

**The whole proceedings at large, in a cause on an action brought by the Rt. Hon. Richard Lord Grosvenor against His Royal Highness Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland; for criminal conversation with Lady Grosvenor. Tried before the Right Hon. William Lord Mansfield, in the Court of King's Bench, on the 5th of July, 1770. Containing the evidence verbatim as delivered by the witnesses; with all the speeches and arguments of the counsel and of the court. Faithfully taken in shorthand by a Barrister / [Henry Frederick].**

### **Contributors**

Henry Frederick, Prince, Duke of Cumberland, 1745-1790.  
Grosvenor, Richard Grosvenor, Earl, 1731-1802

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Wellcome Collection  
183 Euston Road  
London NW1 2BE UK  
T +44 (0)20 7611 8722  
E [library@wellcomecollection.org](mailto:library@wellcomecollection.org)  
<https://wellcomecollection.org>

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THE WHOLE  
PROCEEDINGS  
AT LARGE,  
In a CAUSE on an ACTION

BROUGHT BY

The Rt. Hon. RICHARD Lord GROSVENOR

AGAINST

His Royal Highness HENRY FREDERICK  
DUKE of CUMBERLAND;

*For Criminal Conversation with Lady Grosvenor.*

TRIED BEFORE

The Right Hon. WILLIAM Lord MANSFIELD,  
In the Court of KING'S-BENCH,

On the 5th of *July*, 1770.

Containing the Evidence *verbatim* as delivered by the Witnesses; with all  
the Speeches and Arguments of the Counsel and of the Court.

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Faithfully taken in SHORT HAND by a BARRISTER.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for J. WHEBLE, in *Pater-noster-Row*;

M D C C L X X.

[ Price THREE SHILLINGS. ]

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In the Court of King's Bench

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of May 1780.

Containing the Evidence given & testified by the Witnesses, with all the Speeches and Arguments of the Counsel and of the Court

Printed by A. MILLAR, in Great Strand by a BARBETTER.

L O N D O N

Printed for J. WOOD, in Pall-mall

1780

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## In the King's Bench,

The Right Hon. RICHARD LORD GROSVENOR, Plaintiff.

His Royal Highness HENRY FREDERICK Duke of Cumberland,  
Defendant.

Counsel for the Plaintiff.

Mr. *Serjeant Glynn*,  
Mr. *Serjeant Leigh*,  
Mr. *Wedderburn*,  
Mr. *Wallace*,  
Mr. *Walker*,  
Mr. *Lee*,  
Mr. *Ranby*.

Counsel for the Defendant.

Mr. *Dunning*,  
Mr. *Skinner*,  
Mr. *Mansfield*,  
Mr. *Impey*.

The court being sat, the jury were called over, and the following were sworn to try the issue joined between the parties.

*John Cope*, Esq;  
*George Garratt*, Esq;  
*Heneage Robinson*, Esq;  
*Richard Teasdale*, Esq;  
*John Barnfather*, Esq;  
*Daniel Booth*, Esq;

*William Farrer*, Esq;  
*George Wright*, Esq;  
*Philip Dyott*, Esq;  
*Benjamin Cowley*, Esq;  
*John Walford*, Esq;  
*John Lane*, Esq;

The damages were stated at 100,000*l.* and the cause was opened by Mr. Wedderburn.

MR. WEDDERBURN.

**M**AY it please your Lordship and you Gentlemen of the Jury, This is an action brought against his Royal Highness Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland by Richard Lord Grosvenor, for the injury done to him by his Royal Highness, in the seduction of his wife. Gentlemen, this cause is of serious importance with regard to the plaintiff, and no small hopes with regard to the public; and though such instances have happened, this is the first instance where a person of the defendant's high rank and quality has been the party against whom that action has been brought. Gentlemen, from the nature of the case, and the injury that the party has received, it is in a great measure aggravated in some cases, in some extenuated by the quality and condition of the party against whom that action is brought. I presume you will think there is scarcely a cause in which, if that circumstance gives importance to it, if it adds weight to the complaint, it cannot have a stronger degree than in the present cause; and it will be my duty, as counsel for my Lord Grosvenor, with all the respect due to the name and rank of the defendant, to lay before you the facts, in such a manner, as may enable you

you to conduct your attention to the course of evidence that will be given.—In doing that I shall make it my endeavour, and I hope I shall succeed in it, to omit, even at the hazard of interrupting the connexion of the story, every circumstance that I do not believe the witnesses will give you an account of: and after I have stated the facts, I shall then detain you but a little while from hearing the witnesses themselves, upon whose testimony your judgement must be formed, upon the nature of the evidence, and the quality of this offence charged upon the defendant. Gentlemen, my Lord Grosvenor was married in the year 1764 to Miss Harriot Vernon: she had made her appearance in the world but a few months before that marriage, was very young, of a family respectable, features engaging, of a fortune not inconsiderable. My Lord Grosvenor had made proposals to her, and accordingly the settlements made at the marriage were adequate to his fortune, such as became him to make, and consequently were very ample. For some time, and I trust a considerable time, they lived together in that happy situation which may be supposed to proceed from a marriage where the motive upon his side had been merely affection, and that had produced a change of situation extremely advantageous to her, and there were several children born to them, and the increasing family was attended with great satisfaction to the friends upon all sides, which is naturally the case where there is a considerable fortune and an ancient family to be supported. Gentlemen, it is impossible for me to state to you, and I believe it is impossible for the evidence, to trace at what particular period his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's intimacy with Lady Grosvenor commenced; you will find however, in the course of the winters 1768 and 1769, that his Royal Highness's meetings with Lady Grosvenor were constant, and so public as not to escape the blame of almost every person at every public place; for at every public assembly wherever Lady Grosvenor was the Duke certainly came, and at all the public places where she went the Duke was certainly with her. He followed her from place to place with such incessant perseverance, and was so constant in the time of coming where she was, and going where she was to come, that it became the jest of their footmen before it had even reached to be the scandal of the town. It may easily be imagined how very dangerous to a woman's virtue that sort of sollicitation must be which is always an advocate for her vanity, and where the rank of the person is a sure means of removing all obstructions, by keeping other acquaintance and persons at a distance from the respect that is due to them. Gentlemen, this was the case in this affair: from the time Lady Grosvenor had become the determined object of his Royal Highness's attention, her acquaintance, her company, and her connexions and correspondence, became only such as were agreeable to the Duke; and from the natural deference due to the royal family, I am afraid in some instances it would give the Duke of Cumberland wishes that it would not in any thing be unlawful for him to hold those connexions. In the course of the winter the Duke's attention to Lady Grosvenor had been so far successful, that you will find in the spring 1769 they no longer confined themselves to such occasions of meeting as public places, and other places of general resort, such as the houses of such persons as were in their parties might afford them, but there were many frequent private visits, and the return of a fine season gave them an opportunity of walking out with less observation; and the witnesses will give you an account of their meeting in Kensington gardens, under different circumstances of disguise, on purpose for going there, which circumstances will appear in the sequel of this business, which caused suspicions in the minds of those that attended her, who took particular notice of them, and will give a very strong proof of the opportunities they had of observing the Duke and Lady Grosvenor. During the winter and the spring months in 1769, Lady Grosvenor had been very intimate with a lady whose name cannot now be concealed, the Countess Donhoff. The Duke had many meetings in different parties at that lady's house. In the month of May the Countess Donhoff had occasion to go out of town for some little time; when she was out of town Lady Grosvenor one evening ordered her coach and servants to the Countess's house: there was, you will find by the evidence, no person in that house but a maid servant, left to take care of the house, who then lived in it with her husband. When they came to the Countess Donhoff's door, the maid appeared, and said her lady was out of town: Lady Grosvenor look'd out of the coach, and would not take the answer from her servants, but told the maid she knew the Countess would be in town that evening, and she would come into the house and wait for her: then she got out of her coach, dismissed her servants, and ordered them not to return till eleven o'clock that evening. The maid was surpris'd at it; but, knowing her to be an acquaintance of her lady, took it for granted it was proper, and she shew'd her up stairs into the drawing room of the Countess, where you will find, and

