that a suspension of hostilities shall take place until the period above specified; that, during this interval, we shall remain in full possession of all the points, and of the whole extent of country we occupy at this moment; that the line of the respective advanced posts shall also be that of separation between the two armies; and that this line shall not, under any pretence, be passed by the troops of either, even in the event of our choosing to retire from any part of our present position, or of our quitting it altogether.—That during the above-mentioned interval, no interference shall be allowed, nor any objections be started, with respect to the conduct of either of the parties within the limits of their respective possessions; and that all the rights of war (every act of hostility excepted) shall continue mutually in force.—That we will grant to the persons and property of the inhabitants of the country occupied by us, every protection consistent with discipline, in the circumstances under which we are placed, and all the advantages which the conduct generally observed by British troops entitles them to expect on such an occasion.—If these proposals accord with the wishes, and are conformable to the intentions, of General Brune, there can be no difficulty whatever in carrying them into execution in three days from the date hereof.

By Order of his Royal Highness,
the Commander-in-Chief.
H. Taylor, Sec.

The reply of the French general was as follows:—

THE Duke of York, commander-in-chief of the English army, proposes that a cessation of hostilities shall take place, in consequence of the approach of the inclement season. He promises to withdraw from the Batavian territory, between the present period and the end of November next, the whole army under his command; and consents that no damage shall be committed, no sluices opened, or dikes broken up, on condition of his retreat not being molested by the French and Batavian army. These motives would not have been brought forward by the Duke of York, if he had considered himself possessed of means sufficient for advancing into the country; for, in that case, he would have had the facility of extending his quarters, of procuring subsistence, and, in short, of placing himself beyond the reach of the inconveniencies arising from the unfavourable season. We ought consequently to look to advantages in an arrangement, proportionate to the insufficiency of the forces under his command. The terms proposed by the Duke of York, contain nothing but what would be the necessary result of a cessation of hostilities. It can scarcely be supposed that the Duke of York will cause the dikes to be destroyed, the country to be inundated, and the villages to be burnt, for the mere purpose of committing such acts of violence,—as such conduct would be contrary to the laws of war, and must draw upon him the reprobation of all Europe, and of his own nation. It appears, therefore, evident, that the Duke of York would confine himself to such measures as might be useful to his own army, or detrimental to ours; but we look upon such accidents as inseparable from a state of war. No object of advantage to us appears, therefore, to result from the proposals which have been made. Since, however, the sufferings of humanity come under the consideration of the Duke of York, General Brune is ready to meet this honourable feeling; and, in doing so, declares that the following stipulations, on which he offers to consent to a suspension of hostilities, are so obviously just, that he cannot depart from them:—

Art. I. The Batavian fleet, which was surrendered to Admiral Mitchel by Admiral Story, shall be restored to the Batavian Republic, with its stores and crews. In case the Duke of York shall not be invested with sufficient power to comply with this article, his royal highness shall engage to obtain from his court an equivalent compensation.

Art. II. Fifteen thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, detained in England, shall be conditionally released and sent home. The mode of selection, and the proportion for each country, to be settled between the governments of the two republics. The Batavian admiral, De Winter, shall be considered as exchanged. This article shall in no degree prejudice or interfere with the cartel of exchange at present established.

Art. III. The batteries and fort of the Helder shall be restored in the condition in which they were found at the period of the invasion of the English and Russian army. An officer of artillery shall be sent to the Helder, by General Brune, to see that this article is complied with.

Art. IV. The army under the command of the Duke of York shall, within forty-eight hours, evacuate the position of the Zype; its advanced posts shall be withdrawn to the height of Callants Oge. The French and Batavian army shall preserve the positions it occupies at present, taking up, however, its advanced posts at Petten, Krebendam, Schagenbrug, and Colhorn. It shall have merely a vidette at the height of Callants Oge.

Art. V. The troops, composing the English and Russian army, shall be embarked successively, and as speedily as possible. All the British shipping shall quit the Texel, and all the English and Russian troops be withdrawn from the seas, coasts, and islands of the Batavian Republic, before the 20th of November next, and shall not damage the great sources of navigation, or occasion any inundation in the country.

Art. VI. All ships of war, or other vessels, having on board reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army, shall put to sea as soon as possible, without landing the same.

Art. VII. To guarantee the execution of these articles, hostages shall be given by the Duke of York, to be selected amongst the officers of rank in his army.

By Order of

GENERAL BRUNE,

Commander-in-chief of the combined French and Batavian army.

VEVEY, Sec.

After considering this explanatory note, his royal highness the commander-in-chief sent back General Knox with the following Answer, and full powers to settle every point relating to his mission.

Head-quarters, Schagenburg, Oct. 17.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army, proposed to General Brune, commander-in-chief of the French and Batavian army, an arrangement equally to the advantage of both parties, originating in his desire to prevent the further effusion of blood, and to preserve this country from the terrible effects of an inundation, as also from the destruction of the best of its ports, involving the total ruin of the principal channel of its interior navigation and commerce.—In answer to which, General Brune observes, that he cannot imagine his Royal Highness will recur to measures not less revolting to humanity than repugnant to the character of the British nation, and to the general feeling of all Europe.—Devastation or destruction is certainly incompatible with the character and with the uniform conduct of the English nation; and as little do either accord with the disposition of his royal highness the commander-in-chief; but there are duties peremptorily prescribed by the nature of particular situations, the odium of which must fall, not on those who execute, but on such as render the measures necessary, by rejecting the conditions of a just and honourable agreement. Deeply

impressed with what is due to his country on the one hand, and to the claims of humanity on the other,—persuaded likewise, that General Brune is equally guided by these sentiments, his royal highness has taken his proposals into consideration, and consents to abide by the agreement as it stands in the answers annexed to the different articles.

Major-general Knox, who is charged therewith, is authorized to sign and conclude this agreement, as well as to arrange any points of detail which may arise out of it. It being the duty of every officer commanding his Britannic Majesty's troops, to make an exact report of whatever relates to his command, his royal highness the Duke of York will, of course, lay before the British government every communication which has taken place between his royal highness and General Brune.

Answer to Art. I.—His royal highness will on no account treat upon this article, the execution of which, it must be evident to both parties, is impossible.

Answer to Art. II.—This demand appears to rest upon a supposed loss the combined army must sustain, should its embarkation be resolved upon. It is by no means admitted that such would be the result; but as, in the event of the army's carrying on the campaign during the winter, the loss of a certain number of men must naturally be expected, his royal highness, influenced by this consideration, agrees to promise, in the name of the British government, that five thousand French and Batavian prisoners, the proportion of each to be regulated according to the terms of the article, shall be unconditionally released and sent home. Nothing further in this article can be agreed to.

Answer to Art. III.—The fort and batteries of the Helder will be left, generally considered, in an improved state. None of the Dutch artillery shall be carried away.

Answer to Art. IV.—On no account will it be considered that the army shall be withdrawn from the position of Zype, until every preparation requisite to render its embarkation easy and complete can be arranged at the Helder. It must be evident, that it cannot be desirable that any delay should take place in

this respect. No addition shall be made to the works at the Zype, and persons properly authorized shall be admitted from time to time, to ascertain and report upon this point, for the satisfaction of General Brune; but no armed detachment will be permitted to approach, or to take post, nearer than they already are to our position. It must be further understood that, on his part, General Brune will not allow any approaches or offensive preparations to be carried on; and that the French and Batavian army shall remain in the line of advanced posts which it occupies at present, which shall also be the line of separation between the two armies respectively.

Answer to Art. V.—The embarkation of the English and Russian troops will take place with all possible expedition; and at this season of the year any unnecessary delay will naturally be avoided as much as possible; and to prevent any difficulty, or future discussion upon this point, it is proposed that the suspension of hostilities shall be limited to the end of the month of November next, in order to secure sufficient time for the complete evacuation of the country, which, however, shall be effected sooner if practicable.

Answer to Art. VI.—The ships of war, or other vessels immediately expected with reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army, or which may hereafter be sent, shall not land their troops, but shall put to sea again as soon as possible.

Answer to Art. VII.—Hostages shall be reciprocally given, to be selected among the officers of rank of the two armies, to guarantee the execution of this agreement.

By Order of his royal highness the Duke of York,
commander-in-chief of the combined English
and Russian army.

H. Taylor, Sec.

General Knox, on repairing to the French head quarters, found the greatest disposition on the part of General Brune to enter promptly into an amicable

agreement; but in the mean time a letter came from the Dutch directory, insisting on the delivering of the fleet as a *sine qua non*. On the article of prisoners to be restored, the French general consented to lower the number to eight thousand; which proposal met with the assent of his royal highness, who, however, peremptorily refused to yield on the other point, declaring, that rather than give up the shipping, he would abide all consequences, and put an immediate end to the negociation. This spirited resolve had its effect, the Dutch government abandoned their demand; the other terms were adjusted without difficulty, and on the 18th of October, the agreement being concluded at Alkmaar, hostilities ceased, General Knox being to remain as a hostage, till the fulfilment of the stipulations.

On the 22d the detachments of cavalry began to embark at the Nieuve Diep, and were speedily followed by the other troops, who marched successively into the Helder, as the transports were got ready for their reception.

The Duke of York having thus settled every thing for the present safety and transportation of the army, embarked himself on the first of November in the Juno frigate, and, after a stormy passage of two days, landed in perfect health at Yarmouth.

After his departure, the conduct of the remaining embarkation devolved on Sir James Pulteney, assisted by Admiral Dixon, who had succeeded Sir Andrew Mitchel in the command of the North Sea fleet. This troublesome service was aided by the good offices of the French general who commanded at the Helder. Every thing of value, except some cart-horses that were given to the poor inhabitants, was removed, and all just demands were satisfied. By the 20th, the whole of the

combined forces had left the Texel; and though some casualties happened, they were less than might have been expected from the extent of the embarkation and the inclemency of the weather.

Thus ended an enterprise which had excited universal observation from its magnitude and direction. That it failed of ultimate success, was, however, not much to be wondered at, considering the delay which took place, and the lateness of the season when the principal operations commenced. Over these causes the commander-in-chief had no control; and it was allowed on all hands, even by those persons who were more disposed to find faults than to excuse errors, that the military plan was well digested, and admirably calculated for the accomplishment of the intended object.

Little doubt indeed can be made, that, had the expedition been despatched earlier, and all the forces landed on an extensive field, where they could have operated with effect, the result would have been more favourable to the cause which the British government contemplated,—that of delivering Holland from the dominion of France. Even as it was, we may say with the author of the only authentic narrative ever published of the expedition, and which we have closely followed, many important advantages were gained;—an hostile navy, being the last remnant of the maritime power of a nation which once rivalled England on the ocean, was brought away;—a considerable army, which the French could at no time so badly spare, was separated from the great theatre of the war;—and, in addition, the campaign in Holland was productive of experience and reputation to the British army.

Heretofore these troops had acted only in a subordinate and secondary rank on the European continent, but in this instance they were principals; and unquestionably their intrepid valour in the field, their moderation and humanity in victory, and their fortitude under adverse circumstances, reflected a permanent lustre on themselves and the service to which they belonged.

Cumberland

Sussex.

Clarence

Cambridge

William Frederick

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CHAP. VIII.

FROM A. D. 1799 TO 1802.

CONJUNCT expeditions which fail of success, generally give rise to disputes, each commander endeavouring to throw the blame of miscarriage upon one or other of his colleagues. In the present instance, the British chief, though he had reason enough to be dissatisfied with the conduct of his foreign auxiliaries, was so far from taking the advantage which his rank and situation afforded, that he made it his business to intercede with the emperor of Russia on behalf of the troops that had fallen under his imperial displeasure. It has already been stated, that General D'Essen, in his public and private despatches, made the most unjust reflections first upon the British government, and next upon his own soldiers, all of whom he taxed with disorderly conduct in the late campaign; the consequence of which was, that Paul, who always acted upon the impulse of passion, broke the very regiments which had done their duty, and even vented his wrath upon others who had not been disembarked when the battles occurred which gave occasion for censure. As soon as Count Woronzow, the Russian ambassador at the court of London, and who also held high military rank in his country's service, was apprized of this

indiscriminate condemnation, he immediately waited upon the Duke of York, to obtain from his royal highness an exact account of the conduct of the foreign troops that had been under his command in Holland. Such, however, was the promptitude of the Duke, and his anxious wish to rescue brave and worthy men from unmerited reproach, that without waiting for an application from the count, he had already written and sent to his excellency the following explicit and satisfactory statement of what he personally knew of the Russian troops in the late expedition:—

January 14, 1800.

"Having learnt, with the greatest concern, that his Imperial Majesty, in consequence of inaccurate and uncertain reports, has signified his displeasure to the whole of the Russian troops who had been in Holland, I think it my duty, and it gives me pleasure, to do justice to several regiments, who, in different actions with the enemy, have evinced as much order as bravery. The musketeers of General Sedmoratzky, and the battalion of Erichsen grenadiers, in the battle of the 19th of September, took possession of the village of Warmanhuysen, made seven hundred prisoners, and took three pieces of cannon. On the 2d of October, the same three battalions made themselves masters of two batteries near the canal of Alkmaar, forcing the enemy to retreat; and in the last action, on the 6th of October, they took the village of Baccum, again making some prisoners. In the battle of the 19th of October, the whole regiment of Fersen musketeers was with the right wing of the English, and its discipline and bravery merit the highest praise. The battalions of grenadiers of Majors Ogaren and Mitaschin were not disembarked before all the other

troops had landed, on which account they could not join the army till after the unfortunate battle of the 19th; but in the actions of the 2d and 6th they distinguished themselves, as did also the regiment of Emme, by order and bravery.

"I have been an eye-witness of the order and bravery with which all these corps fought against the enemy, and have always testified to them my satisfaction; it was, therefore, with regret I observed that they had incurred his Imperial Majesty's displeasure, which would not have been the case had their praiseworthy behaviour been properly represented. I should certainly not have omitted to write myself to his Imperial Majesty, had I not been afraid to discommode him; but since I know how much his Imperial Majesty is attached to his army, and with what satisfaction he administers justice to every individual, I think it my duty to apply to your Excellency, as commander-in-chief of the Russian troops in England, persuaded that you will feel with me how painful it must be to these brave soldiers to have done their duty, and nevertheless to be loaded with the displeasure of his Imperial Majesty; and that you will omit nothing in your reports to his Imperial Majesty, to do justice to those who have rendered themselves deserving of it."

(Signed) "FREDERICK."

This testimonial, though addressed to the ambassador, was intended for the emperor; upon whom it had so far a salutary effect, that he caused the regiment named Sawalischin to be restored, and to have new colours, bearing a honourable inscription of its bravery.

It is rather remarkable, however, that about the time when the Duke of York was thus spontaneously engaged in rescuing foreign soldiers from unmerited disgrace, he should be called on, instrumentally, to disband a British regiment. The corps which underwent this heavy judgment, was the 5th, or Royal Irish Dragoons; and as the occasion was remarkable, the particulars may not be undeserving of detail in this place.

The regiment had served with great credit in the late rebellion, on the suppression of which it went into winter quarters at the barracks of Lehaunstown; but soon after, an order was received for the strength of the corps to proceed to Dublin, leaving a few men of each troop to take charge of the heavy baggage, sick men, and horses. The officers who commanded them were also directed to receive eligible recruits. Many fine-looking young fellows were accordingly enlisted; particularly at a place called Castle-Comer, and these were all sent off to headquarters, without any inquiry having been previously made into their history, character, or connexions. Almost all of these men, as the event afterwards proved, were rebel partisans, and had insinuated themselves among the 5th Dragoons, agreeable to a preconcerted plan for surprising Lehaunstown, to which place all the recruits, and men unfit for immediate service, were transmitted. A conspiracy was in consequence entered into by these new-comers, in concert with the rebels of the adjoining districts; and the design was, that on a certain night an attack should be made on the garrison, whose whole effective force did not exceed seventy men, many of whom were invalids. The recruits to a man were concerned in

this black affair, and the massacre of every officer and soldier was only prevented one hour before the atrocious deed was to have taken place. The conspirators were seized, and suffered according to their deserts. The whole corps, however, fell under such strong suspicion, that orders were sent for its removal to Chatham, where, after a particular investigation of the circumstances, the negligence of the officers, and the want of discipline among the men, produced a royal decision, by which the entire establishment was dissolved, and all the privates were drafted into other regiments.

The year 1800 began with two constitutional changes of eventful importance. The first was the conversion of the French republic into a state approaching to a monarchy; for though the government was confided to three consuls for the term of ten years, the real authority was engrossed by the first, who had power to promulge laws, and appoint the members of the council of state, as well as all military and naval officers. This high station was seized by Napoleon Buonaparte, who signalized his accession to the dignity by announcing the fact in a letter to the King of Great Britain, inviting him to enter upon a negotiation for peace. This epistle was accompanied with a brief note from Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs, to Lord Grenville; who replied, on behalf of his Majesty, at much greater length, stating, "that no reliance could be placed on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions, which had been repeatedly held out by all those who successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe."

It was next observed, that his Majesty would greatly rejoice to find that the necessity of resistance

was at an end; which, however, would not be till all the gigantic projects of ambition, that endangered the existence of civil society, were relinquished on the part of France; a change that was only to be determined by experience and the evidence of facts.

"The best and most natural pledge of the reality and permanence of such a change," it was then said, "would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad:—such an event would at once have removed, and at any time would do so, all objects in the way of negotiation of peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory; and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they were now compelled to seek by other means."

After expressing this unwelcome sentiment, the declaration went on to state, that "His Majesty made no claim to prescribe to France what should be the form of her government, or in whose hands she should vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation: That the King only looked to the security of his own dominions and those of his allies, as well as the general safety of Europe; but that at present nothing of the kind appeared; there being no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government in France would be directed, nor any reasonable ground whereby to judge of its stability."

To this manifesto, or apology for a continuance of the war, the French government rejoined in another equally prolix, in which the offer to negociate was renewed, and Dunkirk, or any other town advan-

tageously situated, was proposed for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries.

In reply, the British minister repeated the objections contained in his former note, and ended with a resolution of his Majesty to persevere in the vigorous prosecution of the contest, till that security, which was his sole object in the war, could be obtained.

As might naturally be expected, this conduct of the ministry in refusing to treat with the new government of France, when they had been so ready to adjust matters with the old one, excited considerable surprise. In the two houses of parliament, the opposition was strong, but ineffectual, and the supplies for the prosecution of the conflict were voted by large majorities.

At this time a change in the constitution of the British empire, of the greatest magnitude, absorbed public attention, and produced much altercation. This measure was the incorporation of Great Britain and Ireland as one body, having the same legislature.

A union of the two kingdoms had long been contemplated by enlightened and patriotic statesmen as a most desirable object; but the difficulties which presented themselves on all sides, were so formidable, that no minister had the resolution to undertake the task, till the late rebellion in Ireland inclined many leading men to wish for the accomplishment of what at any other period they would have strenuously resisted.

Thus encouraged, the government ventured to bring the business forward; and, though vigorously opposed, and at one time defeated, the measure was renewed; and in the present year, carried through both parliaments.

It was confidently expected that this connexion, by putting a complete termination to all national prejudices, would have brought about a general improvement of the state of Ireland. That such was the object of the plan cannot be called in question, for certain it is that England had nothing to gain by the Union, further than what would arise from a consolidation of the joint interests, energies, and strength of the empire.

More than a quarter of a century, however, has passed away, and yet the hopes which gave rise to this great act of policy, instead of being realized to any extent, have utterly failed; and while every other part of the kingdom presents an increase of intellectual energy, Ireland alone exhibits, with all the means of intellectual and social advancement, a deplorable spectacle of moral stagnation. An inquiry into the causes of this national fatuity, would be foreign to the subject of the present work; but it is a fact too striking to escape notice, that in proportion as concessions have been made, and measures adopted for the improvement of Ireland, the condition of the country has become worse, and the spirit of the people ferocious. It should seem, therefore, that until a revolution is effected in the principles and manners of the natives, by which they may be brought to a state of mental freedom, and a correspondent habit of industrious exertion, every compliance with their clamorous demands must prove equally impolitic and injurious.

From this unpleasant digression, we must now proceed to the simplicity of narrative; and the record of two incidents, which, as occurring on the same day, were justly considered at the time as very extraordinary and alarming.

On the morning of the 15th of May, while the grenadier brigade of Guards were going through the evolutions of a field-day, in the presence of his Majesty and the commander-in-chief, in Hyde Park, a ball was discharged from the centre of the ranks, which wounded a junior clerk of the Navy Office, by passing quite through one thigh, and entering the other very near the groin. As the young gentleman, whose name was Ongley, happened to be standing at the time within six or seven yards of the King, there was reason enough to apprehend that the piece had been directed with an evil intention against the sovereign. After a minute investigation, however, nothing was elicited to confirm the suspicion. The wounded gentleman was, by the special order of his Majesty, taken particular care of; and after his recovery, he received gratuitously, with other favours, a commission as lieutenant in the 25th Light Dragoons, then serving in the East Indies; where he was present at the battle of Laswarry, and rose to the rank of captain, without purchase.

In the evening of the day when this circumstance occurred, the royal family went to the theatre in Drury Lane. His Majesty, as it fortunately happened, entered first into the box, before the Queen, and at that instant the whole house was thrown into confusion by the discharge of a pistol from the front row of the pit; but though the bullet struck the pilaster just over the head of the King, it providentially did no mischief, owing to the sudden jerk given to the hand of the assassin at the moment he was taking his aim. Immediately the perpetrator of this atrocious deed was seized, and dragged over the rails of the orchastre into the music room, where Mr. Sheridan and the Duke of York soon entered, to attend

the examination. On seeing his royal highness, the man recognized him instantly, and enthusiastically exclaimed, "God bless you! I know you; you are the Duke of York, under whom I served on the continent." Then turning to the people about him, he went on and said, "Ah, he is a good soul; he is the soldier's friend and love."

The Duke then recollected the man as having been one of his orderlies, or dragoons forming his personal guard, and particularly at the battle of Famars. His name was James Hatfield, and a silversmith by trade, but at the beginning of the war he had enlisted into the 15th regiment, in which he behaved extremely well, till the severe wounds he received in his head at Lincelles, rendered him so totally unfit for duty, that he was discharged on a pension.

During his examination he appeared calm and collected, saying, that he knew his life was forfeited, but that he was tired of his existence, and only regretted the fate of the woman who in a few days would be no longer his wife. The Duke of York then gave directions to search for what had proceeded from the pistol, when the slug was found which had struck the pannel about a foot above the head of his Majesty, and still smelt very strong of gunpowder.

After taking the depositions, the magistrates committed the prisoner to Cold Bath Fields, and on the 26th of the following month, he was brought to the Court of King's Bench, in Westminster Hall, to take his trial for high treason before Lord Kenyon. The prosecution was conducted by the attorney-general, who, among other witnesses, called the Duke of York. When his royal highness rose on the judges' bench to give his evidence, Hatfield, who had hitherto ap-

peared listless and unconcerned at what was going on, suddenly exhibited an emotion of pleasure, and starting up, exclaimed, "Ah, God bless his highness! he is a good soul!" The Duke gave a short account of what occurred in the music room, and of the conduct of the prisoner during the examination.

In reply to a question put by Mr. Erskine, his royal highness admitted that the orderlies were chosen from the most tried and trusty men in the service.

The learned advocate then called several witnesses, who all clearly established the insanity of the prisoner. Major Ryan, Mr. M'Gill, and Mr. Charles Price, officers of the 15th regiment, bore testimony to the general good character of the man, while under their orders; and of his derangement after being wounded. The last-mentioned witness, who had himself received some severe wounds in endeavouring to rescue the prisoner near Lisle, stated, that he had very narrowly escaped being stabbed by him, in a paroxysm of madness, at Croydon.

John Laine, a private who was with the prisoner in the hospital at Brussels, deposed also to his insanity. Hatfield then said that he was King George, and, calling for a looking-glass, felt about his head for his crown of gold.

Several of the relatives of the unhappy man proved that he had for a long time been deranged, from the wounds received by him in the defence of his king and country: that he often talked at random, saying that he was a prince, and sometimes affirming that he was Jesus Christ.

On the very morning preceding the day of his attempt on the life of his Majesty, he declared that he had seen God during the night; that his coach was ready, and that he was engaged to dine with the King.

After this accumulated and indubitable evidence, Lord Kenyon submitted that the prosecution should stop; with which suggestion the attorney-general complied, and the jury returned a verdict of acquittal on the ground of insanity. The prisoner was accordingly remanded to Newgate, from whence he was transferred to Bedlam. Some time afterwards, however, having contrived to effect his escape, he made his way down to the coast of Kent, but was retaken, and conducted to his former place of confinement, where he yet remains. Every thing was done to render his situation comfortable; and his family, by the care of the Duke of York, obtained an adequate support. His royal highness also sometimes called at the hospital to see Hatfield, who, when in a lucid state, always appeared grateful for the condescension and kindness which he had experienced.

The French journalists, in giving an account of the trial of the unfortunate maniac, extolled in high terms the discrimination, integrity, and impartiality, which marked the proceedings of an English court of justice. One of these writers observed, that the dispassionate investigation which terminated in the acquittal of the prisoner, deserved to be set up as a model to the tribunal of every civilized nation.

However surprising this decision might be to foreigners, happily there was nothing extraordinary in it to Englishmen, who knew that the law protected all ranks equally, and that in no instance could it be made the instrument of vengeance, even under the plea of securing the royal person and authority.

But while this tribute of praise was given, without much necessity, to the equity of British jurisprudence, an instance of spontaneous liberality occurred on the

part of the monarch, which justly called for universal admiration.

The French, in overrunning Italy, like the Vandals of old, committed the most enormous outrages upon the persons and property of individuals without discrimination. The ecclesiastical dignitaries, in particular, were made to suffer severely; and none more so than the venerable Henry Stuart, commonly called the Cardinal Duke of York. This last lineal descendant of an unfortunate house, now in his seventy-fifth year, was obliged to fly from his episcopal seat of Frascati, the ancient Tusculum of Cicero, and seek shelter in a convent at Naples. After staying in this asylum a few months, the cardinal, on the approach of the republicans, was compelled to procure another place of refuge, and accordingly he embarked for Palermo, in the island of Sicily. On the death of Pius the Sixth, the aged prelate removed first to Padua, and next to Venice, for the purpose of assisting at the election of a new pope. While at the last-mentioned place, the distresses of this last representative of an illustrious race of British monarchs, being made known to his late majesty, through the medium of a letter from cardinal Borgia to Sir John Cox Hippisley, our excellent sovereign lost no time in sending an order to Lord Minto, his ambassador at Vienna, to remit two thousand pounds as the first half-year's moiety of a regular pension to the cardinal duke.

This act of munificence was deeply felt and acknowledged by the whole body of the conclave, and several letters, full of grateful sentiments, were written on the occasion by the new pontiff and his brethren. The feelings of Cardinal York were conveyed to Sir John Hippisley in an English style peculiarly his own,

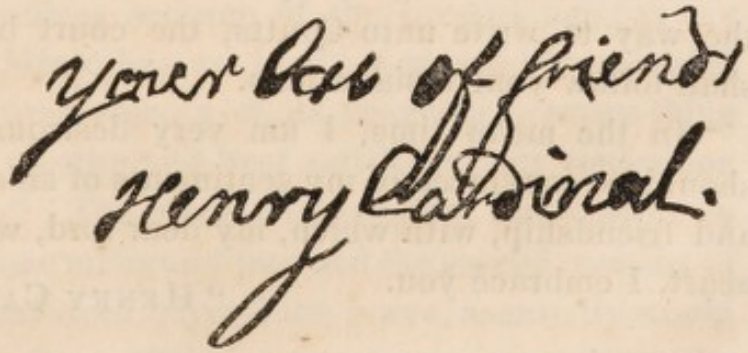
but clearly indicative of the writer's excellence. In this communication he says,—

"Your letters fully convince me of the cordial interest you take in all that regards my person, and am happy to acknowledge, that principally I owe to your friendly efforts, and to them of your friends, the succour generously granted to relieve the extreme necessities into which I have been driven by the present dismal circumstances. I cannot sufficiently express how sensible I am to your good heart; and write these few lines, in the first place to contest to you these my most sincere and grateful sentiments, and then to inform you, that by means of Mr. Oakly, an English gentleman arrived here last week, I have received a letter from Lord Minto, from Vienna, advising me that he had orders from his Court to remit to me at present the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, and that in the month of July next I may again draw, if I desire it, for another equal sum. The letter is written in so extremely genteel and obliging a manner, and with expressions of singular regard and consideration for me, that I assure you excited in me most particular and lively sentiments, not only of satisfaction for the delicacy with which the affair has been managed, but also of gratitude for the generosity with which has been provided for my necessity. I have answered Lord Minto's letter, and gave it, Saturday last, to Mr. Oakly, who was to send it by that evening's post to Vienna; and have written in a manner that I hope will be to his lordship's satisfaction. I own to you, that the succour granted to me could not be more timely; for, without it, it would have been impossible for me to subsist, on account of the absolutely irreparable loss of all my income, the very funds

being also destroyed; so that I would otherwise have been reduced, for the short remainder of my life, to languish in misery and indigence. I would not lose a moment's time to apprise you of all this, and am very certain that your experimented and good heart will find proper means to make known, in an energetical and proper manner, these sentiments of my grateful acknowledgment.

"The signal obligations I am under to Mr. Andrew Stuart, for all that he has, with so much cordiality, on this occasion, done to assist me, renders it indispensable to desire that you may return him my most sincere thanks, assuring him that his health and welfare interests me extremely; and that I have, with great pleasure, received from General Heton the Genealogical History of our Family, which he was so kind as to send me; and hope that he will, from that gentleman, have already received my thanks for so valuable a proof of his attention for me.

"In the last place, if you think proper, and an occasion should offer itself, I beg you make known to the other gentlemen also who have co-operated, my most grateful acknowledgments; with which, my dear Sir John, with all my heart, I embrace you:



Venice, 26th February, 1800.

The letter to Lord Minto was as follows:—

"With the arrival of Mr. Oakly, who has been this morning with me, I have received by his discourses, and much more by your letters, so many tokens of your regard, singular consideration, and attention for my person, that oblige me to abandon all sort of ceremony, and to begin abruptly to assure you, my dear lord, that your letters have been most acceptable to me in all shapes and regards.—I did not in the least doubt of the noble way of thinking of your generous and beneficent sovereign; but I did not expect to see in writing, so many and so obliging expressions, that, well calculated by the persons who receive them and understand their force, impress in their minds a most lively sense of tenderness and gratitude; which, I own to you, oblige me more than the generosity spontaneously imparted. I am in reality at a loss to express, in writing, all the sentiments of my heart; and for that reason leave it entirely to the interest you take in all that regards my person, to make known, in an energetical and convenient manner, all I fain would say to express my thankfulness, which may easily be, by you, comprehended, after having perused the contents of this letter.

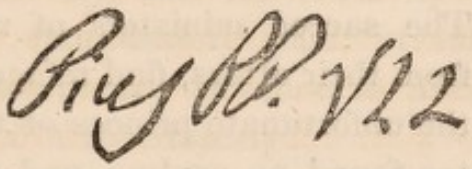
"I am much obliged to you to have indicated to me the way to write unto Coutts, the court banker, and shall follow your insinuations.

"In the mean time, I am very desirous that you should be convinced of my sentiments of sincere esteem and friendship, with which, my dear lord, with all my heart, I embrace you.

"HENRY CARDINAL."

The newly elected pope, Chiaramonti, who took the name of Pius the Seventh, was so impressed with the

generosity manifested to the venerable cardinal, that he wrote a letter immediately on his election, to Sir John Hippisley, in which, after mentioning the esteem his predecessor entertained for the English nation, and of its magnanimous and just government, he said, "And we also, pursuing the same steps, will equally make it our study to preserve with jealous care, the same reciprocal good intelligence and union; and we will not suffer (as far as lies in our power) that England should find seated in the pontifical chair of Rome another pontiff differing from him who so invariably acknowledged the kindness and friendship that England entertained for him."



To this interesting correspondence, I am enabled to subjoin the letter written by Sir John Cox Hippisley to the Cardinal:—

"I trust your Eminence will do me the justice to believe that I was not insensible to the honour of receiving so flattering a proof of your gracious consideration as that which I was favoured with, dated the 26th of last month, from the bosom of the conclave.

"The merciless scourge of the present age (as my friend Lord Minto has so justly observed) has singled out as the first objects of its vengeance, every thing that is most worthy and best entitled to our veneration and respect." The infidels in religion, but zealots in anarchy, whose malignity pursued the sacred remains of Pius the Great even beyond the grave, assuredly would not exempt from their remorseless persecution the venerable person of the Cardinal of York.

"Severe as have been your Eminence's sufferings, they will nevertheless find some alleviation in the general sympathy of the British nation. With all distinctions of parties—with all differences of communion—among all conditions of men,—but one voice is heard—all breathe one applauding sentiment; all bless the gracious act of the sovereign in favour of his illustrious, but unfortunate relation.

"Your Eminence greatly over-rates the humble part which has fallen to my lot, in common with my worthy friend Mr. Stuart. The cause of suffering humanity never wants supporters in the country with which I know you feel a generous pride in being connected. The sacred ministers of religion, exiled and driven from their altars, find refuge and security in Britain:—the unfortunate princes of the house of Bourbon, here too found an asylum, under the hospitable roof of the royal ancestors of the Cardinal of York:—and when every dignified virtue that can stamp worth on human nature is outraged in the person of the venerable Cardinal of York himself,—

"Against such cruelties
With inward consolations recompens'd;"

here, also, an inviolable sanctuary is unfolded in the kindred bosom of our benevolent sovereign!

"It is incumbent upon me to attest, that in the frequent communications Mr. Stuart and myself have had with the king's ministers on this subject, they have uniformly expressed their persuasion that his Majesty will think himself happy in repeating the same gracious attention to his royal relation, and in the same proportion, as long as his unfortunate circumstances have a claim to them. I can also, with equal confidence, assure your Eminence that your reply to

Lord Minto has given as much satisfaction to the King's ministers, as it doubtless has excited in the benevolent mind of his Majesty himself.

"Mr. Stuart unites with me in every heartfelt wish for your Eminence's health and happiness, equally flattered with myself by your Eminence's condescension and gracious acceptance of our humble attentions. With the most perfect consideration and profound respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

"J. C. HIPPISLEY."

"Grosvenor St., London, March 31st, 1800."

"I think it necessary to say, that the order upon Mr. Coutts's house was immediately paid in full acquittance of the little temporary advance in anticipation of the gracious act of his Majesty."

On a change of affairs, the Cardinal returned to Rome, where he became dean of the Sacred College; but his circumstances were still so low, that the royal pension was continued till his death, which happened in 1807, when he had nearly attained the eighty-third year of his age. In his last will he manifested his gratitude to the reigning family, by bequeathing to the Prince of Wales the garter and star which had belonged to Charles the First, and also some other relics of his illustrious but unfortunate house. As a mark of respect for the last member of the Stuart line, the Prince, after his appointment to the regency, caused a splendid cenotaph, the workmanship of Canova, to be erected to his memory in the magnificent church of St. Peter's at Rome.

It merits observation, that the Cardinal of York, independent of his misfortunes, descent, and virtues,

had some legal claims on the national justice. An act of parliament, still unrepealed, had settled on Mary of Este, the queen of James the Second, the cardinal's grandmother, a jointure of fifty thousand pounds. During the negotiation of Ryswick, it was contended by the French plenipotentiaries, that as King James had been deprived of his throne by act of parliament, and consequently was dead in law, the queen was as much entitled to her dower as if her husband was naturally defunct. The English ministers considered the point as too nice for their interference, and therefore desired that it might be left to King William for his decision. The proposal was acceded to, and marshal Boufflers had a conference with William on the subject. The monarch did not deny the justice of the claim; and when Boufflers expressed a wish that the concession of the jointure might be made an article in the treaty, he said, "What! marshal, will not my word satisfy you?" Boufflers bowed, and departed in full assurance that he had obtained sufficient security. In this, however, he was mistaken, for on the first demand of payment, the King evaded it by a shuffling excuse. James died in 1701, and his widow in 1718. No attempt was made by their descendants to recover the arrears of the jointure, till the year 1786, when Charles Edward empowered his natural daughter to act in his name for that purpose. A case was accordingly drawn up, and application made to Louis the Sixteenth to forward the claim; but his most Christian majesty declined interfering for an unfortunate family. The Earl of Pembroke, who was personally acquainted with Prince Charles, then undertook the cause, so far at least as to put the case into the

hands of the Duke of Dorset, the British ambassador at the court of Versailles. His excellency without hesitation gave Mr. Caryl, the agent of the prince, a letter of introduction to Mr. Pitt; but that statesman no sooner heard the nature of the claim, than he cut it short at once, by declaring it was a thing not to be mentioned. The agent then consulted an eminent lawyer, who offered to bring it before the Court of King's Bench; but neither Charles, nor his brother the Cardinal, would consent to such a mode of proceeding, and thus the matter terminated.

When the Duke of Sussex, then Prince Augustus, made the tour of Italy, he visited the Cardinal, and pleased the good old man very much by complimenting him with the title of royal highness. To Englishmen the Cardinal of York was throughout life extremely partial; generally inviting travellers of that nation to his table, and in the days of his prosperity munificently relieving those who were in distress. Before the troubles, he had a large library and cabinet of curiosities; but the French spoliators plundered the one, and carried off the other, either for their own private advantage, or to enrich the museum at Paris.

From this digression, we must now return to a survey of the state of public affairs at the commencement of the nineteenth century. The imperial parliament of Great Britain and Ireland having assembled on the 22d of January, 1801, on the 2d of the following month his Majesty went to the house of lords in state, and in his speech congratulated the legislature on the union which had been so happily effected. In other respects, however, the political sketch was of a dark and painful character: "The unfortunate course of events on the continent," said the King,

"and the consequences which are to be expected from them, cannot fail to be matter of anxiety and concern to all who have a just feeling for the security and independence of Europe. Your astonishment, as well as your regret, must be excited by the conduct of those powers, whose attention at such a period appears to be more engaged in endeavours to weaken the naval force of the British empire, which has hitherto opposed so powerful an obstacle to the inordinate ambition of France, than in concerting the means of mutual defence against the common and increasing danger."

This was an allusion to the northern confederacy, that had been lately formed by the courts of Petersburgh, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, for the purpose of establishing a system of armed neutrality, to protect the mercantile trade of their respective ports from being searched by the ships of belligerent powers. The scheme was not new, having been tried, though ineffectually, by the empress Catherine in the American war; but it was now revived by her son Paul, who, after exhibiting uncommon asperity against France, all at once changed his policy, and became a warm admirer of Buonaparte, to please whom he banished the unfortunate Louis the XVIII., and his niece, the duchess of Angouleme, out of the Russian territories.

This act of capricious malevolence, however, was nothing when compared with the eagerness evinced by the eccentric monarch to further the views of the French despot. On the 16th of January, a Russian officer arrived at Paris, after a journey of only seventeen days, from Petersburgh; bearing a letter to the chief consul in the hand-writing of the emperor, proposing

a close union between the two powers; and the consequence was soon seen in a decree forbidding all interruption to the commerce of Russia.

At the time when Paul was thus forming a union with France, he gave orders for seizing and confiscating the property of the British merchants in the Russian ports. For this unprincipled infringement of the rights of nations, a sort of justification was set up in a proclamation, stating, "that a convention had been entered into with the court of St. James's, in virtue of which the Russian forces were to take possession of Malta, as soon as the island should have surrendered." This, however, was not done, and the British cabinet challenged the emperor or his ministers to produce any such convention respecting Malta.

While England had thus to contend alone against France and the northern league, the emperor of Austria, compelled by the disastrous turn of affairs in Italy, concluded a humiliating treaty of peace at Luneville, by which the Rhine was made the boundary of the French territory on the one side, and the Adige on the other.