that is a circumstance material in this affair, there was no convenience wanting that could be wish'd in such a room; the witnesses will tell you there was a couch there, which makes a material circumstance in this cause. After that a young gentleman came to the house and asked for Lady Grosvenor, in a chair with the curtains drawn; the woman received him, conducted him up stairs to the drawing room where Lady Grosvenor was; she then went down stairs, and staid some time, and then went into the room with candles. There was when she brought in the candles a circumstance which seem'd as if he meant not to expose his figure so much to her; when she carried the candles into the room she was going to place them upon the table which was near them, and he bid her put them upon the other table, which was at the further end of the room; she then went away, and he and Lady Grosvenor staid there till eleven o'clock at night; upon which they went away separately, her servants and coach returning for her as she had ordered them; he went away without coach or chair. Gentlemen, this was so convenient a situation, the house they were then in was remote from all observation, by the absence of all witnesses, and no interruption as they thought, they were both tempted to repeat it frequently. The idea given to the woman by Lady Grosvenor was, that the gentleman that met her there was her brother. It happened one evening however, that the woman's husband let the gentleman out, instead of the woman herself, and he immediately knew who he was, and was struck with the circumstance, and said to his wife, that it was his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland; and she said she thought it was Lady Grosvenor's brother; she then made her observations, and that brought to light the different incidents upon the former affair. These meetings continued till the Countess's return to town, and a few days after her return Lady Grosvenor was confined to her house, and was then lying in of her third child. Then, Gentlemen, there is a circumstance which makes a material part of this affair; the Countess Donhoff had a servant, who was a young lad; after her return to town the Duke met this servant, and asked him to carry a letter to Lady Grosvenor; to which request the servant made no hesitation; his Royal Highness recommended secrecy, and accompanied that letter with a bribe, and desired him to bring the answer to him, which would be directed to the Countess. He took his lesson, carried the letter and brought back the answer as he was desired. At this time the lady, as I have already stated, was lying in: in such a situation as that and of such importance to every woman the Duke writes letters to her which will be produced to you, and they speak strongly what before that time had pass'd between them at the Countess Donhoff's. Gentlemen, it is impossible from the tendency of the letters that their communication could in any degree have been innocent; for no modest woman who had not been before corrupted could have received them, and no man wrote from time to time unless all reserve and restraint had long since been over between them. Gentlemen, I will dismiss the consideration of the letters only with this reflexion, that when you come to hear them read, you will be convinced that letters written in that stile from a single man to a woman married, do imply in the strongest degree, that every thing that I contend to have pass'd, had previously pass'd before that time, and no woman could have received such letters at that time from an unmarried man, if she had not laid aside all reserve, and no man, if at that time he owed her any respect due to her birth, could have written such letters to her. After that his Royal Highness was called upon to take the command of some ships, and went upon an expedition about six weeks; in the course of that expedition he took every opportunity that could possibly occur, and where none occurred he took them, for writing to Lady Grosvenor; and there are letters that pass'd upon that occasion, which furnish the most evident demonstration that at that time Lord Grosvenor's dishonour was complete: one of the letters, dated Portland Road, begins in this stile; "My dear little angel, I wrote my last letter to you yesterday at eleven o'clock, just when we sail'd. I din'd at two o'clock, and as for the afternoon, I had some music; I have my own servant on board that plays, and a couple of hands from London, for the six weeks I am out:—we were a good many at dinner, I had about nine people yesterday, and shall have more when the rest of my squadron joins me, they staid with me till near seven.—I got to supper about nine o'clock, but I could not eat, and so got to bed about ten:—I then prayed for you, my dearest love, kissed your dearest little hair, and lay down and dreamt of you, had you on the dear little couch ten thousand times in my arms, kissing you, and telling you how much I loved and adored you, and you seem'd pleas'd; but alas when I woke, I found it all delusion, no body by me but myself at sea."—Gentlemen, from the inaccuracy of the expressions, you will see evident traces of the sentiments and spirit in which the letters were written; it is not to be supposed, it cannot be imagined, that a prince of

his high expectation could have received an education that would not have qualified him to write in the best, most accurate, and proper stile; but when under such sentiments, expressions are not guarded, from the strong passions of the mind that are endeavouring to express themselves. The letter goes on stating the progress of his fleet, and a sea life, which is not material to read to you now; it goes on in another part, "When I between five and six weeks hence send the admiralty word that I am arrived at Spithead, then I shall only wait just for their answer, which will be with me in a few hours, to strike my flag, and then I shall return to you that instant, oh my love! mad and happy beyond myself, to tell you how I love you, and have been ever since I was separated from you." The letter then goes on in immaterial occurrences; then it says, "My angel of my heart, pray take care of yourself for the sake of your faithful servant, who lives but to love you, to adore you, and to bless the moment that has made you generous enough to own it to him; I hope, my dear, nay, I will dare to say you never will have reason to repent it." The letter then goes on with several other occurrences at sea, and then, after a long quotation of the celebrated poem that had been made the subject of his royal study, the letter proceeds thus, "Such is my amusement to read those sort of things that puts me in mind of our mutual feelings and situations."—Gentlemen, there is another letter, wrote likewise at the time that his Royal Highness was at sea, dated Portland Road the 17th of June, which is wrote pretty much in the same stile and terms; the expressions are strong allusions to the situation, which are full as decisive as those read to you already; no such letters could in a common course of decency observed in the world have been written to any woman in her situation, nor have been received by her, as the tenor imports they were answer'd by her, unless all reserve, as I mentioned before, had been totally at an end, and he nothing to ask, that was in her power to grant: the letters will shew you the anxious desire of the Duke, that she should not go out of town, for the intention of the family was to go into Cheshire, to Lord Grosvenor's seat, in the summer, which had been put off beyond the usual time, upon the account of her lying-in; the letters express his wish that it might not happen till the Duke's return; accordingly it did not happen; though she had passed the usual time of being able to travel with safety, she prevented their setting out from London till July or August, when he returned; she continued in London till October. In the course of August and September, when he was returned, you will have an account of their meetings in Kensington gardens, and St. James's palace, and the gardens, and of her going to his apartments, or some of his servants; and you will find it not wholly confined to those places, but, as people by degrees having escaped detection and discovery, imagine no body sees them, and that their secret is well kept, and therefore shaking off all restraints of being confined to a few moments, she at last goes fairly to his own house in Pall-Mall, it may be said, openly and publicly; it is possible that a lady in company might go to his house in Pall-Mall to any entertainment, but, in the situation she went there, it is impossible it can be ascribed to any public pleasurable motive, but it was for a very different view; and her facility of going there arose from a circumstance that does honour to the family, one of her sisters happening to have apartments at St. James's as a maid of honour to her majesty: Gentlemen, you will recollect enough of the palace, of that part of it in particular that comes to the outer gate in the first court of the palace, which are the apartments of the maids of honour, to understand the part of the transactions I am going to mention: Lady Grosvenor went in her coach to St. James's palace, and she got out of her coach and ordered the servants to wait at the outer gate of the palace, and then she went into the Park through the palace to the Duke's apartments in Pall-Mall; in the Park there is a back door through which she went; she continued for some considerable time in his apartments, and then returned the same way, and went to her coach and servants: this was done repeatedly. Gentlemen, it became necessary for her to go into Cheshire, and upon the 23d of October she was to set out with the children and family and their attendants, and they were to go post to Cheshire: the distance from London to Lord Grosvenor's house at Eaton in Cheshire, I think, is about 182 miles, and the journey was with post-horses. They set out upon the Monday, and the first stage was at St. Alban's, where she arrived in the afternoon of the same day. Gentlemen, I think it is probable, I don't state it for certain, but you will have an account that upon the Monday night the Duke of Cumberland was there in disguise. I state it but as probable, not as certain; that depends upon the account those will give from whom we have the only possible means of expecting any account. Upon the Tuesday night she got to Towcester in the evening; about two o'clock three persons came into the inn at Towcester on horseback; they asked for a room; they were shewn

two of them into a room; they enquired for bed-chambers, had them looked out for them; they dined, and then two of them retired to their rooms; the third was very little seen: the account they gave of themselves, as it was necessary to give some account to satisfy the curiosity of the maids at the inn, they said they were farmers, the one was Farmer Tush, the other was Farmer Jones; they said they were come there for some money, and they expected a man to bring them some, and if he did not come before twelve at night, they should be obliged to go away. Lady Grosvenor came to the inn, and she retired early to her apartment, and about two o'clock the two farmers ordered a post-chaise, and set out for Stony Stratford; the third person staid to take care of the horses. Gentlemen, you will presently observe the reason of that. The next day Lady Grosvenor set out from Towcester, and reached Coventry, and that was upon the 25th of October; you will find that was a court day, upon which his Royal Highness would not miss the opportunity of paying his duty to the King. The farmers set out at twelve o'clock at night for Stony Stratford, and returned again to Towcester in post-chaises about five or six o'clock upon the Thursday morning. I will now state the course the servant went; first he went to Coventry upon the 25th, where when he arrived he put up his horses; he ordered beds, and said he was to wait for people to come there, and finding they did not come that night, he set off the next morning in the road onwards towards Cheshire; the two arrived about five or six o'clock; they enquired after the servant with the three horses, and were told he was gone on with them; they went on afterwards. This brings on the account of what happened afterwards upon the course of the journey; I will avoid stating the exact description of these persons; that will be proved by the evidence: these two persons, Farmer Tush and Farmer Jones, were his Royal Highness and Mr. Giddings who has the honour to be his Royal Highness's porter. The Lady arrived at the Four Crosses in the road to Cheshire, about six o'clock at night, but about two o'clock his Royal Highness and Giddings, and whether the servant or not, don't appear in evidence, but he is considered as such, though in some instances his intercourse was more than that of an ordinary servant: they arrived about two o'clock on horseback, they immediately enquired for a bed-chamber, which was chosen, and then to answer and satisfy the curiosity of the people of the house, a story was to be told them, which was, that the young gentleman who wore a black scratch wig much down, and in a plain dress, with the slouch'd hat, was young Morgan, called likewise the young Squire: and to prevent enquiries, and obviate the enquiries of people who might make their observations, the young Squire was said to be weak in his understanding, and under the care of Trusty, which name Giddings went by there. They dined there, and immediately after dinner the young Squire retired to his room. This conversation was held about him to make the people less attentive to what might pass: they were very little seen in the house, except on their first arrival at dinner-time. About six o'clock Lady Grosvenor arrived there; she chose her bed-chamber next to that the young Squire had chosen; the next day, which was Friday, the Lady was to set out from the Four Crosses, and intended that evening to be at Whitechurch: the three persons set out early in the morning, and they arrived at Whitechurch about two o'clock; there they immediately enquired for a bed-chamber, and the same story was continued of Mr. Morgan the young Squire being out of his mind a little, and attended by Mr. Trusty as usual; and they chalked the door of the bed-chamber, which I omitted to observe upon the former part of the story. My Lady Grosvenor arrived there about six o'clock in the evening; she immediately desired to see a room, upon which the maid shewed her the best bed-chamber, and she said she did not like that; then she was shewn another room, there she said she was afraid of fire; and then she was shewn another, that was too near the dining room, and some excuse was found why that room would not do at all, it was not convenient enough; and then she was shewn the rooms in their order, and it was remarkable that the room she chose was very convenient for the chalked room; this was represented to her to be the worst room in the house, it was damp and noisy, the windows were broke, and it was not fit for a lady in her situation, as any person upon their own account would have chosen the best room they could undoubtedly, but she liked the room and would have it, and chose it accordingly. Lady Grosvenor retired to her room, and the young Squire was retired, and there happened nothing in the house more remarkable, except about twelve o'clock in the night, as the grand-daughter and one of the maids of the house were sitting up in the parlour, they heard a noise, which they thought was the door of the young Squire's room opening, and upon one enquiring what it was, she was answered by the other, Oh it is only the door of the Fool's room; and they supposed he might walk in his sleep; the door shut again, the noise ceased and they went to bed: the



next day (upon the Saturday) Lady Grosvenor was to reach her own house; she set out not very early in the morning, but the other set out before her; they stopt at a house called Barn-hill, in the road to Chester; there they baited their horses, and enquired of the man of the house, which was Lord Grosvenor's, and they had the house pointed out to them; they staid there till the Lady passed by, and then they went on to Chester, and Lady Grosvenor went to Eaton, which is no great distance from Chester, I think it is about two miles; when they came to Chester, they put up at the Faulcon-Inn; then they took their horses when they had refreshed themselves and rode out, and staid till five or six o'clock in the evening. You will have an account when they went from Chester they went to a village called Eccleston, where there is a public-house; his Royal Highness and Giddings went there; from thence they looked out for the situation of Lord Grosvenor's house, and then they went across the fields to Lord Grosvenor's park; they returned again to Eccleston, and took their horses and went that night to Chester. Gentlemen, I will state to you the conduct they observed after they arrived at Chester till their leaving it entirely: they went the first day to Eccleston, that place being convenient to the house; they rode out every day morning and afternoon; they were at Eccleston on more occasions than one; upon the Wednesday they removed to Marford-hill, and staid till the Saturday from the Wednesday; they were but little in the town of Chester; they walked about a great deal in Lord Grosvenor's places, sometimes a servant holding their horses and they two were walking; they were seen by many people, but you will have a better account from the witnesses, it being impossible for us to state the hours and different places where they were seen. They removed to Marford-hill upon the Wednesday, and were in great intimacy with the man at that place; it was at a poor ale-house; I suppose they ordered every thing in the house; they lay there that night; when they went out in the morning they talked of coming back again; they made a degree of acquaintance with the man and his family, and when they went out in the morning he supposed they would not return early, but they came back suddenly and said they had received an account that the young Squire's father was lying a dying, and it was necessary he should go post to him, and yet they would be soon there again; what was before ordered to be ready against their return was got ready immediately, and you will find that the Duke and Giddings set off post for London: they returned again upon the 30th of November, the same two persons with another person with them; then there were four in the party, they returned to this house at Marford-hill, and they observed the same conduct as formerly, walking out frequently; their names were changed; here the young Squire, who was before without a name, had the name of Morgan, and the other went by the name of Griffiths; they staid from the 30th of November to the 3d of December, and then in the same manner they left it a little abruptly. It will be now necessary, seeing how they were disposed of in those instances, to see how Lady Grosvenor was disposed of; she walked out frequently, and you will find she immediately sent and ordered double keys, having some of her own already that might not strike the servants with any thing particular, but you will have an account that during the interval from the Saturday to the Thursday when first Lady Grosvenor came to Eaton, she walked out constantly every morning and every afternoon; the weather was by no means tempting for walking, but she never omitted to walk out every day during that time, and you will find by the evidence, she never walked out at any other time, and you will hear from different witnesses who observed her that she was seen talking with persons in the fields, and from some of them you will find they knew the person she was talking with, and the same things occur the second time of their going down upon the 30th of November to the 13th of December, and then in the same manner she was constant in her walks; she was observed by many to be talking with these persons already spoken of. You will likewise have an account of the reason why these parties left the place so abruptly upon both times: Lord Grosvenor had returned to Eaton upon the 14th of November; upon the 14th of December the same thing happened again; and upon the occasion of his last going down the Duke happened to be seen by persons who knew him, who having seen him before they had suspicions that there would be a story raised in the country very unfavorable of those persons and their designs in that country. But in fact none of the country people suspected the real motive of those designs. The story spreading perhaps from London to Cheshire had occasioned suspicions upon them, and whether those suspicions had been confirmed by intelligence I cannot state to you; it would be material if in my power, but it lying beyond the reach of possible evidence I omit to say any thing about it; it is sufficient that Lord Grosvenor had his

suspicious confirmed, my Lord Grosvenor was apprized that his Royal Highness had left town, and then notice was given to an old servant of Lord Grosvenor's family, (his steward I think) to be attentive to what past upon that journey at that period; and he accordingly sent to another person who was an officer in the militia in Cheshire, that was his brother; and from the time she came into the inn at St. Alban's on her return home, he employed himself to enquire what persons came into the house; the account given him by the people of the house was, that there was no company in the house except two persons; one was a young man whom they believed to be out of his mind, and the other a person attending him; that they had been there sometime, and were to be there that night: the man observed he should not have been so near Lady Grosvenor's room; he said it was improper to have a madman so near her room, it would disturb the children likewise; but all this account confirmed Mr. Stephens's suspicions that they were the Duke of Cumberland and his attendants. After dinner he took the precaution to bore a hole in the door of Lady Grosvenor's bed-chamber, from which he could observe what passed in the room; the situation was not very favorable, but it gave them an opportunity of seeing a part of the bed and room; my Lady Grosvenor retired to her bed-chamber pretty early; the room in which she lay led into another room; she locked the door of that room, and put the key in her pocket, after having dismissed the maid of the inn that came to warm her bed, and locked the door after her; you will observe both the doors were locked by Lady Grosvenor within side; after Stephens came up he listened attentively at the door, and he was pretty confident he heard two voices, Lady Grosvenor's and another; then he went away, and came sometime after and listened again, and his ideas were confirmed; but not trusting his own ideas, he went to his brother, who was at another place, and fetched him; they both listened together, and they were convinced there was a person with Lady Grosvenor in her bed-chamber, and according to the best inference they could make out they were within the curtains of the bed; upon that Mr. Stephens, whom I ought to have told you, observed the motions of those two persons, and found they had ordered a post-chaise to be ready at two o'clock in the morning, Mr. Stephens thought there was no time to delay, and with his brother and the other servants he burst open the door; it burst from its hinges and returned upon the lock, that was close within side; it was done instantly; both parties were in the utmost consternation; Lady Grosvenor attempted to go into the other room, the Duke, unable to speak, stood confounded and frightened; Lady Grosvenor was buttoning up her travelling dress used upon the journey, which, upon the first discovery, was open and her neck bare, and unbuttoned; she was buttoning up with surprize and consternation, and upon that occasion his Royal Highness was buttoning up his dress. The Lady fell down in running away; Stephens ran to her to assist her in getting up, and his Royal Highness was going to the door likewise; Stephens ordered them not to let that gentleman go out; he went back, and then Mr. Stephens said there was no harm intended to his person, and turned round to the people and asked them this question, Do you know who this person is? The servants answered it was his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. He would not tell who he was, but he said if Stephens would go with him into the next room he would tell him; they went into another room, and before the time he had reached that room the whole house was alarmed; the maids and other people came in upon the appearance of new faces, and when they were all got into the other room where the Duke went, he said, Take notice, gentlemen, I am not in Lady Grosvenor's bed-chamber: the answer to him was—he certainly was there when they came to him; and they said they would take their oath of it; they examined the bed, and as they found the situation of the bed, there was no doubt that two persons had lain upon it, and it was exceedingly disordered; the chambermaid was applied to, she said she had made it very orderly, and never left it in that condition, and she will give you an account of the situation in which it was afterwards found. Stephens told his Royal Highness he was sorry for what had happened, but it was what he was obliged to do, but it was his duty to his master which obliged him to act as he had done in the affair, and assured his Royal Highness he would not meet with any obstruction, and he might go where he pleased, and accordingly he went away for London. Gentlemen, I have now conducted this affair to the last decisive scene of it; I have gone through the relation upon the general circumstances, so far as is necessary to guide your attention to the course of the evidence that will be given; you will observe upon it four material circumstances, all operating equally strong to conviction in this cause. First, the private meeting between his Royal Highness and Lady Grosvenor at his own house, Kensington-gardens,