Notwithstanding this gloomy and portentous appearance, British energy seemed to gather strength from difficulties; and, besides laying an embargo on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in the several ports of the kingdom, preparations were made to fit out a fleet with the utmost expedition for the Baltic. The confederated powers on their side were equally prompt; and their navy, if suffered to have formed a junction, would have amounted to nearly eighty sail of the line; which, in addition to their gun-boats and floating batteries, must have rendered the narrow seas impregnable.

In the midst of the anxiety occasioned by these exertions, the curiosity of the public was drawn off to another subject of general interest. This event was the sudden change of the British cabinet; for which, considering all circumstances, it was exceedingly difficult to assign a reason, as it was well known that Mr. Pitt and his friends not only enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign, but possessed also a commanding influence in both houses of parliament.

Various surmises, conjectures, and reports, were of course formed and circulated, to account for this unexpected revolution. By some it was ascribed to the inability of the late minister to fulfil a pledge which he was said to have given to the Irish Catholics, of procuring their complete emancipation from the operation of the penal laws; while others, on the contrary, sought the cause of this resignation in the inability of the minister to carry on the war prosperously, or to conclude peace honourably.

Whatever might be the motives in which the measure originated, certain it is, that, when the new arrangements were formed, the public disappointment was deeply felt and generally expressed. Mr. Henry Addington, speaker of the house of commons, succeeded Mr. Pitt as first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Hawkesbury became secretary for foreign affairs, in the room of Lord Grenville; Lord Eldon received the great seal from Lord Loughborough; Earl St. Vincent was made first lord of the admiralty, instead of Earl Spencer; lords Hobart and Pelham were appointed secretaries of state, instead of Mr. Dundas and the Duke of Portland; Mr. Charles Yorke succeeded Mr. Windham as secretary at war; and the Earl of Hardwicke was nominated viceroy of Ireland,

on the resignation of the Marquis of Cornwallis. Lord Lewisham, son of the Earl of Dartmouth, was placed at the head of the board of control; the Duke of Portland accepted the presidentship of the council; and the Earl of Westmoreland became lord privy seal.

Notwithstanding this change in the cabinet, the plans of the preceding administration, for the conduct of the war, were continued; and the results were particularly fortunate, for while the expedition, under Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson, against Copenhagen, put an end to the northern confederacy, the army sent to Egypt succeeded in expelling the French from that country.

This last service was dearly bought, by the loss of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who, on the 21st of March, received a wound at the battle of Alexandria, of which he died seven days afterwards, on board the Foudroyant. By no man was the death of this gallant veteran more deeply lamented than by his royal highness the Duke of York, who had repeatedly witnessed his consummate skill and undaunted courage in Flanders and Holland.

At the time when victory was crowning the British arms in Africa, another great change was brought about in Europe by the sudden demise of the emperor Paul of Russia. The accession of Alexander to the throne of the Czars made a complete alteration in the political relation of the two courts of Petersburgh and London.

One of the first acts of the new emperor, was to take off the embargo that had been laid upon British vessels; and in the same spirit of conciliation, the credentials of Count Woronzow, as envoy to the court of London, were restored.

These measures sufficiently indicated that the French influence was no longer predominant in the North; and of this the First Consul was so sensible, that he assumed an air of moderation, and expressed a readiness to listen to pacific overtures.

Negociations were accordingly entered upon, and on the 1st of October, Lord Hawksbury announced the signature of the preliminaries of peace between England on the one part, and France, Spain, and Holland, on the other. The news of this event occasioned an extravagant ebullition of joy throughout England; which was renewed with as little reason when the definitive treaty was signed in March of the following year. From the articles of that agreement, it appeared that the cessions on the part of England were profuse, and that she retained nothing of all the acquisitions gained by her arms during the war, except Trinidad from Spain, and Ceylon from Holland. The French princes were totally abandoned, as also was the unfortunate house of Savoy, after all its exertions in the common cause. Thus the enormous power of France, instead of being contracted, was increased by this treaty; and what was worse, the inglorious terms were conceded at a time when the northern confederacy was broken, and the republicans were driven out of Egypt by the British arms. It was perfectly consistent, therefore, in those statesmen who had supported the war on the principle of necessity, that they should reprobate a feverish and fretful peace, which left this country without indemnification, and Europe without any security against French ambition.

In the plain but energetic language of Lord Grenville, on this occasion, "The advantages naturally expected from peace, were, the extension of commerce,

the establishment of economy, and security from hostile aggression. But our commerce had suffered diminution by the peace:—in respect to economy, it would be necessary to keep a large military and naval force; and with regard to security, the country was left in a situation of far greater danger than at the commencement of the war, or even at any time during the progress of the contest. If war were renewed, it would be renewed with every possible disadvantage; and scarcely in three campaigns could we expect to regain by the sword what we had ceded by the pen; and if peace continued, the omission, in the treaty of Amiens, of the renewal of all ancient treaties, would be productive of the most alarming consequences."

In the opinion of Lord Grenville, and of those who acted with him on this occasion, the peace had been entered into on the part of the French ruler, merely out of personal convenience, and to answer a particular purpose; after which, some pretext would be devised for rekindling the flame of war with one or other of the continental powers, if not directly with Great Britain.

This judgment, when delivered, was ridiculed very severely, and ascribed to unworthy motives; but time quickly brought it to the test of experience, and the world did ample justice to the sentiment and principle from whence it proceeded.

CHAP. IX.

A. D. 1802 TO 1803.

THE treaty of Amiens established the power of Napoleon Buonaparte, and prepared the way for his assumption of the sovereign dignity. In the first place, he was hailed as the grand pacificator of Europe; and this compliment was followed by his election to the consular chair for life, with permission to nominate his successor. In order more effectually to secure the seat of power, a legion of honour, or an order of military nobility, was instituted, and the members of its council were made a constituent part of the senate, for the purpose of acting as the satellites of the chief on whose favour they depended. Even the administration of law and justice was rendered wholly subservient to the will of the despot, who appointed a grand judge to preside over all the tribunals.

Thus, in fact, the chains which were to bind the French people, and ultimately the nations around, were forged out of the elements furnished by the English cabinet, after an expensive and sanguinary contest, professedly entered into, and carried on, to confine France within proper limits, and to overthrow the revolutionary system with all its consequences. Yet, while the negotiations were going on, the most

active exertions were making in the French ports for the equipment of a large fleet of men-of-war and transports, capable of carrying twenty-five thousand men. At the same time, another armament was fitted out in the Texel, to co-operate with the former; the destination of both being St. Domingo, of which island possession was soon taken, and slavery restored.

The rapacity of the French government did not stop here; for the signatures of the treaty of Amiens had scarcely dried, when an army of thirty thousand men, under General Ney, marched into Switzerland, while the troops of the Helvetic republic were compelled to pass into the service of France; or, according to the curious phraseology of the imposing party, they were admitted under the paternal care of the First Consul. These strides to universal dominion, could not be observed by the imperial court without jealousy; and though the treaty of Luneville required the immediate settlement of the German indemnities and the secularization of the ecclesiastical principalities, the business now became extremely difficult and unpleasant, in consequence of the interference of the French government. The Diet of Ratisbon, which was convened for this express purpose, held twenty sittings; and it was not till the end of November 1802, that the obstacles to a final arrangement were removed. In the course of these proceedings, Osnaburg was annexed to Hanover; in lieu of which the King of Great Britain, as Elector, gave up Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter: and at the same time relinquished the rights and privileges he had formerly exercised over Hamburgh and Bremen. Previous to this exchange, an amicable arrangement was entered into between the King and the Duke of York, for the immediate cession of Osnaburg; his royal

highness readily consenting to the measure on the terms proposed by the Hanoverian government.

During these negotiations, the imperial parliament of the united kingdom assembled on the 16th of November, 1802; but the regular opening of the senate, by the King in person, was deferred till the 24th of the same month. In the mean time, a general alarm was excited by the discovery of a conspiracy, which had for its object the murder of the King, in his way to the house, as the preparatory step to a complete revolution in the state. This nefarious plot was devised by Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, an officer of the line, who had but lately been released from the Cold-Bath Fields prison.

In consequence of information received from a private in the Guards, who had been drawn into the conspiracy, a party of the police apprehended the colonel and his associates at a public house in Lambeth, and took them all into custody. On the 10th of February, in the following year, a special commission was held at the sessions house in the Borough of Southwark, for the trial of the prisoners, when Despard, and nine of his companions in guilt, were convicted, on the clearest testimony. Three of the criminals, being recommended to mercy by the jury, were pardoned; and on the 21st of the same month, all the others suffered together, according to their sentence.

It was observed by the attorney-general, on the trial of these unhappy men, "that this was a plot in which no political party, no faction, considered its interest involved; but that it stood isolated, and without supporters, beyond the narrow limits of the obscure and visionary few who attended its treasonable assemblies."

Such, no doubt, the business appeared to be at the time; yet few could bring themselves to believe that the principal in the foul design had no other connexions than the miserable victims who were drawn in by him to their ruin. That the conspiracy, insignificant and chimerical as it might appear, was part of an extensive system, might have been inferred from the form of the oath, and its preamble, as tendered by Despard to his followers. The copy found in the possession of some of the culprits ran in these terms:—

"CONSTITUTION! The independence of Great Britain and Ireland—an equalization of civil, political, and religious rights—an ample provision for the wives of the heroes who shall fall in the contest—a liberal reward for distinguished merit. These are the objects for which we contend; and to obtain these objects, we swear to be united, in the awful presence of Almighty God."

"I, A. B., do voluntarily declare, that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the object of this union; namely, to recover those rights which the Supreme Being, in his infinite bounty, has given to all men; that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishments, shall ever induce me to give any information, directly or indirectly, concerning the business, or of any member of this or any similar society. So help me God!"

By a singular coincidence, at the very time that this embryo treason was in a state of maturation, a similar conspiracy was ripening in Ireland, where the party was altogether as obscure and unsuspected as that in England.

After the suppression of the rebellion in 1798, some of the active partisans in that insurrection obtained their pardon on condition of expatriation. Hopes were entertained that this leniency, and the union of

the two legislatures, would have put an end to the revolutionary spirit. But the case was otherwise; and at the time when the intercourse with France was renewed, some of the most active of the Irish partisans returned secretly, accompanied by spies, who dispersed themselves all over the two islands, under the convenient name of commercial agents; though their real business was to obtain such local information as would enable their government at any time to effect a descent on the coast. The principal of the Irish emigrants who came back upon this mission was Robert Emmett, and he was speedily joined by several others at Dublin; where a depôt of arms was formed in the very heart of the city.

It is evident, however, that the defeat of the scheme in London had the effect of retarding the operations in Ireland; for though the conspiracy was in a state of forwardness at the end of 1801, it was not developed till the 23d of July in the year 1803, when Lord Kilwarden, the chief justice of the King's Bench, and his nephew, were inhumanly butchered in the streets of Dublin. The insurrection was happily quelled; after which vast quantities of arms were discovered, and also some papers, that enabled the government to take steps to prevent a general rising. Among these documents was one which contained an obvious allusion to the attempt of Despard; but as that incendiary had already expiated his crime on the scaffold, it is reasonable to suppose, that whatever correspondence there might have been between him and the Irish rebels, was destroyed.

While the British empire was thus disturbed by plots and rebellion, differences arose which threatened the renewal of the war between this country and France.

Buonaparte soon evinced his rancorous enmity to England by causing a number of vessels to be seized, which, trusting to the faith of the late treaty, had entered French ports for trade, contrary to an old edict, that by the revolution had been considered as virtually repealed. This measure of the consular government was the prelude to various complaints on both sides, so that it became evident the relations of peace were not likely to be of any long continuance.

The French despot, after this aggression, ventured to make demands on the British government, which could not, without a prostration of all that was dignified and honourable, be conceded. These requisitions were, first, that the princes of the house of Bourbon, and the other emigrants, should be deprived of that protection which they now enjoyed; and, in the next place, that a restriction should be put upon the press, which was continually issuing offensive publications against the character and conduct of the First Consul.

To the first of these preposterous demands, it was calmly answered, that as long as the French emigrants deported themselves without committing acts hostile to the government of any country with which his Majesty was at peace, he should deem it inconsistent with his honour and the common laws of hospitality to withdraw from them his protection. To the second, it was replied, that his Majesty neither could nor would, in consequence of any menace or representation from a foreign power, make the least concession that might, in the smallest degree, prove dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution.

In the mean time, however, a prosecution on the part of the crown was instituted against Peltier, the editor of a French journal, for libels on Buonaparte;

but though a verdict of guilty was returned by the jury, the defendant escaped punishment, owing to the political changes which, at this extraordinary period, again banished peace from the earth.

The avowed intention of Buonaparte to take possession of Egypt, and the encroachments already made by him in Europe, reduced the British government to the absolute necessity of keeping up an establishment, naval and military, more suited to a state of war than peace.

Meanwhile, the occupancy of Malta became the subject of dispute; and the more the First Consul insisted upon our evacuation of that island, the more obvious it was that he had views which rendered our retention of that post, and Egypt also, essential to the security of our Eastern dominions.

Though active negotiations were commenced on these points at Paris, between Lord Whitworth and Talleyrand, such was the impatience of Buonaparte, that, departing from the usual rules of diplomatic practice, he interfered personally in the discussions; and that with a warmth which shewed too clearly what England had to expect from his sincerity.

On one occasion, after inveighing against our government for not fulfilling the treaty of Amiens, he expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. "France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, all ready for the most desperate enterprises; and England, with a fleet which made her mistress of the seas, might, (he said,) with a proper understanding of each other, govern the world; or, by their strife, overturn it."

This extraordinary man had so little command of his passions, or sense of dignity, that he could not even

conduct himself with moderation at a public levee. On one of these court-days at the Thuilleries, he accosted Lord Whitworth in a very agitated manner, by asking what news he had from England. His lordship said, that he had received a letter two days before. Upon this, Buonaparte, without ceremony, exclaimed, "And so you are determined to go to war?" No," replied the minister, "we are too sensible of the advantages of peace." The First Consul, unsoftened by this mildness, went on saying, "We have already waged war these fifteen years." As he seemed to wait for an answer, his lordship properly observed, "That is already too long." "But," said Buonaparte, "you wish to carry it on for fifteen years more; and you force me to do it." Lord Whitworth assured him that this was very far from his Majesty's intention. Instead, however, of dropping a subject which was altogether improper for the place and occasion, this violent man went up to the Russian and Spanish ambassadors, and said to them, "The English wish for war; but if they are the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheathe it. They have no regard for treaties. We must henceforth cover them with shame." He then paced the room, but soon returned to Lord Whitworth, and began again, "For what reason are these armaments? Against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France: but if you will arm, I shall arm likewise; if you will go to war, I shall go to war also. You may perhaps be able to destroy France, but never to intimidate her."

As all eyes and ears were intent upon this novel scene, Lord Whitworth contented himself with saying, "We do not desire either the one or the other; we wish

to live in good understanding with France." "Then," exclaimed Buonaparte aloud, "it is requisite to pay regard to treaties;—wo to those who pay no regard to treaties; they will be responsible for it to all Europe." As the man was in a storm of rage, and it would have been useless to prolong the conversation with him in such a state, the ambassador preserved a dignified silence, and Buonaparte left the room for his private apartment, though there were two hundred persons present.

Notwithstanding these indications of another contest, the discussions were carried on for two months longer, without producing any thing like a disposition on the part of the French government to allay the jealousies that had been justly excited by its restless ambition.

It being, therefore, abundantly evident that no security could be obtained from a state in which every thing depended upon the will of a despot who was unrestrained by conscience or law, Lord Whitworth was recalled, and on the 19th of May arrived in London; the declaration of war having been issued against France the day preceding.

CHAP. X.

A D. 1803

NEVER did Great Britain appear to such advantage as at this eventful crisis. The war, instead of paralyzing her efforts, or creating despondency among the people, had quite a contrary effect. The vigorous exertions of the government were promptly seconded by voluntary offers of service in all parts of the empire; from one end of which to the other there appeared a unanimous spirit of resolute determination to defend the country, or to perish with its liberties and independence. One of the first acts of the legislature was a bill for embodying a new species of militia, under the denomination of an army of reserve; consisting of fifty thousand men for England, and ten thousand for Ireland, raised by ballot, and officered from the line and half-pay list.

Another measure, still more gigantic, was an act for arming and training the whole effective male population of the kingdom, to be called out in case of actual invasion, and to remain embodied till the enemy should be completely defeated.

Besides these steps of legislative precaution, a spontaneous feeling of loyalty and patriotism burst forth in every quarter, and among all classes of

society; so that in a short interval near half a million of men appeared ready armed, to defend their native shores against an unprincipled and insolent foe.

It may well be supposed, that amidst the vast accumulation of employment produced by these immense preparations, most of which were of an unprecedented description, the situation of the commander-in-chief was one extremely laborious. The mind of the Duke of York, however, was naturally active, and the habits which he had acquired rendered him fully equal to the various calls that were now incessantly making upon his time and resolution. He had, notwithstanding, some severe trials to undergo in the discharge of his public duty; and some of them too of a nature to create no little perplexity and uneasiness. At the close of the parliamentary session in August, an extraordinary motion was made in the house of lords by the Duke of Sussex, for the appointment of a military council. In support of the proposed measure, his royal highness contended that such a council was rendered necessary by the very arduous situation in which the country was placed; when the safety and independence of the nation might depend on the prudence and energy of our military operations, and when we had to contend against the first general of the age. "Other leading officers of the state," the royal speaker observed, "had boards or councils to assist their deliberations; and there was no public department in which a false step would be attended with so much danger as that of the army." In reply to this proposition, it was justly contended by ministers, that such a council, instead of assisting, would embarrass the commander-in-chief in the discharge of his professional duties; and that the present

arrangement of the staff of his royal highness was such, as to render an establishment of this nature absolutely inexpedient and injurious.

So little disposed was the house of lords to entertain this ungracious proposition, that it fell immediately, without being even pressed to a division. The Duke of York, though personally touched by it, took no interest in the question; but another circumstance that occurred at this time affected his feelings powerfully, and the more so as he was placed thereby in a situation which wholly prevented him from gratifying his wishes, by obligations of a nature not to be resisted. The Heir-Apparent to the throne, deeply impressed with a conviction that it was his duty, in the perilous state of the country, to stand foremost in its defence, applied to Mr. Addington for a permanent situation in the service, suitable to his birth and the existing danger. Not receiving any satisfactory answer from the minister, his royal highness addressed himself immediately to the King, who, in a short note, gave him a peremptory refusal, telling him at the same time that he would have an opportunity of shewing his zeal at the head of his regiment.

The Prince renewed his request, but without effect; and some time after, the following correspondence on the same subject occurred between his royal highness and the commander-in-chief.

Brighton, October 2, 1803.

My dear Brother,

By the last night's Gazette, which I have this moment received, I perceive that an extensive promotion has taken place in the Army, wherein my pretensions are not noticed; a circumstance

which, whatever may have happened on other occasions, it is impossible for me to pass by, at this momentous crisis, without observation.

My standing in the Army, according to the most ordinary routine of promotion, had it been followed up, would have placed me either at the bottom of the list of Generals, or the head of the list of Lieutenant-Generals. When the younger branches of my Family are promoted to the highest military situations, my birth, according to the distinctions usually conferred on it, should have placed me first on that list.

I hope you know me too well to imagine, that idle, inactive rank is in my view; much less in the direction and patronage of the military departments, an object which suits my place in the state or my inclinations; but in a moment when the danger of the Country is thought by Government so urging as to call forth every arm in its defence, I cannot but feel myself degraded, both as a Prince and a Soldier, if I am not allowed to take a forward and distinguished part in the defence of that Empire and Crown, of the glory, prosperity, and even existence of that People, in all which mine is the greatest stake.

To be told, I may display this zeal solely and simply at the head of my regiment, is a degrading mockery.

If that be the only situation allotted me, I shall certainly do my duty, as others will. But the considerations, to which I have already alluded, entitle me to expect, and bind me in every way to require, a situation more correspondent to the dignity of my own character, and to the public expectations.

It is for the sake of tendering my services in a way more formal and official than I have before pursued, that I address this to you, my dear Brother, as the Commander-in-chief, by whose councils the Constitution presumes that the military department is administered. If those who have the honour to advise his Majesty on this occasion, shall deem my pretensions, among those of all the Royal Family, to be the only one fit to be rejected and disdained, I may at least hope, as a debt of justice and honour, to have it explained, that I am laid by in virtue of

that judgment, and not in consequence of any omission or want of energy on my part.

I have, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) G. P. W.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c.

Horse-Guards, October 6, 1803.

DEAREST BROTHER,

NOTHING but an extraordinary press of business would have prevented me from acknowledging sooner your letter of the 2d instant, which I received, while at Oatlands, on Monday evening.

I trust that you are too well acquainted with my affection for you, which has existed since our most tender years, not to be assured of the satisfaction I ever have felt, and ever must feel, in forwarding, when in my power, every desire or object of your's, and therefore will believe how much I must regret the impossibility there is, upon the present occasion, of my executing your wishes of laying the representation contained in your letter before his Majesty. Suffer me, my dear Brother, as the only answer that I can properly give you, to recall to your memory what passed upon the same subject soon after his Majesty was graciously pleased to place me at the head of the army; and I have no doubt that, with your usual candour, you will yourself see the absolute necessity of my declining it.

In the year 1795, upon a general promotion taking place, at your instance, I delivered a letter from you to his Majesty, urging your pretensions to promotion in the army; to which his Majesty was pleased to answer, that before he had appointed you to the command of the 10th Light Dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to you, what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army, and the public grounds upon which he never could admit of your considering it as a profession, or of your being promoted in the service; and his Majesty, at the same time, added his positive command and injunctions to me never to mention this subject

again to him, and to decline being the bearer of any application of the same nature, should it be proposed to me; which message I was of course under the necessity of delivering to you, and have constantly made it the rule of my conduct ever since; and, indeed, I have ever considered it as one of the greatest proofs of affection and consideration towards me, on the part of his Majesty, that he never allowed me to become a party in this business.

Having thus stated to you fairly and candidly what has passed, I must trust you will see that there can be no grounds for the apprehension expressed in the latter part of your letter, that any slur can attach to your character as an officer, particularly as I recollect your mentioning to me yourself, on the day in which you received the notification of your appointment to the 10th Light Dragoons, the explanation and condition attached to it by his Majesty; and, therefore, surely, you must be satisfied that your not being advanced in military rank proceeds entirely from his Majesty's sentiments respecting the high rank you hold in the state, and not from any impression unfavourable to you.

Believe me ever, with the greatest truth,
dear Brother,
Your most affectionate Brother,
(Signed) FREDERICK.

Prince of Wales.

Brighton, Oct. 9, 1803.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I HAVE taken two days to consider the contents of your letter of the 6th inst., in order to be as accurate as possible in my answer, which must account to you for its being longer, perhaps, than I intended, or I could have wished.

I confide entirely in the personal kindness and affection expressed in your letter, and am, for that reason, the more unwilling to trouble you again on a painful subject, in which you are not free to act as your inclination, I am sure, would lead you; but as it is not at all improbable that every part of this transac-

tion may be publicly canvassed hereafter, it is of the utmost importance to my honour, without which I can have no happiness, that my conduct in it shall be fairly represented and correctly understood. When I made a tender of my services to his Majesty's ministers, it was with a just and natural expectation that my offer would have been accepted in the way in which alone it could have been most beneficial to my country, or creditable to myself; or, if that failed, that at least (in justice to me) the reasons for a refusal would have been distinctly stated, so that the Nation might be satisfied that nothing had been omitted on my part, and enabled to judge of the validity of the reasons assigned for such refusal.

In the first instance, I was referred to his Majesty's will and pleasure, and now I am informed by your letter, that before "he had appointed me to the command of the 10th Light Dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to me what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army."

It is impossible, my dear Brother, that I should know all that passed between the King and you; but I perfectly recollect the statement you made of the conversation you had had with his Majesty, and which strictly corresponds with that in your letter now before me; but I must, at the same time, recall to your memory my positive denial, at that time, of any condition or stipulation having been made upon my first coming into the Army; and I am in possession of full and complete documents, which prove that no terms whatever were then proposed, at least to me, whatever might have been the intention; and the communications which I have found it necessary subsequently to make, have ever disclaimed the existence of such a compromise at any period, as nothing could be more averse to my nature, or more remote from my mind.

As to the conversation you quote in 1796, when the King was pleased to appoint me to succeed Sir William Pitt, I have not the most slight recollection of its having taken place between us. If your date is right, my dear Brother, you must be mistaken in your exact terms, or at least in the conclusion you draw from it;

for in the intimacy and familiarity of private conversation, it is not at all unlikely that I should have remembered the communication you made me the year before; but that I should have acquiesced in, or referred to, a compromise which I never made, is utterly impossible. Neither in his Majesty's letter to me, nor in the correspondence with Mr. Addington, (of which you may not be fully informed) is there one word, or the most distant allusion to the condition stated in your letter; and even if I had accepted the command of a regiment on such terms, my acquiescence could only have relation to the ordinary situation of the country, and not to a case so completely out of all contemplation at that time, as the probable or projected invasion of this kingdom, by a foreign force sufficient to bring its safety into question.

When the King is pleased to tell me, "that should the enemy land, he shall think it his duty to set an example in defence of the country," that is, to expose the only life which, for the public welfare, ought not to be hazarded; I respect and admire the principles which dictate that resolution, and as my heart glows with the same sentiments, I wish to partake in the same danger, that is, with dignity and effect. Wherever his Majesty appears as King, he acts and commands; you are Commander-in-chief; others of my family are high in military station; and even by the last brevets a considerable number of junior officers are put over me. In all these arrangements, the Prince of Wales alone, whose interest in the event yields to none but that of the King, is disregarded, omitted, his services rejected; so that, in fact, he has no post or station whatsoever in a contest on which the fate of the crown and kingdom may depend.—I do not, my dear Brother, wonder that, in the hurry of your present occupations, these considerations should have been overlooked; they are now in your view, and I think cannot fail to make a due impression. As to the rest, with every degree of esteem possible for your judgment of what is due to a Soldier's honour, I must be the guardian of mine to the utmost of my power. I have, &c.

(Signed) G. P.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

My dear Brother, Horse-Guards, Oct. 11, 1803.

I have this moment, upon my arrival in town, found your letter, and lose no time in answering that part of it which, it appears to me highly necessary, should be clearly understood.

Indeed, my dear Brother, you must give me leave to repeat to you, that, upon the fullest consideration, I perfectly recollect your having yourself told me, at Carlton House, in the year 1793, on the day on which you was informed of his Majesty's having acquiesced in your request of being appointed to the command of the 10th regiment of Light Dragoons, of which Sir William Pitt was then Colonel, the message and condition which was delivered to you from his Majesty, and which his Majesty repeated to me in the year 1795, as mentioned in my letter of Thursday last, and I have the fullest reason to know that there are others to whom at that time you mentioned the same circumstance; nor have I the least recollection of your having denied it to me; when I delivered to you the King's answer, as I should certainly have felt it incumbent upon me to recal to your memory what you had told me yourself in the year 1793.

No conversation whatever passed between us, as you justly remark, in the year 1796, when Sir William Pitt was promoted to the King's Dragoon Guards, which was in consequence of what was arranged in 1793, upon your first appointment to the 10th Light Dragoons; and I conceive that your mentioning in your letter my having stated a conversation to have passed between us in 1798, must have arisen from some misapprehension, as I do not find that year ever adverted to in my letter.

I have thought it due to us both, my dear Brother, thus fully to reply to those parts of your letter in which you appear to have mistaken mine; but, as I am totally unacquainted with the correspondence which has taken place upon this subject, I must decline entering any further into it.

I remain ever, my dear Brother,
with the greatest truth,
Your most affectionate Brother,
(Signed) Frederick.

Brighton, Oct. 12, 1803.

My dear Brother,

By my replying to your letter of the 6th inst., which contained no sort of answer to mine of the 2d, we have fallen into a very frivolous altercation upon a topic which is quite foreign to the present purpose. Indeed, the whole importance of it lies in a seeming contradiction in the statement of a fact, which is unpleasant even upon the idlest occasion. I meant to assert, that no previous condition to forego all pretensions to ulterior rank, under any circumstance, had been imposed upon me, or even submitted to me, in any shape whatever, on my first coming into the service; and, with as much confidence as can be used in maintaining a negative, I repeat that assertion.

When I first became acquainted with his Majesty's purpose to withhold from me further advancement, it is impossible to recollect; but that it was so early as the year 1793, I do not remember; and if your expressions were less positive, I should add,—or believe; but I certainly knew it, as you well know, in 1795, and possibly before.

We were then engaged in war, therefore I could not think of resigning my regiment, if under other circumstances I had been disposed to do it; but, in truth, my rank in the nation made military rank in ordinary times a matter of little consequence, except to my own private feelings. This sentiment I conveyed to you in my letter of the 2d, saying expressly, that mere idle inactive rank was in no sort my object.

But upon the prospect of an emergency, where the King was to take the field, and the spirit of every Briton was roused to exertion, the place which I occupy in the nation made it indispensable to demand a post correspondent to that place, and to the public expectation. This sentiment, I have the happiness to be assured, in a letter on this occasion, made a strong impression upon the mind, and commanded the respect, of one very high in Government.

The only purpose of this letter, my dear Brother, is to explain, since that is necessary, that my former ones meant not to give

you the trouble of interceding as my advocate for mere rank in the Army. Urging further, my other more important claims upon Government, would be vainly addressed to any person who can really think that a former refusal of mere rank, under circumstances so widely different, or the most express waving of such pretensions, if that had been the case, furnishes the lightest colour for the answer which I have received to the tenders I have now made of my services.

Your department, my dear Brother, was meant, if I must repeat it, simply as a channel to convey that tender to Government; and to obtain either their attention to it, or an open avowal of their refusal.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) G. P.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

Horse-Guards, October 13, 1803.

DEAR BROTHER,

I HAVE received your letter this morning, and am sorry to find that you think that I have misconceived the meaning of your first letter, the whole tenor of which, and the military promotion which gave rise to it, led me naturally to suppose your desire was, that I should apply to his Majesty, in my official capacity, to give you military rank, to which might be attached the idea of subsequent command.

That I found myself under the necessity of declining, in obedience to his Majesty's pointed orders, as I explained to you in my letter of the 6th instant. But from your letter of to-day, I am to understand, that your object is not military rank, but that a post should be allotted to you, upon the present emergency, suitable to your situation in the State.

This I conceive to be purely a political consideration, and, as such, totally out of my department; and as I have most carefully avoided, at all times, and under all circumstances, ever interfering in any political points, I must hope that you will not

call upon me to deviate from the principles by which I have been invariably governed,

Believe me, my dear Brother,

Your most affectionate Brother,

(Signed) FREDERICK.

Prince of Wales.

Carlton-House, October 14, 1803.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

IT cannot but be painful to me, to be reduced to the necessity of further explanation on a subject which it was my earnest wish to have closed, and which was of so clear and distinct a nature, as, in my humble judgment, to have precluded the possibility of either doubt or misunderstanding.

Surely there must be some strange fatality to obscure my language in statement, or leave me somewhat deficient in the powers of explanation, when it can lead your mind, my dear Brother, to such a palpable misconstruction (for far be it from me to fancy it wilful) of my meaning, as to suppose, for a moment, that I had unconnected my object *with efficient military rank*, and transferred it entirely to the view of a *political station*, when you venture to tell me, "my object is not military rank, but that a post should be allotted to me, upon the *present* emergency, suitable to my situation in the State." Upon what ground you *can* hazard such an assertion, or upon what principles you can draw such an inference, I am utterly at a loss to determine; for I defy the most skilful logician in torturing the English language, to apply, *with fairness*, such a construction to any word or phrase of mine contained in any one of the letters I have ever written on this, *to me*, most interesting subject.

I call upon you to re-peruse the correspondence. In my letter of the 2d instant, I told you, *unequivocally*, that "I hope you know me too well to imagine that *idle, inactive,* rank was in my view," and *that* sentiment, I beg you carefully to observe, I have in no instance whatever, for one single moment, relinquished or departed from.

Giving, as I did, all the considerations of *my* heart to the delicacy and difficulties of *your* situation; nothing could have been more repugnant to my thoughts, or to my *disposition*, than to have imposed upon you, my dear Brother, either in your capacity as Commander-in-chief, or in the near relationship which subsists between us, the task, much less the expectation, of causing you to risk any displeasure from his MAJESTY, by disobeying in *any* degree *his* commands, although they were even to militate against myself.

But, with the impulse of my feelings towards you, and quickly conceiving what friendship and affection *may* be capable of, I did not, I own, think it entirely impossible that you might, considering the magnitude and importance which the object carries with it, have officially advanced my wishes, as a matter of propriety, to *military rank and subsequent command*, through his Majesty's ministers, for that direct purpose; especially when the honour of my character, and my future fame in life, were so deeply involved in the consideration; for I must here *emphatically* again repeat, "that *idle, inactive* rank, was NEVER in my view," and that *military rank*, with its *consequent* command, *was never out of* it.

Feeling how useless, as well as ungracious, controversy is upon every occasion, and knowing how fatally it operates on human friendship, I must entreat that our correspondence on this subject shall cease here; for nothing could be more distressing to me than to prolong a topic, on which it is now clear to me, my dear Brother, that *you* and I can never agree, &c. &c.

(Signed) G. P.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

CHAP. XI.

A. D. 1804 to 1808.

SUCH was the energy displayed by the government and the people on the renewal of hostilities, that within a few months the military strength of the country actually enrolled and in service amounted to six hundred and fifteen thousand men; besides which, there might on occasion be raised a supplementary force of eighty-five thousand, capable of bearing arms. Great, however, as the nation shewed itself at this period, it became evident that the people had little or no confidence in the ministry. In consequence of this, a sudden change took place at the beginning of May, 1804, when Mr. Pitt resumed the reins of state, assisted by several of his old friends; but most of his former associates now forsook him, and remained in opposition.

France also at this time exhibited changes of another kind, but such as might easily have been foreseen. Buonaparte was not a man likely to stop short in the career of ambition, or to be contented with the power without the splendour of a crown. In accomplishing this object he found no difficulty, for Liberty, Equality, and the Rights of Man had long ceased to charm the volatile Parisians, and as to the provinces, the inha-

bitants in general were become perfectly indifferent to revolutions. The assumption of the imperial title, therefore, so far from causing any convulsion in France, seemed on the contrary to afford universal pleasure; and the people danced in their chains with as much hilarity as they had lately done in the madness of republicanism.

Napoleon, soon after his elevation to his new dignity, repeated the old farce of addressing a letter personally to the King of Great Britain, announcing his "Call by Divine Providence to the throne of France," and inviting his august "Brother," to enter into a negociation for the restoration of peace.

Although such a correspondence adopted by the French ruler was contrary to all etiquette, and shewed how little he had studied the ordinary forms of good breeding; an answer to this epistle was written by lord Mulgrave to M. Talleyrand, signifying that his Majesty, desirous as he was of peace, could listen to no overtures till he had communicated with his continental connexions, particularly the emperor Alexander. The Russian monarch, upon being applied to on the subject, immediately despatched an envoy extraordinary to France, for the purpose of opening a negociation between the two powers. But before the ambassador reached Paris, the emperor was informed that Buonaparte, while professing a pacific disposition, had annexed the republic of Genoa to his dominion. In consequence of this perfidy, the Russian minister was recalled, and a manifesto was published, stating, that all hope of restoring tranquillity to Europe was destroyed.

It was now clear that the war, instead of being brought to a close, was about to take a wider range,

and that not a power on the continent would be long suffered to remain in peace. The emperor of Austria having become alarmed for his safety, consented to join the confederacy against Buonaparte; who, on his side, did not continue inactive.

With his wonted alacrity, he appeared at Strasburgh before the end of September with an immense army; and in less than a month made himself master of Ulm, the possession of which opened to him the passage to Vienna. The emperor of Austria now endeavoured to save his capital, by proposing an armistice to the victor. Napoleon, in reply, demanded that the Russian forces, then on the march, should return home; that the Hungarian levies should be disbanded; and that the Austrian troops should be withdrawn from the Venetian states and the Tyrol.

A compliance with these conditions would have reduced the throne of Austria to a state of servitude; and, therefore, Vienna was abandoned to the French, who entered it soon afterwards. By this time another power began to evince apprehensions for its fate; and on the 26th of October a contract was entered into between the king of Prussia and the emperor Alexander, who swore eternal friendship to each other, over the tomb of Frederick the Great.

The rapid progress of the French arms, however, quickly dissolved this connexion; and the battle of Austerlitz, fought on the 2d of December, put an end to the confederacy and the campaign.

Thus gloomily, for the continent, closed the year 1805; but on the other hand, the victory of Trafalgar extinguished the hopes of Buonaparte to grasp the empire of the main; and England still reared her head in triumph, while her hardy sons, animated by the

spirit of independence, defied the foe to put his threats of invasion into execution.

Nor let it ever be forgotten, that, for the advantageous position which rendered the nation an object of wonder to the rest of the world, the public gratitude was due in a great degree to the Duke of York. Indefatigable in his exertions, and impartial in his administration, he so organized and invigorated the immense military force of which he had the direction, that one spirit pervaded the whole body.

Though constantly occupied, he paid strict and prompt attention to all applications that were made to him, without any distinction of persons. In the discharge of his official duty he studiously avoided all political influence, and in no instance suffered a bias of that sort to operate in military promotion.

An instance of this assiduity and impartiality occurs in the history of the late Bishop Watson, as left for publication by himself. That prelate, it is well known, was personally obnoxious at court, and in no good favour with any of the ministers. Notwithstanding this, on the marriage of his son, then a major in the army, the bishop wrote a letter to the Duke of York soliciting his protection. By the return of post he received a most obliging answer; and in about two months the son was advanced, without purchase, to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the Guards.

On this transaction the bishop says:—

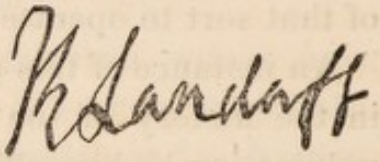
"After having experienced, for above twenty-four years, the neglect of his Majesty's ministers, I received great satisfaction from this attention of his Son, and shall carry with me to my grave a most grateful memory of his goodness. I could not at the time forbear expressing my acknowledgment in the following letter.—

"Calgarth Park, Nov. 9, 1805.

"Do my Lord of Canterbury
But one good turn, and he's your friend for ever."

"Thus Shakspeare makes Henry VIII. speak of Cranmer; and from the bottom of my heart, I humbly entreat your Royal Highness to believe, that the sentiment is as applicable to the Bishop of Landaff as it was to Cranmer.

"The *bis dat qui cito dat* has been most kindly thought of in this promotion of my son; and I know not which is most dear to my feelings, the matter of the obligation, or the noble manner of its being conferred. I sincerely hope your Royal Highness will pardon this my intrusion, in thus expressing my most grateful acknowledgment for them both."



The death of Mr. Pitt, at the beginning of 1806, necessarily produced a general change in the administration, but without affecting the Duke of York. The same year was rendered remarkable by the impeachment of Lord Melville for malversation in his office when treasurer of the navy. The charges against this celebrated statesman were branched out into ten articles; but after the most rigid investigation, nothing more could be proved against him than a culpable negligence in suffering his paymaster, Trotter, to deposit the public money in the hands of private bankers, contrary to an express statute which had been actually brought in by Lord Melville himself.

At the close of the trial, which the Duke of York attended throughout, his royal highness pronounced a

judgment of guilty on the third head of accusation, charging the noble defendant with culpable negligence, but upon all the others he gave an opposite verdict; and the result was a general acquittal.

Some notice has already been taken of the important discovery of vaccination, and of the sordid attempts made by some practitioners to invalidate the claims of Dr. Jenner, who first brought this invaluable benefit to light.

The Duke of York, on being made acquainted with the base arts which had been adopted to gain his patronage in favour of an institution founded upon fraud, withdrew his name from it; but still continued a firm friend to the new mode of inoculation. Impressed with a sense of the vast advantage of the practice, he afterwards became a subscriber to the Royal Jennerian Society, and in the present year took the chair at their anniversary dinner. On this occasion, his royal highness said, that ever since the first establishment of the institution he had been its cordial friend, from a firm conviction that it would be of unspeakable benefit to mankind. He assured them that no one could more sincerely wish success to the Society than he did. He, at the same time, expressed his regret that the misrepresentations of certain interested individuals should, in some measure, have damped the ardour of the friends of vaccination, and checked their exertions; but he had no doubt the world would soon be convinced that the advantages resulting from the practice were above all opposition, and that its beneficial effects would speedily be extended to every part of the globe.

The state of Europe at this period was extremely critical. One of the first acts of the successors of Mr. Pitt was to enter into a negociation for peace

with the French government; but while this business went on, Buonaparte was employed in making preparations for an attack upon Prussia.

To keep the English from penetrating into his designs, he encouraged the Pope that peace was at hand. Months, however, passed away in diplomatic ambiguity; and before any thing was concluded, Napoleon abruptly left Paris with his minister Talleyrand, leaving a subordinate agent to carry on the negociation with the British envoy.

The fate of Prussia was soon sealed; and when Frederick William, in this exigency, applied to the English cabinet for one hundred and twenty thousand stand of arms, to enable him to equip as many soldiers against the invader, his request was rejected. Ministers, however, at last condescended to remit the distressed monarch a sum of eighty thousand pounds, which, instead of assisting him, fell into the hands of the French. Even the emperor of Russia was not better treated, and his application to negociate a loan among the moneyed interest in this country was refused. The consequences of this strange policy were the occupancy of Berlin by the French, the defeat of the Russians at Friedland, and the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit, by which British commerce was excluded from all the ports of the Baltic.

In the mean time, the death of Mr. Fox occasioned another ministerial change, though without any alteration of public measures, or bringing the nation out of its difficulties. England, instead of gaining peace, was now, without a single friend or ally, left to combat an inveterate enemy, whose recent victories made him master of the whole continent of Europe, from the Frozen Sea to the Dardanelles.

Such was the prospect abroad, and the condition of things at home presented a view equally cheerless. The income tax was doubled; the volunteer system, which had inspired all the youth of the nation with patriotic ardour, was crippled; and an attempt was made by the visionary genius of Mr. Windham, the new secretary at war, to re-organize the whole constitution of the army.

But while thus experimentalizing with the national resources, instead of calling them forth into efficient action against an adversary from whose energy they might at least have learned a profitable lesson, another political revolution suddenly drove the ministers from the seat of power, to which they were doomed never to return.

The jealousy of the King, in regard to the claims of the Irish Romanists, was so well known, that even Mr. Fox, from whose avowed principles and connexions that party had been led to expect a speedy relief from the disabilities under which they laboured, declined to interest himself in their cause when admitted into the cabinet.

It might have been thought that what that great man considered imprudent, none of his colleagues would have ventured to agitate. But the case was otherwise, and on the demise of Mr. Fox it was resolved to hazard an attempt to carry by a manœuvre what the managers were aware they could not obtain in an open and direct way.

Serious representations were forwarded from the government of Ireland, on the necessity of granting further indulgence to the Catholics of that kingdom. In 1793 an act was passed by the Irish parliament, enabling members of the Roman Catholic persuasion

to hold any commissions in the army, except on the staff. As, however, the benefit of this act was limited to that country, the officers so privileged vacated their commissions, on the removal of the regiments to which they belonged into any other part of the empire. In this respect there was an evil that wanted redress, which might easily have been applied, without endangering the constitution. On application to the King, he consented that the act in question should be made operative throughout the United Kingdom; but the royal sanction was accompanied with this express condition, that nothing farther would be suffered.

When the official intelligence of this arrangement reached Ireland, so ambiguously was the communication worded, that neither the government there, nor the Catholic leaders, could comprehend what was actually intended.

In this embarrassment Mr. Elliot, the secretary to the lord-lieutenant, wrote immediately over for instructions, as the Catholics wished to be informed whether all commissions in the navy and army were to be thrown open to them.

This document was alone sufficient to shew the magnitude of the error that had been committed, and the dangerous consequences to be apprehended. The upright course would have been to have rectified the misapprehension by stating the plain circumstances of the arrangement, and the explicit avowal of the King, "that on no consideration whatever would he go a step farther."

At all events, his Majesty ought to have been made acquainted with the doubts that were raised, and with the anxiety for a clear understanding on the subject, that existed among the persons particularly interested

in the subject. It is customary on all occasions to send official despatches, as they arrive, in a box to the Sovereign, wherever he may be; and when any thing very important occurs, the documents are always accompanied by some memorandums, to call for the royal attention. Now, though the letter of the Irish secretary was of a nature that required a minute and more than ordinary regard to this rule; yet, strange to say, the despatch, momentous as it was, and peculiarly affecting the peace of mind and honour of the monarch, was sent down to Windsor as a common and insignificant note, unattended with a single mark or question to clear up the perplexing difficulty, and prevent any farther misunderstanding. On this account the paper was returned, amidst a mass of ordinary formularies, without undergoing any examination.

This silence, on the part of the King, was interpreted into a tacit assent to the measure which the politic statesmen had been projecting; and accordingly a second despatch was sent off, to inform the Irish government that all commissions, without exception, would henceforth be open to the Roman Catholics.

Thus stood the matter when the King came to town, but he said nothing on the subject, nor did the ministers say any thing to him, though they were at this very time manufacturing a bill, not for the extension of the Irish Act, but a new one, by which all the tests and oaths were to be repealed, and promotion in both branches of the service made equal to Catholics and Protestants. This bill was actually brought into the house of commons, and read the first time in the usual course, without the King knowing any thing of the matter: nor would he have been made acquainted with it, had he not casually asked Lord Howick (now Earl

Grey) what was going forward in the house of commons. His lordship answered, that the second reading of the bill in question was to take place on that day. His Majesty then inquired, if it was the same as the Irish Act; and on being informed that there were some additional provisions, he at once expressed his decided displeasure at the violation of the agreement.

A consultation was now held on the subject, and, at the suggestion of Lord Grenville, the bill was suspended, and ultimately withdrawn. Here the matter might have rested, for the King does not seem to have had any thoughts of changing his confidential advisers, till the ministers drew up a cabinet minute to justify their conduct, and insisting on their "right to submit in future such measures for his Majesty's decision, as circumstances might require, respecting the state of Ireland."

This was an act of defiance, and an assumption of authority, which could not well be endured from men who had throughout evinced a disposition to thwart the royal intentions, by practices as little reconcileable with honourable principles as with liberality of sentiment. Notwithstanding this, the monarch still acted with uncommon forbearance; but as he was personally offended by the conduct that had been pursued, and was even threatened with a repetition of it whenever opportunity might offer, self-respect compelled him to exact a retractation, and a written promise that he should never more be disturbed by a question which had already produced so much unpleasantness. This pledge the ministers refused to give, and their dismissal from office was the immediate consequence. At this crisis the King resolved to make an appeal to his people, and the result

answered his expectations, for the late ministers and their friends were now so unpopular, that only one member of the former cabinet was returned for the place which he had previously represented.

As the discarded cabinet stood chargeable with neglecting the affairs of the continent, and suffering Napoleon to multiply his conquests at pleasure; the new ministry appeared determined to act with more vigour. The result, however, was unfortunate; and the expedition against Copenhagen, under the plea that the French were about to occupy Holstein, had no other effect than that of hastening a war between Russia and England.

But at this eventful period, when human foresight was at a loss to conjecture what would be the issue of these wonders, the field of glory was preparing for British valour in a quarter where it could least have been expected.

The invasion of Portugal, and the attempt to place the brother of Buonaparte on the throne of Spain, brought about what the great powers of Europe had been unable to effect. Hitherto the restless disturber of the earth had to contend with potentates, cabinets, and their satellites; but now he found resistance to his ambition, in the spirit of nations resolved to maintain their independence, or to perish in its defence.

It would have been disgraceful in England to have looked on such a struggle with calm indifference; especially as Portugal was an ally, and Spain supplicated succour.

The most vigorous efforts were in consequence made, to put the military strength of the country into full employment; and such was the energy of the government, that, by the middle of the summer of 1808, Sir

Arthur Wellesley was enabled to march at the head of thirty thousand men, against the French army near Lisbon, commanded by General Junot. The battles of Roleia and Vimeira, the one fought on the 17th and the other on the 21st of August, were the first-fruits of the Peninsular war, and gave the enemy a convincing proof that Buonaparte was a false prophet, when he threatened to "drive the Leopard into the sea;" and to "carry his conquering eagles to the Pillars of Hercules."

In Spain the aspect of affairs was more chequered and gloomy; owing indeed to the disordered state of the country, and the incompetency of the force under Sir John Moore to make an effectual stand against the vast military bodies which impeded his progress in every direction. The retreat of that brave commander was peculiarly disastrous; but the battle in which he fell, at Corunna, on the 16th of January 1809, was as glorious to him and his brave companions in arms, as that of Quebec, when Wolfe sealed the conquest of Canada with his blood.

When the fatal intelligence reached England, his royal highness the Duke of York immediately published General Orders, in which he paid a noble tribute to the memory of the illustrious hero, of whom it was emphatically said, that his life had been spent among his troops.

The eulogium concluded in these terms:—"During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post of honour; and by his undaunted spirit and unconquerable persever-

ance, he pointed the way to victory. His country, the object of his latest solicitude, will rear a monument to his lamented memory; and the Commander-in-chief feels he is paying the best tribute to his fame, by thus holding him forth as an example to the Army."

From the scene of war, we must turn to one of a more tranquil description. The natal day of the Duke of York in 1808, when he completed his forty-fifth year, was celebrated at Oatlands, by his amiable consort, with a fête, to which all the royal family, and several of the nobility, were invited. Their Majesties and the Princesses were present on this joyful occasion, and took great delight in the entertainment; one of the most attractive circumstances in which was, the appearance of a large groupe of female children, seated at tables covered with viands, extended all along the lawn. These infants of the village were clothed and educated at the sole expense of the Duchess of York, who, from time to time, added considerably to the number.

CHAP. XII.

A. D. 1809.

On such a spectacle as that just noticed, the philanthropist would wish to dwell and indulge his feelings; but the biographer has no option in the choice of his materials, or command over the facts which belong to his subject. He must take events as they occur, and relate the particulars without disguise.

Panegyric is not history; and it may be doubted whether indiscriminate praise has ever effectually operated in the way of example. Men may, indeed, at first be drawn to admire the picture, but a little reflection and inquiry will soon raise a suspicion, that amidst so much excellence there must be some faults; the suppression of which tends to discredit the eulogium. He that looks for unmixed virtue in elevated rank, and a total freedom from error in public employment, betrays a gross ignorance of human nature, and a want of common discernment to judge equitably of the actions of his fellow-creatures. There are some situations which, more than others, expose men to temptations, and render them liable to mistakes. Such was the case with the Duke of York, who, as commander-in-chief, necessarily saw and conversed with persons of various characters, all seeking his favour

for their private emolument. That amidst so many applicants some should go away disappointed, who perhaps merited what they sought, while others obtained promotion, of which they were undeserving, was not at all extraordinary; for this has happened, and ever will happen, where patronage is extensive. Nor was it any more to be wondered, that the mercenary and profligate should at such a period take advantage of the weaknesses of the Duke for their own selfish ends.

The infirmities of illustrious men always attract a set of needy sycophants and worthless adventurers, who, having no honour of their own, are regardless of that by which alone they are enabled to live in splendour. Though this does not justify irregularity in the personal conduct of princes or men in high station, it will have its due weight with every candid mind, in determining how far such personages are to be considered as implicated in the practices of their dependants and connexions, whether immediate or remote. It will be proper to keep this rule of moral judgment in view throughout the whole of the present narrative.

In or about the year 1803, the Duke of York became, unfortunately, acquainted with a female named Clarke, who, though a married woman, was then living in adultery with Dowler, a stock-broker, as she had before done with an army agent, named Ogilvie. This prostitute had sufficient charms to attract the notice of a prince; and it may well be supposed, that one who had been so free of them already, would not neglect the opportunity of drawing into her net an illustrious lover, more capable of gratifying her extravagance than either of the persons with whom she

had hitherto cohabited. But, in truth, the whole was a plot, contrived by the two paramours just mentioned, in conjunction with some others, who, as the Philistine lords of old employed Delilah to entice the man of might in order to accomplish his destruction, so these confederates placed this wanton in the way of the royal Duke, to answer their own base purposes.

At first the visits of his royal highness were carried on secretly, to avoid detection, and save the lady from confusion; but this was only an essential part of the scheme, and in a short time the woman removed to a separate establishment, provided for her in Gloucester-place, Chelsea. The style of living here was such as might be expected, where there was unbounded profligacy on the one side, and excessive weakness on the other. Into such disgusting details, however, it is needless to enter; but of the ascendancy which the deceiver now gained over her victim, a lamentable proof appeared in the consent given to her demand of having a country house provided for her near Oatlands. This outrage upon decorum was aggravated by the appearance of the abandoned creature in Weybridge church, and that too at a time when the Duchess of York was present. The effect of this insult upon the royal feelings may be easily conceived; but the only resentment expressed at it was in a remonstrance to the minister, in consequence of which the insolence was not repeated.

It was impossible that a connexion of such a nature should subsist without exciting general notice; but this very publicity served to further the views of the intriguers who projected it, and who now profited by the iniquitous scheme, to carry on a lucrative traffic.

Agencies of various kinds were established, the directors of which held out inducements of the most flattering nature, to impose upon the unwary, and make them believe that a secret influence existed, by which promotion in the army might be speedily obtained, and far below the regulated scale of the war-office. The persons with whom the mistress of the Duke of York was associated were thorough masters of their business, and knew so well how to carry it on without detection, that numbers who became dupes to their artifices, chose rather to put up with the loss of the money out of which they had been swindled, than to incur the disgrace of a public exposure in seeking justice.

That this fatal ascendancy over the mind of the Duke was productive of some abuses in the military department, cannot possibly be denied; but if he, in an evil hour, listened to the recommendations and requests of a woman who proved herself an adept in fraud, malice never could fix upon him the charge of knowing that he was the instrument of corrupt practices. Every application made to him, through this unfortunate medium, had at least the colour of rectitude; and the persons for whom the royal favour was solicited, seemed, as far as could be judged under such circumstances, not unworthy of what was sought.

The greatest error of his royal highness, after entangling himself in this wretched manner, was that of giving encouragement to any such applications at all; and the next was, that of countenancing profuse habits, which he ought to have known could not be supported even by his ample bounty.

At length the embarrassments in which the woman

became involved by her expensive mode of living, made her creditors clamorous; and when she pleaded her coverture to avoid payment, some of the suffering party vowed revenge. One of these, undeterred by the plea, brought his action of debt, and then turned the tables upon her, by serving the Duke of York with a subpœna to appear and give evidence in the court of King's Bench. The plaintiff knew very well that this measure would at once terminate his lawsuit, and probably ruin his antagonist. His calculation was correct in both respects. The eyes of the Duke were now opened; the mouth of the creditor was stopped; and Mrs. Clarke was discarded on the 11th of May, 1806; when Mr. Adam, the king's counsel, and now a judge in Scotland, in the name of his royal highness, gave her an assurance that she should receive four hundred a year for life, on the condition, however, of her good behaviour. Though precipitated from an eminence where she had revelled in luxury, the woman might still have lived in comfort by acting with prudence. But accustomed to the indulgence of her passions, and impatient of all restraint; she now, with her advisers, resolved to turn the knowledge and influence she had acquired by her late situation, into a source of fraudulent gain.

Her connexion with Dowler, which for obvious reasons had never been broken off, was now so closely renewed, that, on the sale of her effects in Gloucester Place, and removal to Hampstead, she passed by his name. At this period the agency business was still carried on with great activity, for some time, through Jews, milliners, and clerks in various offices, who reaped considerable advantages from the concern. The system, however, could not last long; and at length

the dupes were so few, that a new scheme became necessary for the agitators.

It was in consequence determined to open a masked battery against the government, and by alarming its fears compel it to the purchase of silence.

In the management of the second plot, another set of conspirators embarked, though not to the entire exclusion of the former associates of Mrs. Clarke.

The persons engaged in this adventure were mostly connected with the public press, and at the head of them was a well-known bookseller, who then had a country house at Hampstead, where, from his prying disposition, he was not long in discovering the true name and character of his neighbour.

To a man whose head has ever been exercised in projects, and whose moral principles never scrupled the means of bringing them to effect, no occurrence could be happier than this intercourse with the discarded mistress of royalty. The lady was as communicative as could be wished, and the honest publisher treated her with all the courtesy of a professed gallant. In short, enough was elicited to enable this experienced politician to commence operations, with a view principally to his own interest, though he promised Mrs. Clarke, that by his exertions she would certainly obtain a douceur of ten thousand pounds, and a handsome annuity besides.

The press was now set to work, and with matchless cunning, the parties, instead of making a direct attack upon the Duke of York, began with setting forth, in elaborate detail, the hard case of the Duke of Kent. This was a stratagem extremely well calculated to cover the real design of the conspirators; since, without having the appearance of such an

object, it placed the commander-in-chief in an invidious point of view, by contrasting his elevation with the depression of his brother.

In literary tactics, especially of the political kind, an adroit practice has been occasionally played, of publishing for the same end, pieces apparently in hostility to each other. Such was the case in the present instance. Pamphlets and paragraphs appeared pretending to be vindicatory of the Duke of York, whereas, in fact, they came from his confederated enemies, for the purpose of placing him in a light to require an apology.

None of these artifices took effect, and the illustrious personage, upon whose fears they were intended to operate, remained quiescent; neither alarmed by the calumnies, nor deceived by the justifications, of his conduct. Public curiosity, however, was awakened, and stories were circulated, not only to the prejudice of the Duke, but injurious to others of the royal family. As these reports were treated with perfect indifference, the fair presumption is, that the illustrious personage who was principally affected, felt no uneasiness in regard to any accusation that could be brought against his public conduct.

Notwithstanding this, the tongue of calumny became louder, and broad hints were thrown out to ministers, threatening them with disclosures which would shake their power, and probably create a commotion in the country. Even all this proved unavailing, for such was the confidence of government in the integrity of the Duke of York, that the overtures of the confederates were rejected, and their menaces despised. This put the party to a stand, and they became divided; one set persisting in keeping matters

suspended for the purpose of making a good bargain; whilst the others, who were actuated by revenge, and the desire of displacing the commander-in-chief, privately resolved, without consulting their associates, to bring the business before the House of Commons.

The principal in this faction was Gwillym Lloyd Wardle, who had been a colonel in the Welsh Fuzileers, and was now member for Oakhampton; and his main coadjutors were Major Thomas Dodd, secretary to the Duke of Kent, and James Glenie, a discarded lieutenant of the artillery. These three worthies, having supplanted their friend the bookseller and his subordinates, took Mrs. Clarke upon an excursion along the coast, in the autumn of 1808, professedly, as was pretended, to entertain the lady; but in reality, to collect from her the particulars requisite for the formation of a charge against the Duke of York at the opening of parliament.

The female instrument, without whom nothing could be done in this business, had no idea of the length to which her new friends intended to proceed; and, therefore, she was extremely communicative in her intercourse with them. The author of all evil never acted with greater hypocrisy than these contrivers of mischief did in entrapping the miserable woman to a course which covered her with infamy, and, ultimately, themselves with disgrace. It would scarcely be credited, that the three members of an honourable profession could so far degrade it, as to take the cast-off mistress of a man of their own calling into the country, for no other purpose than to gather from her the history of his failings, and anecdotes of his family. Such, however, was the fact, as afterwards appeared in the evidence of those very persons when

examined in a court of justice, on a transaction arising out of their iniquitous plot.

Having by these, and other arts of a like description, collected sufficient materials on which to found an impeachment, the triumvirate laboured incessantly in framing the indictment, which, it must be admitted, was ingeniously constructed, and closely dove-tailed in all its parts, by the engineer Glenie, a man of unquestionable talent, but of a most vengeful disposition.

Every thing being prepared, Wardle, on the 27th of January, 1809, got up in the House of Commons, and, after claiming to himself credit for the integrity of his motives, entered upon the particulars of his charge against the Duke of York.

The first point in the case, related, he said, to the half-pay fund, which was an establishment under the direction of the commander-in-chief. This fund arose out of the sale of commissions vacant by death; by the promotion of officers not allowed to sell; or by dismissions from the service. The power of the commander-in-chief over this fund was constituted to be the reward of merit, either by the appointment of deserving officers, or by selling the commission, and applying the produce to the redemption of half-pay commissions, or the compassionate fund.

Having thus explained the nature of that institution, the colonel proceeded to give an account of Mrs. Clarke's estsblishment in Gloucester-place, being under the necessity of so doing, in order to make out a parliamentary basis for his motion. The first case to which he now called the attention of the House, was that of Captain Tonyn of the 48th regiment of foot, who was promoted to a majority in the 31st, by the influence of Mrs. Clarke. The terms of agreement were, that the lady should be paid five hundred pounds when the appointment took place; and this sum she actually received through the medium of one Donovan, who was at the same time a practising surgeon in London, and a lieutenant in the 11th Royal Garrison Battalion.

Here it became necessary to observe, that the regulated difference between a company and a majority being 1100 pounds, that sum was entirely lost to the half-pay fund. The money so received by Mrs. Clarke, was paid by her to Birket, a silversmith, in part for a service of plate; and the balance was afterwards discharged by the commander-in-chief.

The second case adduced was, that of Lieutenant-colonel Brooke, of the 56th regiment of infantry, who, on the 25th of July, 1805, concluded an exchange with Colonel Knight of the 5th Dragoon Guards. The agent for negociating this transaction was Dr. Thynne, a physician, and the circumstances were these: Mrs. Clarke wanting money to defray the expenses of an excursion into the country, urged the commander-in-chief to hasten the exchange, for which she was to receive a douceur of two hundred pounds: the business soon took effect, the exchange was expedited, and hence the inference was drawn, that the Duke was privy to the contract.

The next case was that of Major John Shaw, who was appointed barrack-master at the Cape of Good Hope, through the influence of Mrs. Clarke. It was known that this officer by no means enjoyed the favour of the Duke of York, who, on the contrary, was prejudiced against him. Every obstacle, however, was overcome by the royal mistress, on an agreement that she should be paid one thousand pounds for her interest. Though the place was gained, only one half of the money was paid; in consequence of which breach of contract, the Major was reduced to half-pay.

The next case was that of Colonel French and his levy. This officer obtained, through the same prevailing influence, permission from the commander-in-chief to raise a levy in the years 1804 and 1805, when the system of recruiting in that mode was much encouraged. Colonel French, according to this statement, was favoured in the grant, on the express condition that Mrs. Clarke, besides receiving one guinea for every man so enlisted, should also have the sale or patronage of a certain number of the commissions.

This agreement, it was said, met with the entire approbation of the Duke of York; and with it the exhibition of Mrs. Clarke's military negociations was concluded: but the following curious scale of her prices for commissions, was produced by way of supplement. From this list, according to the statement, it appeared that a majority, which in the regular course would cost two thousand six hundred pounds, might be obtained for nine hundred; a company, for which in the proper channel fifteen hundred pounds must have been paid, was to be had for seven hundred; and the rest in proportion.

Mr. Wardle did not stop here, but went on to state that the Duke of York had actually required of Colonel French a loan of five thousand pounds, which was promised on condition that the commander-in-chief would obtain, by his influence, payment to the colonel of a balance due to him on account of his levy. The engagement failed, and three thousand pounds remained due to the colonel by the government.

The string of cases was closed with that of Captain Maling; who was said to have obtained an ensigncy in 1805; a lieutenancy in 1806; and a company in the Royal African Corps, in 1808; although he was all the time a clerk in the office of Mr. Greenwood, the army agent. Colonel Wardle concluded, by observing, that he could state more facts if necessary, and in particular, that there was then a public office in the city for the sale of commissions; the managers of which were the agents of the present mistress of the Duke, named Carey. These managers, the colonel said, declared that they were also enabled to dispose of places both in church and state, and that they were employed by two of the first officers in the administration.

Having summed up this sweeping charge, with suitable comments on the cases of Tonyn, Knight, Shaw, French, and Maling, the honourable member moved for the appointment of a committee to investigate the conduct of his royal highness the commander-in-chief, with regard to promotions, exchanges, and appointments in the army, and in raising levies for the same.

It would have been unjust to oppose a proposition founded on such explicit statements, and, therefore, it was carried without any alteration, and the committee appointed for the first of February. No part of this elaborated denunciation excited more fixed attention than that respecting the office said to be established for the disposal of government patronage; and as the mover did not include this case in his charge, Mr. Percival requested further information on the subject; when the colonel replied, "that the establishment was in a court in Threadneedle-street; that the names of the agents were Heylop and Pullen; and that the two members of the cabinet, for whom they acted, were the Duke of Portland and the Lord Chancellor."

This last statement convulsed the house with mirth; and so egregiously absurd did the accusation appear, that many on both sides, upon whom the preceding articles had made a deep impression, were now inclined to look upon the whole as a romantic fiction.

Indeed, so confident were ministers of being able to overthrow with ease this complicated mass of charges, that, instead of acting with cautious reserve, and regulating their movements according to the operations of the enemy, they displayed at the outset an indiscreet air of triumph; and, in no measured language, anticipated a complete victory for the Duke, to the utter confusion and infamy of his accusers. That these statesmen were really of opinion the inquiry would end in the way they wished, cannot be doubted; yet common policy should have made them more guarded in their conduct and temperate in their expressions; especially as they knew that the Duke had involved himself in very unfortunate circumstances by his imprudence.

The connexion with Mrs. Clarke, and its rupture, being notorious, ought to have induced a suspicion, when the accusation was opened, that some underhand

practices had existed during the intimacy, the disclosure of which could not fail to prove injurious, in some respect or other, to the character of the illustrious personage. In such a case, and having an insurmountable evil before them, it became the duty of ministers, with a due regard to the feelings of the Sovereign, the honour of the Duke, and the peace of the nation, to have prevented the introduction of this scandalous business into the House of Commons.

At all events, when the mine exploded, and investigation was no longer to be avoided, it behoved the advisers of the crown to have watched the development of the evidence given in support of the charges, with the calm attention of judges, rather than the impassioned zeal of advocates. In this they failed, and to that cause chiefly was the Duke indebted for the storm of contumely, against which it was out of his power to make an effectual stand; though conscious to himself, that whatever might be his private errors, his public honour was free from stain.

The world, however, forms its judgment from appearances; and the examination of the various witnesses, brought far and near to support the charges, furnished so much serious matter for reflection, that those who hitherto had been disposed to entertain the most favourable opinion of his royal highness, were perplexed with doubt, and hesitated between their hopes and fears. The principal witness throughout the investigation, was the heroine of the drama; who deported herself, in every examination, with such uncommon spirit, readiness at repartee, and address in parrying the attacks of the formidable parties with whom she had to contend, that, instead of being viewed with the disgust which she merited, the woman became almost

a general favourite; and, next to the manager of the scene, she was held up as an object for public gratitude. It was clear, from the whole of her testimony, that she had, from the beginning, been the partner in a concern, of which the influence of the Duke of York formed the capital resource; and, in the next place, it was no less manifest, that in the getting up of the impeachment, and the regulating of her evidence from day to day, she went through a constant course of instruction under teachers of no ordinary skill and dexterity.

In the course of the inquiry, two of the witnesses, General Clavering and Captain Sandon, one the dupe and the other the associate of Mrs. Clarke, were committed to Newgate for gross prevarication; but the conduct of these men, in endeavouring to save themselves from detection, was in reality a presumptive proof that, though the most nefarious practices had been carrying on, it was without the participation of the commander-in-chief.

The impression upon the public mind, however, was too strong to be removed by reasoning; and at length the Duke was reduced to the necessity of transmitting the following letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, who read it from the chair:—

Horse-Guards, Feb. 23d, 1809.

SIR,

I HAVE waited, with the greatest anxiety, until the committee appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into my conduct as commander-in-chief of his Majesty's army, had closed its examinations, and I now hope that it will not be deemed improper to address this letter through you to the House of Commons.

I observed, with the deepest concern, that, in the course of this inquiry, my name has been coupled with transactions the most criminal and disgraceful; and I must ever regret and lament, that a connexion should have existed which has thus exposed my character to animadversion.

With respect to any alleged offences connected with the discharge of my official duties, I do, in the most solemn manner, on my honour as a prince, distinctly assert my innocence, not only by denying all corrupt participation in any of the infamous transactions which have appeared in evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, or any connivance at their existence, but also the slightest knowledge or suspicion that they existed at all.

My consciousness of innocence leads me confidently to hope, that the House of Commons will not, upon such evidence as they have heard, adopt any proceedings prejudicial to my honour and character; but if, upon such testimony as has been adduced against me, the House of Commons can think my innocence questionable, I claim of their justice, that I shall not be condemned without trial, nor be deprived of the benefit and protection which is afforded to every British subject, by those sanctions, under which alone evidence is received in the ordinary administration of the law.

I am, Sir, yours,

FREDERICK.

Though this letter was received with respect, it produced no resolution, till the 8th of March, when Colonel Wardle moved an address to his Majesty, praying for the removal of the Duke of York from the office of commander-in-chief. Mr. Percival met this proposition by a counter-address, regretting the existence of a connexion, which had presented an opportunity of coupling his royal highness with transactions so criminal and disgraceful, expressing the gratification of the House at the contrition of his royal highness, and a confident assurance that he would hereafter

pursue the virtuous example of his Father. Neither of these motions passed, and an adjournment took place till the 10th, when Mr. Bankes brought forward resolutions complimentary to the manner in which the Duke had improved the state of the army, acquitting him of personal corruption, but suggesting to his Majesty, that to continue the command in the hands of the Duke of York, would be equally inconsistent with prudence and morality. Even this motion did not succeed; and much altercation took place as to the proper course to be pursued in the agitated state of the public mind.

Giving way, therefore, to the pressure of circumstances, the Duke tendered his resignation to the King; and on the 20th of March, the fact being announced to the House, the proceedings came to an end, on the motion of Lord Althorp.

Thus far the enemies of his royal highness gained their object, and their leader became intoxicated with the applause which he received. The Corporation of London voted him the freedom of the city; he was elected a member of the Whig Club; and addresses were sent to him from several parts of the kingdom.

Political popularity, however, is very uncertain, and the praises of the mob are not more easily gained than lost. Within a few months, Wardle became an object of contempt, and his associates were covered with infamy. The immaculate accuser, who had not only vaunted the purity of his own motives, but even the patriotism of Mrs. Clarke, had now to stand the test of a legal inquiry, which at once destroyed his character, and soon drove him and his principal colleagues out of society.

Wardle having so far obtained his object, now endeavoured to get rid of his connexion with Mrs. Clarke. But in this he was outwitted. Previous to the investigation, in order to secure her evidence, he bespoke a quantity of furniture for her, of an upholsterer named Wright. On the close of the parliamentary business, the tradesman sent in his bill, and expected to be paid; but his demand was refused, and an action at law ensued. The trial came on in the Court of King's Bench on the 3d of July, and the evidence being decisive, the colonel was cast. Exasperated at this decision, and not less so at the shock which it gave to his ephemeral and ill-acquired reputation, Wardle addressed a letter to the public, declaring solemnly before God, that the verdict given against him was obtained by perjury, and that he would prove the fact as soon as the forms of law permitted him to do so.

To redeem this pledge, he, in the ensuing term, indicted his friend Mary Anne Clarke, the upholsterer Francis Wright, and his brother Daniel Wright, for a conspiracy. This remarkable trial came on in Westminster Hall, before Lord Ellenborough and a special jury, on the 10th of December; and, unfortunately for the prosecutor, by calling Dodd and Glenie as his witnesses, the subornation of evidence in the case of the Duke of York was so completely proved by their evidence, and that of Wardle himself, that the jury immediately agreed in a verdict of acquittal.

The active part taken by Dodd in this infamous conspiracy, induced a suspicion that his royal master must have had some knowledge of the concern. To clear himself from this reflection, the Duke of Kent applied to Lord Harrington, colonel of the Life

Guards, the result of which was the following statement:—

Questions put to Captain Dodd by his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent; and the Answers of the former thereto.

26th July, 1809.

Question.—Have I, directly or indirectly, sanctioned, advised, or encouraged any attacks upon the Duke of York, to your knowledge?

Answer.—Never. T. Dodd.

Question.—Have I had, to your knowledge, any acquaintance or communication with Colonel Wardle, or any of the parties concerned in bringing forward the investigation respecting the Duke of York's conduct, which took place in parliament last winter, either directly or indirectly?

Answer.—I feel confident that your Royal Highness has no such knowledge or acquaintance. T. Dodd.

Question.—Have I, to your knowledge, ever had any acquaintance with, or knowledge of, Mrs. Clarke, or any communication with her, direct or indirect, upon the subject above named, or any other?

Answer.—I am confident your Royal Highness never had. T. Dodd.

Question.—Have I ever expressed to you any sentiment which could induce you to believe that I approved of what was brought forward in parliament against the Duke of York; or of any proceeding that would tend to his obloquy or disgrace?

Answer.—Never. I have heard your Royal Highness lament the business *viva voce*, and you made the same communication to me in writing. T. Dodd.

Question.—Have you ever, to your recollection, expressed yourself either by word or in writing, either to Colonel Wardle or Mrs. Clarke, or to any other person connected with the investigation of the Duke of York's conduct, in any way that could give them reason to suppose that I approved of the measure, or would countenance those concerned in bringing it forward?

Answer.—Never; but I have on the contrary expressed myself, that your Royal Highness would have a very different feeling. T. Dodd.

Question.—What were my expressions on the subject of the pamphlets which appeared, passing censure on the conduct of the Duke of York, and others of my family, and holding up my character to praise; and what have been the sentiments which I have uniformly expressed on similar publications, whether in the newspapers or elsewhere?

Answer.—I have invariably heard your Royal Highness regret that any person should attempt to do justice to your own character at the expense of that of the Duke of York, or of any other member of your family. T. Dodd.

Question.—During the ten years you have been my private secretary, when in the most confidential moments I have given vent to my wounded feelings, on professional subjects, did you ever hear me express myself inimical to the Duke of York, or that I entertained any expectation of raising myself by his fall?

Answer.—Never! On the contrary, I have frequently heard your Royal Highness express yourself very differently. T. Dodd.

The above questions, written in Colonel Vesey's hand, were all dictated by me, EDWARD, in the presence of Lord Harrington.

(Signed) "HARRINGTON."
"J. A. VESEY."

Among the scandalous anomalies which characterized this disgusting business, the publication of private letters, written in moments of hilarity, was one that reflected more disgrace upon the parties that dragged the correspondence to view, than the personage who was made the object of ridicule.

It is related of the great Lord Falkland, that, when secretary of state, he would never open the private letters of suspected persons; thinking it unjust to turn confidential communications into matter of crimination.

This was carrying the principle of honourable feeling to an extreme length; but what is to be thought of the conduct of persons who could take a pleasure in laying before the world, letters from which nothing could be inferred but the infirmity of the writer, and the preponderance of the syren in whose toils he was unfortunately entangled? Time was, when such things would have been discountenanced in public; but now, the reading of them produced levity in a senate, and the publication of the letters followed for the amusement, and not the edification, of the people.

The only instance of such a scandalous violation of decorum, to be found in the records of British history, is that of the printing of the letters which passed between the unfortunate Charles the First and his queen Henrietta Maria. But no liberal-minded man, it is presumed, would ever think of adducing the example of a body of regicides, as a justification of a breach of the laws of honour and morality.

CHAP. XIII.

A. D. 1809 TO 1814.

SIR David Dundas was appointed commander-in-chief, on the resignation of the Duke of York, who retired to Oatlands, where he indulged himself in rural amusements, and the improvement of his farm.

The distress into which the royal family were thrown by the degradation of one whose goodness of heart made him the favourite of the whole domestic circle at Windsor, was soon after heightened by the death of the Princess Amelia, and the melancholy event of which it was the occasion.

During the long and painful malady of the princess, the good old King paid regular visits to the side of her couch, consoling her by his discourse, and, by pointing her thoughts to heaven, endeavouring to strengthen his own faith and resignation. Just as the tide of life was ebbing away, the princess contrived to put on the finger of her father, a ring enclosing a lock of her hair, and as she placed it, said with a tender accent, "Remember me!"

The affecting memorial operated like an electric shock upon the feelings of the venerable parent; and on retiring, his mind became so disturbed that it was evident reason had undergone another shipwreck. The death of the princess, which happened immedi-

ately after, saved her mind from being agonized by the reflection that she was the innocent cause of this sudden derangement.

The time fixed for the prorogation of parliament having expired, both houses assembled, and an examination of the royal physicians took place; the result of which was an adjournment from time to time till the 28th of December 1810, when Mr. Percival produced three propositions as the basis for the constitution of a regency, similar to what had been adopted on a former occasion. The debates which followed were extremely animated; but the same course of reasoning was pursued now, as when the question was a new one in parliament. At length, however, ministers carried their resolutions for a limited regency; the restrictions upon which were to expire on the 18th of March, 1812.

The ceremony of installing the Prince of Wales into his high office, was performed on the 6th of February, 1811; and immediately afterwards his royal highness evinced his regard to the Duke of York, by restoring him to the situation of commander-in-chief.

Considering the short time that had intervened between the resignation and re-appointment of the Duke, it was to have been expected that this change would have produced some clamour. Nothing of the kind, however, occurred; and though Lord Milton moved for a censure upon ministers on account of this measure, his motion was lost by a majority of two hundred and forty-nine. In this debate, several members, who, in the former proceedings, had appeared in opposition to the royal Duke, now voted in his favour, declaring their regret in having been carried away on the preceding occasion by popular prejudice.

Scarcely had the commander-in-chief resumed the important post, from which he had been exiled by the machinations of a band of conspirators, and the noise of the giddy multitude, when the gratifying intelligence arrived of the extraordinary ascendancy of British valour displayed in the battle of Barrosa, in Spain, where General Graham, now Lord Lynedoch, defeated Marshal Victor. In this action, the brigade of Guards, under Major-general Dilkes, covered itself with glory, of which his royal highness took particular notice in the following communication to that officer, dated March 29, 1811.

"I take the earliest opportunity in my power of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 9th of March, and of thanking you for your obliging attention in communicating to me thus early, what relates to the distinguished conduct of my gallant old friends the Guards, under your command, in the glorious and severely contested action of the 5th. While I congratulate you and them on the successful result of an action, in which their efforts were so conspicuous, and so deserving of the admiration with which all have viewed them, I cannot conceal my deep feelings of regret, that it has been attended with so severe and painful a loss of officers and men, which upon this occasion, perhaps, makes a deeper impression upon me, as many of the latter were old soldiers, and faithful companions, whose meritorious exertions I have myself witnessed, and had occasion to approve upon former occasions.

"I have read with great satisfaction in Lieutenant-general Graham's despatch, the high and well-earned encomiums bestowed upon your conduct, and that of the officers and men engaged under your command; and, as a brother Guardsman, (a title of which I shall ever be most proud) and colonel of the corps, I trust I shall not be considered as exceeding the limits of my station, in requesting that you will yourself receive and convey

to the brigade under your orders, my sincere and cordial thanks for having so gloriously maintained, and indeed, if possible, raised the high character of a corps in whose success, collectively and individually, I shall never cease to take the warmest interest."

As the restrictions by which the Prince Regent was limited in the exercise of the prerogative were about to expire; his royal highness directed his thoughts to the formation of a ministry that should reconcile parties for the public benefit, without requiring any compromise of principle. For this purpose, he entrusted the negociation of the concern to the Duke of York, in the following letter:—

My dearest Brother,

As the restrictions on the exercise of the royal authority will shortly expire, when I must make my arrangements for the future administration of the powers with which I am invested, I think it right to communicate those sentiments, which I was withheld from expressing at an early period of the session, by my warmest desire, that the expected motion on the affairs of Ireland might undergo the deliberate discussion of parliament, unmixed with any other consideration.