and other places, but above all the meetings at the Countess Donhoff's. Secondly, all the letters, referring to the situation in which they had both been, and the very strong expressions which shew that all had passed between them that could pass. Thirdly, the uncommon journey he took under the different disguises into Cheshire, his staying there, and the opportunities he sought with so much hazard and difficulty, in situations so derogatory from and disagreeable to his birth. And lastly, the scene at St. Alban's, which cannot leave much room to doubt even in the minds of persons most unwilling to believe. When all these circumstances I have repeated to you are proved, and the witnesses will relate many particulars which I have passed over, you cannot have the least opportunity to pronounce Lord Grosvenor has not made out his case. If this was a case depending upon nice ambiguous proof; if this was a question upon which there was a balance of evidence, it would be proper to enter into a discussion of the nature and import of the evidence, to support such a charge, and upon what principles you ought to weigh it, and upon what circumstances you would form certain conclusions; if it was, I should only mispend your time. But this is not a cause depending upon a course of equivocal circumstances but on the contrary innumerable circumstances concurring together of incidents which are impossible to be explained away, and impossible to receive an innocent construction, not to be taken only as separate circumstances, but in that view when all is united as equally incapable of being palliated, the united force of them is irresistible to conviction; I believe it will not be disputed that, in causes like this, nothing less than ocular witnesses to direct facts can be admitted; no such rule has or can prevail in this cause, as in every other cause a strong substantial proof operates with more force than it can in any case if parties are wicked enough to make up evidence to contradict the truth; but in this case there is more in the compass of proof than probable evidence; if direct evidence was to be offered to you, if witnesses were to say they saw them in bed together, that would leave something to be inferred by the jury, and that inference may be as well made of other circumstances as of that single circumstance, as whether or not it was impossible that it could happen in any other situation than between sheets. If you were to hear positive witnesses say they had seen the parties in bed, I should think if such evidence was offered it would be a very suspicious evidence. In one remarkable cause the spiritual court did deem it exceedingly suspicious, and would not divorce the parties because the parties are never so indiscreet, but prudence may preserve them from being found in the fact. Gentlemen, this is an action now founded upon the injury Lord Grosvenor has sustained in the relation of a husband; it is therefore to be proved in the same course, as in any other relation; and the evidence I have laid before you, I am sure, if the witnesses support it, is sufficient to establish the plaintiff's right in a civil action: I have no objection, and I dare say you will find this is a criminal transaction, and the law in those cases is penal; and the law has fixed no other method in such crimes, but a jury by way of damages may give them satisfaction, upon the consideration of the injury. If that argument should be urged with regard to the evidence that it is only circumstantial, I have not the least doubt to distinguish it, where the evidence is so strong between this and any cause of a criminal nature; crimes are to be proved by circumstantial evidence, even murder; there is no case but may be proved by circumstantial evidence, and there is no case but circumstantial evidence is sufficient, even to fix the party and crime, and subject the party to a loss of life. That could amount to more than the present case; consider the circumstances, the scene at St. Alban's upon the 21st of December, a gentleman not coming there accidentally, but by assignation with a lady; he is admitted in that bed-chamber where no person but Lady Grosvenor could admit him; the door is locked upon the inside; he came there knowing her to be there, and comes there in disguise, remains in the house in that disguise, is admitted in her bed-chamber in an undue time; it certainly is not an innocent meeting, it is in consequence of an assignation. If I ask what purpose is the meeting, every man can answer that question, it is evident enough what the purpose was. If I ask whether it was completed, the answer to that is, yes, they were detected. If I ask why sufficient time was given, the witnesses will answer that, it can have but one construction, it denotes a criminal detection; but the circumstances of that detection shew a criminal purpose actually completed. With regard to the Duke coming there, it may be said, that the intention was extremely innocent; I presume it may be said because it has been said, that the only object of the Duke's journey to St. Alban's was to acquaint Lady Grosvenor of the reports in the news papers that were pretty judicial as to her character, and he came to acquaint her of it. Gentlemen, you will consider how absurd and totally improbable it is: if it was incumbent upon him to make that communication

communication to my Lady Grosvenor, there was no difficulty of writing, or sending, or waiting till the next day, when she was to be in London: why disguised? why in waiting? But was it consulted with my Lady Grosvenor that he was to come? meeting with her was concerted to be sure, as none could come there but in consequence of her previous knowledge. The Duke of Cumberland was in the house: setting apart the respect due to the Duke of Cumberland, taking a prince of the blood out of the question, supposing any other person of the highest condition in the kingdom, supposing they had been with Lady Grosvenor at that time, and that my Lord Grosvenor had arrived that evening in St. Alban's, and had come immediately to her bed-chamber and found a man in the bed-chamber with her, supposing any man only listening to the first dictates of jealousy had done that which the law in that case deems justifiable, and if brought to his trial upon it, is there a jury upon that case that would not say the man was justifiable in that he had destroyed a man found in adultery with his wife? That is taking the fact in the strongest view it can be placed, and I have no doubt upon stating and proving the circumstances in that respect, that the jury will pronounce a person so found in such a situation, and being in such a situation as the law allows not, to be a guilty person. How can the meetings at the Countess Donhoff's be accounted for? the meetings at the Duke of Cumberland's own house in Pall-Mall? For it will be proved to you, that Lady Grosvenor does in person go privately to his house; how can she go to such a house as his house in that private manner with security? Her going through the palace as if she went only to see her sister, was all artifice to avoid a discovery where she went; it is impossible she could go there with any innocent view. What was wanting upon the occasion of their meeting at the Countess's? Was inclination wanting? Had the Duke failed by reserve? At that time the letters tell you the consequence; he told her he loved her, and was happy that she loved him; both were young, no witness was by; it is impossible to imagine all had not passed that was necessary to pass to complete Lord Grosvenor's dishonour. If we lay that out of the question, consider the nature of the letters themselves; I will not talk of the letters that were wrote to Lady Grosvenor in that interval when a woman's sentiments, from a thought of religion, should have been all excited another way; then she was receiving and returning letters from the Duke, that it must be impossible for a modest woman to receive without being looked upon with a degree of blame. But consider the other letters wrote from on board his ship, the letters I have already mentioned to you, which tells her, "I had you upon the dear little couch," alluding in direct terms to the scenes to which that couch had been a witness: it is impossible for persons of the rank and condition of the Duke and Lady Grosvenor, who were bred up with people of decency and respect, and whose language must have been modest and correct from their education, to talk in plainer terms than could be expressed in modest terms. What does he mean by their mutual feelings and situations? Is it possible to allude more directly to or tell in plainer terms the circumstance in Lady Donhoff's house? It carries with it the strongest conviction possible; I need not dwell upon the other expressions in the letter; the whole terms of the letter, the inaccuracy of the language shews the circumstance now brought to you to determine upon: in the letter he blesses the moment that has made her generous enough to own her passion for him: every body in the world knows the reason of that to be what is understood to be the proving and giving the last fatal proof of her passion, by owning her passion. He concludes one letter with saying, "he is sure she will never repent it:" what more is necessary to support this action in the strictest sense of the case? consider the journey into Cheshire, consider with yourselves a moment, what it must cost him in his own mind to submit to many things that occurred in the course of that journey, and how eager he must have been in the seduction of Lady Grosvenor; those mortifying circumstances that obliged him to keep company with his own porter, who appeared as his servant and sometimes companion, to a person educated as his Royal Highness has been, and at that distance from home, who usually is accompanied by royalty and used to that respect; I don't know any circumstance more difficult to suggest than the familiarity those persons had with him; all that is overcome, all that had led him through that difficulty, all overbalanced every consideration; he forgot what he owed to himself, to his birth, to the public, and to the sacred rights of matrimony; he forgot that and his own dignity, and his birth, and all in the course of months together, by repeated acts demonstrating those maxims, the whole of which we will prove in the present cause: it is impossible to be misunderstood by a jury accustomed to consider the nature of evidence; they must observe with what view his Royal Highness condescended to lay aside his dignity for so many months together; it is impossible for him not to gain the object he fought after  
with

with so much difficulty, and that all his endeavours should happen to prove ineffectual, which would be a direct contradiction to the witnesses who speak to the confusion of the parties, and against his own letters; and it would overturn all idea of evidence and certainty. In causes of this kind, it exceeds the credulity of any persons of the most bounded inclination to advance her honour beyond the bounds of probability, and impose upon the credulity of the world; it is impossible so many absurdities should impose upon your judgement. I should here conclude the cause, and give you no farther trouble till the evidence has been heard, if I had reason to imagine, I should have occasion to address you a second time; as I do believe it is probable I shall not have an opportunity of taking up any more of your time in what occurs to me at present, I shall submit to your consideration a few words upon the nature and extent of the damages. In all cases the damages must be proportioned to the injury, and the quality of the injury, and in all cases it depends upon the character and situation of the injured person, and of the person who has committed the injury; consider then the short state of this cause, his Royal Highness is a prince of the blood, and he has debauched the wife of a peer of England. If you consider the persons, there is no sum of damages sufficient; if you consider the example with regard to the public, no imaginary sum is too high. This, as I began in the opening to state to you, is the first instance where an action of the kind has been brought against a person of the defendant's high rank and quality, and it depends totally and entirely upon your verdict, whether this is the last occasion that ever will be given for such an action as this. All men know, you must know gentlemen, from your observation of the world, from reading and experience, that the conduct of princes is an object of national as well as private concern; that their elevated situation gives them many facilities of obtaining the accomplishment of most irregular wishes; the respect paid to their rank will introduce them in situations which are denied to private persons; and will impose greatly upon the vanity of a woman, nay, even upon the vanity of men, who think themselves honoured to have the notice of a prince; in the course of their family they are too long permitted to be unsuspected: you know of how much consequence it is to check these irregularities, in order to derive a beneficial example through all ranks of society. Gentlemen, I have already admitted I should have no objection to consider this with respect to the evidence given as a criminal case, with respect to the damages you are to give, and the council for the defendant can have no objection to take it so in this cause. It has been usual to consider these cases as criminal, and the judges have formerly formed their directions upon this principle, the quality of the defendant, and example with regard to the public, which were the only considerations; who the plaintiff is, is totally immaterial; put him upon a level with every other subject, and consider the quality of the defendant, and the influence arising upon it; consider what is the punishment and damages due upon such an offence, in such a case as this; in all causes this has been the point of view in which it was taken. If the defendant had been a domestic, and had been guilty of such a crime, it would have much aggravated the guilt, and such a circumstance and the punishment ought to be more severe. I have heard of an unfortunate case, where the plaintiff was a noble lord in Ireland, and the offender was a near relation to him, and the resentment of the jury made them give a verdict of perpetual banishment; they thought it unfit for him to live in the kingdom, and the verdict had that effect to drive him out of Ireland: and in another case, where the offender was a domestic, and the man not worth five shillings in the world, the jury brought in a verdict of 5000*l.* taking for an example, that the punishment should amount to perpetual imprisonment of the party. I remember upon the case of a boy of fifteen years of age, who was an apprentice, being guilty of criminal conversation, and the jury gave a verdict of 100*l.* damages against the boy, that was proved to be not worth a shilling in the world, for the sake of imprisonment. Gentlemen, how to draw conclusions with regard to the rank and quality of the defendant, I own I am at a loss, because the naming him is sufficient; it is a prince of the blood, entitled by his birth to every degree of respect, in whose conduct the public is deeply interested, whose example as vicious in his high situation is most dangerous; a precedent for damages in such cases as this I can find none, but one instance upon record where a prince of the blood has been the party upon record in a court of justice; but then the prince was the plaintiff, and the brother of king Charles II. it was an action for words spoken, and because of the quality of the plaintiff, the jury thought proper to give the prince 100,000*l.* in damages; this is an instance appearing upon record. In this case the prince appears as defendant. If that prince, the Duke of York, had been the defendant, there the jury would not have hesitated to have given the same sum against him, which was extorted from a person of no rank. Gentlemen,

if this case had then happened, if the action had been brought against that prince, much alleviation and much extenuation might have been urged in that behalf; first, the corruption of a licentious court; in the next place, the daily example of the prince upon the throne, whose conduct was publicly irregular. In the present case, happy for this kingdom, no such circumstance of alleviation can be urged: his Royal Highness has in his own family nothing but the first example of piety and conjugal fidelity; it would be happy if his majesty's regular conduct could diffuse into his family, and diffuse into his subjects, to make them pure as he is: therefore it will admit of no extenuation in this case; upon the contrary, you will admit it is a circumstance of aggravation, as he was unfeduced by domestic example, that his Royal Highness should unfortunately make himself the first instance where a brother of a family upon the throne has seduced the wife of a peer of England. Now concerning the damages, with respect to the defendant, I should conceive the severest verdict you can possibly give is for the defendant the most salutary: for it cannot exist that no damages you can give will have the effect intended by the jury; but the severest verdict, with regard to him, will have the most salutary effect: in the first place, it will teach his Royal Highness this great and useful lesson, that the laws of England in the hands of an English jury are superior to the most elevated degree of rank, and it will urge him to principles more noble than the seduction of a nobleman's wife; it will teach him what his ancestors have done in making the laws of the country, that they can punish even in the person of a prince, and they can reward nobly in the person of a prince: it has been the case in many instances; this will correct his excesses, and would with the same liberality reward his merit, and state his merit in a point of light equal with the rank he supports. In whatever light the public may have unfortunately held him, they cannot regard your verdict in a wrong light; for the extraordinary attendance shews the anxiety of the public, and it is not only from curiosity, but anxiety to see to what degree you will carry your resentment against such a crime, so fatal and dangerous to the world and society. Gentlemen, the custody of a public example rests in your hands, and when compared to that, the honour of an English nobleman is an indifferent subject; the chastity of women, and the sanctity of marriage, all depend upon the impression your verdict will give; from the weight and importance of such a transaction as this, committed by a person situated so high as the present defendant is. I am convinced the expectation of the public will not be deceived: good men will find vice checked in this instance in so signal a manner, that it will operate in reformation much beyond this particular instance; to shew young men, disorderly licentious men, indulging and abusing the facility their title, rank and fortunes give them, that an English jury consider the rights of society, as not to permit the sacred rights of marriage to be sacrificed to the inordinate wishes of young men, and that no rank will protect them from your equal distribution of justice; and the greater the offender, it is just the punishment should be in proportion. Upon these considerations I shall submit the cause to you; it is probable I shall have no opportunity of making any more observations; and to conclude, I could wish to have stated this case with all its weight, and with all imaginable candour in my power; and in the opening of the evidence, if I have inattentionally stated any circumstance to which there is no positive evidence, it is contrary to my intention, and I hope you will overlook it. I have stated as carefully as I can the circumstances which I am confident will be given in evidence; if I have gone farther, I hope you will attribute it on my part as a mere mistake.

*The Reverend Mr. TAYLOR examined.*

Q. Do you know Lord Grosvenor?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know Lady Grosvenor?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know when they were married?

A. Yes, I married them July the 19th, 1764.

Q. Where?

A. St. George's Hanover Square.

Q. Did you live in the family before this affair happened?

A. Yes.

Q. Upon what terms did they live together?

A. Mutual affection, I believe.

Q. How many children are there?

*A.* Only one child, I believe.

*Q.* Were they always upon good terms?

*A.* I never saw any time when they were otherwise.

*Cross Examination.*

*Q.* You did not mean to speak with reference to any particular time, but always known to be so?

*A.* Yes.

ELIZABETH SUTTON sworn.

*Q.* Where did you live in May last was a twelve-month?

*A.* At the Countess Donhoff's.

*Q.* Are you a servant there?

*A.* No, I only take care of the house in her absence.

*Q.* When did you take that care upon you?

*A.* About the 8th of May.

*Q.* Did the Countess go out of town that day?

*A.* Yes, Sir.

*Q.* Do you know Lady Grosvenor?

*A.* Yes, Sir.

*Q.* When did Lady Grosvenor come to the house?

*A.* My Lady went out of town and came back the Monday after.—Lady Grosvenor visited my Lady when she was in town.—My Lady went out of town again.

*Q.* When?

*A.* About a weeks time, and then she staid five weeks.

*Q.* Do you remember any thing of Lady Grosvenor coming to the house?

*A.* The day my Lady went out of town, Lady Grosvenor came.

*Q.* What time of the day was it, can you remember?

*A.* I believe it was past seven, and near eight at night, as near as I can guess.

*Q.* Was your Lady out of town then?

*A.* She went out of town that afternoon.

*Q.* What happened when Lady Grosvenor came?

*A.* She asked for my Lady, I said she was out of town.—Lady Grosvenor said she knew my Lady would be in town that evening, and when her Ladyship said so, I did not know what she expected—I did not expect my Lady.—Lady Grosvenor came in, and said her brother would come, or asked me whether her brother was come, one or the other I am sure.

*Q.* Where did Lady Grosvenor go then?

*A.* Directly up stairs into the drawing room.

*Q.* What happened then?

*A.* I can't be sure, but I think I staid in the hall below stairs to take care of the door.

*Q.* Did any other person come that evening?

*A.* In about half an hour there came a person in a chair with a double knock; I opened it, and the chair was brought into the hall with the curtains close; the man opened the top of the chair, and a gentleman got out and run up stairs directly.

*Q.* Did you observe his person?

*A.* I saw nothing but his back; he had a blue coat on.

*Q.* Then as soon as he got out of the chair, he ran up stairs?

*A.* Yes, he did very quick, and went into the room where lady Grosvenor was.

*Q.* Did you see him there?

*A.* I did.

*Q.* What happened while they were there?