I think it hardly necessary to call your recollection to the recent circumstances under which I assumed the authority delegated to me by parliament. At a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger, I was called upon to make a selection of persons to whom I should entrust the functions of the executive government. My sense of duty to our royal Father solely decided that choice; and every private feeling gave way to considerations which admitted of no doubt or hesitation. I trusted I acted in that respect as the genuine representative of the august person whose functions I was appointed to discharge; and I have the satisfaction of knowing, that such was the opinion of persons, for whose judgment and honourable feelings I entertain the

highest respect in various instances, as you well know. When the law of the last session left me at full liberty, I waved any personal gratification, in order that his Majesty might resume, on his restoration to health, every power and prerogative belonging to his crown. I certainly am the last person in the kingdom to whom it can be permitted to despair of our royal Father's recovery. A new era is now arrived, and I cannot but reflect with satisfaction on the events which have distinguished the short period of my restricted regency. Instead of suffering in the loss of her possessions, by the gigantic force which has been employed against them, Great Britain has added most important acquisitions to her empire. The national faith has been preserved inviolable towards our allies; and if character is strength, as applied to a nation, the increased and increasing reputation of his Majesty's arms will shew to the nations of the Continent, how much they may achieve when animated by a glorious spirit of resistance to a foreign yoke. In the critical situation of the war in the Peninsula, I shall be most anxious to avoid any measure which can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system. Perseverance alone can achieve the great object in question; and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honourably distinguished themselves in support of it. I have no predilections to indulge,—no resentments to gratify,—no objects to attain, but such as are common to the whole empire. If such is the leading principle of my conduct,—and I can appeal to the past as evidence of what the future will be,—I flatter myself I shall meet with the support of parliament, and of a candid and enlightened nation. Having made the communication of my sentiments in this new and extraordinary crisis of our affairs, I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I should feel, if some of those persons with whom the early habits of my public life were formed, would strengthen my hands, and constitute a part of my government. With such support, and aided by a vigorous and united administration, formed on the most liberal basis, I shall look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most

arduous contest in which Great Britain was ever engaged. You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to Lord Grey, who, I have no doubt, will make them known to Lord Grenville.

I am always, my dearest Frederick, your very affectionate Brother,

(Signed) GEORGE P. R.

Carlton House, Feb. 13, 1812.

P. S. I shall send a copy of this letter immediately to Mr. Percival.

The Duke of York lost no time in the discharge of this commission, but, in reply, he had the mortification to receive the following letter:—

SIR, Feb. 15, 1812.

WE beg leave most humbly to express to your royal highness our dutiful acknowledgments, for the gracious and condescending manner in which you have had the goodness to communicate to us the letter of his royal highness the Prince Regent, on the subject of the arrangements to be now made for the future administration of the public affairs; and we take the liberty of availing ourselves of your gracious permission, to address to your royal highness in this form, what has occurred to us in consequence of that communication. The Prince Regent, after expressing to your royal highness in that letter his sentiments on various public matters, has, in the concluding paragraph, condescended to intimate his wish that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his royal highness's hands, and constitute a part of his government: and his royal highness is pleased to add, that with such support, aided by a vigorous and united administration, formed on the most liberal basis, he would look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain has ever been engaged. On the other parts of his royal highness's letter we do not presume to offer any observations; but in the concluding paragraph, in so

far as we may venture to suppose ourselves included in the gracious wish which it expresses, we owe it, in obedience and duty to his royal highness, to explain ourselves with frankness and sincerity. We beg leave most earnestly to assure his royal highness, that no sacrifices, except those of honour and duty, could appear to us too great to be made, for the purpose of healing the divisions of our country, and uniting both its government and its people. All personal exclusion we entirely disclaim: we rest on public measures; and it is on this ground alone that we must express, without reserve, the impossibility of our uniting with the present government. Our differences of opinion are too many and too important to admit of such a union. His royal highness will, we are confident, do us the justice to remember, that we have twice already acted on this impression; in 1809, on the proposition then made to us under his Majesty's authority; and last year, when his royal highness was pleased to require our advice respecting the formation of a new government. The reasons which we then humbly submitted to him, are strengthened by the increasing dangers of the times; nor has there, down to this moment, appeared even any approximation towards such an agreement of opinion on the public interests, as can alone form a basis for the honourable union of parties previously opposed to each other. Into the detail of those differences we are unwilling to enter; they embrace almost all the leading features of the present policy of the empire. But his royal highness has, himself, been pleased to advert to the late deliberations of parliament on the affairs of Ireland: this is a subject, above all others, important in itself, and connected with the most pressing dangers. Far from concurring in the sentiments which his Majesty's ministers have, on that occasion, so recently expressed, we entertain opinions directly opposite: we are firmly persuaded of the necessity of a total change in the present system of that country, and of the immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which so large a portion of his Majesty's subjects still labour on account of their religious opinions. To recommend to parliament this repeal, is the first advice which it would be our

duty to offer to his royal highness, could we, even for the shortest time, make ourselves responsible for any farther delay in the prospect of a measure, without which we could entertain no hope of rendering ourselves useful to his royal highness, or to the country. We have only further to beg your royal highness to lay before his royal highness the Prince Regent, the expression of our humble duty, and the sincere and respectful assurance of our earnest wishes for whatever may best promote the ease, honour, and advantage of his royal highness's government, and the success of his endeavours for the public welfare. We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "GREY."
"GRENVILLE."

To His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

The failure of this negociation fixed the existing ministers in their places; but shortly afterwards another change ensued, occasioned by the assassination of Mr. Percival.

Upon this melancholy catastrophe, the Prince Regent empowered the Marquis Wellesley to organize an entire new cabinet. In the execution of this commission, that nobleman called to his assistance Earl Moira and Lord Erskine; but the lords Grey and Grenville refused to co-operate with the marquis, when they understood that he had secured the station of prime minister to himself.

In this exigency the Regent gave a fresh commission to Earl Moira; who met with no better success, for the same lords now demanded not only the disposal of the political appointments, but even those of the private household of the prince. With this unreasonable requisition his royal highness would have complied, had not Lord Moira indignantly restrained him from such

an act of degradation; and the result was, that, after three weeks' suspension, the former servants of the crown were reinstated, Lord Liverpool taking precedence as the head of the cabinet.

Though the year commenced in gloom, its close was brilliant, and afforded a prospect of repose to suffering Europe. The disastrous campaign of Buonaparte in Russia created him a number of formidable enemies; and the expulsion of his hordes from Spain, by Lord Wellington, threatened the downfall of his imperial throne. Still, much remained to be accomplished, and while the confederated powers on the continent pressed forward with their united forces to strike the decisive blow, the British government acted with equal vigour for the same important object. The utmost activity prevailed at the war-office, and throughout every branch of the military establishment such exertions were made, and such order was observed, that the necessary reinforcements and supplies were not only promptly furnished when demanded, but were often anticipated. By these means the British general was enabled to cross the Pyrenees, and enter France at the head of a numerous army, the operations of which materially aided the efforts carried on by the allies on the opposite side, and ultimately contributed to the downfall of Napoleon and the restoration of the ancient government.

CHAP. XIV.

A. D. 1814 TO 1816.

FEW happier scenes could be exhibited to the friend of peace and social order than the public entrance of Louis XVIII. into the English capital, on the 20th of April 1814. The monarch was met, at Stanmore, by the Prince Regent, who accompanied him in the same carriage to town. On their arrival at Grillon's Hotel, in Albemarle-street, where apartments had been prepared for his majesty, he was received by about one hundred of the French nobility. On entering the room, the king, turning to the Regent, thus addressed him:—"I want words to express the sentiments of gratitude and regard with which I am deeply penetrated. To you, Sir, I owe every thing; my life, even my daily bread, and what is more, the restoration of myself and family to our beloved country, and to the throne of our ancestors."

The king then took off the order of St. Esprit, which he wore, and invested the Prince with it; who received the distinction with an elegant expression of his joy at the occasion, and the hope that no event would occur to disturb the harmony which was now restored between the two nations. On the following day a Chapter of the Garter was held, when the king was

invested by the Prince with the insignia of that order. At the same time the French monarch, in the most feeling manner, conferred the order of St. Esprit upon his royal highness the Duke of York. On the 23d the king left London, and was accompanied to Dover by the Prince Regent, who remained with him till his departure.

The war being thus brought to an end, nothing remained but to reward those who had contributed to its success. While peerages and pensions were granted to some of the principal officers serving under Lord Wellington, the commander himself was raised to the ducal dignity; and, in addition to this honour from the sovereign, a deputation of the house of commons waited upon him to congratulate his grace on his return to his native country. The duke, in reply, assured the gentlemen that it would afford him the highest pleasure to return his thanks in person to the House of Commons.

Accordingly, on the first of July the noble warrior made his appearance in the body of the house, all the members rising uncovered at his entrance. After a short pause, he addressed the Speaker in a plain and modest speech, expressive of his obligations to the parliament for its liberality, and to the government for its energy, during the arduous services in which he had been engaged. The noble duke, on this occasion, took the opportunity of paying a tribute of respect to the commander-in-chief, which was the more impressive by being couched in a few simple words.

From this interesting and pleasing scene we must turn to another of a different kind.

The preparation now making for the reception of the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, with a large

train of other illustrious visitors, while it diffused an eager delight among all ranks, from the throne to the cottage, created at the same time some considerable uneasiness in the royal family.

As on such an occasion the levees and drawing-rooms were naturally expected to be unusually crowded and splendid, the regulation of them became a matter of important concern.

This business, under the present circumstances of the family, devolved chiefly on the Queen, whose situation may be conceived from the tenor of the letter which she wrote to the Princess of Wales, in which she informed her royal highness "that she had received a communication from her son, the Prince Regent, stating, that her Majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he considers that his own presence at court cannot be dispensed with; and that he desires it may be distinctly understood, for reasons of which alone he could be the judge, it was his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or in private." The Queen, in conclusion, then observed that she was under the painful necessity of intimating to the princess the impossibility of receiving her royal highness at either of her drawing-rooms.

Upon this, the princess replied in very sharp terms to the Queen and the Regent; but as her remonstrances could not shake the resolve of the latter, she adopted the extraordinary measure of addressing the Speaker of the House of Commons on the subject.

The communication being read from the chair, a debate ensued; but as the case was one that could not be entertained in that assembly, the affair terminated

in a manner little to have been expected from the manner in which it commenced. They who advocated the cause of the princess, instead of supporting her original claim to the distinctions due to her rank, now consented to the proposal of ministers, that she should receive a pecuniary compensation; and her royal highness was accordingly gratified by a parliamentary grant of thirty-five thousand a year.

During the management of this strange business, the public mind was suddenly agitated by the elopement one night of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, from Pall Mall to Connaught-House, the residence of her mother. The Princess of Wales being greatly embarrassed by this proceeding of her daughter, immediately drove to the House of Commons, then sitting, to consult with her friends as to the proper course to be adopted; and the result was, that at three o'clock in the morning the young fugitive was prevailed upon to accompany her uncle, the Duke of York, to Carlton-House; from whence she was removed to Cranbourn-Lodge in Windsor Forest.

Shortly after this unpleasant transaction, the Princess of Wales quitted the kingdom, and never saw her daughter more.

Previous to this unpleasant occurrence, the imperial and royal visitors arrived, and a round of festivities marked their stay in this country. The Duke of York was assiduous in his attention to the illustrious guests, whom he accompanied to Oxford, next to the civic feast in Guildhall, and lastly to Portsmouth, where a grand naval review astonished Frederick William, and delighted Alexander.

The emperor, while here, though highly amused with the various objects presented to his view, paid most

regard to those institutions which were calculated for the public benefit.

In one of his conversations, he familiarly asked the Duke of York, where the English kept their poor; as he had seen none of that class since he came into the country.

The next day, his royal highness and Lord Yarmouth took the emperor to St. Martin's workhouse, with the whole economy of which Alexander was extremely pleased; but said, this was not what he wanted; his curiosity being excited to know where the poor were to be found? On being informed that every parish had an asylum of this kind, and that all paupers were provided for by act of parliament, he raised his hands and exclaimed, "It is no wonder England is mistress of the world."

The same summer the Duke of York, who was never more pleased than when employed in promoting works of substantial benevolence, laid the foundation stone of the Westminster National School for the education of one thousand children, to which establishment he was, through life, a liberal benefactor.

The next year commenced with the institution of a new military order, grafted upon that of the Bath, for the purpose of commemorating the auspicious termination of the war, and for rewarding the valour, perseverance, and devotion of his Majesty's forces by sea and land. Of this honourable Order, the Duke of York was nominated Grand Master.

But while England was this employed in entwining wreaths of laurel for the brows of her heroic leaders, the sound of the clarion was again heard, calling them to the field of glory. That restless spirit, which had so long disturbed Europe, having escaped from Elba

and effected a landing in France, advanced rapidly to Paris, and succeeded in organizing a new army, to secure him on the throne which he had usurped.

As soon as the allied powers were apprized of this sudden irruption, they came to the only resolution that could be adopted when the safety of all was at stake; and it was settled to send eight hundred thousand men into the field. Fortunately the military establishment of Britain was in such a state that the Duke of Wellington was enabled at once to make head against the foe; and the battle of Waterloo was the consequence of this vigilance and promptitude.

Had it not been for the incessant application of the Duke of York at this eventful crisis, neither the Prussian nor the British commanders could have acted on the offensive, till probably it might have been too late to do so effectively. By sending forth the military resources of the country immediately and collectively, the enemy was met in such a manner that his discomfiture was accomplished before the Russians or Austrians could come into action.

The Duke of Wellington gladly acknowledged this fact; and, in consequence of it, a unanimous vote passed the commons, "That the thanks of this House be given to his royal highness the Duke of York, captain-general and commander-in-chief of the British forces, for his continual, effectual, and unremitting attention to the duties of his office, for a period of more than twenty years, during which time the army has improved in discipline and in science to an extent unknown before; and, under Providence, risen to the height of military glory."

Thus the tongue of malice was for ever silenced by the record of parliament; for even the leaders of oppo-

sition were compelled on this occasion to bear testimony to the public integrity of the royal personage who had been treated as a delinquent.

One of the most flattering marks of respect paid to the Duke of York on this occasion, came from Mr. Whitbread, who said, that he knew not how to object to the motion, without the appearance of ingratitude, after the noble tribute that had been rendered to his royal highness the commander-in-chief, by the Duke of Wellington; and that, therefore, under such circumstances, he could not possibly withhold his sanction from the proposed vote.

Shortly after this signal triumph over prejudice, his royal highness met with a serious accident at Oatlands, by breaking his left arm between the shoulder and elbow joint: but the fracture was immediately reduced, and he soon recovered from its effects.

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1816 TO 1818.

In consequence of the stagnation of trade, and the distresses of the labouring part of the community, a public meeting was convened to be held on the 29th of July, 1816, at the London Tavern. The Duke of York presided on the occasion, and the meeting was attended by the Dukes of Kent and Cambridge, the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor of the exchequer, and many other distinguished characters.

In the midst of the proceedings, some of the factious spirits of the day broke into the room, and endeavoured to disturb the harmony of the assembly by inflammatory speeches. Little notice was taken of the intruders, and the business concluded with the opening of a subscription, to which the Prince Regent contributed five hundred pounds, the Queen, the Dukes of York and Cambridge, three hundred pounds each; the Princess Charlotte, and her consort Prince Leopold, four hundred pounds; and each of the other branches of the family one hundred pounds. The bank of England gave two thousand pounds; and by the donations of the benevolent, in less than three weeks the subscription amounted to thirty-five thousand pounds.

This incident, in the history of the Duke of York, brings to recollection another instance of his promptness to further the cause of philanthropy.

About the time that Mr. Percival was assassinated, some gentlemen formed the design of procuring a subscription for the manufacturing and labouring poor, who were then in a state of great misery.

The meeting was to be held in Freemasons' Hall; and a gentleman, well known to his royal highness, repaired to the Horse Guards, but found that he was in the country about one hundred miles distant. An express was instantly despatched; when the Duke, without loss of time, hastened up to London, and reached the hall just in time to take the chair. His presence essentially aided the benevolent purpose, and the contributions exceeded the most sanguine hopes of those who projected the scheme.

On this occasion the Duke expressed himself highly gratified, in having been able to forward the humane object, adding that he should be at all times happy in lending his assistance towards promoting any benevolent design; and that for this purpose he would most readily obey any call made upon him to preside, in order to further the ends of charity.

The sudden and melancholy death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, at the close of 1817, while it placed the Duke of York next in succession to the throne, at the same time made a chasm not easy to be repaired. On this account, and to provide against contingencies, it was deemed expedient to form some matrimonial alliances among the junior branches of the royal lineage. Accordingly, on the 7th of April, 1818, the Princess Elizabeth was united to the hereditary Prince of Hesse Homberg. This ceremony was performed

with great solemnity in the saloon of the Queen's palace, where her Majesty took her station in a splendid chair of state, to the left of the altar; while the different branches of the family ranged themselves according to order. The archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishop of London, officiated; and the bride was given away by the Duke of York, the Prince Regent being prevented by the gout.

No application was made to parliament in favour of the royal couple; but shortly after, a message was sent down to both houses, stating that a matrimonial alliance was negociated between the Duke of Clarence and the Princess of Saxe-Meningen, and another between the Duke of Cambridge and the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse. It was, therefore, earnestly recommended to parliament, to provide a suitable establishment for the two princes, to enable them to support their dignity in a proper style. Considering the profuse and extravagant grant that had been made to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg, it was little to have been expected that any opposition would be made to the motion for increasing the incomes of our own princes of the blood. Such, however, was the fact; and when ministers proposed an additional allowance of ten thousand a year to the Duke of Clarence, and six thousand to the Duke of Cambridge, a majority of the House of Commons negatived the first motion, and put both brothers upon the same footing. At the same time, a proposition to grant six thousand a year to the Duke of Cumberland was rejected altogether.

In consequence of this treatment, the marriage of the Duke of Clarence was suspended for the present, though the treaty was soon after renewed, and before the end of the summer the nuptials were solemnized;

as well as those of the Duke of Kent with the sister of the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg.

The contrast between the royal family and the senate at this period was remarkable; for while the one evinced a spirit of parsimony, very disgraceful to the representatives of a great nation, the princes, who were so cruelly treated, appeared particularly conspicuous in promoting liberally works of beneficence.

On the 29th of April, the London National Schools underwent a public examination at the Mansion House, in the presence of the Queen, the Duke of York, and some other members of the royal family. The Egyptian Hall was appropriated to this interesting scene, where the Lord Mayor, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and a great number of persons of distinction, attended. The business commenced with the introduction of the scholars, of whom there were about three hundred girls, and more than seven hundred boys. When they were all arranged, they sung a hymn, and repeated part of the church service. The great body was then dismissed, and each class was afterwards introduced in succession. On a word being given, the children spelled it, and wrote it on their slates. They performed exercises in arithmetic in a similar manner, and read several chapters in the bible. When the business was over, the examiners, secretary, and others, were introduced to her Majesty, who was highly pleased with the scene she had witnessed.

On the 1st of May, a meeting was held at Freemasons' Tavern, for the purpose of raising a subscription in aid of the National Schools. It was attended by many dignitaries of the church, and several noblemen and gentlemen of the first consequence in the

kingdom. The Duke of York having taken the chair, the archbishop of Canterbury stated, that there had been raised for this institution, by public subscription, the sum of above thirty-eight thousand pounds, with which a central school, that was a model for all others, had been founded. Here four thousand, four hundred and forty children were educated, and instruction given to above five hundred masters and mistresses. Out of this fund, two hundred and seventy-six schools received assistance, and in one thousand, one hundred, and forty-four branches of those schools, one hundred and sixty-five thousand children were now receiving education. A subscription being opened, her Majesty and the Prince Regent contributed five hundred pounds each, the Duke of York one hundred guineas, the Prince and Princess of Homberg a like sum, and many others followed with proportionable liberality, making in the whole amount, about five thousand pounds.

On the 6th of the same month, the anniversary meeting of the Yorkshire Society, for maintaining, clothing, and educating of the children of poor natives of that county, resident in the metropolis, was held at the London Tavern. The Duke of York was in the chair, and readily acceded to the request of becoming patron of the institution.

But with the joy produced by the royal marriages, and the benevolent exercises in which the august family took so much delight, much pain was mingled; for though new relations were formed, old ones were dissolving, and they who had lived long together in perfect harmony, were about to be separated for ever.

On the 27th of May, the Duke and Duchess of York gave a splendid entertainment to the whole of the

royal family, when, in the midst of the festive scene, the Queen was suddenly seized with a spasmodic affection of so alarming a nature, that the party broke up in the utmost distress. Though her Majesty recovered from the violent attack, it became evident that the system had sustained an irreparable shock; in consequence of which, no time was lost in hastening through parliament a bill to amend that part of the regency act which related to the custody of the person of the King. After providing for the increase of her Majesty's council, it was enacted, that in case parliament was in a state of prorogation at the period of the Queen's demise, it should be called together within sixty days from that period.

The royal invalid soon after this removed to Kew, where she lingered till Tuesday, November 17th, when death closed her sufferings, in the midst of her afflicted family. The Prince Regent, and the Duke of York, with the Princesses, were in constant attendance upon their venerable parent, and supported her in her last moments. She knew them all, looked on them with affectionate regard, and would have spoken, but the power of speech was denied, and she went off without a sigh or a struggle.

CHAP. XVI.

A. D. 1818 to 1820.

THOUGH the guardianship of the King's person devolved by the Queen's death on the Duke of York, in virtue of a special act of parliament; such was the virulence of party spirit, that an opposition was set up against his royal highness's receiving the ten thousand a year, which had been granted to her Majesty for the like charge. An amendment was even moved, to reduce the allowance one half; but the proposition failed, and the original motion was carried by a large majority.

The opponents of the grant had the meanness to demand, that the expense should be defrayed out of the privy purse; but his royal highness, with becoming indignation, refused to take what he considered to be the sacred property of his Majesty.

In the discharge of this important trust, the Duke was most assiduous; but while executing it, he met with a singular accident. In the act of opening the door of a room in Windsor Castle, one of his spurs caught the loop at the bottom of his pantaloons, which caused him to fall, when he unfortunately broke his right arm, as he formerly had done the left, about three inches above the elbow joint. The fracture was set very

soon after the occurrence, by the attendant surgeon of the household, and no bad consequences were the result.

The marriage of the Duke of Kent having been productive of a daughter, the 24th of June was appointed for the christening; on which occasion the royal font of gold was removed from the Tower to Kensington palace, for the celebration of the ceremony. The archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishop of London, officiated; and the royal infant was named by the Duke of York, as the representative of the emperor of Russia—Alexandrina Vittoria.

The Prince Regent, and nearly all the royal family, were present on this joyful occasion; which seemed to promise many years of union and happiness. Fate, however, decided otherwise; and the same company never again met together. The circumstances of the Duke of Kent being so very circumscribed as to render a rigid economy necessary; he went to reside at Sidmouth in Devonshire, where he was carried off suddenly by a fever produced from cold, on the 23d of January, 1820.

While the preparations were making for the interment of this junior branch of the family, an express arrived early on the morning of the 29th of the same month, apprizing the Duke of York that a sudden change had taken place in the state of the King, and that his dissolution might hourly be expected. His royal highness immediately hastened to Windsor, and at thirty-five minutes past eight o'clock the same evening, he witnessed the peaceful departure of his venerable parent from a world to which he had been long dead,—to one that had ever been the governing principle of his conduct during the whole of his long and eventful reign.

In the earlier stages of the good King's malady, an experiment was sometimes made to recall his recollection, and direct his attention to public affairs; but the attempt was soon laid aside, when it was found to create an irritation dangerous to his repose.

Notwithstanding this, his Majesty's recollection of past times was very exact, and the occasional sketches which formed part of his soliloquies, afforded a convincing proof that his mental powers had been once strong and steady. Clouded as his intellect was, it still retained the impression of royal dignity, and never did the royal patient forget, amidst all his wanderings, that he had been, and still was, a monarch.

At the funeral, which took place on Ash Wednesday, the Duke of York officiated as chief mourner; on which occasion he was observed to be most sensibly affected; and in his feelings the whole of the numerous assemblage appeared to sympathize.

About this time his royal highness received a flattering mark of civic distinction, with which he was very much gratified. This was a deputation from the worshipful Company of Drapers, requesting him to accept the freedom of that corporation. In this address it was said, that "The Court of Assistants, in common with their countrymen, entertained a high and grateful sense of the very important services rendered by his royal highness to the realm, in the management of the army; which, under his conduct, had attained a perfection almost unexampled; and enabled this country, under Providence, to contribute most essentially to the deliverance of Europe from evils as great as any with which the world was ever visited."

Whatever pleasure the Duke might feel from such unbought testimonials to his public services, was

alloyed by the ferment now excited to disturb the peace of his sovereign and brother.

The Quee -consort, who had been now absent above five years, no sooner received the intelligence of the demise of the late King, than she formed the resolution of returning home, and asserting her claims to regal honours. This was a painful business to the royal family, and peculiarly embarrassing to ministers, who were obviously taken by surprise.

For a considerable period before the present change, strange rumours had been circulated throughout Europe, concerning the deportment and connexions of the royal wanderer. Government, on being made acquainted with these unpleasant reports, caused an inquiry to be instituted into the truth of them; but the result was kept a profound secret from the public, till the sudden resolution of the Queen rendered some measures necessary to justify the withholding from her those marks of distinction, to which, as the consort of the King, she had a legal claim. When the Queen reached St. Omer, near Calais, then, and not before, ministers appeared alarmed, and attempted to divert her purpose by overtures of a pecuniary nature, which she spurned, and by threats, which she set at defiance. From St. Omer she despatched three letters, one to the Earl of Liverpool, another to Lord Melville, and a third to the Duke of York. The first contained a peremptory order that one of the palaces should be forthwith prepared for her reception; in the second, she called upon the first lord of the admiralty to send a royal yacht to Calais, to convey her and her suite to England; and the last was a recapitulation of both demands, with a vehement remonstrance against the manner in which she had been treated.

These requisitions were disregarded, and the Queen hastened to London, where, on her arrival, a communication was made to both houses of parliament, followed by a body of papers, forming the ground of a prosecution against her Majesty for adultery.

When the bill of pains and penalties came under consideration, and a call of the House took place in consequence; the Duke of Sussex addressed a letter to the Chancellor, desiring to be excused from attending, on account of his consanguinity to the parties. This apology was admitted, and the permission granted. The Duke of York, upon this, immediately arose and said, that if one person, on a variety of grounds, had stronger claims than another, to request leave of absence upon this occasion, he was that individual; but that he would not suffer any private feelings to deter him from doing his duty, however painful it might be.

To this declaration the Duke punctually adhered; and for which he had the distinguished honour of being noticed by some of the hired advocates of faction and licentiousness, in the language of abuse.

To every moral mind, however, his conduct in this instance must have appeared in a light which merited praise instead of reproach. The case was of a high nature, and one that involved interests of the utmost moment to the national reputation; independent of the peace of the illustrious family immediately concerned. Under such circumstances, it would have betrayed a pusillanimity in the Duke of York, inconsistent with his known character, had he shrunk from the exercise of his legislative functions, on an occasion that so materially affected the honour of the crown. His royal highness knew what belonged

to his situation too well, to truckle to the multitude for a little ephemeral popularity; and his regard to truth would not suffer him to assume the pernicious disguise of indifference, when called upon to act in a judicial capacity.

While the nation was agitated by this disgusting investigation into the conduct of one female of the highest rank; public sympathy was excited by the death of the Duchess of York. The declining state of her royal highness's health had long been a subject of fearful anxiety among her friends and domestics; but within a few weeks previous to her dissolution, nature seemed to have gained a triumph, and hopes were entertained that the virulence of her disease had received an effectual check. Unhappily those expectations were fallacious; and the spasmodic attacks to which she had been long subject, returned with alarming violence.

On Tuesday morning, the 1st of August, the symptoms were such, that an express was sent off from Oatlands to the Duke, who was then in town, and holding a levee at the Horse Guards. His royal highness, having seen all the gentlemen on his list, hastened in his single-horse chaise to York House, where his travelling chariot was in readiness, and set off instantly for Oatlands. On his arrival, he had the satisfaction to find the Duchess recovered from the attack, and enjoying some repose; in consequence of which, he returned to London, to resume his public duties; and on Friday and Saturday he was present with the King, at two grand reviews on Hounslow Heath.

On the evening of Saturday, however, he received a fresh summons, and repaired with all possible de-

spatch to Oatlands, where he found his amiable consort in the most dangerous state, and the spark of life fast declining towards final extinction.

Every thing that medical art could suggest, or diligence perform, to prolong the vital energies, was had recourse to, but in vain, and soon after nine o'clock on the morning of the 6th, her royal highness expired, in the presence of her husband and attendants. This event, though anticipated, produced the strongest sensations of grief in the mind of the Duke, and some time elapsed before he could collect his spirits sufficiently to communicate the sad intelligence to the members of his family, and the ministers of state.

The life of the Duchess was marked by scarcely any circumstances calculated to bring her prominently under public observation. She mixed very little in the gaieties of fashionable life, nor did she take any part in the domestic occurrences of the royal family which led to public discussion and solicitude. Easy of access, affable, and benevolent, she spent her whole time in promoting the comforts and the happiness of every individual, however humble, within her sphere of observation.

The children of the whole neighbourhood, at least all who stood in need of assistance, were considered by the Duchess as belonging to her household. They were accordingly clothed and educated under her own immediate inspection, and entirely at her expense. Every Saturday whole troops of these infants were to be seen crossing the park in their simple clean attire, to the mansion of their royal benefactress, from whose hand they frequently received cakes and wine.

As they grew up, the patronage of her royal highness was still continued; the girls being either put out

to service, or provided for with suitable employment, while the boys were apprenticed at the charge of the Duchess, who also gave marriage portions to the deserving, and extended her benevolence to their rising families. Among her own household, not a servant was married without having a house furnished by her royal highness; so that the estate and vicinity abounded with cottages tenanted by persons who had been domestics of the mansion-house. The Duchess also founded two benefit societies, for the encouragement of industrious labourers; one at Weybridge, and the other at Walton-upon-Thames, both of which she not only liberally endowed at the outset, but unceasingly watched their progress and fostered their interests.

Besides this, she had a long list of infirm pensioners, of both sexes, in London, who received regular allowances, some five, others ten, and some even twenty pounds a year. The catalogue of public charities exhibited also ample testimony of her zeal to further objects of benevolence, and of the concern which she took in every thing calculated to promote the happiness, or to alleviate the sufferings, of her fellow-creatures. In fact, this illustrious princess never turned away her ear from the prayer of want, or the complaint of misery. On the contrary, she had a hand as open as day to melting charity; so that it might be truly said, the blessing of the poor and needy was upon her in life, and that their tears followed her to the grave. Nor let it be forgotten, that in all these exercises of humanity, the Duchess met with the full and cheerful concurrence of her royal consort; who was pleased, at her demise, to direct that all her charities should be regularly continued.

But it was not the human race alone that expe-

rienced the goodness of this amiable lady; her beneficence extended to the whole animal creation. Even the rooks, when driven from the neighbouring fields, found protection on the royal demesne, where they soon established an extensive colony.

On this amiable trait in the character of the Duchess, the late Lord Erskine, who frequently visited her, wrote the following lines:—

At Oatlands, where the buoyant air
Vast crowds of rooks can scarcely bear,
What verdure paints returning Spring!
What crops surrounding harvests bring!
Yet swarms on every tree are found,
Nor hear the fowler's dreaded sound.
And when the kite's resistless blow
Dashes their scatter'd nests below,
Alarm'd they quit the distant field,
To seek the park's indulgent shield;
Where, close in the o'ershadowing wood,
They build new cradles for their brood,
Secure—their fair protectress nigh,
Whose bosom swells with sympathy.

To the canine species the Duchess was remarkably attached; and it was no uncommon thing to see her in the park surrounded by thirty or forty of these animals of various sorts, as English lapdogs, Dutch pugs, and French barbettes. Their respective litters were taken great care of, and the young ones not unfrequently boarded out, under the superintendence of the cottagers. Nor was this tenderness confined to them while living, for a cemetery was actually formed in the park to receive their remains.

Among the other amusements of the Duchess, gardening constituted one of the most favourite; and she also took great delight in collecting shells, with which

she formed one of the finest grottoes ever seen in this kingdom, expending thereon, it is said, near twelve thousand pounds.

Some time before her death, the Duchess expressed a particular desire that her remains should be deposited, not in the royal mausoleum at Windsor, but in a small vault which was prepared by her own orders in the parish church of Weybridge. The Duke, when consulted upon the subject of the funeral, at once determined that the wish of his lamented consort should be complied with; and directions were accordingly given that the obsequies should be performed as she had requested, and that with as little ostentation as possible.

The vault is on the south side of the church, immediately under the pew that was commonly occupied by the domestics of Oatlands. The entrance is on the outside of the church, so that the body was in the first instance to be deposited in the aisle of the sacred edifice; and, after the first part of the service, to be conveyed outside to the place of interment. For the convenience of those who took part in the procession, a boarded platform was laid from the church porch to the entrance of the vault. This was about eight feet wide, and bounded on each side by a rail covered with black cloth. Immediately over the vault, and extending about twenty feet from the church wall, was a covered way, which was also hung with black.

Adjoining the royal vault is another, wherein lie the remains of the former wife of Colonel Bunbury, and two of her relatives. This lady, who had occupied a house just outside the park at Oatlands, was a most intimate and dear friend of the Duchess of York; and it was settled between them, that their mortal relics

should lie as near each other as possible, in testimony of the perfect amity that had cemented their hearts for many years.

On the evening of Sunday, the royal body was placed in a wooden coffin, which, on Wednesday, was enclosed in one of lead. On Saturday, the 12th of August, the state coffin arrived at Oatlands, from London, in a hearse and four. It was covered with crimson velvet; and the plate bore this inscription:—

DEPOSITUM
ILLUSTRISSIMÆ PRINCIPISSÆ
FREDERICÆ CHARLOTTÆ ULRICÆ CATHARINÆ,
CONSORTIS ILLUSTRISSIMI PRINCIPIS
FREDERICI DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBURGH,
DUCIS EBORACI ET ALBANIÆ,
FRATRIS AUGUSTISSIMI, ET POTENTISSIMI MONARCHIÆ
GEORGII QUARTI
DEI GRATIA BRITANNIARUM
REGIS FIDEI DEFENSORIBUS:
OBIIT
VI DIE AUGUSTI, ANNO DOMINI
MDCCCXX,
ÆTATIS SUÆ
LIV.

On the 13th, after morning service, persons were admitted to view the body lying in state. Daylight was excluded, and the dim rays of a few wax tapers, placed in silver sconces, faintly illumined the gloomy scene.

The foot of the outside coffin only was visible, the greater part being enshrouded in a black velvet pall. On the breast, resting on a velvet cushion, was placed the coronet; and on each side, as well as on the walls

of the apartment, were displayed the armorial bearings of the royal family. At the head of the coffin was fixed a satin escutcheon, containing the quarterings of the royal houses of Great Britain and Prussia; and a still greater degree of splendour was thrown upon the state room, from six large wax candles which burned on each side of the coffin.

The formation of the dining-room of the late Duchess was upon a new and improved arrangement, and the roof being gathered up, so as to form a tent, added considerably to the mournful effect. The five ladies who attended during the view of the public, and who relieved each other, were Lady Anne Culling Smith, Mrs. Kendall, Mrs. Sylvester, Mrs. Thorley, and Miss Downard.

It was at first arranged, that the gates of the park should be closed at four o'clock, and that no person should be admitted out of mourning: as this rule, however, could not be traced to any authentic source, and numbers came in colours, the steward gave orders for the gates to be opened to those who presented themselves; saying, he was sure it was the Duke's wish that all ranks should be permitted to pay the last token of respect to the departed Duchess; and, in consequence, every description of persons obtained admission till half-past five.

This solemn ceremony was repeated the next day; but it was found impracticable to throw the doors open to the public after one o'clock, as there were upwards of one hundred horses to arrange for the procession; and those only who came to attend the funeral, with a few others, were admitted to witness the most affecting scene of all,—that of the Duke seated at the head of the coffin during the whole of the last hour.

The crowd which assembled to witness this solemnity, was immense; not only from the adjacent villages, but from London; yet, by the precautions that were adopted, the utmost order was observed, and no accidents happened.

The schools of girls and boys, supported by her royal highness, the former consisting of twenty-two, and the latter of fourteen, all of whom appeared in deep mourning, provided at the expense of the Duke, (except two who wore the uniform of Christ's Hospital, to which the Duchess had gained their admission,) were also permitted to view the awful spectacle of their benefactress lying in state; with which they appeared deeply affected.

As the hour of the funeral approached, the company began to arrive; and the Duke of Cambridge, accompanied by Colonel Stevenson, alighted at Oatlands at a quarter past one from London, and Prince Leopold a few minutes after from Claremont. The Duke of Sussex, accompanied by Sir Thomas Stepney, came at twenty minutes before two from Kensington; and the Duke of Clarence followed soon after from St. James's.

At three o'clock the Duke of York rose from sitting in state, and the arrangements were immediately made for the procession to move in the following order:—

Four Mutes on horseback.

The twenty-two Girls and fourteen Boys, two and two, headed by their

Mistress and Master.

The Duke of York's State Carriage, drawn by six beautiful greys, decorated with black plumes, and new black velvet cloth, bordered with fringe; the hammer cloth of black; the coachman, postilion, and grooms to each horse, all in deep mourn-

ing. This carriage contained Sir Thomas Stepney, carrying her late royal highness's coronet on a crimson velvet cushion, supported by Colonels Berkeley and Armstrong.

The Hearse, with the ROYAL BODY, covered with a superb Pall, drawn by the Duchess's six iron greys, with black harness, and ornamented with black plumes, black rosettes on their manes, and each horse covered with a new velvet cloth, on which were the coronet and royal arms; a groom to each horse; and the hearse driven by the Duchess's own coachman, in deep mourning; on each side of the hearse were the royal arms, and at the back the arms and initials of her royal highness; the bottom of the velvet covering being ornamented with fringe, as also was the velvet hammer cloth.

The carriages, containing the Duke of York, and the other mourners, then succeeded in the following order:—

The First Carriage.
His Royal Highness the DUKE of YORK, chief mourner,
accompanied by
His Royal Highness Prince Leopold, and the
Right Honourable the Earl of Lauderdale,
as Executors to the late Duchess.

Second Carriage.
Their Royal Highnesses:
The Duke of Clarence,
The Duke of Sussex, and
The Duke of Cambridge.

Third Carriage.
Pall Bearers:
Sir H. Torrens,
Sir H. Calvert,
Sir W. Gordon,
Sir H. Taylor.

Fourth Carriage.
Lady A. C. Smith,
Marchioness of Worcester,
Miss Fitzroy, and
Miss C. Smith.

Fifth Carriage.
Marquis of Worcester,
Lord Alvanley,
Right Hon. Sir B. Bloomfield,
Hon. Colonel Stanhope, and
Colonel Cook.

The remaining nine carriages were filled with the medical attendants, and other members of the royal establishments.

The Duke of York, on coming out of the mansion-house, burst into tears; and the whole of the royal Dukes, Prince Leopold, the mourners, and even the spectators, were much affected. The procession moved as slow as the spirit of the horses could permit; and the tolling of the bells of the neighbouring parish churches, added much to the solemnity of the scene. A great number of persons were admitted into the park as spectators. The streets of Weybridge were thronged, and even scaffoldings had been erected to be let out as seats. The excellent plan of the temporary platform in the church-yard, leading to the vault, afforded to many an opportunity of viewing the procession without interruption; and the greatest order and regularity every where prevailed, through the management of the police.

The Duke of York, his royal relatives, and a few others, sat in the late Duchess's pew on the south side of the gallery, which was covered with black cloth, as well as the pulpit and desk; and on the opposite side were her late royal highness's weeping dependants.

Upon the arrival of the remains of her royal highness at the church, they were received by the Rev. Dr. Haultain the rector, and Sir George Naylor, Clarencieux, king at arms, acting as garter, wearing his hat-band, and bearing his baton.

A procession was then made into the church, and the royal Dukes, and the other persons composing the procession, were conducted to their places.