*A.* I staid below some time to shut the door after the two chairmen, and then I went down stairs about my business. When it was time for to light candles, I took candles into the room, and a pair of snuffers: when I went up to the door I knocked at it, and I think one of them said, Come in: I went in directly; when I came in, the gentleman and the lady were sitting upon the couch, Lady Grosvenor at the top, and the gentleman at the bottom.

*Court Q.* How did you say they were sitting on the couch?

*A.* The one at the top, the other at the bottom, but close to each other.

*Council Q.* You was speaking about candles.

*A.* Yes;

A. Yes, I went to carry the candles to a table by the couch, and the gentleman said, Put them upon that table, and that was at the further end of the room; I put them there according to his orders, and then I shut the windows, all but one as was near the couch, and as I was big with child I could not conveniently get at it. Lady Grosvenor and I was both big with child at the same time, and both laid in in one month.

Q. When did Lady Grosvenor lay in?

A. I was brought to bed the 24th of June, and she lay in the same month; she was very big with child then as well as myself; I could not get by and I left that one window unshut.

Q. Can you tell how long the lady and gentleman staid?

A. I think Lady Grosvenor's coach came for her about a quarter after ten, or thereabouts.

Q. What day of May was it?

A. I believe it was the 18th of May. My Lady came home from the country and staid some days, then went again; I know it was the latter end of May, but I can't say exactly to a day.

Q. Can you remember Lady Grosvenor's coming again? Was the Countess in town?

A. When I went into the room with the candles, the gentleman said, Is your mistress come home? I said no; then he said, Do you know whether she will come? I answered, I did not know.

Q. Lady Grosvenor went away in her own coach?

A. Yes.

Q. When did the gentleman go away?

A. When the lady went away I staid some time below stairs, and then I wondered the gentleman did not go with Lady Grosvenor in the coach. I staid some time to see if he wanted me to call him a coach or a chair; at last he came down with a candle, and said, Are you in the house alone? I said no, I am not, my husband and family are in the house; I opened the door, and he went away without coach or chair.

Q. While you were together, did you make any observations of him?

A. I did, he stared up in this manner; he was such a size as that gentleman; he was a fair gentleman with large eyes.

Q. Do you remember how he was drest?

A. I saw a scar on his cheek; he put his great coat up to his neck, so — (*pulling her cloak up to her neck.*)

Q. Did you see that gentleman again?

A. I did.

Q. Give us an account when he came again?

A. The next day both came again.

Q. Which came first?

A. Lady Grosvenor came first, and the gentleman afterwards in the same manner as before; I carried candles in again, and placed them on the farther table myself, without his bidding; he asked whether the Countess was come home yet? I answered no: Lady Grosvenor said, Certainly she will be in town to night; the gentleman said no more.

Q. The question first asked was by the gentleman?

A. Yes. He came in the same manner this second time. I took the candles as before, and shut up the windows the same as before. Lady Grosvenor's coach came; I bid her servants take care of the house, while I went up stairs to acquaint her Ladyship; she came down and went away, and he went away in the same manner: I said to my husband, the lady is gone, do you go and wait and let the gentleman out; he went and let him out; then my husband said, Do you know who that is? I said is it not the lady's brother? my husband said no, it is the Duke of Cumberland.

Q. How long were they together this time? what hour did they come and go away?

A. Eleven o'clock.

Q. When did they come?

A. In the evening between seven and eight o'clock.

Q. Can you tell whether the gentleman came after the lady that night?

A. I can't say whether he did not come first one night, but I can't tell which night.

Q. How many times might they come in this manner?

A. I think they came three or four nights.

Q. Was the couch there each night?

A. Yes, it was.



*Cross Examination by Defendant's Council.*

Q. I think you said Lady Grosvenor came in her own coach, with her servants, and he came in a chair and walked away?

A. Yes.

Q. And they came about seven or eight o'clock, and went away about ten?

A. Yes, and one night eleven.

Q. Within two or three days of each other about the same time?

A. Yes, all the same time.

Q. You took him to be Lady Grosvenor's brother, till your husband told you it was the Duke?

A. Yes, I understood him to be the lady's brother.

Q. So when Lady Grosvenor came into your mistress's house, she talked to you supposing your Lady was coming home?

A. She always said she expected she would be at home that night.

Q. When you carried in the candles you was told to come in?

A. Yes.

Q. And you then did as you have told us?

A. I did.

Q. The Duke came in a chair?

A. Yes.

Q. Lady Grosvenor and your mistress visited when she was in town?

A. Yes, Sir.

*SAMUEL SUTTON examined.*

Q. Are you the husband of the last witness?

A. I am.

Q. Do you know the Duke of Cumberland's person?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see him at the Countess Donhoff's?

A. I saw him once there.

Q. At what part of the house?

A. I let him out of the door.

Q. You are certain it was the Duke of Cumberland?

A. Yes.

Q. You told your wife it was the Duke?

A. Yes.

*JOHN BOURNE examined.*

Q. Where do you live?

A. At the Countess Donhoff's.

Q. How long have you lived there?

A. Upwards of three years.

Q. Have you seen the Duke of Cumberland at your house?

A. I saw him there twice.

Q. Was you ever at his house?

A. Yes.

Q. In Pall-Mall?

A. Yes.

Q. When?

A. About a year ago.

Q. Did he speak to you?

A. Yes. He asked me to take a letter to Lady Grosvenor for him, and desired me not to tell the Countess.

Q. What further directions did he give you?

A. The answer I was to have was to be directed to the Countess; I was to give my Lady's compliments as if it came from her.

Q. What was you to do with the answer?

A. To carry it to the Duke.

Q. Did you receive any answer?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you carry it to the Duke?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he give you any reward?

A. Yes, half a guinea.

## Cross Examination.

Q. Are you servant to the Countess Donhoff?

A. Yes, Sir.

Plaintiff's Council. My Lord, the officer of Doctor's Commons is here.

Defendant's Council. I admit the letters.

## Letter B read in Court.

My ever dearest Loue.

**H**OW sorry I am that I am deprived the pleasure of seeing this Evening but especially as you are in pain God grant it over upon my knees I beg it altho' it may go of for a few days it must return and then you will be easy my only Joy will be happy, how shall I thank for your very kind Note your tender Manner of expressing yourself calling me your dear friend and at this time that you should recollect me. I wish I dare lye all the while by your Bed and Nurse you—for you will have nobody near you that loves you as I do thou dearest Angel of my Soul O that I could but bare your pain for you I should be happy what grieves me most that they who ought to feel dont know inestimable Prize the Treasure they have in you—thank God if it should happen now Mr. Croper is out of Town and you may be quiet for a few days—I shall go out of Town to night but shall stay just for an answer pray if you can just write me word how you find yourself, I shall be in Town by eight Tomorrow Evening in hopes of hearing again I am sure my Angel is not in greater pain than what my heart feels for my adorable Angel—I sent this by D—servant she is gone to Ranelagh do if you write direct it to her the Boy has my orders & will bring it to me—Adieu God bless you and I hope before morning your dear little one

Directed to

Lady Grosvenor.

## Letter C read in Court.

My dear little Angel,

**I** Am this instant going out of Town ten thousand thanks for your kind note I am sure nothing could make my aking heart to night bearable to me than when you say you are sensible how much I love you pray God it may be over before Morning or that you may be better I shall be in Town at eight o'clock for I shall long to know how you are dont mention to D that I wrote by her servant to you for I have ordered him not to tell—Adieu Good night God bless the Angel of my Soul Joy & Happiness without whom I have no comfort and wish whom all happiness alive au revoir I hope very soon

Directed to

Lady Grosvenor.

## Letter D read in Court.

My dear little Angel,

**I** Wrote my last letter to you yesterday at eleven o'clock just when we sailed I dined at two o'clock and as for the afternoon I had some music I have my own servant on board that plays and a couple of Hands from London for the six weeks I am out—we were a good many at Dinner I had about 9 people Yesterday and shall have more when the rest of my Squadron joins me they laid with me till near seven—I got to supper about 9 o'clock but I could not Eat, and so got to bed about 10—I then prayed for you my dearest love kissed your dearest little Hair and laye down and dreamt of you had you on the dear little couch ten thousand times in my arms kissing you and telling you how much I loved and adored you and you seemed pleased but alas when I woke I found it all delusion no body by me but myself at Sea I rose by time at half past five and went upon deck there I found my Friend Billy and walked with him for about an hour till Barrington came to me we then breakfasted about eight o'clock and by nine I began and exercised the Ships under my command till twelve it is now one and when I finish this letter to you my dear Love I shall dress and go to dinner at two o'clock it is a rule on board to Dine at two, breakfast at eight and sup at nine—always if nothing hinders me I shall be a bed by 10 or soon after and up by half past 5 in the morning in order to have if there is any occasion orders ready for the Fleet under my command before I begin to exercise them—I am sure the account of this days duty can be no pleasure to you my love yet it is exactly what I have done and as I promised you always to let you know my motions and thoughts I have now performed my promise this day to you and always will untill the very last letter you shall have from me which will be when I between 5 & 6 weeks hence send the Admiralty word that I am arrived at Spithead then I shall only wait just for their answer which will be with me in a few hours to strike my flag and then I shall return to you that instant O my love mad and happy beyond myself to tell you how I love you and have thought of you ever since I have been separated from you the wind being contrary to day about one I put off dinner till three o'clock