The coffin was placed upon tressels near the altar, and the first part of the service was read by the rector. The royal remains were then carried from the church in the same order of procession to the vault, where,

the burial office being concluded, and the coffin deposited, Sir George Naylor proclaimed her royal highness's style and title as follows:—

"Thus it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this transitory life, unto his divine mercy, the late Most Illustrious Princess Frederica Charlotte Ulrica Catherina, Consort of the Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Illustrious Prince Frederick, Duke of York and Albany, next brother to His Most Excellent Majesty George the Fourth, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, whom God bless and preserve with long life, health, and honour, and all worldly happiness."

CHAP. XVII.

A. D. 1820 TO 1824.

WHILE the metropolis was in the highest state of excitement owing to the inquiry then going on respecting the conduct of the Queen, an alarm arose of another nature, occasioned by a mutinous spirit among the military. The appearance of this disaffection, in a quarter so momentous, struck a panic into the hearts of the loyal part of the community; and made them apprehensive that something of a political character was at the bottom of the insubordination. Fortunately, however, these fears proved imaginary, and were quickly dispersed. The first battalion of the Third Guards, having for a considerable time enjoyed the advantage of being on billet, grew impatient when transferred to the new barracks in the King's Mews.

At first they complained of the restrictions to which they were subjected, next of the inadequacy of their pay, and afterwards of the hardship of their duty. These murmurings went on till the evening of the 15th of June, when an open revolt of the battalion drew crowds of the idle rabble round the gates, to disperse whom the Horse Guards were called out; after which external quietness was restored, though the barracks within still exhibited great confusion. In the mean

time, the commander-in-chief sat in his office, and gave orders for the march of the whole division to Portsmouth; and so well was the business arranged, that the soldiers resisted all attempts made by the mob to inflame their passions, and proceeded to the place of destination with the utmost order and submission.

On the breaking up of parliament at the beginning of November, after the strange abandonment of the bill of pains and penalties against the Queen, the Duke of York, accompanied by the Duke of Wellington, took an excursion along the eastern coast of the kingdom, to enjoy the pleasure of shooting, for which sport both had a strong predilection. In the course of this progress they visited Norwich, where the corporation entertained them splendidly, and conferred on the two illustrious guests the freedom of the city.

Among the parliamentary proceedings of the following year, one of the principal was the introduction of a bill into the House of Commons to remove the civil and political disabilities of the Roman Catholics. This measure being carried, on the third reading, by a majority of nineteen, was sent up to the Lords, where it underwent a severe contest, and was finally rejected on the 17th of April, by one hundred and fifty-nine votes against one hundred and twenty. In the course of this debate, the Duke of York rose, and said, that he was once compelled, from filial affection and duty, to oppose a similar bill; but that the more he had since considered the subject, the more strongly was he convinced of the propriety and necessity of supporting that established church and constitution which had placed his Majesty's family on the throne of these realms. His royal highness concluded a short speech, with assuring their lordships that he was no friend to

intolerance; but that, so far to the contrary, he wished every person to enjoy the free and full exercise of his religious opinions and worship, as long as the same were not dangerous to the public welfare. On these grounds he should oppose the bill.

At the Coronation, which took place on the 19th of July, the manner in which the Duke of York knelt before the King, and the affection with which his Majesty leaned forward and embraced him, filled every eye in the august assembly with the glistening drop of sympathetic joy and admiration.

During the visit of the King to Ireland, the Duke remained in London, that, in case of any unpleasant occurrences, he might be at hand to repress disorder. As it happened, the measure was most judicious; for the unexpected death of the Queen, and the riotous spirit of the populace, on the removal of the royal corpse to the sea-side for embarkation, rendered the utmost vigilance necessary to prevent mischief. That some accidents occurred, was no more than might have been anticipated under such circumstances; but that more disorder did not prevail, may, in the main, be justly attributed to the disciplined state of the military, and their meritorious forbearance amidst the difficulties by which they were impeded in the discharge of their duty, and the atrocious outrages committed upon them by the lawless populace.

As the Queen had expressed her desire to be buried at Brunswick, orders were issued for the conveyance of the body from Brandenburgh-House to Harwich, on the 14th of August. This arrangement did not prove agreeable to some of her ladies, and a correspondence ensued between them and the under secretary of state, on the subject, but the remonstrances were fruitless:

and then the letters were published, doubtless for the purpose of inflaming the public mind against government. When the day of removal arrived, parties of soldiers were stationed along the line of road, to keep order; but this only served to irritate the sovereign majesty of the people, and a contest ensued about the route that the cavalcade ought to pursue; the commissioned authority having directed, that the procession should take the new road by Paddington, while the populace insisted upon its passing through the City.

Both sides were firm,—the military in obedience to their superiors, and the mob in a desperate resolution to carry their object; to further which, they had recourse to various contrivances, such as blocking up the streets, tearing up the pavements on the road, and throwing down trees, to prevent horses and carriages from passing along. After encountering and clearing many of these obstacles, the funeral train passed through Hyde Park, and reached Cumberland Gate, where the soldiers were assailed with stones and missiles of all kinds, to such a degree that the riders could scarcely sit on their horses. Thus circumstanced, a contest became unavoidable, and one man was killed. At length the procession came to Tottenham-court Road, and here the mob gained the victory, by having previously choaked up the carriage way with waggons, carts, and other obstructions, in such a manner that the cavalcade was obliged to take another direction, and to pass down Drury Lane into the City, when the lord-mayor and city officers headed the whole, and no further casualty was experienced. In the midst of this perturbed state of the metropolis, the Duke of York continued steady at his post, but pru-

dently without appearing prominent in suppressing commotions, which he rightly judged would die away with the occasion from whence they emanated. By this conduct the public safety was effectually secured, and tranquillity was soon restored; so that by the time his Majesty returned from Ireland, the populace, instead of breaking out into fresh acts of violence, hailed his arrival at Carlton-house on the 15th of September with joyful acclamations.

After resting about a week, the King set out for his German dominions, where no sovereign had been seen for near seventy years. On the 24th of September, his Majesty embarked at Ramsgate, for Calais; but when the royal yacht arrived off that harbour, it blew very hard, with such a heavy sea running, that the waves struck the vessel on the weather-side, and dashed furiously over the quarter deck. It was concluded, that as the barge had not arrived, and no means of insuring a safe landing were at hand, they must stand out to sea for the night. Upon hearing this, the King asked if there was no French fishing-boat near; and was told that there was one dancing before the yacht at that moment, the people in which very readily offered their services. Sir Edmund Nagle, and Sir Charles Paget, both experienced naval officers, wished to deter his Majesty from going; but he called to the fishermen in their own language, and asked them if they could carry him safe ashore. They affirmed very readily that they could, upon which, the King, turning with a smile to his nautical attendants, said, "Come, come, I am quite sure you don't mind a ducking;" and instantly went down the side; they following of course. The boat having got entangled in some

ropes which were adrift, shipped a sea, which completely washed the whole company. Sir Charles Paget, alarmed for the King, was about to seize the helm, when his Majesty, touching his shoulder, said, "Be quiet, my good friend, leave the Frenchmen to manage their own boat in their own way, and I'll be bound for them they will land us safe." This they accordingly did, but not without striking three times on the bar, with such violence that they were very near being all swamped.

It merits relation here, that his Majesty had before evinced similar fortitude and presence of mind in his return from Ireland. When the yacht was endeavouring to double the Land's End, the wind blew very hard, and seemed to threaten the setting in of a hurricane. Sir Charles Paget, upon this, thought it his duty to say, that he would not be answerable for the consequences of persevering in attempting to proceed up the channel. His Majesty in reply said, "Paget, do nothing but what is right; and act entirely as you would do if I were not here."

The course was then altered for Milford, but a thick fog came on, so that it was impossible to see a ship's length; and the gale meanwhile increasing, Sir Charles again felt it to be his duty to state the danger in which he thought they were. His Majesty received the communication with the greatest calmness, and desired him, as before, not to let any thoughts of him disturb his mind. Still the weather grew worse, and while the vessel was under bare poles, a sea struck her wheel, and unshipped the tiller ropes; of which accident, Sir Charles sent to apprise his Majesty, who said, "Tell Paget this,—that I am quite satisfied in having as skilful officers, and as

active a crew, as Europe can produce; for the rest we must rely upon Providence."

In both cases, the steady courage of the Monarch was rewarded with success, and no accident occurred to create distress. From Calais the King proceeded through Flanders, with all despatch, to his Hanoverian dominions, which he entered on the 8th of October, and continued there till the 30th, when he set out on his return to England.

At Rotkenkirchen his Majesty was waited upon by a deputation of the miners of the Hartz forest. These deputies, on their introduction, begged permission to present their Sovereign with a goblet, out of which, they said, George the Second, and also George the Third, had condescended to drink; the former in Hanover, and the latter in England. The King immediately remembered the circumstance respecting his father, and that, when he was himself a boy, a deputation of the miners came over to wait on the King, who drank out of the goblet. At the present time, three of the miners, who had been in England on that occasion, were brought forward to his Majesty; who said, good humouredly, "Do you still frequently sing the song which you sung at Windsor, *Gestern Abendwar Vetter Michael da?*" As this song is a provincial one in the Hartz, it may easily be imagined how pleased the honest miners were with the mark of recognition.

On the 10th of August in the following year, his Majesty made another progress; embarking at Greenwich for Scotland, where he continued near three weeks, and diffused general joy among the loyal inhabitants, who had never seen among them a sovereign since the Revolution. At Edinburgh, while the King

was thus employed in imparting and receiving pleasure in different parts of his dominions, the Duke of York was no less assiduous in the improvement of the military service. The result of his labours shortly after appeared in the establishment of one uniform system of field exercise and movement throughout the army. The new regulation began with the Coldstream Guards, and embraced generally the movements and formations of the Light Infantry attached to respective regiments. The manœuvres being found to equal, or rather surpass, expectation in simplicity and celerity, a general order was issued for the universal adoption of the new method, and all commanding officers were held responsible for the due and accurate performance of the same.

Another concern, upon which the commander-in-chief was much occupied for the benefit of the army at this period, was that of digesting a plan to perpetuate the remembrance of particular services. Having completed the scheme, his royal highness submitted it to his Majesty, who gave his sanction to the measure; and issued directions for the institution of a National Military Record, to be prepared by the inspector of regimental colours, and deposited in the office of the adjutant-general. This register comprises the following particulars:—1. An account of all the battles or actions in which the troops have been, or may be, engaged. 2. Paintings of the colours and trophies captured in the several engagements. 3. The names of the officers killed or wounded in each action. 4. The names of those officers who, in consideration of their gallant services and meritorious conduct in the said engagements, either have been, or may be, distinguished and rewarded with titles, medals, or other marks of his

Majesty's gracious favour; together with the names of all such non-commissioned officers and privates as may have especially signalized themselves. 5. A list of the corps engaged in each action, together with paintings of such badges and distinctions as his Majesty may have been graciously pleased to authorize to be borne on their standards, colours, and appointments, in commemoration of their distinguished conduct and signal intrepidity.

But the attention of the Duke of York was not confined to his professional pursuits, and to the important department of which he had the management. At the anniversary meeting, this year, of that benevolent establishment the Literary Fund, for the relief of distressed authors and their families, his royal highness took the chair, and, after a warm eulogium upon the excellence of the institution, he followed up the recommendation by a subscription of fifty pounds.

About this time a literary and scientific establishment being founded at Bath, pursuant to the will of Sir John Cox Hippisley, the trustees, at the head of whom was the Marquis of Lansdowne, requested the Duke of York to accept the office of patron. His royal highness very readily complied, and at the same time intimated his intention, when further acquainted with the views and objects of the establishment, to institute an annual premium, to be appropriated at the direction of the managers.

Engraved by Thomson.

from an original Painting.

George IV.

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CHAP. XVIII.

A. D. 1825.

We are now come to one of the last, but most interesting circumstances in the public life of the illustrious subject of this memoir.

On the 5th of February 1825, the King opened parliament with a speech, in which he took a brief view of the state of Ireland, where, he said, combinations existed whose proceedings were not only irreconcilable with the constitution, but calculated, by exciting alarm and exasperating animosities, to endanger the peace of society, and to retard the course of national improvement.

In consequence of this representation, a bill was brought into the House of Commons immediately, for the suppression of the Catholic Associations, which had already assumed the most formidable appearance, and threatened the establishment of a power in that country, hostile to, and independent of, the Protestant ascendancy.

The measure now adopted by government, to put down all such confederacies, was not only resisted strenuously in its progress through both houses, but it was encountered by another bill brought in on the opposite side, having for its object the removal of the

whole penal code, and the admission of the Romanists, without any restriction whatever, to seats in parliament as well as in the cabinet. Though the proposition was not new, it came now before the public with circumstances of a peculiar character; at a moment when it was proved on all hands that the Irish Catholics were conspiring to gain by force a preponderance, which could not subsist without subverting the existing constitution.

A general alarm was of course excited among all those Protestants who had not sacrificed their religious principles at the shrine of policy. Numerous petitions were poured into both Houses from various parts of the kingdom, praying for the continuance of the ancient barriers of church and state, against the encroachments of a party rootedly inimical to the established religion of these realms.

Among the rest, the dean and chapter of Windsor deemed it expedient to address the lords upon an occasion which they conceived to be of vital importance to the civil and ecclesiastical rights of the nation. Having framed their petition, the venerable body requested the Duke of York to present it, who the more readily assented, as the object and sentiments coincided with his own in every respect. Accordingly, on the 25th of April, his royal highness appeared in his place, and, rising, thus addressed the assembly:—

"My Lords,—I hold in my hand a petition from the Dean and Chapter of the collegiate church of St. George, Windsor, praying that no further concession may be made to the Roman Catholics. I am sure that any representation from so learned and respectable a body will be received with the attention it deserves; and,

therefore, I should not have troubled your lordships with any observations in support of it, if I did not feel that this was an occasion on which any man may well be permitted to address your lordships. I do this more readily on the present occasion, because, feeling that I am not in the habit of taking part in your discussions, I will not interrupt the progress of the debate on the bill to which the petitioners refer, if it should come into this house. It is now twenty-five years since this measure was first brought into discussion. I cannot forget with what events the discussion was at that time connected. It was connected with the most serious illness of one now no more; it was connected also with the temporary removal of one of the ablest, wisest, and honestest ministers that this country ever had. From that time, when I gave my first vote on this question, to the present, I have never seen any reason to regret or to change the line which I then took. I have every year seen more reason to be satisfied with my decision. When the question comes regularly before your lordships, it will be discussed much more fully and ably than I can do it: but there are two or three subjects on which I am anxious to touch; one is, that you place the church of England in a situation in which no other Church in the world is placed; the Roman Catholic will not allow the Church of England or parliament to interfere with his Church, and yet he requires you to allow him to interfere with your Church, and to legislate for it. There is another subject still more delicate, on which I cannot, however, help saying a few words. I speak (I beg to be understood) only as an individual; I desire not to be understood as speaking for any body else: but consider, my lords, the situation in which you place the Sovereign.

By the coronation oath, the Sovereign is bound to maintain the church established, in her doctrine, discipline, and rights, inviolate. An act of parliament may release future sovereigns and other men from this oath, or from any other oath to be taken: but can it release an individual who has already taken it? I speak, I repeat it again, as an individual; but I entreat the House to consider the situation in which the Sovereign is thus placed. I feel very strongly on this whole subject; I cannot forget the deep interest which was taken upon it by one now no more; and the long and unhappy illness in which—— (here his royal highness was sensibly affected.) I have been brought up from my early years in these principles; and from the time when I began to reason for myself, I have entertained them from conviction; and, in every situation in which I may be placed, I will maintain them: SO HELP ME GOD!"

This speech was heard with fixed attention, but drew forth no remarks from any of the members of the House where it was delivered. In the other branch of the senate, less regard to decorum was observed, and some of the leaders of the opposition evinced their malignity by torrents of abuse upon the illustrious Duke, for exercising his undoubted privilege as a peer of parliament, to express his opinion upon a question materially affecting his personal interests, no less than the constitutional liberties of the country. By the people at large, however, the manly and patriotic declaration of his royal highness was received with enthusiasm; and thousands, who had never before considered the subject, now became alive to the danger which threatened the Protestant interest. Innumerable copies

of the speech were circulated all over the kingdom; and some were printed in letters of gold on vellum and satin, splendidly ornamented.

Addresses were also voted to the Duke from several parishes, societies, and corporations. A petition presented to the Lords from the borough of Taunton, in Somersetshire, against the Catholic claims, concluded in these terms:—

"Your petitioners most gratefully admire the manly, constitutional, and decisive declaration of his royal highness the Duke of York, on so momentous a proposition; and they most humbly and earnestly implore your lordships to give your most unqualified opposition to a measure, which they conceive so vitally dangerous, and so pregnant with danger."

At the close of the summer, the Duke of York went as usual to pay a visit to his highly esteemed friends the Duke and Duchess of Rutland, at their country seat. On this occasion, the corporation of Cambridge resolved to embrace the opportunity of shewing their attachment to the principles which his royal highness had so nobly advocated, and pledged himself to support during his life.

Accordingly, on Friday the 9th of September, the mayor, aldermen, and other members of the corporate body, set out for Cheveley park, where they were introduced into the audience chamber, in which his royal highness and a number of noble visitors were already assembled. The Duke of Rutland then addressed his royal highness as follows:—

Sir.—The corporation of the loyal and ancient borough of Cambridge, deeply sensible of the many private virtues which adorn the character of your royal highness, and cordially admiring the principles which have invariably actuated your public conduct, more especially upon that great question which, in their

estimation, involves the best interests of that key-stone of our glorious constitution—the Protestant ascendancy in Church and State—have unanimously resolved to tender to your royal highness a humble and respectful tribute of their attachment, devotion, and gratitude, by soliciting you to accept the freedom of their ancient borough. Concurring most fully in the feelings and sentiments which have brought the corporation of Cambridge into the presence of your royal highness, I cannot help expressing my satisfaction that the present ceremony should occur at a time when your royal highness is permitting me the honour, and pride, and gratification, of exercising towards you the duties and attentions of hospitality at this place. And it is also particularly gratifying to me, that, in virtue of the honourable office which I hold as high steward of the borough of Cambridge, it should be my province to read to your royal highness the following address, which I can assure you has been voted by acclamation:—

"To his Royal Highness PRINCE FREDERICK, Duke of York and Albany, &c.

"The loyal and respectful address of the mayor, aldermen, common councilmen, and burgesses, of the town of Cambridge, in common hall assembled.

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"We, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the mayor, aldermen, common councilmen, and burgesses, of the town of Cambridge, beg leave most respectfully to offer to your royal highness the tribute of our sincerest thanks for your firm, patriotic, and constitutional resistance to Catholic Emancipation, evinced by your royal highness's speech upon that subject in the House of Lords.

"We, the corporation of Cambridge, cannot refrain from embracing this opportunity of expressing our unalterable attachment towards your royal highness's family, as likewise to the principles of our happy and glorious constitution as now established in Church and State; and we feel a pride in asserting, that

this attachment has never ceased to characterize our ancient and loyal borough.

"We have viewed with increasing alarm the reiterated efforts of the Roman Catholics (and their adherents) to demolish those barriers which have been erected by the wisdom of our ancestors against the encroachments of Papal power; we deprecate the admission of Roman Catholics into the legislature, because they are the advocates of principles which, if carried into full effect, would certainly endanger, and probably subvert, the civil and religious institutions of our country. We therefore again offer our most grateful acknowledgments to your royal highness for your firm and patriotic support of our Protestant constitution, and we earnestly implore a continuance of the same watchful care, the same zealous exertions, as the only means, under Divine Providence, whereby the blessings which this highly favoured land has hitherto enjoyed, can be transmitted unimpaired to future generations.

"We beg to renew the assurance of our most cordial and respectful attachment towards your royal highness, and, in testimony thereof, to present you with the freedom of our borough, your royal highness's acceptance of which we most earnestly and humbly solicit.

"Given under our common seal at Cambridge, this fifth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five.

"BENJAMIN COTTON, Mayor."

His Grace having read the address, the mayor then said:—

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"I have the honour, as mayor, and in the name of the aldermen, the common councilmen, and the burgesses of the borough of Cambridge, most respectfully to present, and humbly to solicit, that your highness will graciously condescend to accept a burgess letter under the common seal, containing the freedom of the corporation, which, in a hall very numerously attended during the year of my worthy predecessor in office, was unanimously

voted to your royal highness. And I earnestly request, sir, that your royal highness will be graciously pleased to allow your illustrious name to be registered as a burgess of our ancient and loyal borough. Permit me, sir, in conclusion, to say, that proudly as this day must be distinguished among the records of our ancient borough, still prouder will it be to myself, who have now the high honour of addressing, and of offering to your royal highness this token of our esteem, gratitude, and veneration."

To which his royal highness was graciously pleased to return the following answer:—

"Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—I beg to return you my most cordial thanks for the very flattering proof which you have given me of your personal regard, as well as of your approbation of my conduct during the last session of parliament, when the Catholic question was brought into discussion, by wishing to enrol my name upon your book as a burgess of your very ancient and loyal borough.

"Brought up, as I have ever been from my earliest youth, with the most sincere attachment and veneration for our glorious constitution in Church and State as by law established, and in support of which his Majesty's family was seated upon the throne of these kingdoms, I considered it as my duty, when the attempt was made to strike, in my opinion, at the very root of that constitution, to come forward, and, as a peer of this realm, to avow openly and honestly my sentiments.

"Truly happy am I that those of the great majority of this kingdom are in unison with mine, and especially that of this ancient borough; and I beg to assure you, Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen, that it is with the greatest satisfaction and gratitude that I accept your offer."

The corporation then withdrew into the spacious hall, where an elegant and sumptuous collation was provided. During the repast, his royal highness the Duke of York, with his noble host and visitors, entered the hall; the Duke, accompanied by her grace the

Duchess of Rutland, and his grace the Duke of Rutland, leading the Marquis of Granby, followed by his grace's family and visitors.

On passing round the tables, his royal highness again expressed the gratification he experienced at receiving this testimony of attachment from the very respectable corporation of Cambridge.

His royal highness and noble friends having retired, the Mayor rose, and gave the following toasts:—

His royal highness the Duke of York.
His grace the Duke of Rutland.
Her grace the Duchess of Rutland.
The Marquis of Granby, and Prosperity to the House of Manners.

The Duchess of Rutland, (who was standing at the door of the hall) on hearing the health of the Marquis of Granby given, came forward to the end of the table, leading the noble youth in her hand, and said,

I am very sensible of the honour done myself, but feel so deeply affected by the emotions inspired by your kindness to my dear boy, that I cannot resist the impulse of returning my best acknowledgments for this honourable mark of your esteem; and in his name a delighted mother entreats your acceptance of those grateful thanks, which, as yet, her son is unable to offer on his own behalf.

This address from the fascinating and highly gifted lady of the mansion was most gratifying to the deputation, who left Cheveley delighted with the gracious condescension and urbanity of the illustrious object of their visit, and charmed by the kindness of her grace the Duchess, and the ingenuous manner in which she expressed her maternal feelings in behalf of her child; —it was indeed a day which could never be forgotten

by those who participated in the happiness it produced.

About the same time, the guild of merchants at Dublin voted the freedom of their body, with an address of thanks to the Duke of York, for his noble support of the Protestant interest, accompanying this mark of respect with a request that his royal highness would honour the corporation by sitting for his portrait, to be placed in their hall.

The following address was also presented to the Duke, on the same occasion, from the inhabitants of the borough of Albrighton, in the county of Salop:—

Penetrated with admiration of, and gratitude to, your royal highness, as a defender of our Protestant constitution, we humbly offer our sincere and heartfelt thanks.

When, in furtherance of the rash experiment to admit Papists into power—after the history of ages previous to the glorious Revolution had proved the utter impossibility of their political participation with the Protestants in the government of these realms—we beheld with regret and dismay the majority of our representatives in parliament treating the petitions of a loyal people with neglect, not to say with ridicule and contempt. When our hearts sunk within us to witness the decision, which, as far as they were concerned, went to barter away our civil and religious liberties—the manly avowal, and the resolute determination of your royal highness to maintain inviolate the principles which happily placed the House of Brunswick on the throne of this kingdom, inspired us with a confidence and a courage which made us reckless even of the consequences which might have attended the passing of the odious bill in the House of Lords. For, though no less bound by duty than inclination to observe every constitutional enactment—to our gracious Sovereign alone, professing and protecting the present establishment in Church and State, our full and true allegiance is paramount to every other consideration.

Go on, then, royal Prince, like your venerated Sire, in the fearless discharge of your duty to God and your country. The consciousness of having acted uprightly will yield a purer satisfaction than can spring from any human applause. Yet, deign to accept the well-earned meed of our gratitude and regard; with the assurance, that though our subordinate rulers, instigated by faction, or misled by the plausible theories of modern liberality, should attempt to subvert the present fabric of our Protestant rights—yet, no lawful sovereign or prince of your royal house, adhering to the same, shall ever want our hands to defend and assert the cause so dear to our hearts—Protestant ascendancy.

The Rev. J. Dale having forwarded the above address to the Duke of York by the hands of Sir Herbert Taylor, received the following answer:—

Horse Guards, June 18, 1825.

Sir,—I have had the honour to submit your letter of the 16th inst., and to present the accompanying address from the inhabitants of the borough of Albrighton and its vicinity, to his royal highness the Duke of York; and I am directed to request that you will accept for yourself, and convey to the other respectable individuals who have signed the address, his royal highness's best thanks for it; and that you will assure them how sensible he is of the friendly terms in which they have expressed their approbation of the line of conduct he has felt it his duty to pursue upon the subject of the Roman Catholic Question.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
H. Taylor.

In addition to these testimonials of public approbation, the Duke felt particular gratification in receiving, on his return to town, an address from the respectable society denominated the Protestant Union.

According to a previous appointment, made by Sir Herbert Taylor, with the Secretaries, on the 14th of October, the Deputation, consisting of the Rev. Dr. Fancourt, the Rev. Mr. Mann, the Rev. Mr. Sergrove, and four other gentlemen, waited on his Royal Highness, who received them with the most gracious and condescending affability. After the first introduction, the Secretaries advanced, bearing the open Address; and having made their obeisance, Mr. Eedes thus introduced the reading of the document:—

May it please your Royal Highness,

The Protestants of the United Kingdom are so deeply indebted to your Royal Highness, as the illustrious defender of their best rights, privileges, and immunities, both civil and ecclesiastical, that if there can be one method of expressing their sentiments more sincerely complimentary, or more respectful, than another, it becomes their bounden duty, as well as their delight, to adopt that method.

Actuated by this feeling, the Members of the Protestant Union have had the heartfelt gratification of unanimously voting the Address which we hold in our hands, and which, by the gracious condescension of your Royal Highness, I am now permitted to have the honour of reading in your Royal Highness's presence.

The Address was then read as follows:—

To His Royal Highness the Duke of York and Albany, Commander-in-chief, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,—We, the undersigned Members of the Protestant Union, beg leave respectfully to approach your Royal Highness with sentiments corresponding with the language in which we have the honour to address you.

Under the auspicious and purely Protestant sway of the illustrious House of Brunswick, our highly-favoured country has surmounted the assaults of foreign and domestic enemies—has sus-

tained the falling thrones of Europe;—and amidst the dire events that have agitated her convulsed continent, the British empire, rising as the beacon of the universe, has attained to a pitch of prosperity and renown unparalleled in the history of nations.

For these important benefits, we feel ourselves imperiously called upon to offer our first and most grateful acknowledgments to the Supreme Disposer of all events; who, in sovereign wisdom, directs the course of nations in the development of his inscrutable designs in providence, and who has been pleased not only to favour Great Britain with the establishment of internal peace, and civil and ecclesiastical liberty, but also to crown her efforts for the dissemination of religious truth, and for the consolidation of those moral and political principles which are supereminently calculated to civilize and bless mankind.

While thus we offer our humble tribute to the Great First Cause of all good, we are not, Sir, we cannot be, insensible of our obligations to the honoured instruments by whom these benignant purposes have been effected. Your august ancestors, the monarchs of the present British dynasty, have invariably proved themselves the uncompromising guardians of the civil and religious rights, and consequently of the best interests, of their faithful people. His present Majesty is the worthy successor, not only of the throne, but also of the principles, of his progenitors. Long may he reign, to receive the heart-emanating plaudits of his admiring and affectionate subjects, and to witness, with unmixed gratification, the successful efforts of his Royal Brother, the next prince of the blood, to protect and perpetuate those bulwarks of our Protestant constitution, to which, under Providence, we are indebted for the general prosperity of our country, and the secure and tranquil enjoyment of our invaluable privileges and immunities as individuals!

In the attainment of this nationally exalted position, your Royal Highness has held a most prominent station. Great as was the prowess of British arms in former days, it has been excelled by the triumphant achievements of modern times; and we cannot but remember that the unparalleled victories, which consolidated

the honour of the British name, and restored peace to the world, were acquired by an army under the supreme administration of your Royal Highness, whose name must therefore be connected with the glory of your country in the records of the future historian, as it is also entitled to the unfeigned gratulations of every honest Briton,—of every patriotic cotemporary.

But, Sir, the external relations of an empire, however prosperous, would be insufficient to the maintenance of its security, unless accompanied by a strict adherence to the wise and salutary laws by which its internal economy is regulated. Here, then, we at once recognize a recent act, in your legislative capacity as a peer of the realm, which must endear the name of your Royal Highness to every real friend to his country, and to those liberal establishments and institutions under which her growing prosperity has been fostered and matured. When artful foes, aided by well-meaning but mistaken friends, assailed the bulwarks of our excellent Protestant constitution, and insidiously aimed at the re-introduction of that system of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny under which our since happy country so severely suffered in former times, your Royal Highness, inheriting the genuine stamina of native patriotism, and actuated by the spirit which animated the leaders of our glorious Revolution, boldly stepped forward, to head the efforts of those noble and honourable statesmen, whose strenuous exertions in behalf of the best interests of the nation, had, in spite of contrary apprehensions, excited an intense interest, and an ardent hope in the breasts of British millions. The truly constitutional sentiments of your Royal Highness—the just and conscientious appreciation of the solemn compact subsisting between the King and his faithful people—and the judicious and well-timed interference, in the speech delivered by your Royal Highness on that critical and memorable occasion, exact the voluntary tribute of unqualified approbation and grateful thanks. These we most respectfully tender to your Royal Highness, for the essential benefits thus conferred on ourselves, our families, and the United Kingdom in general.

By this well-timed interposition, and its happy results, a national degradation has been averted—the hopes and expectations of the loyal, the liberal, and the peaceable, have been strengthened and encouraged, and our beloved Sovereign has been relieved from the liability to an invidious responsion under which he ought never to be placed, but which we feel assured would have been given, had circumstances rendered it necessary, in the strictest accordance with his royal engagements on acceding to the crown of these realms. Your Royal Highness may possibly meet the puerile censures of a few misguided and misinformed individuals; or may be subjected to the indecorous ravings of the still fewer factious enemies of our constitutional establishments, "of whom to be dispraised is no small praise." But your Royal Highness will stand unmoved under these ebullitions of disappointed malignancy; and our humble but sincere plaudits will re-echo the voice of conscious satisfaction in your own bosom, and reverberate through the immense majority of the British dominions.

Long may your Royal Highness live in the enjoyment of health, to aid the prosperity of the country, and to witness her progressive advance in all the arts and institutions that can add stability, honour, and dignity to the British name.

Your Royal Highness's
Most dutiful, grateful, and obedient Servants.

(Signed by upwards of Sixty Clerical and Lay Members of the Union.)

The Address, which was printed in gold letters on vellum, ornamented with a rich border, and emblazoned with the Arms of the Royal Duke, was then delivered into the hands of his royal highness, who immediately returned the following answer:—

GENTLEMEN,

In receiving the Address presented to me by you, on the part of the Protestant Union, I beg to express to you how much I

am gratified by the sentiments of loyal and zealous attachment and devotion to his Majesty which it breathes, as well as flattered by the assurance, conveyed in terms so friendly, of the approbation which my endeavours to discharge my various duties, during a long course of public life, have been so fortunate as to experience from the Members of the Protestant Union, more particularly with reference to the important question upon which I was induced to declare my sentiments in the House of Lords.

The Members of the Protestant Union cannot appreciate more strongly than I do the blessings of a free Constitution, which secures to his Majesty's subjects in general, the possession of civil and religious rights, and the tranquil enjoyment of invaluable privileges and immunities as individuals; nor can they feel more anxious than I do, for the continued peace and prosperity of a country, which has so well merited the protection and support of Providence, by the spirit and steady perseverance with which it has maintained its independence during the late arduous contest.

The deputation, having thus been honoured with a most cordial reception, withdrew, highly gratified, and indulging the hope that their example would be further followed, and that the principles so justly inculcated in the speech of his Royal Highness, and so congenial with those of the Protestant Union, would be acted upon by their fellow-subjects throughout the British dominions.

Drawn by R.B. Schnebbelie. Engraved by J. Shury.

YORK HOUSE, St JAMES's PARK.

CHAP. XIX.

A. D. 1825 to 1827.

On the 17th of June, 1825, the amiable and accomplished Duchess of Rutland laid the foundation stone of York House, in the stable-yard at St. James's; little thinking, that neither she, nor her illustrious friend for whom the edifice was intended, would see its completion.

In the course of the same summer, the Duke paid a visit to his grace of Devonshire, at Chatsworth, from whence he proceeded to Cheveley Park, the hunting seat of his friend the Duke of Cumberland, near Newmarket, where he remained about a fortnight, and then took leave of his estimable friends, with the pleasing hope of rejoining their agreeable society in the winter. The expectation proved fallacious, and while the Duke was enjoying the salubrious air of Brighton, a messenger came with the doleful intelligence of the death of the Duchess of Rutland, at Belvoir Castle, on the 28th of November.

The distress of this melancholy event was heightened by its suddenness, and the peculiarity of the circumstances under which it happened. Her grace had for some time been incessantly exercised in superintending and directing numerous workmen, who were employed

in preparing and completing the splendid decorations of the grand drawing-room, which it was intended should be opened for the first time on the Duke's birth-day.

Among the personages invited and expected to honour the festival with their presence, were the Dukes of York and Wellington; but unhappily, before the day arrived, Belvoir Castle, instead of exhibiting scenes of joy and revelry, was filled with gloom and lamentation. This excellent lady, who survived her father, the Earl of Carlisle, only three months, was in her forty-fifth year, and it is recorded as an extraordinary fact, that this was the first instance of the death of a Duchess of Rutland, for the long period of ninety-one years. She was married to the Duke on the 22d of April, 1799, and had issue nine children, of whom seven survived her, namely, three sons and four daughters.

Of the elevated taste of the Duchess of Rutland, Belvoir Castle will long remain a magnificent monument. She was the presiding genius of the place, and selected all the plans for its erection and embellishment; nor were her active and useful exertions confined to the castle,—the grounds, villages, and roads, and even the general aspect of the country, all exhibited evidences of her superior taste. Every suggestion, which had for its object the improvement of this beautifully picturesque domain, was adopted with eagerness, and carried into effect under her personal observation. What seemed to require little short of a century to complete, she brought to perfection in a few years.

Nor was her grace less successful in the elegant accomplishments of her sex. Her drawings display a most correct taste; her poetical genius she inherited

from her parents, and her musical attainments were of the first order. Indefatigable in whatever could promote the general good, and alive to the true interests of her country, the duchess not only studied ornamental gardening, but devoted much attention to practical agriculture.

Her farm, consisting of above seven hundred acres, was a model of scientific management; for which, on several occasions, she was complimented with premiums from the Society for the Promotion of Arts and Manufactures. Notwithstanding these predilections for a rural life, the duchess was one of the brightest ornaments of the English court; and whenever she graced it with her presence, admiration followed her steps. The ease and dignity of her deportment, her refined and polished address, and the graceful condescension of her behaviour, fascinated all who approached the circle in which she moved. She married early the object of her choice; and, in all respects, as a wife and parent, a mistress and benefactress, she set an example highly deserving of imitation.

The death of this highly gifted and truly virtuous lady, operated very strongly upon the nerves of the Duke of York, who had long enjoyed her esteem and that of her noble consort. His royal highness, however, did not endeavour to shake off the sorrow which he felt, by seeking amusement or emerging in business; neither was he content with sending formal letters of condolence to his friend in affliction. With as little delay as possible, the Duke hastened from Brighton to London; and, after transacting some indispensable business at the Horse-Guards, proceeded to Belvoir Castle, where he found his noble friend immersed in grief. The interview was of a nature easier to be

conceived than described; nor could any language do justice to the feelings by which both parties were actuated. Here his royal highness was soon after joined by the Duke of Wellington, with the same sympathizing object, thus fulfilling the wise man's saying, "that the heart of the wise is in the house of mourning; but the heart of fools is in the house of mirth."

As the opening of parliament rendered the presence of the Duke of York necessary in town, he left Belvoir at the end of January, and on the first of the following month he received a deputation from the parishioners of Clerkenwell, who had been prevented from presenting their Address before by different circumstances. The deputation, consisting of Roger Staples Fisher, Esq. and other gentlemen, waited upon his royal highness, when the Rev. R. Milne, curate of the parish, addressed the Duke in the following speech:—

May it please your Royal Highness,

In consequence of the noble stand which your Royal Highness made, during the last session of Parliament, against the attempted encroachments upon the constitution—that constitution which is the grand palladium of our civil and religious liberties—we are deputed to wait upon your Royal Highness to express our gratitude, and to assure your Royal Highness that while the BRUNSWICK FAMILY are faithful to the cause which placed them upon the throne of these realms, they will possess the warm attachment of all who are worthy of the Protestant name in the British empire, whatever may be insinuated to the contrary by a few individuals, as destitute of the principles as unworthy of the inheritance which was purchased for them by the blood of their forefathers. [Here the Rev. Gentleman explained the cause of the delay in presenting the Address, and then proceeded.] Though we come from a remote part of the metropolis, it affords

us no small pleasure to reflect, that we had the honour to be the first publicly to express our sentiments on the occasion, and that our example has been followed by many who occupy more important stations. From the period alluded to, more than six months have elapsed, and every thing which has occurred since has tended only to heighten our admiration of your royal highness's conduct in withstanding the weak and the wicked—the policy of many great and good men among ourselves, who have got their minds tainted with the principles of a spurious and dangerous liberality, and the united efforts of the emissaries of the Church of Rome, and the factious demagogues who look ultimately for anarchy, devastation, and plunder—so that the address which we have now the honour to present to your royal highness, and which speaks the sentiments of the thousands in our parish who, in the short space of three days, signed the petition to the legislature, emanates not only from the warm and grateful feelings excited on the impulse of the moment, but from the matured reflections of our cooler judgment; a circumstance which we trust will not lessen the expression of our gratitude, in the estimation of your royal highness."

Mr. Fisher, the chairman, then read the address :—

"To his Royal Highness the Duke of York and Albany, &c.

"Sir,—Frequent and precious as have been the benefits conferred upon England by the House of Brunswick, since the auspicious era at which your ancestors were invited to the guardianship of her liberties, no member of your illustrious family has ever possessed claims to the gratitude of the English people, stronger than those by which you have bound your countrymen in an everlasting obligation.

"From your earliest youth you have cheerfully encountered danger and toil to advance the military glory, and to ensure the safety of our country; and since the field of military fame has been exhausted, and the public security from external danger placed upon an impregnable basis by a series of successes to which your admirable conduct of the forces of the empire mainly

contributed, you have laboured with equal zeal to preserve unimpaired those essential parts of the British Constitution which are the indispensable guards of our civil and religious liberties.

"Upon no occasion, however, has the care for the interests of the people of England, that has always characterized your royal line, or that zealous affection for your country, by which you individually have ever been distinguished, been more conspicuously displayed than in your conduct upon a late momentous question, when, in a spirit worthy of your illustrious ancestors, worthy of the first subject in Great Britain, and worthy of the brother of the greatest monarch in Europe, you came forward as the champion of the Protestant constitution, upon which all our public liberties and our private happiness depend, and interposed to protect from violation the most sacred of those prerogatives of the crown, which, administered by your ancestors, have ever proved the firmest bulwark of the rights of the people.

"Deeply impressed with the obligation imposed by such services, your fellow-subjects, the undersigned inhabitants of the parish of Clerkenwell, respectfully approach your Royal Highness with an offering of their most grateful thanks; and humbly address to the throne of Divine Providence their earnest prayers for the prolongation in health and prosperity of the life of a Prince, who, "in whatever situation he may be placed," will, they are conscious, continue to be the faithful guardian of the civil and religious liberties of England."

To which his royal highness was pleased to reply in the following terms:—

"Gentlemen,—In returning you my sincere thanks for the honour you have done me in voting the present address, I beg to assure you that I derive great satisfaction from finding that my public conduct has merited the approbation of so respectable a body of persons as the inhabitants of the parish of Clerkenwell."

But while the Duke was receiving with pleasure these tributes of affection from the public, it became

too evident to those around him, that his bodily powers were decaying. Few men had enjoyed better health, for a long course of years, than his royal highness, to which his active habits, his early rising, and strict attention to the business of his office, mainly contributed. Yet often, when the people, judging from those habits, and his robust appearance, supposed him to be in the enjoyment of perfect spirits, he was in great pain, and suffering under alarming symptoms of a most dangerous malady.

For more than four years he laboured under a spasmodic affection, of such a nature, that he could not lie down but at the imminent risk of suffocation. After the commencement of this attack, he never retired to rest without a supply of anti-spasmodic medicines by the side of his couch, or bed, and so placed as to be at hand on an instant. For many months before his last confinement, he never entered a bed, but constantly slept in an easy chair, constructed purposely for his accommodation. Yet, amidst these bodily distresses, his intellectual faculties retained their fulness of vigour, and he continued his official pursuits with unremitted zeal and punctuality.

Several new and important regulations, the result of his deliberate reflections, were now carried into effect, for the benefit of the service. Among these changes was an arrangement, which the Duke had long meditated, for the relief of old lieutenants, whose circumstances alone prevent them from gaining an advancement by purchase. Many difficulties were in the way of this improvement, but, by perseverance and discretion, the Duke succeeded in attaining the object upon which his mind was set; and with its accomplishment he terminated his official life.

It had for many years been the fixed practice of the Duke to attend sundry anniversary meetings of charitable and social institutions in the metropolis; but during the last season, he was obliged to decline those invitations, and in some instances apologies were publicly issued for the absence of his royal highness, after he had actually consented to take the chair. These circumstances excited observation, but little if any alarm was felt by the public, till his royal highness became confined, and it could no longer be concealed that his disorder was of such a nature as to preclude any substantial hope of recovery.

After two or three removals for the benefit of the air, the royal patient finally took up his abode in the town-house of his valued friend the Duke of Rutland, in Arlington-street. Here he underwent the operation of tapping, the disorder being a confirmed ascites, on the 3d of September; but though the result was a partial alleviation of the constitutional malady, the extremities soon after assumed gangrenous symptoms, which were, however, checked and kept under by the vigilant care of the medical attendants.

The Duke bore this protracted suffering with uncommon firmness of heart, evenness of temper, and submissiveness to the will of Providence. In the midst of all his pain, he never once relaxed from the discharge of his duties as commander-in-chief; but attended to the minutiæ of the official returns and appointments, with as much patience and judgment as he had ever done in his life.

In the same placid state of mind, he read the newspapers every day, and felt interested in all that was going on, especially when the embarkation of the troops for Portugal took place. On that subject he

conversed with much animation; and when Mr. Peel, on one occasion, spoke of the high state of the soldiery, the countenance of the Duke brightened up with conscious satisfaction, and he replied, that if the army which he at first commanded on the continent had been in such a condition, the campaign, in all probability, would have terminated differently from what it did.

The King, during the early period of his brother's confinement, paid him several visits, the last being on the 29th of December, just a week before his death. His Majesty then took with him some particular soup, of which he recollected that the Duke had formerly partaken with pleasure. In his anxiety the King personally handed it to the royal invalid, who appeared much affected by this attention, and slightly tasted the once favourite soup.

His Majesty was much shocked at the alteration that had taken place in his brother's features; which, as he afterwards observed, bore an uncommon resemblance to those of their venerable father in his last moments.

After this, it was only at the earnest entreaty of his medical advisers, that his Majesty discontinued his visits at Rutland House, which had previously been frequent. From that time messengers were twice every day despatched to Windsor, with an account of the state of the royal sufferer.

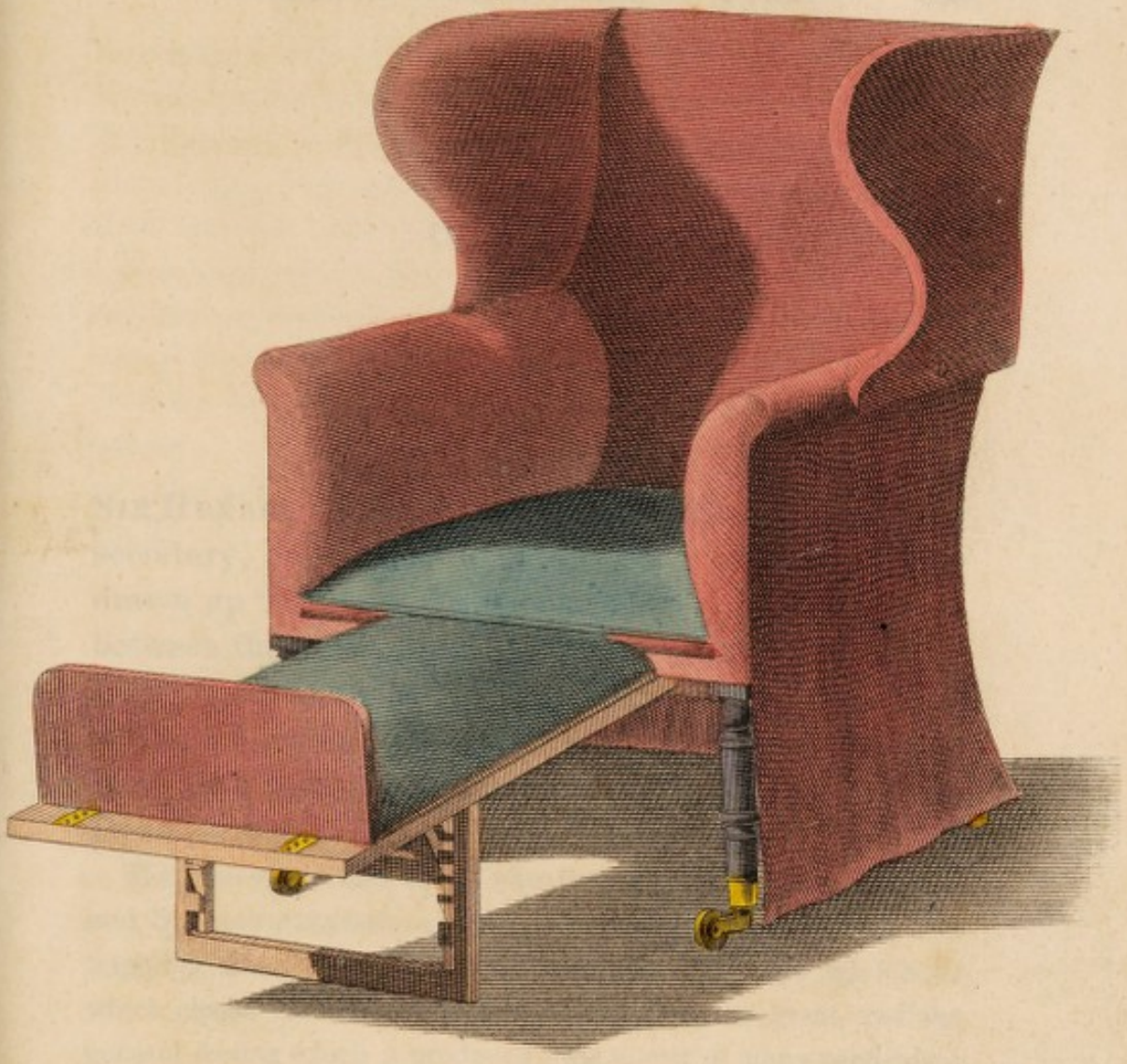
The Dukes of Clarence and Sussex were constant in their attendance at Rutland House to the last; and on the fatal morning of the 5th of January, the latter arrived as early as nine o'clock, and his brother at noon. They both continued with their illustrious relative till about an hour before his death; when they removed to another room.

His royal highness, who had only been able occasionally to recognize his friends and attendants, became totally insensible about one o'clock; and though, in the course of the afternoon, he once or twice so far recovered as to appear sensible of external objects, he immediately relapsed into his former state of stupor; and continued in that torpid state during the whole evening, with scarcely any change. The narcotics administered produced occasional repose, but about nine o'clock the approach of death became manifest. In a short time, however, his respiration began to fail, and thus life ebbed gradually away till twenty minutes after nine, when he breathed his last without a groan or convulsion.

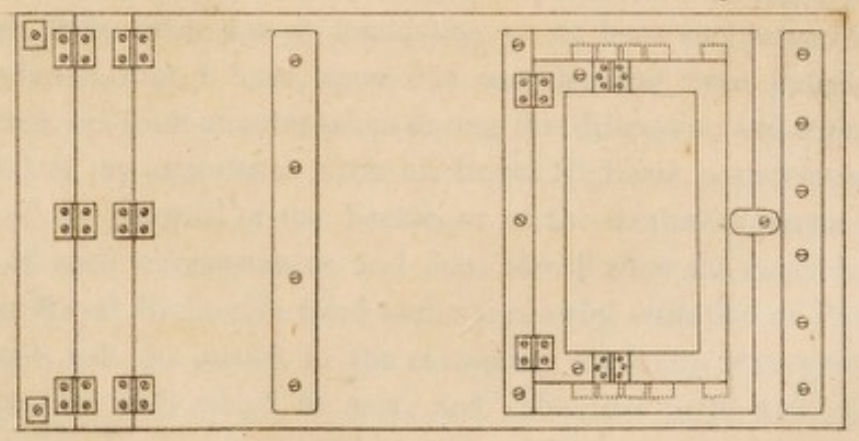
The room in which his royal highness expired, is on the ground floor, looking into the Green Park; and he had not been out of that, or the one adjoining, for near eight months. The Duke had one easy chair during the day, and another for the night; both being made suitable for ease in any position to which the illustrious patient might choose to turn.

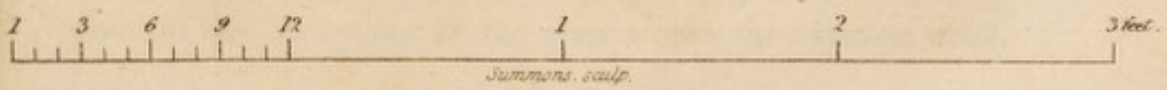
The Chair on which the late Duke of York died.

(Executed by E. Bailey, Upholsterer to the King.)



Construction of the under side of the Board on which the Legs rest.





Summons. sculp.

Drawn by M.A. Nicholson. with the Permission of Sir Herbert Taylor.

Published by Fisher, Son & C.° Caxton, London, March 3, 1827.

CHAP. XX.

SIR HERBERT TAYLOR, the attached friend, confidential secretary, and executor of the Duke of York, having drawn up "A Journal of Occurrences which took place between the 9th of June 1826, and the 15th of January 1827;" we shall here insert the affecting Narrative entire, as exhibiting, in the most prominent point of view, the estimable character of the Living and the Dead.—

The interest excited by the situation of the late Duke of York, and by every circumstance connected with his long, painful, and lingering illness, from its commencement until the fatal hour which closed his valuable existence, has been so great, and the general feeling which it produced has caused so many particulars to be circulated, and received by the public as authentic, for which there either was no foundation, or at least very imperfect foundation, that I have, upon due consideration, been induced to draw up, from minutes taken during this distressing and trying period of my attendance upon his Royal Highness, a statement, not of the progress of the disease, or of the treatment pursued, but of such circumstances and facts as will shew the condition of his Royal Highness's mind under this awful visitation of Providence, will do justice to the exemplary resolution and pious resignation with which he met, and submitted to it, and will satisfy his attached friends that his Royal Highness was, in every point of view, deserving of the respect and the affection which

have so strongly marked their sentiments towards him, and of the deep grief and regret which his death has occasioned in their minds, and in those of the respectable and well-thinking individuals of every class in this country.

The state of his Royal Highness's health had, for some time, appeared far from satisfactory, and had occasioned more or less uneasiness to those about him; but the first indications of serious indisposition, such as to produce alarm, were upon his Royal Highness's return from Ascot to his residence in Audley-square, on the 9th of June, 1826, and Mr. Macgregor, who then saw him, urged him immediately to send for Sir Henry Halford.

From that period, his Royal Highness continued more or less an invalid, and was occasionally confined to his house.

Upon the 24th of June his Royal Highness removed for change of air to Brompton Park, the residence of Mr. Greenwood, who kindly lent it to him; and upon that day he sent for me, and told me that he had been unwell for some weeks, and that he did not think that he gained ground: that he did not feel alarmed, and that he had perfect confidence in the attention given to his case, and the skill of his medical advisers; but that he knew that they might entertain apprehensions, which they would consider it their professional duty not to commmunicate to their patients, and he might, therefore, remain ignorant of that which ought not to be concealed from him, and which he trusted he should learn without apprehension, although he did not deny that he should learn it with regret. That there were duties to be performed, and arrangements to be made, which ought not to be deferred to the last moment, and he felt that it was due to his character and station, to his comfort, and even to his feelings on this subject, that he should not be taken by surprise upon so serious an occasion. He considered it probable, that the physicians would be less reserved with me than with him, and he charged me, if I should learn from them directly, or should have reason to draw such inference from any expression that might drop from them, that his situation had become one of danger, not to withhold such knowledge from him. He appealed to me

upon this occasion for an act of friendship, he would add, for the discharge of a duty, which he claimed from the person who had been with him, and enjoyed his confidence during so many years; he called upon me to promise, that I would perform it whenever the period should arrive to which he alluded, and he desired that I would bear in mind, that he wished me to deal by him as he was certain I should desire, under similar circumstances, to be dealt with.

I made the promise without hesitation, and it was received with a warm expression of thanks, and an affectionate pressure of the hand.

This was repeated, in allusion to what had passed at a later period of the day, when he got into his carriage to go to Brompton, and he then said that he felt relieved from great uneasiness by the promise I had given him.

His Royal Highness removed to Brighton on the 14th of August, for the benefit of further change of air; and I learnt from Mr. Macgregor, on the 17th of that month, that a change had taken place in his general state, and that symptoms had appeared which rendered his situation one of danger.

The distressing information was confirmed to me from other quarters, and I determined immediately to go to Brighton, and to discharge my duty, but to be guided in the character and extent of the disclosure by such further communication as might be made to me by his Royal Highness's medical attendants, of the nature and pressure of the danger. I pleaded business rendering personal communication necessary for my visit to his Royal Highness, and I went to Brighton on the 19th of August. Upon my arrival, I learnt from Mr. Macgregor that a favourable change had taken place, that his Royal Highness had gained strength, and that the most alarming symptoms had, in a great measure, subsided; that his Royal Highness's situation might, therefore, be considered far more encouraging than when he wrote to me, but that it was impossible to consider it free from danger, although that danger had ceased to be immediate, and although there was reason to hope that the cause of alarm

might be removed. He added, that, from observations which his Royal Highness had made to himself, he was convinced I would find him prepared for any communication I might feel it my duty to make to him, and that, under all circumstances, I must exercise my discretion.

I then saw the Duke of York, who entered fully into his situation, and told me, that, although much better then, and he believed going on well, he had reason to think, from the manner and looks of his medical attendants, that they had been alarmed, and felt much greater uneasiness than they had expressed, or might feel at liberty to express, and he wished to know what I had learnt.

I did not disguise from him, that, bearing in mind the engagement I had contracted, I had determined to go to Brighton in consequence of the accounts I had received on the 17th, which had alarmed me, but that I was happy to find on my arrival, that his Royal Highness's state had since been improving, and that much of the uneasiness which then prevailed had been removed; at the same time, it was my duty to confirm the impression which he appeared himself to have received, that his complaint had assumed a more serious character, although great confidence appeared to be felt, that the extraordinary resources of his constitution, and the strength he had gained since his removal to Brighton, would enable him to struggle successfully with the disorder. "Then," said he, "I was not mistaken in my suspicions, and my case is not wholly free from danger; but I depend upon your honour, and you tell me there is more to hope than to fear."

I assured him that such was decidedly the impression I had received from what Mr. Macgregor had said to me. He thanked me, and proceeded to look over and give directions upon some official papers with his usual attention and accuracy.

He saw Mr. Macgregor the same evening, and questioned him; and he told me on the following day, that Mr. Macgregor had answered him very fairly, and had confirmed what I had said to him, as did Sir Matthew Tierney later in the day. On

that same day he told me that he felt stronger, that his mind was relieved by what had passed, as he knew he should not be deceived or left to form his own conjectures, and draw his own conclusions, from the looks and manner of his medical attendants and others about him; and that he had not for months slept so well as the preceding night.

I repeated to him, that I had come to Brighton under considerable alarm, and that I should leave it very much relieved. His Royal Highness was cheerful; and I heard from Mr. Macgregor and others that he continued so during the following days. Indeed, he wrote to me himself in very good spirits, and assured me of the comfort and relief he had derived from the proof afforded to him that he would be fairly dealt with.

His Royal Highness returned from Brighton on the afternoon of the 26th of August, to the Duke of Rutland's house, in Arlington-street, having come in five hours and a half. He did not seem much fatigued; looked well in the countenance, and conversed cheerfully with Sir Henry Torrens and me, who were in waiting to receive him.

He afterwards told me that his strength, sleep, and appetite had improved, but that the medicines he had taken had ceased to have the desired effect in checking the progress of the main disorder, and that he had therefore returned to town earlier than had been intended, in order, as he understood, to try some change of treatment, which he apprehended might be tapping. This was an unpleasant hearing, though it did not alarm him. He was determined to keep up his spirits; he knew his situation was a serious one, but he had no doubt, please God, he should recover, though he feared his recovery would be a work of time.

In the course of conversation, I told him that I understood Sir Henry Halford would be in town on the following day, and did not mean to return to the country. He observed it was very kind of him, but immediately added, "By the bye, not a very good sign either."

He then proceeded very quietly to official business, but Mr. Macgregor coming in, he, in the most calm and collected man-

ner, questioned him before me, very closely, as to his state, beginning by these words, "Tell me, honestly, do you consider me in danger?" "Not in *immediate* danger," was the answer. "But," said his Royal Highness, "you do consider my situation to be one not free from danger?" Mr. Macgregor admitted it to be by no means free from danger, but proceeded to state the grounds which justified his medical attendants in indulging hopes that his Royal Highness might look forward to a favourable issue.

Mr. Macgregor's answer produced further questions, all put with a view to obtain positive and accurate information as to the extent of danger; and he concluded by thanking Mr. Macgregor for the fair manner in which he had met them, and by saying, "I know now what I wished to know, and I shall be able to govern myself by that knowledge." During the whole of this conversation, which was of some length, his manner was firm and collected, though very serious; his voice free from agitation: his questions were put quietly, at intervals, as if well considered, by a man who was determined to ascertain his own situation; and his words were measured.

He afterwards desired me to repeat what Mr. Macgregor had said, as I understood it, that he might be satisfied he had not mistaken him. I did so, and he observed that he also had so understood him, but that he did not augur from it that his case was hopeless, which impression I confirmed. He expressed an earnest hope that the symptoms of his disorder were not generally known or talked of.

I have been thus particular in the statement of what passed upon these three occasions, to shew how anxious his Royal Highness was not to be kept in the dark, how fearlessly he met the communication of the existence of danger, and above all, to shew that he was early apprized of his critical state, from the contemplation of which he at no time shrunk, although he was at all times anxious to conceal from the generality of those who approached him, that he did not look forward with undiminished confidence to a favourable issue.

On the following day, Sunday, the 27th of August, his Royal Highness again spoke to me very quietly, in regard to his situation, and told me that although not alarmed, and although he had heard nothing that should shake his hopes of ultimate recovery, he could not conceal from himself that his situation called for serious contemplation. Whatever might be the result, there would be time for certain arrangements and the settlement of his affairs, but there was one duty he did wish not to defer; he felt, indeed, that it ought not to be deferred until it should seem to be imposed by a conviction of immediate danger, and resorted to when hope had ceased to exist. He had, therefore, determined to take the Sacrament upon an early day, and to request his friend the Bishop of London to administer it to him; but he was anxious that this should not be known, as the alarm would be sounded, and various interpretations would be put upon an act, which was one of duty, resorted to on principle, and not from apprehension or affectation; he therefore directed me to see the Bishop of London, and to request him to come to him on the following Tuesday at twelve. He desired that I would explain to him his desire that the attendance should be quiet, and should not excite observation; that he wished the service to be simply that of the Communion, as he did not *now* apply to him for his attendance as upon a sick person. He also desired me to be present, and to take the Sacrament with him.

He told me that he had well considered of this act. He was sure, that, under any circumstances, it would tend to his satisfaction, comfort, and relief, and that he ought not to postpone it.

I went to the Bishop of London (at Fulham,) who received the communication with great emotion, and spoke in the highest terms of the exemplary feeling which had dictated his Royal Highness's wish, and said that he would come quietly to Arlington-street on Tuesday, at twelve, without robes, (as upon ordinary occasions,) and without notice to any one, and I engaged to have all prepared.

I returned to Arlington-street to inform his Royal Highness, and it was agreed that his servant, Batchelor, should alone be apprized of the intention, and that I should take care to keep others out of the way. His Royal Highness again said, that he should derive great comfort from thus early discharging his duty. He also gave me instructions to clear his drawers in Audley-square of papers, and to bring them away, and seal up those of a private nature. He said he should by degrees look them over, and attend to other matters; but repeatedly assured me, that all this was done and thought of without any apprehension of a fatal issue of his disorder, and that he was confident he should recover.

The Princess Sophia (who usually came every day at two o'clock) had been with him, and I asked him whether she was aware of his situation. He said he believed not, at least he said nothing to alarm her; possibly, however, she might be, to a certain extent,and he had therefore said nothing to undeceive her.

When I saw Batchelor, I learnt from him, (what I had never previously known,) that his Royal Highness, when he did not go to church, never missed devoting some time to his prayers, which he read to himself, in general early, that he might not be disturbed, but if disturbed in the morning, in the afternoon or evening; and that when travelling on Sunday, he always took a Bible and Prayer Book in the carriage, and was very particular as to their being placed within his immediate reach; and that although he did not object to a travelling companion on other days, nothing annoyed him more than any one proposing to be his companion on a Sunday.

His Royal Highness saw Sir Henry Halford on that day, and questioned him very closely as to his situation. Sir Henry told me that he had answered his questions fairly, and that he had found his Royal Highness in an excellent state of mind, and that he could not sufficiently admire the resolution and composure with which he sought for information, and dwelt upon the question of danger. He observed, that there was no difficulty in dealing with such a patient.

His Royal Highness told me afterwards, that Sir Henry Halford's conversation had confirmed the impression he had received from what Mr. Macgregor had said, and he expressed himself perfectly satisfied with it.

His Royal Highness continued in good spirits, and in the same composed state of mind on the 28th and 29th.

On the latter day the Bishop of London came at a little before twelve, and his Royal Highness was alone with him for a short time, after which I was called in, and his Lordship administered the sacrament to us.

The Duke's deportment was serious as became the occasion, but firm and quite free from agitation. He did not appear nervous or affected, although he must have perceived that neither the Bishop nor I was free from either feeling.

The Bishop of London told me afterwards, that nothing could be more correct and satisfactory than all his Royal Highness had said to him, when they were alone; and that his state of mind was that in which he would wish, under such circumstances, to find that of any person in whose welfare he felt interested.

When I returned to the Duke of York, he appeared more affected, and he assured me that he felt a comfort and relief which he could not describe, and that whatever might be the issue of his illness, he had done what he ought to do. That he could now attend to other matters with increased composure.

In the afternoon, when I saw him again, he expressed to me how much he had been pleased with the Bishop of London's mild and encouraging discourse.

That he had stated to his Lordship unreservedly, that he knew his situation to be a very serious, though he trusted not a hopeless one, but that he did not choose to postpone a duty which he conceived ought to be performed while he was in the full possession of his faculties, which might yield to disease sooner than he was aware of. That he had, in the course of his life, faced death in various shapes, and was now doomed to view its approach in a slow and lingering form. That he did not deny, that he should resign his existence with regret, though he

felt no alarm; he admitted that his life had not been pure, that there had been much in his course he wished had been otherwise. He had not thought so seriously on some subjects as he might have done, still he had endeavoured to discharge his public duties correctly. He had forborne from injuring or deceiving any one, and he felt in peace and charity with all.

Under these circumstances, he hoped he might look with confidence to mercy, through the merits of his Redeemer, and he had appeared to him (the Bishop) on this occasion, not only to receive the confession of his unworthiness, but to administer that comfort which his situation required. That his reliance and his faith in the Christian religion were firm and decided, and that his adherence to the pure doctrine professed and established in this country, was unshaken as it had ever been. That, as he had declared these sentiments in a political discussion of the question, he was anxious that it should be understood, and that the Bishop of London should be enabled to state hereafter, if the occasion should call for it, that those sentiments were not professed in a political sense, and from prejudice and party feelings, but they were firmly fixed in his mind, and were the result of due consideration and conviction, and produced by an earnest solicitude for the continued welfare of his country.

After saying this, his Royal Highness told me that he felt very comfortable, and that if it should please God to restore him to health, he was sure he should be a better man ever after. He considered this trial as a mercy, for which he ought to feel grateful; it afforded him time for serious reflection, and he trusted the time would not be ill applied. He then entered into some questions of military business with great composure.

His Royal Highness underwent the operation of tapping on the afternoon of the 3d of September. It was performed by Mr. Macgregor, and it was borne by his Royal Highness with the same resolution and quiet composure which had marked his conduct under every stage of his illness. Colonel Stephenson and I saw him soon after. We found him a little exhausted, but cheerful, and quite free from nervous agitation.

About this period, he received the communication of the death of Sir Harry Calvert, by which he was much affected, and he observed that he had deeply to deplore the loss of an old and attached friend, and a religious and good man.

For some days after the operation, he was very weak, and his left leg was in a state which occasioned serious uneasiness, nor was the appearance of the other leg satisfactory. On the 10th, he examined the contents of some private boxes, and desired that they might be left in his room, but considered as consigned to my charge. His situation gave his medical attendants serious uneasiness, and his Royal Highness was perfectly sensible of it, nor indeed did I disguise it from him, when he questioned me.

Between the 12th and the 18th, his Royal Highness gained strength, and his appetite and sleep improved, but the state of his legs continued unsatisfactory. On the 19th, he began again to take his airings, but the improvement had not been such as to induce his medical attendants to consider his state otherwise than very critical. He continued to take daily airings until the 16th of October. During this interval, he rallied occasionally, and his general health appeared, at times, to be improving, notwithstanding the state of the legs, which became gradually more unsatisfactory, and often occasioned excruciating pain throughout great part of the day. His Royal Highness frequently spoke to me of his own situation and feelings, more especially on the 22d of September, when he told me he did his best to submit with patience and resignation: that he tried to keep up his spirits; he met his friends cheerfully, endeavoured to go correctly through what he had to do, and to occupy himself at other times with reading; but when left to his own thoughts, when he went to bed and lay awake, the situation was not agreeable; the contemplation of one's end, not to be met at once, nor within a short given period, but protracted possibly for months, required a struggle, and tried one's resolution. But, after all, he did not know that he regretted it, or that he regretted that time was given to him which had turned his mind to

serious reflection, and which he was certain had been very beneficial to him. If it should please God that he should recover, he would become a better man; if he did not recover, he would have to thank God for the time afforded for reflection.

I have noticed what passed on this day, to shew that his feelings had undergone no change.

On the 16th of October, Mr. Macgregor desired that I should convey to his Royal Highness his wish that he would allow him to call in Sir Astley Cooper; that I would state that he had no reason to doubt his Royal Highness's confidence, but that a heavy responsibility was thrown upon him, and that it might be satisfactory to his Royal Highness: it doubtless would be to himself to resort to further aid and advice, as the state of the legs had unfortunately formed so prominent a feature of the case; at the same time he was persuaded that Sir Astley Cooper would concur in all that he had done. When I mentioned it to his Royal Highness, he objected, and assured me that he was perfectly satisfied with Mr. Macgregor's skill and attention, and that he would not, upon any account, appear to shew a doubt which he had never felt, nor hurt Mr. Macgregor's feelings. I assured him that Mr. Macgregor was perfectly sensible of this; but that he owed it to his own feelings, and to his character as a professional man, to make this request. His Royal Highness then objected to the effect it might produce upon the public, to its getting into the newspapers, &c. I observed that measures might be taken to prevent this, and he finally agreed to Mr. Macgregor speaking to Sir H. Halford, and settling it with him.

Sir Astley Cooper attended accordingly on the 17th, and continued to do so during the remainder of his Royal Highness's illness. Notwithstanding every precaution, it was impossible to prevent it being soon noticed in the papers, and when his Royal Highness learnt this, he observed, that his chief motive for wishing it concealed was, the apprehension that it might excite unnecessary alarm, which, as connected with his station and situation, might embarrass the Government, and possibly influence the public funds. It could not affect him personally.

His Royal Highness's state fluc'uated again between this period and the 6th of November, when there was a marked improvement in the condition of the legs, which continued until the 20th, when they again assumed an unfavourable appearance, which was the more to be lamented, as his Royal Highness's strength and constitutional powers had been giving way, his appetite and sleep began to fail, and the increasing evil was therefore to be met by impaired resources.

Towards the beginning of December his Royal Highness again rallied, so far as the legs were concerned, but his frame and his constitution had evidently become weaker, and his Royal Highness himself expressed his apprehensions that his strength would not carry him through the protracted struggle.

Between the 8th and 17th of December there was again a sensible improvement in the legs, which might have raised the hopes of his Royal Highness's attendants, if the return of strength had kept pace with it; but he was visibly losing strength and substance, and on the 20th the legs resumed the appearance of mortification to an alarming extent, and the medical attendants agreed that his situation had become very critical.

Their apprehensions were still further excited on the 22nd; his appetite had totally failed him, and other symptoms were equally unfavourable. Still he kept up his spirits, and although my language was any thing but encouraging, he *appeared* to feel sanguine of recovery. This impression was not justified by the opinion of the medical attendants, and I became very anxious that his Royal Highness should be made aware of the increased danger of his situation. I urged this point with Sir Henry Halford and Sir Astley Cooper; assured them that they mistook his Royal Highness's character, if they apprehended any ill effect from the disclosure, and represented that it was due to his character, and to his wish, to discharge the duties which he still had to perform. In the course of the day they yielded to my representations, and authorized me to avail myself of any opening which his Royal Highness might give

me, to make him sensible of the increased anxiety and alarm which I had observed in his physicians. I was to use my discretion as to the mode, the nature, and the extent of the disclosure; it would probably produce reference to them, and they would then confirm the impression conveyed by me.

I saw his Royal Highness at five o'clock, when I took my official papers to him. He gave me the desired opportunity at once, by asking what the doctors said of him. His servant being, in the room, I gave no immediate answer, and he waited quietly until he had left the room, and then repeated the question.

I spoke to him as had been agreed with Sir Henry Halford, adding that my own anxiety, and the uneasiness I had already expressed to him, had led me to watch the physicians, and to endeavour to extract from them what their real opinion was. but that they were cautious, and were evidently unwilling to authorize me to express their alarm. I could not, however, forget his Royal Highness's appeal to me in Audley-square, nor the pledge I had given him; that I knew his Royal Highness did not wish to be taken by surprise; and therefore I considered it my duty to disclose to him the uneasiness I felt. He listened with composure, and without betraying any agitation; but asked me whether the danger was immediate, whether it was a question of *days?*

I repeated, that I was not authorized to say so, and I trusted it was not. He said—"God's will be done; I am not afraid of dying, I trust I have done my duty; I have endeavoured to do so. I know that my faults have been many, but God is merciful; his ways are inscrutable; I bow with submission to his will. I have at least not to reproach myself with not having done all I could to avert this crisis: but I own it has come upon me by surprise. I knew that my case had not ceased to be free from danger; I have always been told so, but I did not suspect *immediate* danger, and, had I been a timid or a nervous man, the effect might have been trying. I trust I have received this communication with

becoming resolution." I observed, that I had not for many days seen his Royal Highness more free from nervous agitation, and that I had not been disappointed in my expectation, that he would bear this communication as he did that which I had been called upon to make to him at Brighton. He desired me to feel his pulse, which was low, but even and steady.

He then put various questions to me, with a view to ascertain the causes of what he considered so sudden a change in his state. I accounted for it, by what I had learnt from the physicians, and ended by repeating that I had felt it my duty, however painful, to speak out. He thanked me, gave me his hand, and said, I had acted as I ought, and as he expected, but he pressed me again to state "what was the extent of the danger, and whether *immediate?*" I repeated, that I had been assured that it was not immediate. "Whether his case was without hope of recovery?" I gave no decided answer, but said, that I could not extract from the physicians any positive opinion, but that their language was not encouraging. He said, "I understand you; I may go on for a short time, but may end rapidly: God's will be done, I am resigned." He then called for his official papers, and transacted his business with composure and his usual attention. He afterward resumed the previous painful subject. I spoke to him about his private papers, and he confirmed some of the directions previously given to me upon that subject. He then spoke most kindly, took me again by the hand, and said, "Thank you, God bless you." I had hitherto succeeded in controlling my feelings, but I could do so no longer, and I left the room.

I learnt from his servant Batchelor, that after I left his Royal Highness, he had desired him to collect and pay some small bills; that he began to write some memoranda, and appeared very serious, but quite free from agitation. His Royal Highness afterwards had some serious conversation with Sir Henry Halford, who did not disguise from him

the uneasiness he felt, but did not admit that his case had become hopeless. He had found him perfectly calm and composed.

His Royal Highness sent for me again, and repeated to me very correctly what Sir Henry Halford had said to him; he afterwards saw Colonel Stephenson, who told me that he had conversed with him very quietly upon indifferent subjects, and that, from his manner, he could not have suspected that any thing could have occurred to disturb him.

He passed a good night, and appeared better on the following day. He saw the adjutant-general and quarter-master-general early, and gave his directions to them with his usual accuracy. I saw him soon after, and he told me that he had passed a good night, had rather more appetite, and was more free from pain; that this was satisfactory for the moment, but whether of any ultimate avail, a higher Power would decide.

The physicians told me there was no improvement in his situation.

In the course of the day, I submitted to him the official papers, and took his pleasure upon some general military arrangements, into which he entered with interest; but in the afternoon he became very languid and nervous, though he rallied again towards the evening.

On the following day, the 24th of December, he appeared better, and in good spirits, though incapable of much exertion.

On the 25th he was weaker, having had a very indifferent night. He saw the Duke of Wellington early in the day. The physicians told me, that his Royal Highness's state was becoming daily more critical, and that it was desirable that I should avail myself of any opportunity which might offer, of drawing his Royal Highness's attention to the necessity of settling his affairs. I embraced it that very day, and proposed to him to send for his solicitor, Mr. Parkinson, to which he agreed, and I appointed him at ten o'clock on the following day; he afterwards went through his official business very quietly.

His Royal Highness saw Mr. Parkinson on the 26th, and signed his will, after which he shook hands with him, as if taking final leave of him. He afterwards saw the Bishop of London, who had at all times free admission to his Royal Highness, and had had frequent conversations with him in the course of his illness; and the result of *this* interview was, that his Royal Highness should take the sacrament on the 28th, which his Royal Highness mentioned to me afterwards, adding, that he meant to ask the Princess Sophia to take it with him. I saw him again in the evening, and he appeared very cheerful. On the 27th he appeared better early in the day, but became more weak and languid afterwards. He saw Mr. Peel, who told me he had been much shocked by his Royal Highness's altered appearance. The Duke, however, spoke to me of himself in a more sanguine tone than usual.

His Majesty came to his Royal Highness in the afternoon, and found him very weak and languid, but he rallied in the evening, and looked over his official papers.

On the morning of the 28th, his Royal Highness appeared very weak, and had some attacks of nervous faintness; which, together with other unfavourable symptoms, satisfied the physicians that the danger was becoming more imminent. The Bishop of London came at twelve, and desired that three persons should assist at the holy ceremony; and proposed that Sir Henry Halford and I should be added to the Princess Sophia, which was mentioned to his Royal Highness, who readily agreed. Upon this occasion he came publicly, and put on his robes; his Royal Highness was quite composed, and nothing could exceed his pious attention and calm devotion throughout the solemn ceremony. He repeated the prayers, and made the responses, in a firm voice. Part of the prayers for the sick were read; but the service was, at the suggestion of Sir Henry Halford, the short service. The Bishop was very much affected, particularly when pronouncing the concluding blessing. The Princess Sophia supported herself wonderfully throughout the trying scene, and the Duke was quite free from agitation. After the service was over, he kissed

his sister, and shook hands most affectionately with the Bishop, Sir Henry Halford, and me, thanking us, as if taking leave of all.

His Royal Highness sent for me again in the afternoon, and went through some official business, to which he appeared quite equal. He expressed great satisfaction at having taken the sacrament, and told me that the Princess Sophia had stayed with him, and borne up to the last moment. He then asked me whether his physicians thought much worse of him; he really felt better. I replied, they considered his situation as having become more doubtful than it had been, but that they had not at any time authorized me to say his case was hopeless. He observed that he thought it was wrong to abandon hope, or to despair, but, setting aside that feeling, he was resigned to God's will. He asked whether I had any more papers requiring consideration, as he felt quite as equal to business as he had been for two or three months past, and he wished none to be interrupted or suspended.

He afterwards saw Mr. Greville, who found him very cheerful.

He sent for me again between eight and nine, and I stayed with him until ten. He appeared weak and uncomfortable, though not positively in pain. At ten, he said he should like to go to bed, but the usual hour had not arrived, and he would wait for Sir Henry Halford. I persuaded him to go to bed at once. This was the first night that he had anticipated the usual hour, and the medical attendants ascribed it to increasing weakness, against which he had hitherto contended. All agreed that he might linger on a few days, unless an attack of nervous faintness should carry him off suddenly.

On the following day, the 29th, his Royal Highness, after passing a tolerable night, appeared better. He had taken some nourishment, and his pulse was steady. He sent for me soon after ten, and spoke very seriously of his situation, but without alarm or agitation. He appeared very desirous of extracting very direct and unreserved answers; often fixed his eye upon me, as if to search my thoughts, and made me change my position, that he might see me better. I appeared not to notice this

but kept up the conversation for an hour and a half, on various subjects of business, &c. This succeeded, and he gradually be came more at his ease. He was quite equal to any exertion of mind. When Sir H. Halford came, he announced to his Royal Highness the King's intention to pay him a visit on that day, and his Royal Highness dressed and shaved himself, which he had not been able to do on the preceding day.

The physicians told me that the state of the legs had become more unfavourable. His Royal Highness saw the Adjutant-General and Quarter-Master-General, and transacted business with them as usual.

His Majesty came at two, and stayed an hour with his Royal Highness. His Majesty thought him looking better and stronger than on the 27th, but this was the last time he saw him, his Majesty's own indisposition having disappointed his anxious wish to have come again to him.

His Royal Highness sent for me at five, and went through his usual official business with me, after which he appeared tired and exhausted, and, indeed, he had previously retired to his bedroom.

He afterwards saw Colonel Stephenson, who found him in the same weak and exhausted state.

Towards nine he sent for me again, and I found him much oppressed, and breathing short, and in general unable to rouse himself. He dismissed me after a short time, wishing me a good night, but between ten and eleven he sent for me again; I found him dozing, and when he roused himself he complained of inward pain, asked me how late I should stay in the house, (he was not aware that I had slept in it for several nights,) and again wished me good night.