*in order to anchor Ships for this Night in Portland Road just off Weymouth about 2 Miles I hope to sail tomorrow by 5 in the morning I hope you are well I am sure I need not tell you I have had nothing in my thoughts but your dearself and long for the time to come back again to you I will all the while take care of myself because you desire my dear little Friend does the Angel of my heart pray do you take care of yourself for the sake of your faithful servant who lives but to love you to adore you, and to bless the moment that has made you generous enough to own it to him I hope my dear nay I will dare to say you never will have reason to repent it, the Wind was not so contrary but we could have sailed on but I told Barrington that as it was not fair I would anchor especially as I could send one of my Frigates in for that I had dispatches of consequence to send to London indeed my dear Angel I need not tell you I know you read the reason too well that made me do so it was to write to you for God knows I wrote to no one else nor shall I at any other but to the King God bless you most amiable and dearest little creature living—*aimons toujours mon adorable petite amour je

*vous adore plus que la vie mesme*

*I have been reading for about an hour this morning in Prior and find these few lines just now applicable to us*

*Now oft had Henry changed his sly disguise,  
Unmarked by all but beauteous Harriets eyes;  
Oft had found means alone to see the Dame,  
And at her feet to breath his am'rous flame;  
And oft the pangs of absence to remove  
By letters soft interpreters of love  
Till time and industry (the mighty two  
That bring our wishes nearer to our view)  
Made him perceive that the inclining fair  
Received his vows with no reluctant Ear;  
That Venus had confirmed her equal reign  
And dealt to Harriets heart a share of Henry's pain.*

*Such is my amusement to read those sorts of things that puts me in mind of our mutual feelings and situations now God bless you till I shall again have an opportunity of sending to you, I shall write to you a Letter a Day as many days as you miss herein of me when I do they shall all come Friday 16 June God bless I shant forget you God knows you have told me so before I have your heart and it lies warm in my breast I hope mine feels as easy to you thou joy of my life adieu*

Directed to

*Lady Grosvenor.*

*Letter E. read in Court.*

*Portland Road Saturday 17th June*

*My ever dearest little Angel,*

**T***HE Wind to day is not fair so I shall lay here in Portland Road till it is and take this precious moment in sending this other Note to you I hope it will find you well and that you are not afraid of being gone out of Town before I return back to you thou loveliest dearest Soul I have been reading since my last Note of Yesterday to you a great deal out of Prior keeping the Heroine bye till I have read quite thro' and find many things in it to correspond with us exactly*

*Hear solemn Jove, and conscious Venus bear;  
And thou bright Maid, believe me, whilst I swear,  
No Time, no Change no Future Flame shall move  
The well plac'd Basis of my lasting Love.*

*Do not think I wanted this Book with me to tell me how well I loved you, you know the very Feelings of My heart yet it is great pleasure when I am reading to find such passages that coincide so much with my own ideas of dear you, I will write constantly it is my only entertainment that and hearing from you will be except my Duty on board the only thought or employment I shall have or even wish I have just now had a message from shore it is about 2 miles from Weymouth to go to the rooms this Morning, I have excused myself being much quieter on board and happier in writing to you, You are not there or else the Boat that should carry me would go too slow I long for that happy moment that brings me back again to all I love and to all that I adore— indeed I am sorry my letters are so stupid, pray write to me you know whether to send them to send them to D— or to Mrs Reda— I long to hear from you it is now within two days of a fortnight indeed it seems forty thousand years, how happy*

when we meet that our letters has opened to each other the very feelings of our honest hearts permit me to name yours with mine then they will be words and happy looks from two of the most sincere Friends alive Your heart is well altho' fluttered while I write to you I hope mine is hurried too they ought to have the same emotions I know they have they are above dissembling I must now conclude God bless you I send you ten thousand kisses pray when you receive this return them to me for I want them sadly.

Addieu je vous aime adorable petite Creature je vous adore ma chere petite bejoux. l'amant de mon coeur—

God bless I will write constantly.

Directed to  
Lady Grosvenor.

THOMAS DENNISON examined.

Q. You was one of Lady Grosvenor's footmen?

A. Yes.

Q. How long was you in my Lord's service?

A. Upwards of two years.

Q. Was you Lady Grosvenor's footman?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you go with your Lady to Almack's in February, 1769?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. At what time did she order her coach?

A. About eleven o'clock.

Q. Was you there before the time?

A. I was.

Defendant's Council. What time do you mean to speak to?

A. February or March, 1769.

Plaintiff's Council. In what manner did the Lady go to Almack's?

A. In a figured chair.

Q. What other place did she go to that night?

A. To the Countess Donhoff's in Cavendish Square.

Q. Did any body come after her to the same house?

A. No. I saw a person going before.

Q. Who was that person?

A. It was the Duke of Cumberland.

Q. Did you see him in the house?

A. I saw him go up stairs.

Q. How long did he stay there?

A. I don't know.

Q. You left him there?

A. As far as I know I did.

Q. I suppose you came away with your Lady?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know where your Lady was in May or April?

A. At Craven Hill.

Defendant's Council. May, you speak of?

A. Yes.

Court. What did you say of May?

A. In either April or May she came from Craven Hill to the Countess Donhoff's.

Council. Did Lady Grosvenor stay at the Countess's any time, and how long?

A. Yes, two or three hours.

Q. Have you not gone frequently with your Lady to St. James's?

A. I have.

Q. Did you ever hear her say what she went there for?

A. She went to see her sister.

Q. Can you say in what month she went to St. James's?

A. It was the latter end of April or the beginning of May.

Q. You have set her down there?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know where she went when you set her down?

A. I have seen her go into St. James's Park, and into the Duke's garden.

Q. Which way did she go into his garden?

A. Out of the Park.

Q. Did

- Q. Did she go through the palace into the Park in order to go to his garden?  
 A. Yes.
- Q. Have you seen her go that way, and into his garden?  
 A. I have.
- Q. Who was with her?  
 A. The Countess Donhoff.
- Q. Did you wait there?  
 A. No, the coach was discharged for two hours.
- Q. Did she return again to the coach at the end of that time?  
 A. Yes.
- Q. Which way?  
 A. I saw her return the same way.
- Q. Did you see the Duke any where?  
 A. Yes, Sir, in the Park, when they have met.
- Q. Did he go with her into his gardens?  
 A. Yes.
- Q. How often did this happen?  
 A. About three or four times.
- Q. Can you recollect about what time any of those instances happened?  
 A. In the beginning of May.
- Q. At what times?  
 A. About nine, or thereabouts in the evening.
- Q. Generally staid about two hours, I suppose?  
 A. Yes, from nine till eleven.
- Q. Have you been with your mistress in Kensington gardens?  
 A. I have.
- Q. Can you fix the months?  
 A. The latter end of August or September.
- Q. Have you been with Lady Grosvenor once, or more than once, to the gardens?  
 A. Several times.
- Q. Who came to her there?  
 A. The Duke of Cumberland I have seen following her up the same road among the gardens.
- Q. Have you seen him with her?  
 A. No. I never saw him with her, only he was following the same road.
- Q. Did you go with Lady Grosvenor and her family into Cheshire?  
 A. I did.
- Q. Can you tell when you set out?  
 A. Upon the 23d of October last, I think, or the 22d.
- Q. Where did you get to the first day?  
 A. To St. Albans.
- Q. Did Lady Grosvenor go with her own, or hired post horses?  
 A. Post horses.
- Q. Did she appear to be in good health at that time?  
 A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. Where did she get the first day?  
 A. To St. Albans the first afternoon.
- Q. How far the second day?  
 A. To Towcester in Northamptonshire, to the Saracen's head.
- Q. What time did she set out of St. Albans?  
 A. I fancy about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning.
- Q. When did she get into Towcester?  
 A. About five.
- Q. And stopt there?  
 A. Yes.
- Q. What time did she set out from Towcester?  
 A. I think it was near twelve o'clock.
- Q. How far did she travel that day from Towcester?  
 A. To Coventry.
- Q. How many miles did she go that day?  
 A. About thirty-four or five.
- Q. Where did she go from Coventry? and what time did she set out?  
 A. About ten o'clock.