He called for Sir H. Halford, Mr. Macgregor, and Mr. Simpson, repeatedly in the same manner, and after wishing them good night. Some time after, he again sent for Mr. Macgregor, who found him in one of his attacks of nervous faintness. Mr. Macgregor gave him some laudanum, and after some time he became more composed, and fell asleep.

I learnt early in the morning of the 30th, from Mr. Macgregor, that his Royal Highness had had some sleep at intervals, but that he appeared much weaker, and that there were other indications of increasing danger. His Royal Highness had determined not to quit his bed-room.

He sent for me at half-past ten, and I remained with him for more than an hour, until Sir H. Halford came. I was extremely shocked at the extraordinary change which had taken place in one night, or rather since the preceding morning at the same hour. He appeared extremely feeble, and under great uneasiness from pain, but otherwise composed; and although suffering so much, he uttered no complaint. He asked me when I had come, and I told him I had slept in the house. He did not seem surprised or displeased, but said he concluded that he was considered much worse, for Mr. Macgregor had been three times to see him in the night, but that he felt quite equal to business. I, therefore, brought forward a few subjects, and received his very clear instructions, though his voice had become so feeble that I could with difficulty hear him.

His Royal Highness saw the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex, and Sir W. Knighton, who was going to Windsor, and through whom he sent an affectionate message to the King. To the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex he spoke cheerfully on the state of Portugal, and other matters of public interest. The Princess Sophia was also with him for a considerable time.

Between nine and ten he expressed a wish to see Colonel Stephenson and me, and we went to him, but he said little, and wished us good night.

He passed a restless night, and appeared much weaker on the following morning, (the 31st Dec.) but continued perfectly sensible, took nourishment when offered to him, but shewed no inclination to speak, unless spoken to. His medical attendants apprehended, from the increased weakness, the rapid approach of dissolution. I went to him by desire of the physicians between one and two. He took my hand, and received me most kindly. He said, "Here I am; I feel weaker, but not worse, and I do

not suffer pain." He moved his lips occasionally, but I could not distinguish what he said; he appeared quite sensible, very composed, and twice looked at me, the first time seriously, the second time with a placid, almost a cheerful smile; and I came away perfectly satisfied that his mind was free from anxiety and uneasiness. The Princess Sophia came in, and the manner in which he roused himself when she was announced, was very striking. Her Royal Highness staid with him about twenty minutes. He continued very quiet throughout the rest of the day; and at half-past seven desired Sir A. Cooper, who was going to Windsor, to give his affectionate duty to the King, and to tell him he was very comfortable.

On the 1st of January, I learnt that his Royal Highness had passed a very quiet night, with four hours' good sleep, and that no material change had taken place in his state; that he continued perfectly sensible, took sufficient nourishment, and spoke whenever roused; nor were the legs in a worse state; on the contrary, their appearance had become more favourable.

Upon the whole, the physicians thought he might linger on longer than they had expected, such was the extraordinary resistance which his constitution opposed to the progress of the disease. The Dukes of Clarence and Sussex again saw him and he received them affectionately, but did not speak, and they left him immediately. The Princess Sophia then went to him: he kissed her, and said—"God bless you, my dear love—to-morrow, to-morrow," and she left him. He continued in the same quiet and composed state throughout the day, and occasionally told his medical attendants that he felt no pain, and was very comfortable. I did not see him.

The report on the following morning, the 2d of January, was, that the night had been quiet, and that he continued free from pain, and perfectly sensible, though he seldom spoke. Soon after nine he had a shivering attack, which was very alarming, and his pulse was hardly perceptible, but he rallied. He had been moved nearer to the window, was quite himself, and asked whether the day was not a frost, which was the case. He became

slightly delirious at 20 minutes past one, and other symptoms had become more alarming. Still he was quite sensible at intervals. The Princess Sophia was with him for a short time, and he knew her.

The Dukes of Clarence and Sussex, who came in the afternoon, did not see him. His Royal Highness continued nearly in the same state, except that his pulse had been gradually lowering, and his breathing becoming very short, and his situation appeared so critical, that I and other attendants in the house determined not to take off our clothes. The street was crowded with people throughout the day, not apparently assembled from curiosity, but from anxiety, extremely quiet, and hardly speaking, except to inquire, in a subdued voice, what was the state of his Royal Highness.

I learnt at six on the following morning, (the 3d,) from Mr. Macgregor, that, notwithstanding a restless and uncomfortable night, his Royal Highness had rallied, and appeared then stronger, more inclined to talk, and to take nourishment, than he had been on the preceding day, and that it was impossible to calculate when the crisis would arrive. His pulse had also become more steady. The other medical attendants confirmed this at a late hour, and observed, that his Royal Highness's extraordinary powers of constitution and tenacity of life defied all calculation. The Princess Sophia being unwell, could not come this day; the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex came at twelve, and stayed until six, but did not see their brother.

Sir William Knighton, having come from Windsor, and being named to his Royal Highness, he desired to see him, that he might inquire after the King, and requested him to assure his Majesty of his affectionate duty.

Towards the evening his Royal Highness shewed symptoms of strength, and the physicians reported to his Majesty that he continued in the same state, without appearance of immediate dissolution, but without hope. Between ten and twelve he was very quiet, and inclined to sleep.

The assemblage of people in Arlington-street was the same as

on the preceding day; there was the same propriety of conduct, the same manifestation of affectionate interest, free from curiosity.

His Royal Highness passed a very restless night, with occasional attacks of faintness and spasm. His breathing had become more difficult, his pulse more feeble and irregular, but yet there were no symptoms of rapidly approaching dissolution. Sir Astley Cooper had sat up with him, to relieve Mr. Macgregor; and when the latter went to his Royal Highness, he desired him to thank him, and say he was very kind.

Shortly after he saw some one near him, and Mr. Macgregor told him it was Mr. Simpson; and his Royal Highness said, "Mr. Simpson is a good man." He took some slight nourishment occasionally, and towards ten o'clock he had a serious attack of faintness, during which his pulse was hardly perceptible, but he rallied again. Sir Wm. Knighton saw his Royal Highness, but he did not speak to him.

Between one and two, Mr. Macgregor came to tell me that his Royal Highness had named me frequently, and at last made them understand that he wished to see me. I immediately went to him. I found him dreadfully changed, very feeble, much oppressed, and evidently unable to distinguish objects clearly. Batchelor named me to him, and I sat down close by his right side. He looked at me with a kind smile, took me by the hand, and I told him I had not left the house since I had last seen him. He asked me with difficulty, and in a faint, though steady voice, whether Colonel Stephenson was in the house. I said he was, and asked whether he wished to see him; he nodded assent, and I immediately sent for him. Colonel Stephenson went to his left side; but, as his Royal Highness could not see him, I beckoned to him to come to the right side, and I moved back, so as to enable him to come close up, while I supported his Royal Highness, by placing my hand against the pillow, behind his back. He then gave his hand to Colonel Stephenson. After some interval, during which his Royal Highness breathed with great difficulty, and was very faint, and during which Batchelor

bathed his temples with Cologne water, he collected his strength, and said in a steady, firm tone of voice, but so low as to be hardly audible to Colonel Stephenson, whose head was further removed than mine, "I am now dying." After this he dropped his head, and his lips moved for about a minute, as if in prayer. He then looked at us again, and appeared to wish to speak, but an attack of faintness came on, and his respiration was so difficult, and he seemed so weak and exhausted, that I thought he was dying, and expressed that apprehension to Colonel Stephenson, who partook of it. Batchelor bathed his temples again, and he rallied, after which he again took Colonel Stephenson's hand, and nodded to Batchelor, who told us he meant we should leave him.

The scene was most affecting and trying, but yet in some respects satisfactory, as it shewed that he was perfectly aware of his situation, and we concluded that he had seen us together, as being his executors, and meant to take leave of us. I heard afterwards that he had appeared much exhausted by the effort, but subsequently took some chicken broth, and became composed, without having any return of faintness. Towards the evening, he rallied again, and had some sound and comfortable sleep, and his attendants separated under the impression that his Royal Highness's life would be prolonged at least another night.

In the course of the night he had so serious an attack of faintness, that Mr. Macgregor thought he would not have recovered from it, but he rallied again towards the morning of the 5th, and had taken some nourishment. The breathing had, however, become extremely difficult. About eleven, Mr. Simpson came to me to say that the symptoms of approaching death had come on, and that the medical attendants wished me to be in the room adjoining to that in which his Royal Highness lay. I brought in the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex, and Colonel Stephenson, and we continued in the room, expecting every moment to be called in by the medical attendants (who were all with his Royal Highness) to witness his death. Sir Henry Halford came to us occasionally, and stated that his royal highness's pulse was hardly perceptible,

his extremities were cold, he was speechless, and had with difficulty swallowed a little milk and rum, but nevertheless appeared to retain his senses. Of this, indeed, he gave proof at twelve, for Mr. Macgregor came in to say that his Royal Highness had insisted on having his legs dressed (which they naturally wished to avoid at such a period,) for he had looked at him several times, had pointed at the clock, then at his legs, and had pushed off the covering, thus shewing his determination to go through all that was required to the last moment. When he found that he was understood, and that Mr. Macgregor was preparing for the dressing, he signified his thanks to him with a kind smile, threw back his head, and hardly noticed any thing afterwards.

The pulse became more feeble, the attacks of faintness more frequent, but his Royal Highness struggled on, and between eight and nine this state appeared so likely to last for some hours, that the Duke of Clarence was persuaded to go home, and I returned to my room to answer some inquiries. At twenty minutes past nine, Colonel Stephenson called me out, and told me that he was in the last agonies. I hastened down, but my dear master had expired before I could reach his room, and I had the comfort of learning that he had expired without any struggle or apparent pain. His countenance indeed confirmed this, it was as calm as possible, and quite free from any distortion, indeed it almost looked as if he had died with a smile upon it.

The medical attendants, the Duke of Sussex, Batchelor, and another servant, were in the room, looking at him in silence, and with countenances strongly expressive of their feelings.

Such was the end of this amiable, kind, and excellent man, after a long and painful struggle, borne with exemplary resolution and resignation; and I am confident, that the details into which I have entered, of the last circumstances of that struggle will not prove uninteresting to those who were sincerely attached to him.

I feel that I owe it to his Royal Highness's character, to add some general observations, which may serve to place it in its true light, and to confirm the opinion of those who view his loss as a national calamity.

It may be necessary to premise, that from the moment that I had received the alarming report from Brighton, I ceased to entertain any sanguine hopes of his Royal Highness's recovery, and that my expectations of it became gradually more faint, although they varied occasionally, as the symptoms of the disorder fluctuated.

This impression led to my keeping the minutes, from which I have extracted the foregoing statement, my object in so doing being that I might be better able, from such accurate source, to do justice to his Royal Highness's character and sentiments.

The 30th of December was the last day on which I submitted my papers, and he was then equal to any business; for although his state varied in the course of the day, yet there were hours when physical causes, or the effect of medicine, did not interfere with the clear application of the powers of the mind.

It has been already shewn by the details I have produced, that almost to the latest hour, his Royal Highness was anxious to discharge his official duties; and the interest he took in them was at no time weakened by the pressure of bodily disease or pain. In further proof of this, I may state, that on Saturday, the 9th of December, I received from Lord Bathurst at his office, secret instructions respecting the force to be prepared for embarkation for Portugal, and that I communicated them in the same evening to his Royal Highness. He was then in great pain, but he became indifferent to bodily sufferings, and immediately drew up the heads of the military arrangement, (which paper, in his own writing, I now possess,) from which were framed detailed instructions approved by him on the following day, and issued on Monday, the 11th of December.

This measure naturally produced the necessity of other arrangements connected with home service, and the adjutant-general and the quarter-master-general will bear me out in the assertion,

that these were entered into, and directed by him with the same intelligence and attention which he had manifested on previous occasions; when, we are bound to state, that every arrangement was made by him, and that the execution of the details was alone left to us.

It may not be irrelevant here to observe, that this had at all times been the case; his Royal Highness had been at the head of the army more than thirty-two years; during that period various officers were successively employed by him in the situations of military secretary, and at the heads of departments at the Horse Guards; and they possessed his confidence, and exerted themselves zealously. But the merit of rescuing the army from its impaired condition, of improving, establishing, and maintaining its system; of introducing that administration of it, in principle and in every detail, which has raised the character of the British service, and promoted its efficiency, belongs exclusively to his late Royal Highness. The work was progressive, but his attention to it, his able superintendence of it, were constant. He guided and directed the labours of those subordinate to him; their task was executive. He gave the impulse to the whole machinery, and kept the wheels in motion; and to him, I repeat it, the credit was due.

An arrangement for the promotion of the old subalterns of the army had long been the object of his solicitude, but it was one of difficult accomplishment, as it was understood that no measure entailing extraordinary charge on the public would be admitted. Hence the delay in bringing it forward; but his Royal Highness entered into every detail of it on the 26th of December, and the King having paid him a visit on the 27th, he ordered me to submit it to his Majesty on that day, when it obtained the royal signature; and the communication of his Majesty's gracious approbation of this arrangement was received by his Royal Highness with a warm expression of satisfaction.

Of the resolution and resignation with which his Royal Highness submitted to protracted confinement and a painful disorder, my statement offers ample proof; but I have not stated, that

during all this period, during this serious trial, his excellent temper and kind disposition to all who approached him, continued unimpaired. I appeal to his medical attendants, I appeal to his servants, to those who transacted business with him, official or personal, whether at any time he betrayed a symptom of irritability, whether a sharp word escaped him, whether a murmur or complaint was uttered. Every attention, from whatever quarter, was kindly received, and gratefully acknowledged. Great anxiety was shewn by him to avoid giving trouble; and at the latter periods of his illness, that which seemed to distress him most, was his being reduced to the necessity of requesting others to do for him that which he had ceased to be able to do for himself.

Of the kind attention of his medical attendants, and their anxiety to afford to him the utmost benefit of their skill, he expressed himself most sensible. And it is due to them to say, that if he had been their nearest and dearest relative, they would not have devoted their time, care, and attention to him with more affectionate zeal than they did. Nor did he ever betray any want of confidence in their skill, or the least desire to resort to other advice.

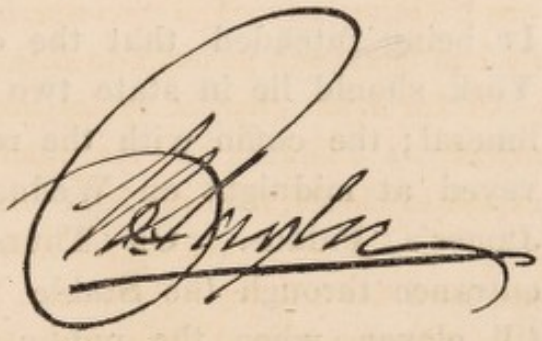
I must add, that I can positively state, having been admitted freely to their consultations, that no difference of opinion prevailed among them; they acted together cordially, and their only object seemed to be the welfare of their illustrious patient.

During the progress of his illness, his Royal Highness received the most endearing and affectionate attention from the King, and from his brothers and sisters; and they never failed to be acknowledged with satisfaction and with gratitude: the Princess Sophia especially, whose near residence admitted of more frequent intercourse, never missed coming to him in the course of the day, unless prevented by indisposition; and I have already stated that her royal highness, by his desire, took the sacrament with him on the 28th of December.

The visits of his Royal Highness's numerous and attached friends were frequent, and they were invariably received with satisfaction, and with an expression of his sense of their attention.

Upon these occasions he exerted himself to meet them cheerfully, and to suppress the expression of pain or bodily uneasiness, and they often left him with the belief that he was free from both, although this had by no means been the case.

Nor did his Royal Highness's bodily suffering, or the contemplation of his critical state, diminish, in any degree, the interest which he had ever taken in the state of public affairs, and in the welfare and prosperity of his country. These were at all times uppermost in his mind, and I am convinced that they often engaged it in a much greater degree than did his own situation.



CHAP. XXI.

THE ROYAL OBSEQUIES.

It being intended that the corpse of the Duke of York should lie in state two days previous to the funeral; the coffin with the royal remains was conveyed at midnight on Wednesday the 17th, to St. James's Palace. On Thursday the privilege of entrance through the Stable Yard by tickets lasted till eleven, when the public admission took place through the second front gate of the Palace. The crowd having passed along a covered way across the yard, entered through the new staircase leading to the state apartment. This was hung with black, and the landing-places were railed off, to prevent disorder. At eight o'clock the Grenadiers mounted as a guard of honour, and at the same time another guard from the Lancers took their station. A strong detachment of police was also in attendance, aided by a body of constables. The Lancers did duty outside, as the Grenadiers did within; while the Yeomen of the Guard were arranged in two divisions in the new gallery and armoury room. The corps of Gentlemen Pensioners also gave their attendance on this occasion, though commonly they only are called upon to be present at the funeral of the king or queen.

Funeral Procession of His late Royal Highness the Duke of York, on its approach towards Windsor Castle.

Published by Fisher, Son, & Co. Caxton, London, Feb. 27. 1827.

The state-room had its black cloth so fitted up as to resemble a tent at the top, while along the sides, scutcheons were arranged with silver sconces. The coffin was placed on a platform, having a velvet pall thrown over it, and three scutcheons on each side. At the head on a velvet cushion was the royal coronet; below on another cushion the baton of a Field Marshal. Three large wax candles burned on each side. The inscription on the plate is as follows:—

DEPOSITUM
ILLUSTRISSIMI PRINCIPIS
FREDERICI.
DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBURGH,
DUCIS EBORACI ET ALBANIÆ,
COMITIS ULSTERIÆ,
NOBILISSIMI ORDINIS PERISCELIDIS,
ET
HONORATISS. ORDIN. MILITAR. DE BALNEO
EQUITIS;
FRATRIS AUGUSTISSIMI ET POTENTISSIMI
MONARCHÆ
GEORGII QUARTI,
DEI GRATIA BRITANNIARUM REGIS
FIDEI DEFENSORIS,
REGIS HANOVERÆ, &c.
OBIIT QUINTO DIE JANUARII,
ANNO DOMINI MDCCCXXVII.
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXIV.

General Upton took his station at the head of the coffin, supported by colonel Sir Henry Cook on the right, and Colonel Armstrong on the left. In the front were J. Hawker, Esq. Richmond Herald, and

C. G. Young, Esq. York Herald. On each side were three gentlemen holding banners: viz. of Albany, White Horse of Hanover, Falcon and Fetterlock, White Rose, the crest of the late Duke; and one of the Arms of his Royal Highness. There were also two gentlemen ushers, and two gentlemen of the privy chamber. On each side were six grenadiers, having their muskets reversed, and leaning on the butt end. Those who passed by the solemn spectacle moved along as in a procession; the strictest silence being observed throughout. At twelve o'clock the attendants were relieved, and the same order was repeated every two hours.

At an early hour on Saturday morning, the various streets of the metropolis leading to Pall-Mall were crowded with passengers; and the windows of many houses were filled with spectators in mourning. At half past six a party of Lancers marched into the area in front of the Palace, to preserve order, and within an hour the private carriage of the deceased Duke, drawn by six dark grey horses, came out of the Park, and entered the yard. Soon afterwards the hearse, covered with escutcheons, proceeded in the same direction; taking its station as near as possible to the staircase. Across the court yard, a party of the Foot Guards stood drawn up two deep, a party of the Yeomen being placed between them and the hearse. As soon as the coffin was brought down, the Yeomen reversed their partisans, and the Guards their arms. The coffin was then placed in the hearse, the door closed, and exactly as the clock struck eight, the procession began to move, by the Marlborough Gate, into St. James's Park. About twelve mourners on horseback, and as many marshal-men

on foot, went first; then followed seven coaches, conveying the domestics, pages of the Duke, his private chaplain, medical attendants, secretaries, equerries, aides de camp, and the heraldic officers. After this came a troop of Life Guards, with their swords reversed under their right arms. Having formed in the centre of St. James's street, they halted to wait the approach of the Duke's private carriage and the hearse. As soon as the latter entered the street, the Lancers reversed their lances, and kept them so during the rest of the day. After the hearse, which was flanked on each side by ten Yeomen, had taken its place, the two squadrons of Life Guards fell into the rear, and were succeeded by the Lancers. The carriages of the royal family then followed in the order of their rank; and by their side walked mourners with truncheons. In this manner the train proceeded up St. James's Street, and at a little after nine passed through Kensington, where the crowds were immense. When the procession reached Holland-house, the Yeomen of the Guard, and a detachment of the Lancers, quitted it, and returned to town. From hence to Hammersmith, the windows of the houses were thronged, and all the shops closely shut. The signs of many of the public houses were covered with crape, and one of the signs had a flag suspended by a line across the street, in the centre of which was inscribed in large letters,—"OUR NATION'S HOPE, THE FATHER OF THE ARMY."

About two o'clock the cavalcade halted at Cranford Bridge. Here the mourners alighted to obtain refreshment, and the procession was joined by another party of troops. After an interval of about two hours, the whole again formed in order, and began to move,

still preceded and followed by a large body of spectators, some on horseback, others in carriages, and vast numbers on foot. Soon after passing through Colnbrook, night set in, on which every fourth soldier lighted a torch. The cavalcade now presented a more striking appearance than it had done at any period of the day, for the glare of the torches, reflected upon the dress and arms of the military, had a novel and solemn effect. In this way, the procession passed through Datchet, and a little before eight reached Frogmore, where it was joined by the royal dukes, and the members of the household. From Frogmore to the Castle the road was lined with soldiers, many of whom carried torches. The arrangements for the funeral within the Chapel consisted in the erection of a covered porch lined with black cloth, projecting from the south aisle to the pavement of the court in the lower ward. At this entrance the coffin was received, and a flooring covered with black was laid down, to make a gradual ascent from the pavement to the door of the Chapel. From this door a flooring was also laid the whole length of the south aisle, in the form of an inclined plane, and enclosed with railing about four feet high; the whole covered with black cloth. The whole breadth of the nave was enclosed, and rows of steps were erected along the north aisle, for the accommodation of several hundreds who were admitted by tickets. The opening in the floor in front of the altar, which leads to the subterraneous passage of the royal vault, was not concealed; but lined in every part with black cloth, so as to give it an appearance of greater depth than it really is. Some seats erected a few paces behind this opening, and at right angles with it, were

designed for the foreign ambassadors and other persons of distinction. Three arm-chairs were placed at the head of the vault for the chief mourners. Soon after seven o'clock a movement was observable near the door of the south aisle, and a bustle ensued, occasioned by the entrance of the principal personages belonging to the royal household, in full court mourning, wearing broad silk scarfs, and the grooms of the bedchamber, having white satin bows on their left shoulders. At twenty minutes before nine o'clock the hearse was drawn up to the porch of the south aisle, where the marshalmen, servants, &c. filed off, to enclose a passage. Ten Yeomen then took out the coffin, and the mourners fell into the rear, while it was borne to the funeral car which moved on to the chapel; where it was received by the Dean of Windsor, the prebendaries, and canons. All the choir now joined in singing the celebrated burial service of Croft and Purcell, while the organ filled the sacred edifice with its solemn tones. The procession, slowly led by the Dean and Chapter, passed down the south aisle, and up the nave in the following order:—

Poor Knights of Windsor.
Pages of the Royal Family.
Pages of the King.
Pages of the late Duke.
Solicitor to his Royal Highness.
Apothecary to his Royal Highness.
Surgeons to the Duke.
Physicians to his Royal Highness.
Deputies of the Corporation of Windsor.
The Curate of Windsor, and Vicar of Windsor.
Private Chaplain to his Royal Highness.
Chaplain General to the Army.

Secretaries to the late Duke as Commander-in-Chief.
Equerries to the Royal Family.
Assistant Quarter-Master-General, and Adjutant-General.
Aides-de-Camp to his Majesty.
Aides-de-Camp to his late Royal Highness.
Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, and Adjutant General.

Lieutenant-Governor of Chelsea College. Governor of the Royal Military College.

Quarter-Master-General. Adjutant-General.

Equerries to the King.
Clerk-Marshal, and First Equerry to the King.
Equerries to his late Royal Highness.
Grooms of the Bedchamber to the King.
Master of the Robes.
Pursuivants.

Solicitor-General. Attorney-General.

Comptroller of the Household. Treasurer of the Household.

Heralds.
Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse.
Judge Marshal of the Forces.
The Lord Chief Baron.
Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
The Vice Chancellor.
The Master of the Rolls.
Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.
Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Lords of the Bedchamber.
Secretary at War.

Bishop of Landaff. Bishop of Lincoln. Bishop of Exeter.
Bishop of Salisbury. Bishop of London. Bishop of Winchester.

Heralds.
The Hanoverian Minister.

Archbishop of York. Archbishop of Canterbury.

Norroy King at Arms.

Chaplain of the Yeomen of the Guard. Chaplain of the Band of Pensioners.

Master of the Horse. Groom of the Stole.

The Lord Steward of the Household attended by
the Deputy Comptroller.
Choir of Windsor.
Prebendaries of Windsor.
Dean of Windsor.

The Banner of Albany. The Banner of Hanover.

The Banner of the Falcon and Fetterlock borne by a Colonel in the Army.

A Gentleman Usher to the King.

The Baton of his Royal Highness as Field-Marshal, borne by Earl Harcourt.

A Gentleman Usher to the King.

The Banner of the White Rose borne by a Colonel in the Army.

The Banner of the Crest of his late Royal Highness borne by a Colonel in the Army.

A Gentleman Usher to the King.

The Coronet of his Royal Highness, borne by Clarencieux King at Arms.

A Gentleman Usher to the King.

The Banner of the Arms of his late Royal Highness borne by a Colonel in the Army.

The Earl Marshal of England.

A Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty.

The Vice Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household.

The Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household.

A Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty.

Supporters of the Canopy: Marquis of Anglesea, Lord Howden, Lord Hill, and Lord Lynedoch.

Supporters of the Pall: The Dukes of Beaufort, Dorset, and Rutland.

THE COFFIN.

Supporters of the Canopy: Generals Earls Cathcart, Ludlow, Rosslyn, and Cavan.

Supporters of the Pall: The Dukes of Wellington, Northumberland and Newcastle.

Covered with a black velvet Pall, adorned with
eight Escutcheons of the Arms of his late Royal Highness,
attended by ten Yeomen of the Guard
under a canopy of black velvet.

A Gentleman Assistant. — Garter, Principal King at Arms. — A Gentleman Assistant.

The Chief Mourner

His Royal Highness the Duke of CLARENCE,
in a long black cloak, with the
A Marquis. — Star of the Order of the Garter — A Marquis
embroidered thereon.

Trainbearers: two Marquises.

Eight Earls, assistants to the Chief Mourner.

Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Sussex, and Gloucester,
in long black cloaks, their trains borne by two gentlemen of the household.

The two Executors of his late Royal Highness:
Sir H. Taylor and Colonel Stephenson.

His Majesty's Ministers.

The personal Friends of his late Royal Highness.

Peers, Privy Counsellors, and others.

On the arrival of the procession within the choir, the car was wheeled upon the platform, and the coronet, baton, and cushions were placed on the coffin.

The Earl of Harcourt stood at the foot of the coffin opposite the chief mourner. The Lord Chamberlain was in the same position. The Duke of Wellington, who supported the pall first on the left hand, retained his place with his companions.

The six banners were arranged between the coffin and altar. The bishops took their seats in the stalls near the east end; and the Knights of the Garter sat in their appropriate seats. The remaining stalls were occupied by the Ministers of State, and other persons of distinction. A vast number of peers and private friends of the deceased, followed the body into the choir, where, as the procession entered, the vocalists chanted the proper psalms. During this part of the service, the bier was propelled towards the entrance of the vault, and the chief mourner and others took their stations in their appointed places.

The Dean then read the funeral lesson, after which the beautiful Anthem by Kent, from the 55th Psalm, was sung, having been selected by the King for the purpose. His Majesty also caused part of Handel's Anthem, composed for the funeral of Queen Caroline, to be sung, and certainly nothing could be more suitable. The words are these:—

"When the ear heard him, then it blessed him; and when the eye saw him, it gave witness of him.

"He delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. Kindness, meekness, and comfort were in his tongue. If there was any virtue, and if there was any praise, he thought on those things.

"His body is buried in peace.

"But his name liveth evermore. Amen."

Towards the conclusion of the prayers, the coffin was, by the operation of the machinery in the womb of the vault, gradually lowered into the aperture, and, as the earth was cast upon it, the Dean proceeded with the remaining part of the service. Sir George Naylor, Garter King at Arms, then proclaimed the style and titles of the deceased Duke in the usual form, and at eleven o'clock the company slowly retired.

CHAP. XXII.

PUBLIC TESTIMONIES.

On the death of the Duke of York, various surmises were formed respecting the nomination of a successor. While some recommended the adoption of a plan similar to that which for a century or more had been pursued in regard to the admiralty, and others expected to see the place filled by a prince of the blood royal, his Majesty, ever attentive to the public welfare, bestowed the vacant situation upon the Duke of Wellington, as the only person in the kingdom likely to continue beneficially the excellent system that had so judiciously been organized and conducted by the late illustrious commander-in-chief. This appointment, therefore, was the most honourable testimony that could well be paid to the merits of the deceased; and, as such, it was generally considered, not only by the army, but by the nation at large; and the noble personage himself, upon whom the distinction fell, was so impressed with a sense of its importance, that he said, "he would not remove a cap or feather that had been placed any where by his predecessor."

On the part of the Sovereign, nothing could more strongly express his feelings than the General Orders which he caused to be issued.—

"Horse-Guards, January 23d, 1827."

"The last duties having been paid to the remains of his royal highness the Commander-in-chief, the King deems it right to convey to the Army a melancholy satisfaction which his Majesty derives from the deep feeling of grief manifested by every class of the military profession, in common with his people at large, under the great calamity with which it has pleased the Almighty to afflict the nation and his Majesty,—a calamity which has deprived the crown of one of its most valuable and distinguished servants, and his Majesty of a beloved and affectionate Brother.

"The King does not think it necessary to dwell upon the pre-eminent merits of the late Duke of York; his Majesty knows that these are impressed and engraven on the hearts of his Majesty's soldiers. His Majesty desires that it may merely be observed, that the able administration of the command held by his royal highness for a long series of years, his assiduous attention to the welfare of the soldier, his unremitting exertions to inculcate the true principles of order and discipline, his discernment in bringing merit to the notice of the Crown, and the just impartiality with which he applied the honour of the service, have combined to produce results that identify the army as a profession with the glory and prosperity of this great country, and which will cause his virtues and services to be in the grateful remembrance of the latest posterity.

"The King feels, that under the present afflicting circumstances, his Majesty cannot more effectually supply the loss which the nation and the army have sustained, than by appointing to the chief command of his Majesty's forces, Field-Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, the great and distinguished general who has so often led the armies of the nation to victory and glory, and whose high military renown is blended with the history of Europe."

"By his Majesty's Command,"

"Henry Torrens,"

"Adj.-Gen."

The feeling of the Army on this melancholy deprivation, may in part be estimated from the following paper of the United Service Club, drawn up the day after the demise of the commander-in-chief:—

"We, the undersigned members of the United Service Club, feeling most deeply the loss sustained by the nation, and by us, by the lamented death of his royal highness the Duke of York, and being most anxious to perpetuate to posterity the profound respect and esteem in which we hold his memory, propose a voluntary subscription to be entered into, to defray the expense of erecting a Marble Statue, to be presented to the United Service Club, and to be placed in the new Club-house, about to be built, as a mark of the high respect which we entertain of the late illustrious and much esteemed Commander-in-chief; and in order to afford every member the gratification of sharing in this mark of respect, it is requested that no larger sum than two guineas shall be subscribed by any one member."

This proposal was received, as might be expected, with eagerness; and soon after a similar measure was adopted at Edinburgh, by the Caledonian United Service Club, the members of which entered into a subscription to place a marble Bust of the Duke in one of their rooms.

These proposals led the way to a plan of a more extensive nature; and accordingly a general meeting of the friends of the Duke of York was held at the rooms of the Royal Union Asociation in London, for the purpose of erecting a National Monument to the late commander-in-chief. On the 9th of February, the Provisional Committee appointed to manage the subscriptions met at the same place, when letters from numerous noblemen were read, expressive of their

approbation of the measure, and desiring to participate in its promotion. It was then resolved, that the work shall be executed by British artists, under the superintendence of a select committee, to be appointed by the subscribers. Arrangements being made, a general invitation was drawn up to the friends of the undertaking, calling upon them to hold meetings in various places in aid of the subscription, and, with a view to render the concern truly national, it was finally settled that the subscriptions should be unlimited.

On the 26th of the same month, a public meeting was held at Free-Masons' Tavern, when the Duke of Wellington took the chair, assisted by a great number of military gentlemen. On that occasion various resolutions were entered into, and since then the subscription list has gone on prosperously, the amount at present being above thirteen thousand pounds.

The Duke of Wellington, in his address from the chair, at the commencement of the business, said,

We all witnessed the anxiety of the nation during the long and painful illness of the Duke of York. We likewise witnessed the sincere grief of the public, when the lamentable event, which has given occasion to this meeting, occurred. His Royal Highness had, by a long period of service, established himself in the respect and regard of the people. Some who have had the honour of his Royal Highness's acquaintance and esteem, have to lament the loss of a friend endeared to their memory by many pleasing recollections; while the public at large lament the loss of a prince, who, on account of his public virtues, his justice, and steadiness of character, afforded them the best hope, in case it had pleased Providence to have deprived us of his most gracious Majesty. Under these circumstances, it is not extraordinary, it is not astonishing, that many men should feel an anxiety to testify their grief and sorrow for the loss of his Royal Highness, as well as their respect for his memory, in a manner that will, in some degree, convey to posterity the high honour which his contemporaries feel, in consequence of his private and public virtues, but above all, in consideration of the services which he performed during the thirty-two years which he commanded the army, twenty of which the country was involved in a war of unexampled difficulty and exertion. There are some topics connected with his Royal Highness, of which I feel I am more entitled than any other man to give my testimony. One of these is, that during the long period of illness under which his Royal Highness laboured, he performed every one of his duties to the utmost detail, and has trans-

ferred over to his successor the army in the highest state of discipline, order, and efficiency. In addition to this, I may be permitted to say, that during the services which I had the honour of performing in the course of that war, I was uniformly excited, encouraged, and supported by his Royal Highness. I beg to add, that I never recommended any officer on any occasion for his exertions in the field to his Royal Highness, without that officer being in some way or other rewarded. I will not detain you any longer with observations of mine, but will proceed to read the resolutions which I have the honour to propose for your approbation. But, before I do that, I will say, that there never was a character, in this or any other country, who merited better than his Royal Highness, that his name should be transmitted to posterity with respect and admiration.

Immediately on the re-assembling of parliament, addresses of condolence were presented to his Majesty by both houses, on the lamented death of the Duke of York. The former was moved by the Earl of Liverpool, who in a neat speech recapitulated the most prominent public virtues of his royal highness, and at the same time touched delicately upon his amiable private qualities.

In the Commons, Mr. Peel entered more at large into the public services of the Duke, upon whom he bestowed a handsome eulogium for his uniform kindness, urbanity, and unimpeachable impartiality towards all men, in the administration of his office. In conclusion, Mr. Peel called upon the House to express its sympathy with the sorrows of him who had lost the companion of his infancy—the partner of his youthful sports and studies—and the steady friend of his whole life. At the same time, the minister desired the House of Commons to mark their estimation of the illustrious person they had lost, of him who had toiled for years zealously and successfully in the public service, during which long period, he had never broken a promise, never resented a personal injury, nor ever deserted a friend.

It was gratifying to observe the unanimity which prevailed in both assemblies on this occasion; but

particularly in the lower house of parliament, where some of the members, who at former times had insulted decency by their virulence against the Duke, were now compelled, by the force of truth, to join in praising his public integrity and private worth.

In this, however, they only echoed the national voice, for so deeply was the public mind impressed with a conviction of the merits of the illustrious deceased, that the day of his funeral was observed throughout the kingdom as one of universal mourning. In and about the metropolis business was every where suspended, and in several churches funeral sermons were preached. Among these marks of religious respect, we cannot omit the tribute paid to the memory of the Duke by the parish of Islington. Notice having been given that there would be divine service and a sermon, the church was filled in the morning by a most respectable congregation, all in mourning, who were summoned to the house of prayer by a peal of muffled bells. After the regular service of the day had been read by the senior curate, the Rev. Mr. Wilson, the vicar, ascended the pulpit, and delivered an eloquent sermon on 1 Cor. xv. 26. "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death."

Having in the first division of his discourse considered the circumstances which render death terrible, the reverend preacher proceeded to shew how this enemy is destroyed by the Redeemer. The sermon concluded with a just and elegant eulogy upon the Duke of York, who was portrayed as the soldier's friend, and the friend of the widow and the fatherless. An allusion was made to those points in which the character of the late Monarch, and that of his lamented son, coincided, particularly in the conscientious and

manly defence of the Protestant principles, against the encroachments of Popery.

At Windsor, on the morning of the funeral, there was service in the parish church, and an appropriate sermon preached by the Rev. Isaac Gossett, the vicar, from Deuteronomy xxxii. 29. "Oh! that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end."

On Sunday, the 14th of January, a sermon was preached at the Cavalry Barracks, before the 2d regiment of Life Guards, by W. W. Dakins, D.D., precentor of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster: and on the Sunday following, the same sermon was repeated at the Abbey. In this discourse, from Psalm xxxix. 5. "Behold, thou hast made my days as a hand-breadth, and my age is as nothing before thee;" the reverend preacher, who was closely connected with the Duke of York, as his domestic chaplain, near thirty years, touched very feelingly the character of his illustrious patron.

After a general view of his professional excellence, particular notice was taken of two distinguished and permanent features, by which, as it were, tho' dead, the royal Duke will ever live and speak to edify posterity.

The first alludes to that noble institution the Military College, founded, enlarged, and carried on under his own guidance and government; which has supplied the Army of the empire with the previous knowledge of military science, and with talent to direct and command; an institution that affords the aspirant to military fame a course of preparatory instruction consistent with the acquirements of a soldier, in order to render him an ornament to his profession, and an honour to his country.—

"Wisdom is power; strength is derived from the skilful application of talent, so disciplined and matured by prudence and information, as to overcome difficulty in the time of danger. Ample demonstration of the former was given, when the latter was required; and the effect produced by the consummate exercise of all, has produced, in our time, peace and security; and with these, that national importance which is the result of well-directed exertion. Men are trained for action by their acquirements in the various paths of requisite knowledge; and he, whose mind has been enlarged in early life by rule and application, must, in the pursuit which is the prevailing object of his choice and ambition, be best prepared for the exercise of his ability.

"This consideration had its due weight; and our late revered and beloved commander-in-chief was well convinced, that in founding an institution for the promotion of Military Science, he acted in conformity with sound policy and judgment, and with his own just conceptions of foresight, prudence, and duty; and that what he did, in this respect, was adapted to furnish the forces of his Majesty's empire not only with 'men of renown,' but with leaders possessed of suitable acquirements commensurate with their determination, valour, and loyalty.

"Upon another work, it will be proper to dwell a little more at length: as it is a subject that not only comes home to every man's heart and bosom, but applies most forcibly to the ranks of the army. This is the Royal Asylum, which receives, fosters, feeds, clothes, educates, and provides for the helpless offspring of the brave soldier, who has fought, and bled, and died in the cause of his country.

"That truly benevolent and charitable establishment was also the work of him who is now no more! How often, with fond delight and amiable condescension, that marked his character, did he visit, watch over, and, in due time, provide for, the multitude of little ones, whose natural protectors had been taken from them; and who, but for his powerful and precious interference in their behalf, would have been left destitute, and might have pined away in poverty, wretchedness, and ruin!

"Well and truly has the late royal commander-in-chief been called 'the Soldier's Friend.' He was his friend, in making his life respectable and happy, comfortable and honourable. He was his friend, in giving encouragement to merit, and in promoting his advancement. He was his friend, in relieving his family when overtaken by distress; and he was his friend in affording assistance to the widow, and protection to the children, when the soldier himself was taken from them;—one thousand boys, the greater part of them orphans, are now at the Royal Military Asylum; four hundred females at a Branch Establishment; and during the miseries of the war, there were, at one time, two hundred and fifty infants at the breast, which were taken care of and sustained in the arms of charity!

"Such a friend was our late commander-in-chief. Affable, gracious, and condescending in his deportment; peaceable and forgiving; totally devoid of resentment against any one who might have opposed him, and of so generous a character and of such elevation of mind, that he regarded his adversary in a favourable light, provided it was evident that he acted from pure motives and disinterested principles. No one returned from his presence under any impression but that of satisfaction. If he attended to the claims of the highest military applicant, his royal highness never omitted to answer the petition addressed to him by the private soldier, or that of the widow in behalf of her children, or of the orphan that cried unto him."

The following "character of the Duke of York" is from the pen of Sir Walter Scott.

In the person of his Royal Highness, we may justly say, "There has fallen this day in our Israel, a prince and a great man." He has from an early period of his manhood, performed a most important part in public life. In the early wars of the French Revolution, he commanded the British forces on the continent; and although we claim not for his memory the admiration due to the rare and high gifts which in our latter times must combine to form a military genius of the first order, yet it has never been disputed, that in the field his Royal Highness displayed intelligence, military skill, and his family attribute, the most unalterable courage. He had also the universal testimony of the army for his efforts to lessen the distresses of the privates, during the horrors of an unsuccessful campaign, in which he acquired, and kept to his death, the epithet of The Soldier's Friend.

But it is not on account of these early services, that we now, as boldly

as our poor voice may, venture to bring forward the late Duke of York's claims to the perpetual gratitude of his country. It is as the reformer and regenerator of the British army, which he brought from a state nearly allied to general contempt, to such a pitch of excellence, that we may, without hesitation, claim for them an equality with, if not a superiority over, any troops in Europe. The Duke of York had the firmness to look into and examine the causes, which ever since the American war, though arising out of circumstances existing long before, had gone as far to destroy the character of the British army, as the natural good materials of which it is composed would permit. The heart must have been bold that did not despair at the sight of such an Augean stable.

In the first place, our system of purchasing commissions—itself an evil in a military point of view, and yet indispensable to the freedom of the country—had been stretched so far as to open the way to every sort of abuse. No science was required, no service, no previous experience whatsoever; the boy, let loose from school the last week, might in the course of a month be a field officer, if his friends were disposed to be liberal of money and influence. Others there were, against whom there could be no complaint for want of length of service, although it might be difficult to see how their experience was improved by it. It was no uncommon thing for a commission to be obtained for a child in the cradle; and when he came from college, the fortunate youth was at least a lieutenant of some standing by dint of fair promotion. To sum up this catalogue of abuses, commissions were in some instances bestowed upon young ladies, when pensions could not be had. We know one fair dame who drew the pay of a captain in the Dragoons, and was probably not much less fit for the service than some who did actual duty; for no knowledge of any kind was demanded from the young officers. If they desired to improve themselves in the elementary parts of their profession, there was no means open either of direction or of instruction. But as a zeal for knowledge rarely exists where its attainment brings no credit or advantage, the gay young men who adopted the military profession, were easily led into the fashion of thinking, that it was pedantry to be master even of the routine of the exercise which they were obliged to perform. An intelligent sergeant whispered from time to time the word of command, which his captain would have been ashamed to have known without prompting, and thus the duty of the field-day was huddled over rather than performed. It was natural, under such circumstances, that the pleasures of the mess, or of the card or billiard table, should occupy too much of the leisure of those who had so few duties to perform, and that extravagance, with all its disreputable consequences, should be the characteristic of many; while others, despairing of promotion, which could only be acquired by money or influence, sunk into mere machines, performing, without hope or heart, a task which they had learned by rote.

To this state of things, by a succession of well-considered and effectual regulations, the Duke of York put a stop with a firm yet gentle hand. Terms of service were fixed for every rank, and neither influence nor money was permitted to force any individual forward, until he had served the necessary time in the present grade which he held. No rank short of that of the Duke of York, no courage and determination inferior to that of his Royal Highness, could have accomplished a change so important to the service, but which yet was so unfavourable to the wealthy and to the powerful, whose children and protegés had formerly found a brief way to promotion. Thus a protection was afforded to those officers who could only hope

to rise by merit and length of service; while at the same time, the young aspirant was compelled to discharge the duties of a subaltern, before attaining the higher commissions.

In other respects, the influence of the commander-in-chief was found to have the same gradual and meliorating influence. The vicissitudes of real service, and the emergencies to which individuals are exposed, began to render ignorance unfashionable, as it was speedily found that mere valour, however fiery, was unable on such occasions for the extrication of those engaged in them; and that they who knew their duty and discharged it, were not only most secure of victory and safety in action, but most distinguished at head-quarters, and most certain of promotion. Thus a taste for studying mathematics, and calculations applicable to war, was gradually introduced into the army, and carried by some officers to a great length; while a perfect acquaintance with the routine of the field-day was positively demanded from every officer in the service, as an indispensable qualification.

His Royal Highness also introduced a species of moral discipline among the officers of our army, which had the highest consequences on their character. Persons of the old school of Captain Plume and Captain Brazen, men who swore hard, drank deep, bilked tradesmen, and plucked pigeons, were no longer allowed to arrogate a character which they could only support by deep oaths and ready swords. If the tradesman whose bill was unpaid by an officer, thought proper to apply to the Horse Guards, the debtor received a letter from head-quarters, requiring to know if there existed any objections to the account, and failing in his rendering a satisfactory answer, he was put on stoppages until the creditor's demand was satisfied. Repeated applications of this kind might endanger the officer's commission, which was then sold for the payment of his creditors. Other delinquencies were at the same time adverted to; and without maintaining an inquisitorial strictness over the officers, or taking too close inspection of the mere gaieties and follies of youth, a complaint of any kind, implying a departure from the character of a gentleman and a man of honour, was instantly inquired into by the commander-in-chief, and the delinquent censured or punished as the case seemed to require. The private soldiers equally engaged the attention of his Royal Highness.

In the course of his superintendence of the army, a military dress, the most absurd in Europe, was altered for one easy and comfortable for the men, and suitable to the hardships they are exposed to in actual service. The severe and vexatious rules exacted about tying of hair, and other trifling punctilios, were abolished, and strict cleanliness was substituted for a Hottentot head-dress of tallow and flour. The pay of the soldier was augmented, while care was taken that it should be expended in bettering his comforts. The slightest complaint on the part of a sentinel was as regularly inquired into, as if it had been preferred by a general officer. Lastly, the use of the cane was entirely prohibited; and even corporal punishments, by the sentence of a court-martial, have been moderated.

If, therefore, we find in the modern British officer a more regular course of study, a deeper acquaintance with the principles of his profession, and a greater love for its exertions,—if we find the private sentinel discharge his duty with a mind unembittered by petty vexations and regimental exactions, conscious of immunity from capricious violence, and knowing where to appeal if he sustains injury,—if we find in all ranks of the army, a love of the profession, and a capacity of matching themselves with the finest troops which Europe ever produced,—to the memory of the Duke of York we owe this change.

The means of improving the tactics of the army did not escape his Royal Highness's care and attention. Formerly, every commanding officer manœuvred his regiment after his own fashion; and if a brigade of troops were brought together, it was doubtful whether they could execute any combined movement, and almost certain that they could not perform the various parts of it on the same principle. This was remedied by the regulations compiled by the late Sir David Dundas, and which obtained the sanction of his Royal Highness.

We can but notice the Duke's establishment near Chelsea, for the orphans of soldiers, the cleanliness and discipline of which are a model for such institutions; and the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, where every species of scientific instruction is afforded to those officers whom it is desirable to qualify for the staff. The excellent officers who have been formed in this institution, are the best pledge of what is due to the founder; and we repeat, that if the British soldier meets the foe, not only with equal courage, but with equal readiness and facility of manœuvre—if the British officer brings against his scientific antagonist not only his own good heart and hand, but an improved and enlightened knowledge of his profession—to the memory of the Duke of York the army and the country owe them.

The character of his Royal Highness was admirably adapted to the task of this extended reformation, in a branch of the public service on which the safety of England absolutely depended. Without possessing any brilliancy, his judgment, clear and steady, was inflexibly guided by honour and principle. No solicitations could make him promise what it would have been inconsistent with those principles to grant; nor could any circumstances induce him to break or elude the promise which he had once given. At the same time, his feelings, humane and kindly, were, on all possible occasions, accessible to the claims of compassion: and there occurred but rare instances of a wife widowed, or a family rendered orphans, by the death of a meritorious officer, without something being done to render their calamities more tolerable.

As a statesman, the Duke of York, from his earliest appearance in public life, was guided by the opinions of Mr. Pitt. But two circumstances are worthy of remark: first, that his Royal Highness never permitted the consideration of politics to influence him in his department of commander-in-chief, but gave alike, to Whig as to Tory, the preferment their service or their talents deserved: secondly, in attaching himself to the party whose object is supposed to be to strengthen the crown, his Royal Highness would have been the last man to invade, in the slightest degree, the rights of the people. The following anecdote may be relied upon:—At the table of the commander-in-chief, not many years since, a young officer entered into a dispute with a lieutenant-colonel, upon the point to which military obedience ought to be carried. "If the commander-in-chief," said the younger officer, "should order me to do a thing which I knew to be civilly illegal, I would not scruple to obey him, and consider myself as relieved from all responsibility by the commands of my superior."—"So would not I," returned the colonel, "I should rather prefer the risk of being shot for disobedience by my commanding officer, than be hanged for transgressing the laws of my country." "You have answered like yourself," said his Royal Highness, whose attention had been attracted by the vivacity of the debate; "and the officer would deserve both to be shot and hanged that should act otherwise. I trust all British officers would be as unwilling to execute an illegal mandate, as, I trust, the commander-in-chief would be incapable of issuing one."

The religion of the Duke of York was sincere, and he was particularly attached to the Church of England. In this he strongly resembled his father; like whom he entertained a conscientious sense of the obligations of the coronation oath, which prevented him from acquiescing in the further relaxation of the laws against Catholics.

In his person and countenance the Duke was large, stout, and manly; he spoke rather with some of the indistinctness of utterance peculiar to his father, than with the precision of enunciation which distinguishes his royal Brother. Indeed, his Royal Highness resembled his late Majesty perhaps the most of any of George the Third's descendants.

We would here gladly conclude the subject; but, to complete a portrait, the shades as well as the lights must be inserted; and in their foibles as well as their good qualities, princes are the property of history. Occupied perpetually with officith duty, which, to the last period of his life, he discharged with the utmost punctuality, the Duke of York was peculiarly negligent of his own affairs, and the embarrassments which arose in consequence, were considerably increased by an imprudent passion for the turf and for deep play. Those unhappy propensities exhausted the funds with which the nation supplied him liberally, and sometimes produced extremities which must have been painful to a man of temper so honourable. The exalted height of his rank, which renders it doubtless more difficult to look into and regulate domestic expenditure, together with the imposing duties of his office, may be admitted as alleviations, but not apologies, for this imprudence.

A criminal passion of another nature, proved, at one part of his life, very injurious to his character; and had the effect of driving him for a short time from public life. But he was soon welcomed back, and in that high command his Royal Highness continued to manage our military affairs. During the last years of the most momentous war that ever was waged, he prepared the most splendid victories our annals can boast, by an unceasing attention to the character and talents of the officers and the comforts of the men. Trained under a system so admirable, our army seemed to increase in efficacy, power, and numbers, in proportion to the increasing occasion which the public had for their services. Nor is it a less praise, that when men so disciplined returned from scenes of battle, ravaged countries, and stormed cities, they reassumed the habits of private life as if they had never left them. This superintending care, if not the most gaudy, is amongst the most enduring flowers which will bloom over the Duke of York's tomb. It gave energy to Britain in war, and strength to her in peace. It combined tranquillity with triumph, and morality with the habits of a military life. If our soldiers have been found invincible in battle, and meritorious in peaceful society when restored to its bosom, let no Briton forget that this is owing to the paternal care of him to whose memory we here offer an imperfect tribute.

CHAP. XXIII.

CHARACTERISTIC ANECDOTES.

In a letter descriptive of the Coronation, by Sir Walter Scott, is the following characteristic sketch of one of the most touching incidents of that most magnificent spectacle:—

"It was peculiarly delightful to see the King receive from the Royal Brethren, but in particular the Duke of York, the fraternal kiss, in which they acknowledged their Sovereign. There was an honest tenderness, an affectionate and sincere reverence, in the embrace interchanged between the Duke of York and his Majesty, that approached almost to a caress, and impressed all present with the electrical conviction that the nearest to the throne in blood was the nearest also in affection. I never heard plaudits given more from the heart than those that were thundered upon the Royal Brethren when they were thus pressed to each other's bosoms—it was an emotion of natural kindness, which, bursting out amidst ceremonial grandeur, found an answer in every British heart."

A respectable clergyman who had long laboured in his profession, being far advanced in years, and having a very small income, with a large family, was induced by some accounts which he had heard of the great benevolence of the Duke of York, to apply to his Royal Highness for a commission for his second son, a promising young man who wished to serve his king and country in the army. He mentioned to some of his friends the intention he had of making the application; but was told that it must be in vain, as several instances had recently occurred of refusals being returned to solicitations for commissions, though made by persons possessed of political interest. The clergyman said that, notwithstanding, he would try his chance. He did so, and sent a letter to the Duke, with certificates of his circumstances and character. By the return of post he received an answer, signifying that his son should have a commission; and accordingly, in the ensuing Gazette, the young man's name appeared in the list of military appointments.

The following circumstance was related at a meeting of the Roman Catholic Association, just after the death of the Duke:—Mr. M'Dermot, a gentleman of that persuasion, and who had formerly been in the army, wrote to his Royal Highness, stating that owing to the pressure of the times he was much reduced in his fortune, so as not to be able to assist his two sons who wished very much to enter the service. By return of post he received a letter, stating that an inquiry should be made into his case; which promise was fulfilled, and the two young gentlemen were forthwith appointed.

A young officer named Drew, who had served during a great part of the Peninsular war, had the misfortune to lose his left arm in the battle of Salamanca, for which he was invalided with the half pay of a lieutenant. Not being one of those who love inglorious ease, soon after his return to England

he made several ineffectual applications to be placed on active service. Chance unexpectedly brought him under the notice of the Duke of York, and eventually led to the accomplishment of his hopes. As Mr. Drew was riding one morning through the park, he perceived the Commander-in-chief coming towards him; when immediately, though mounted on a mettlesome animal, he placed the reins in his mouth, took off his hat, and gracefully saluted his Royal Highness, who was so struck with his fine appearance, that he directed one of his officers to inquire the gentleman's name. The card of Lieutenant Drew was returned; and, by the Duke's desire, the young soldier was commanded to attend the next military levee. After a formal introduction, his Royal Highness entered familiarly into conversation with Mr. Drew, and, finally, inquired whether he was satisfied with his situation. The lieutenant admitted that the remuneration was more than equal to his deserts, but hinted that he had an arm left, capable of wielding a sword in the defence of his king and country, and that he would be glad to have an opportunity of evincing his loyalty. The Duke made no reply, but in the next Gazette Mr. Drew was gazetted to a company in the 84th foot.

As a proof of the Duke's attention to the offspring of old soldiers, a young gentleman being anxious to enter the army, laid before his Royal Highness the commissions of his ancestors, signed by King Charles I. and II. William III. Queen Anne, King George I. and II. and one given to his great-grandfather on the field at the battle of Aghrim, signed by General Ginkell in 1691. The Duke immediately appointed him to an ensigncy; and the young officer joined his regiment in the Peninsula, where he was severely wounded in two battles.

Several years ago, when the Duke of York was at Oatlands, he observed the housekeeper turning away a poor woman from the door with unusual asperity. The curiosity of his Royal Highness being excited by the manner of his servant, he asked her the reason of such behaviour, and received for answer, that "the woman was only a soldier's wife who had been begging!" "A soldier's wife!" rejoined the Duke, "and pray what is your mistress but a soldier's wife? call the poor creature back, and give her some relief!"

The following anecdote is a proof of the retentiveness of his memory, as well as of the goodness of his heart:—His Royal Highness being on a visit at Apethorpe, the seat of the Earl of Westmoreland, a basket of figs was sent thither by a gentleman who knew that his lordship had none growing in his gardens. The messenger, on approaching the house, passed by the Duke of York, who immediately stopped and said, "I know you, my man." "Yes;" said the servant, "and I know your Royal Highness, for I was your orderly in Flanders." "Good fellow," added the Duke, "I remember you. Call upon me to-morrow." The veteran did so, and the Duke received him with cordiality, gave him three guineas, and sent him away delighted.

About the year 1810 his Royal Highness was reviewing, in company with his present Majesty, the troops of the eastern district, on Lexden Heath near Colchester, when the Prince, observing a very old soldier mounted on an aged hack, wished to know who he was. The Commander-in-chief replied, "Oh, it is Andrews, the oldest soldier in the army, having served in three reigns, and is now on half pay. An aide-de-camp was despatched for the veteran's attendance, and a conversation ensued, of which the following is a part:—"How old are you, Andrews, and how long have you been in the service?" said the Duke, "Why, your Royal Highness, I am now ninety, and have been in the service about seventy years." The Duke

seeing that he was dressed in an old suit of regimentals, asked how long he might have had them? "Why, your Royal Highness, about forty years." On this the Duke, taking up the skirt of the coat, remarked that such cloth was not made now-a-days. "No;" replied the veteran, "nor such men either." The retort so pleased the Duke and his Brother, that the soldier was from that time placed on full pay, to make the remainder of his days comfortable. He died at the advanced age of ninety-seven, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Mary's, Colchester.

We have recorded the cool valour of the Duke of York when he stood the fire of Colonel Lenox; but we should have related the fact, that Lord Winchelsea and the Colonel both had their baggage packed up, and the carriage ready to leave the kingdom, in case the rencounter had proved fatal. Neither the Duke of York nor Lord Rawdon, however, adopted any measure of the sort.

In the year 1797, their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York spent a great part of the season at Bath, where a repository was formed under their special patronage, for the purpose of affording to all persons, and more particularly foreign emigrants in distressed circumstances, the means of selling to advantage the productions of their ingenuity and industry. The presence and example of their Royal Highnesses, on this occasion, had a considerable effect in promoting the benevolent object.

His Royal Highness was a keen sportsman, and even in his last illness he took a pleasure in conversing upon the subject. In the season of 1823-4, he was in vigorous health, and extremely fortunate in all his shooting parties, particularly on Saturday, the 24th of January, of the latter year, at the seat of the Earl of Verulam, in Hertfordshire, where the Duke killed ninety-eight pheasants, besides other game. He continued the sport till dark, and afterwards dined with the Earl and Countess, stopped to an evening party, and between one and two o'clock set off for London, where he arived about four, and attended the chapel royal a Sunday noon.

A short time previous to the commencement of his fatal illness, the Duke was met by three young ladies as he was walking into St. James's Park at the entrance of the Stable-yard; who presented a letter to him, which he received with his usual affability. His Royal Highness opened the letter and read it, and after asking them a few questions, desired them to call on him the following day at the Horse Guards. The young ladies were the daughters of an officer who had been killed in battle, and consequently they enjoyed small pensions, but which were to cease on their respective marriages. As one of them was about to enter into that state, she desired that her pension might be transferred to her sisters; to which the Duke kindly consented, and it was promptly settled when they called the next day.

The Duke of York was inattentive to his pecuniary affairs, in consequence of which, he fell into many difficulties, and in some instances his name stood deep on tradesmen's books. This was the case particularly with Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, the silversmiths and jewellers, on Ludgate Hill. His Royal Highness calling one day at the shop, was waited upon, in the absence of Mr. Bridge, by the principal, when the Duke, among other things, said, "Mr. Rundell, you must be very rich." The old gentleman replied, "Bless your Royal Highness, quite the contrary: nobody thinks of paying us what they owe, which keeps us poor: but if we could get in our just debts, we might be rich." The Duke made no answer, but put down a gold box he had been viewing, and, after desiring that Mr. Bridge would call upon him, went away. The next day a check for five hundred pounds was sent, with an order to place it to his account. This so

pleased Rundell, that he exclaimed, he knew Mr. Bridge could make people pay if he would only speak out as plainly as he did.

To the town of Brighton his Royal Highness was a frequent visitor, and during his occasional residence there, he gave the inhabitants abundant opportunities of witnessing his mode of life, and of appreciating the excellence of his disposition. Among the shops that he frequented was that of a respectable linen draper, to whom he proved a steady friend. At one time the Duke made a purchase of some linen for shirts, and as he was about to depart, the tradesman offered to get them made. This, however, his Royal Highness declined, saying, "One of my servants is lately dead, and has left a poor widow, to whom the making of these shirts will be an object."

Whenever the weather permitted, the Chain Pier was a favourite promenade to his Royal Highness. Here in plain dress he generally walked alone, making his observations on whatever passed. He would often enter into conversation with the fishermen on their success, while leaning over the rails that front the sea.

About fourteen years ago, a fisherman having met with some severe losses, which reduced him to the utmost want, the sympathy of the inhabitants was excited so far, that a subscription was entered into for his relief. This circumstance gave rise to an institution to provide against similar disasters, under the denomination of the "Brighton Fishermen's Association." Of this laudable establishment, his present Majesty condescended to become the patron; and at the first meeting the Duke of York took the chair. The objects embraced were to administer assistance to all subscribing members in cases of sickness, to make an allowance to widows and families, to relieve superannuated members, and to afford compensation to others for losses sustained in the exercise of their calling.

Not far from Brighton lives an old soldier, generally known by the name of Corporal Stanes. He is now between sixty and seventy years of age, has seen much service, and is nearly a cripple. His miserable hut, which stands by the side of an old wall, is covered with pieces of tarpauling, but destitute of a window, and not impervious to the wet. Within, it exhibits every appearance of wretchedness; and the whole is little more than nine feet square, one half of which is occupied by his bed. He has, however, contrived to make the most of his room, as part of the space under the bed is turned into a hen-coop, and the remainder to uses no less necessary. Just without the door is a little dog, which, acting as a sentinel always on duty, has a kennel provided for his accommodation. Contiguous to the entrance into the hut is a little place, about twice the size of the dwelling, that might have been converted into a garden, if the occupant's taste had been so disposed. Instead of this, however, he has turned the spot into a fortification, in humble imitation of Port Royal, in Jamaica. The external fence consists of a few short stakes, driven into the ground for the support of others in a transverse direction. Within this enclosure are stationed several wooden images, to represent soldiers, while from the embrasure, mimic cannon peep out in various directions, made of old candlesticks or broken gun barrels. In some parts are flagstaffs with colours, and in one corner is Lord Nelson's image lying in state. On public days the battery discharges royal salutes, the old governor actually expending twenty shillings a year in ammunition, to shew his loyalty. The Duke of York, attracted by this curiosity, paid the corporal several visits, in the course of which he conversed very freely with the veteran upon his fortification, as well as personal history; and though his stay in general was short, he never left the

invalid without giving him cause to praise his liberality. The old man says, the Duke was the best friend the soldiers ever had, as he always curbed the undue exercise of delegated power, and shielded the helpless from the arrogance of authority. On one occasion the pensioners having displeased the superintendant, had their pay reduced, which privation they suffered for a considerable time without redress. At length, the Duke of York was made acquainted with their situation; on which an immediate inquiry took place, the pay was restored, and all the arrears were paid up. The last time the Duke visited the corporal he told him to make himself easy, for that he should never want; but shortly after he was taken ill, and his death put an end to the veteran's hopes. On this event, the old man put his garrison into mourning with pieces of black crape, and he also obtained an image to represent his patron lying in state, under a canopy decorated with sable horse-hair, black feathers, and other insignia of woe. But the late Commander-in-Chief was not the only royal personage who honoured the corporal with his presence. His Majesty, when prince regent, attended by several officers, once called to see the old man and his fortification. The Prince and his company were much amused, and his Royal Highness, at parting, gave the worn-out soldier full permission to visit the kitchen at the Pavilion, whenever he pleased.

The following interesting narrative appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for last February:—

Passing over the Guadarama mountains, seven leagues north of Madrid, on the 13th October, 1809, accompanied by some British officers of the Guards, about 80 British soldiers, and several Spaniards, the whole convoyed by a strong escort of French troops, cavalry and infantry, I perceived in the centre of the escort a very interesting looking child, apparently seven years old, sitting with a Spanish female in a kind of cart. The appearance of the boy indicated that he was not a native of a southern climate: this, together with a naïveté and playfulness in his manner, induced me to address him. I accordingly spoke to him in Spanish, to which he made a suitable reply; and to my no small surprise, immediately after, he addressed me in English. Having inquired of the female (who appeared to have the boy under her care) where he had learned to speak the English language, she replied that the boy was born in Scotland, that his father, who had been a sergeant in the 42d regiment, had served the year before in the British army under Sir John Moore, and was killed at the battle in front of Corunna; previous to which, on the retreat of the British troops from Lugo, the mother, together with the boy, was left behind, sick, in the hospital at Lugo; that she fell a victim to disease, and her child was found in the hospital, in an abandoned, wretched condition, by the French officer of cavalry, who at that moment commanded the cavalry that conveyed us on our way to France. When an opportunity offered, I introduced the subject to the French commandant, who corroborated the story related by the Spanish lady, who it turned out was his chère amie. I then mentioned the circumstance to the British officer, who, as well as myself, conjointly endeavoured to prevail on the French officer to give up the child to his natural protectors, but all our arguments and entreaties were in vain, for he was so much attached to the boy, that he would not part with him on any account.

At this period, independent of his history, the manners of the child were extremely interesting, and he could speak four languages with no small degree of fluency. French, he acquired from the French officer; German, from the officer's servant, who happened to be of the Saxon contingent;

Spanish, from the female, who could not speak a word of French; and he still retained a knowledge of his native tongue. We journeyed together three weeks longer towards the French frontier, and on our arrival at Tolosa, 30 miles south of Bayonne, the French commandant received orders to conduct the Spanish prisoners of war to the fortress of Pampeluna, while the British wounded, who fell into the hands of the enemy in the hospital after the battle of Talavera, were ordered to prosecute their march to France; but (as I was subsequently informed) the road to Pampeluna being intercepted by the Spanish Guerillas, it was necessary that the French officer should restore the communication at the head of a large force. In the mean time he left his establishment at Tolosa, until it would be prudent to order it to rejoin him; but the Spanish lady (on account of living with a French officer) dreaded the resentment of her countrymen so much, that in a few days after the departure of the French officer, she fled, and deserted the child in her charge.

About a month after this period, Captain, now Major H——, of the 23d Dragoons, whose wounds did not permit him to accompany us from Madrid, in passing through Tolosa on his way to Verdun, accidentally heard that there was an English boy in an abandoned forlorn condition in the town. He immediately took the child under his protection, and having heard at Orleans that I had received a passport to return to England, and being anxious that I should convey some letters to his family, ventured to proceed to Paris; here I recognized my little travelling companion, who recollected me immediately. In a few days I prevailed on Captain H—— to allow me to take the boy to England; and having presented my little protegé at the Bureau de Guerre, his manners and history soon obtained permission for him to return home.

Previous to leaving the French metropolis, Captain H—— gave me a letter, addressed to his royal highness the Duke of York, the founder of the Military Asylum, and another letter to the Marquis of Huntley, colonel of the regiment in which the boy's father had served. On my arrival in London, I lost no time in delivering these letters, and soon after was (together with the child) honoured by an interview with his royal highness, who was very much pleased with the boy, took him in his arms, and spoke to him in French and German, to which the little fellow made suitable answers. His royal highness was pleased to make every necessary arrangement for the boy's admission into the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, with as little delay as possible. Lord Huntley, on receipt of Captain H.'s letter, immediately wrote to the colonel of the 1st battalion 42d regiment, then quartered at Canterbury, to make inquiry if the child had any friends living in Scotland.

In a few days after, (it being necessary to procure the Marquis of Huntley's signature to some papers, previous to the boy's admission into the asylum,) I, together with my little protegé, was proceeding to Richmond-House for that purpose, when, on our arrival in Charing Cross, I perceived a soldier, in the Highland uniform, walking leisurely about one hundred yards before me. I soon overtook this man, who happened to serve in the 42d regiment, and having inquired of him if he had been acquainted with Sergeant M'Cullum of his regiment, who was killed the year before at Corunna, he answered, "Sir, I did not know any man of that name who was killed, but will you be so good as to tell me why you have asked me that question?" "Because, said I, pointing out to him the boy, that is his child, whom I first found in Spain."—"Oh! sir," said he, (rushing over to the boy,) "he is my child; James, don't you know me?" The scene that took place can

be more easily imagined than described—alternation of joy and grief, exultation and despondency, depicted in the countenance, and evinced in the manner of this soldier, on the sudden discovery of his long lost child, and on his being simultaneously made acquainted with the death of his wife. I must confess it affected me so much, that (as well to repress my feelings, as to avoid the crowd that collected around us in the street) I was obliged to retire into the next shop that presented itself. In a short time we proceeded together to Richmond House; where, after having presented my protegé to Lord Huntley, I related to his lordship the discovery I had just made, and the extraordinary circumstance attending it. On the soldier being brought forward, he delivered a letter to Lord Huntley from Colonel Stirling, then commanding the 1st battalion 42d regiment, at Canterbury, which stated, that he was happy to inform his lordship, that the man alluded to in his lordship's letter, relative to an orphan boy of the regiment, was severely wounded at Corunna, (but not killed,) and was the bearer of his letter, and he had sent the man to town without making him acquainted with the object of his journey.

It then appeared that this soldier was in the act of proceeding to Richmond House with this letter to Lord Huntley, when I accidentally fell in with him. In a few days after, the boy was admitted into the Royal Military Asylum, where he now is.—(*March* 10.)

CONCLUSION.

The Will of his late Royal Highness, dated December 26, 1826, was proved on the 3d of February, when the personal estate was sworn under £180,000; the duty upon which was remitted by the Lords of the Treasury, for the benefit of the creditors. The testament commences with the Duke's most anxious hope that his property would supply a fund more than sufficient to pay his debts. For this purpose, he gives the whole of his real and personal estate to Sir H. Taylor and Colonel Stephenson, his executors, in trust, to discharge all just claims thereon, and to pay the residue, if any, to the sister of his Royal Highness, the Princess Sophia. To fulfil the desire of the illustrious testator, the utmost expedition was used in the disposal of the property.

On the 5th of February, the whole of the stud was brought to the hammer by the Tattersals; when the horses, carriages, and dogs produced £8804. On the 21st of the same month, and three following days, the wines, china, linen, and furniture were sold by Mr. Christie, and realized upwards of £6000.

There was a great competition for a travelling dressing-case, used by the illustrious owner during the Holland campaign, which was ultimately knocked down for twenty-one guineas and a half. One of the different invalid chairs in which his late Royal Highness had occasionally reposed during his last illness, was sold, after a spirited competition, for twenty-eight

guineas and a half. A plain-looking chair, described as "Buonaparte's" chair, in the catalogue, was knocked down at seven pounds and a crown. A card-box, of elaborate and delicately carved ivory, with the royal ducal arms upon the top, and five other boxes, each with the coronet, and containing eleven dozens of pearl counters, with the arms engraved, and glass shade, sold for twenty-seven guineas and a half.

The sale of plate took place March 19—22, when the most prominent articles were sold as follows:—A magnificent cistern, 18½ inches in diameter, the neck and lip enwreathed with vines in fruit, and the handle formed of two figures of Tritons bending over the rim, and looking in. On the outside, combats of Roman galleys, with numerous figures very spiritedly designed. This bowl was said by Mr. Christie to have cost his Royal Highness £1500, and produced only £446.

A magnificent candelabrum, made by Lewis, of St. James's-street, for the centre of a table, representing Hercules attacking the Hydra, and surrounded by its nine heads, which bear as many nosles for lights. Hylas, the companion of Hercules, is represented in the act of searing a neck of the monster below. The candelabrum is supported on a mass of rock-work, about the base of which are various reptiles. Weight 1144 ozs. 5dwts. and the sacrifice, said Mr. Christie, was here "indeed great." There is only one duplicate of this in England. This was knocked down for 6s. an ounce.

A grand præfericulum, with scalloped neck and lip, supported by two satyrs seated upon the shoulder, the handle formed of a satyr, rescuing two infant satyrs entwined, from the folds of a dragon. The oviform body of the vase, covered with a spirited relief, representing one of the battles of Alexander. A griffin supports the bowl of the vase, and upon the scalloped foot the arms of France are thrice repeated. This noble piece of plate is 23 inches high to the top of the handle; the weight 220 ozs. 13 dwts. This was likewise made by Mr. Lewis, and was purchased by a gentleman named Thomas, as well as the companion præfericulum, at 12s. 9d. per ounce.

A large silver-gilt dish, for the sideboard, 25 inches long. In the centre is a Roman triumph, setting out from a ruined city, composed of multitudes of figures, some of them wholly detached from the ground of the dish; the border is embellished with pastoral figures, after Jordaens, which are very richly and beautifully chased; weight 130 oz. 15 dwts. Great competition was manifested for this and the following lot, a similar dish, the one of which brought one guinea an ounce, and the other a guinea and sixpence.

A small circular waiter of solid gold, formed of gold boxes, presented with the freedom of different cities, the arms of all which are accordingly engraven within a border of oak leaves, with the royal arms in the centre; a frieze of oak leaves and acorns beautifully chased upon the border; weight 41 ozs. 11 dwts. knocked down at £4. 10s. an ounce.

An inkstand, (a birth-day present from one of the Princesses,) with a finely modelled figure of a female, in mat gold, kneeling while she attaches a wreath to an Ionic column of burnished gold, having within the wreath the inscription "Vous la meritez,'" was purchased for a member of the Royal Family, at 12s. 6d. an ounce.

The shield of Achilles, designed by Flaxman, produced 1000 guineas.

A beautiful tazza, by Lewis, within it a combat of cavalry in relief, and on it a broad frieze of masks and trophies, in cinque-cento taste, sold for £1. 10s. 6d. per ounce, about 5s. an ounce more than its cost price.

A pair of rich tazzas, also by Lewis, of exquisite designs and workmanship, sold for 27s. an ounce. In one of them, the state of mankind is

represented as before the flood, and an allusion to the catastrophe by water, in fine relief, and on the outside—Faith, Hope, and Charity, in three compartments with trophies. The stem of vase shape, supported by termini, in fine cinque-cento taste. Figures playing upon musical instruments and trophies, are upon the foot. The other cup represents the story of Lot and his Daughters, and the destruction of Sodom by fire. The exterior stem and foot are embellished with similar ornaments. The weight 49 ozs. 10 dwts.

The third Sale by Mr. Christie, took place March 27—30. The property sold, consisted of jewellery, fire-arms, &c.

A beautiful inkstand silver-gilt, manufactured by Mr. Lewis, the cover formed of a figure of a bagpiper with his dog, and other animals, finely chased, sold, after much competition, for £17.

A coronation spoon, of curious design, and exquisite chasing, set with pearls, and imitations of coloured stones, obtained 23 guineas.

A female figure in a court dress, finely chased, bearing a cup upon her head, the inside gilt, the drapery of the figure forming a drinking vessel—knocked down at 30s. an ounce.

A pair of snuff or patch boxes, with combats of cavalry, in high relief, upon the lids, and other chasings. This lot fetched the high price of £2. 5s. an ounce! It was originally purchased, we understand, from Mr. Lewis, by his late Royal Highness, at 25s. per ounce.

A magnificent gold seal, the handle composed of a block of lapis lazuli, with the royal arms engraved upon a Brazil pink topaz, of unparalleled size and beauty, was purchased for his Majesty at 102 guineas.

An extremely curious massive gold ring, with the arms of Mary Queen of Scots, having also the monogram of Queen Mary, and the crown, engraved on the back of the gold setting—sold at 14 guineas.

A crystal cup, beautifully engraved with foliage, mounted upon a stem and foot of copper, covered with curious enamelling: underneath, with a coat of arms engraved, is the following inscription:—"*Ce petit reliquier a été restore par J. Pierre de Caen, Commandeur de Chevreu;*" within the cup is a gold coin of Louis XIII. It brought £5. 15s.

A beautiful shield of semi-transparent buffalo's hide, with a device and six bosses of silver gilt, and a cushion within, with silver rings. It formerly belonged to Vizir Ali—sold for 6 guineas.

A most interesting Oriental suit of armour, formed of four plates of buffalo's hide, covered with Arabic inscriptions in gold characters, connected by a thick quilting of black velvet ornamented with gilt studs, and lined with splendid furniture, was purchased by Dr. Meyrick. It was erroneously called Japanese, and obtained a price trifling compared with its curiosity.

A lap-dog, formed of a pearl;—the head, legs, and tail, of enamel, set with coloured stones, 16 guineas.

A silver-mounted double gun, by Boulet, which formerly belonged to the Emperor Napoleon, was knocked down to Mr. Bridge, believed for his Majesty, for the sum of 100 guineas.

A mahogany travelling dressing case, with silver-gilt implements, containing a pot for hot water, with finely chased frieze, and a beautiful goblet, with a vast variety of splendid silver-gilt articles; weight of silver 86 oz. 113 guineas.

On the 5th and 7th of April, were sold the Duke's Parisian furniture porcelain, a few drawings and miniatures, three cabinets of conchology, and the furniture; all of which fetched good prices.—The Library, consisting of 45,000 volumes, has since been sold by Mr. Sotheby.

Having brought this Memoir to a close, it may not be uninteresting to take a summary view of the present state of the Line of Succession, which stands as follows:—

I.—His Royal Highness William Henry Duke of Clarence, and Lord High Admiral of England, was born August 21, 1765; and married July 13, 1818, to the Princess Adelaide of Saxe Meinengen, by whom he has no living issue.

II.—Her Royal Highness Victoria, daughter of Edward the late Duke of Kent, (who died January 23, 1820,) by the Princess Victoria of Saxe Cobourg, born at Kensington Palace, May 24, 1819.

III.—His Royal Highness Ernest Duke of Cumberland, born June 5, 1771; married in 1815 the Princess Frederica of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, by whom he has issue

IV.—Prince George, born at Berlin, May 27, 1819.

V.—His Royal Highness Augustus Frederick Duke of Sussex, born January 27, 1773; married at Rome, and again at St. George's Church, Hanover-Square, to Lady Augusta Murray, daughter of the Earl of Dunmore; which union, although productive of issue, (a son and a daughter,) was rendered null and void by a decision of the Ecclesiastical Court. The marriage, however illegal as affecting the succession to the British crown, is so far binding upon the respective parties as to prevent them from forming any other nuptial contract, nor is it any bar to the succession of the male issue to the throne of Hanover.

VI.—His Royal Highness Adolphus Frederick Duke of Cambridge, born February 24, 1774; married June 1, 1818, to the Princess of Hesse, daughter of the Landgrave Frederick, by whom he has issue

VII.—Prince George, born at Hanover, March 26, 1819: and, VIII. a Princess, born there July 19, 1822.

IX.—Charlotte Augusta Matilda, Princess Royal of England and Queen Dowager of Wirtemberg, born September 29, 1766; and married at St. James's in 1797. She has no children.

X.—Her Royal Highness the Princess Augusta Sophia, born November 8, 1768.

XI.—Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth, born May 22, 1770; and married April 7, 1818, to the hereditary Prince of Hesse Homburg.

XII.—Her Royal Highness Princess Mary, born April 25, 1776; married to the Duke of Gloucester, July 22, 1816; but without issue.

XIII.—Her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia, born November 3, 1777.

XIV.—His Highness William Duke of Gloucester, son of his late Royal Highness William Henry Duke of Gloucester, by the Countess Dowager of Waldegrave, born at Rome, January 15, 1776.

XV.—Her Highness the Princess Sophia, daughter of the late Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, born in London, May 24, 1773.

Such is the state of the Succession in England, without taking a view of the collateral branches descended from the alliances that have, at various periods, been formed with the Houses of Brunswick, Denmark, Orange, Hesse, and Prussia.

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