- Q. How far that day?  
 A. To the Four Crosses.  
 Q. That is an inn in Staffordshire, I believe?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. How far is that?  
 A. About forty miles.  
 Q. What time did she set off the next morning?  
 A. About ten.  
 Q. What place did she set out for next?  
 A. Whitchurch in Shropshire.  
 Q. How far is that?  
 A. About thirty miles.  
 Q. Where then did she go?  
 A. To Eaton.  
 Q. What time did she get there?  
 A. Upon Saturday.  
 Q. What day did you set out from London?  
 A. Upon Monday afternoon.  
 Q. You staid with your Lady at her seat in Cheshire?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. Did you observe any thing particular in her behaviour there?  
 A. Yes; she walked out in very dirty weather.  
 Q. What time in the day?  
 A. About twelve or one o'clock in the day.  
 Q. Was it such weather as made it remarkable?  
 A. It was very dirty weather, and the fields very dirty.  
 Q. Was it frequently she walked out?  
 A. Yes; for a week after she got down.  
 Q. Pray do you remember going into the fields with a message to your Lady?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. Can you remember what it was?  
 A. Some neighbour had sent to know how she did and the children.  
 Q. And you went to deliver this message to her in the fields?  
 A. I did.  
 Q. Did you see any body with her?  
 A. Yes; a man was sitting down with her, or lying down; I could not tell which.  
 Q. Did she come to you from the person?  
 A. I saw her get up, and she ran as fast as she could to take my message, and then went to him again.  
 Q. Could you tell who that person was?  
 A. I thought it was the Duke of Cumberland; I had some trifling view of his face; it struck me then that it was him, but I was not sure.  
 Q. Where did the person stay while she came to you?  
 A. While she was running to me, I saw him go behind a tree; he rather went stooping to go behind the tree.  
 Q. Did you come with your Lady in her journey to London?  
 A. I did.  
 Q. Was you with her at St. Albans the 21st of December?  
 A. I was.  
 Q. Can you give an account of what you saw pass that evening at St. Alban's?  
 A. Yes; I was informed by our Steward (Mr. Stephens) that there was somebody in my Lady's room with her; he called us up; we was all gone to bed; and he asked me to go along with him; he heard two voices, and desired me to come up to the door.  
 Court. When was that?  
 A. The 21st of December, my Lord.  
 Council. Mr. Stephens giving you this intelligence, you went up?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. What happened then?  
 A. Mr. Stephens and his brother said they could hear two voices in the room.  
 Court. Did you hear two voices?  
 A. I did not hearken my Lord, I was one of the last that came into the room.  
 Council. Was you present when the door was opened, how was that got open?

- A. It was burst open.  
 Q. Was you present?  
 A. Yes; and the first I saw was the Duke standing in the middle of the room.  
 Court. Dressed?  
 A. Yes.  
 A question from the Jury. What time of night?  
 A. About eleven o'clock; and Lady Grosvenor got into another room by an opposite door that led into it.  
 Q. What was the Duke about when you first saw him?  
 A. Buttoning his waistcoat.  
 Q. Was his waistcoat open when you went into the room?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Are you certain of it?  
 A. Yes; quite sure of that.  
 Q. Did you observe Lady Grosvenor's dress?  
 A. Yes; soon after.  
 Q. What situation was her dress in?  
 A. Her neck was open.  
 Q. What dress was she in?  
 A. I don't know the name; it buttons up close, and close at the wrist.  
 Q. Are you certain it was made to button up close at the top?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Was that the usual way of wearing it?  
 A. I never saw it otherwise but that night.  
 Q. Do you recollect any thing that was said by the Duke, or to him?  
 A. As soon as we got into the room, he was very much confused, and stood like a statue; then he said, Gentlemen, I hope you won't hurt me, or I hope you won't do me any harm; he was going out of the door we came in, and Mr. Stephens cried, stop that Gentleman, let us see who he is.  
 Q. What happened after that?  
 A. He went into an adjoining room, and as soon as he had got into another room he said, you see, gentlemen, I am not in the Lady's room.  
 Q. What answer was made to that?  
 A. Mr. Stephens said, I see you are not in the Lady's room now, but you was there;  
 Q. What did he say then?  
 A. He said, I will take my Bible oath I was not there.  
 Q. Did you know the Duke's person very well?  
 A. I knowed him very well.  
 Q. What dress was it the Duke had on?  
 A. His coat darkish colour, his waistcoat light colour.  
 Q. What had he about his neck?  
 A. A silk handkerchief.  
 Q. What sort of wig?  
 A. A black or dark wig.  
 Q. Did you see any thing else remarkable in his dress?  
 A. Whitish breeches and stockings, like thread stockings.

*Cross Examination.*

- Q. Was any body with Lady Grosvenor besides her servants?  
 A. None but herself and her children.  
 Q. How many children?  
 A. Two.  
 Q. What age?  
 A. One two years of age; one under one.  
 Q. How near was you to the place where they were sitting when you went into the field to her?  
 A. At first I believe it might be about a hundred yards.  
 Q. How near when she came to you?  
 A. About twenty yards.  
 Q. Was you at St. Albans when the door was broke open?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. How many persons were there?

- A.* I think there were six.
- Q.* In what manner was the door broke open?
- A.* By our shoulders.
- Q.* Had you any instruments in your hands?
- A.* Nothing but a poker.
- Q.* Did all go into the room?
- A.* Yes, all together.
- Q.* You mentioned her Ladyship's neck was open?
- A.* Yes.
- Q.* Was it not such a dress that if buttoned would fly back behind?
- A.* I don't think it would.
- Q.* Suppose for instance a coat, would it keep buttoned?
- A.* Yes.
- Q.* You said you followed your Lady to Kensington-gardens?
- A.* Yes.
- Q.* Who was with her in general?
- A.* Miss Caroline Vernon was there.
- Q.* Can you give an account who came up into the room besides you and the servants?
- A.* The chambermaid and waiter.
- Plaintiff's Council.* What time did the servants of the house come up?
- A.* It was after it was all over—before they examined the bed.
- Q.* Then the servants of the house came up before the bed was examined?
- A.* Yes, Sir.
- Q.* Then they were not present at the time the door was burst open?
- A.* It was not all over; they were present at the examination of the bed.
- Defendant's Council.* Then the servants of the house came up in the middle, before the bed was examined?
- A.* Yes, Sir.

EDWARD BENNETT, *Examined.*

- Q.* Who do you live with?
- A.* Lord Grosvenor.
- Q.* How long have you lived with him?
- A.* Three years.
- Q.* Whose servant was you in the family?
- A.* I attend my Lord.
- Q.* Do you remember going with your Lady in 1768 from the opera to Carlisle-House?
- A.* Yes; I remember it very well.
- Q.* Was it a public night?
- A.* No; it was private.
- Q.* What time of the year?
- A.* The month of June, 1768.
- Court.* She went to Carlisle-House?
- A.* Yes, my Lord.
- Q.* How long did she stay there?
- A.* About three quarters of an hour.
- Council.* Do you remember going with your Lady to Drury-Lane?
- A.* Yes.
- Q.* Who was with her there?
- A.* There was Lady Harrington.
- Q.* Who else besides Lady Harrington?
- A.* There was the Duke of Cumberland and Colonel Craiggs.
- Q.* What time of the year?
- A.* In February, 1769.
- Q.* Do you remember any of them coming to the boxes?
- A.* I was keeping places in the play-house at Drury-lane house, and the Duke of Cumberland came to the box to me, and told me I might go out; he would take care of the box for Lady Grosvenor: then I went out, and as I came out, I met my Lady coming in; I told her Ladyship the Duke was in the box, and he would take care of her places.
- Q.* Do you remember going with your Lady to the Countess Donhoff's?

*A.* Yes.



A. Yes.

Q. In what month?

A. In April or May; I cannot be sure which.

Court. In April or May, 1769?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Go on?

A. I know my Lady used to go there; she asked if the Countess was at home; the person in the house said the Countess was not at home; my Lady said she expected her at home, and she would wait till she came; she got out of the coach and staid in the house.

Q. Do you remember your Lady going to the Countess of Donhoff's, and the Countess going from her own house with her?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Where did they go from thence?

A. To St. James's.

Court. Who was that?

A. The Countess and my Lady Grosvenor; they got out of the coach about eight or nine in the evening at St. James's gate, and she ordered the coach to come about eleven o'clock; the coach came, and I went to enquire if my Lady was at Miss Vernon's; and as we were going, I met my Lady and the Countess, and she saw me and my fellow-servant, and then they came to the coach.

Q. Did you attend my Lady Grosvenor at Chester?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Did you go with her?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember the places she lay at?

A. Yes, Sir.

Court. He need not repeat them.

Q. Do you remember Lady Grosvenor coming from Chester?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And her being at St. Albans upon the 21st of December?

A. Yes.

Q. What happened there that night?

A. My Lady's supper was ordered about eight o'clock; and about three quarters of an hour after, the maid came into the room to us servants at supper, and said, my Lady was going to bed; she had a warming-pan in her hand; and she said, my Lady desired we all should go to bed; we went sometime after; and I believe we had not been abed half an hour before we were called up.

Court. What time might that be?

A. About half an hour after ten.

Court. By whom were you called?

A. By Mr. Stephens.

Q. Go on.

A. I got up, and went into another room, where I saw Mr. Stephens, and his brother the serjeant; Mr. Stephens went down stairs with a dark lanthorn in his hand, and told us to stop till he had given the signal; and when he went down to the door, he put his ear to the door, and said, he could distinguish two voices whispering in the room; upon which Mr. Stephens immediately gave orders we should push the door with him, and we did.

Court. You burst open the door?

A. Yes, my Lord, we pushed three parts of the door before it gave way; as soon as we got in, the first person I saw was the Duke of Cumberland, standing about the middle of the room.

A gentleman of the Jury. How long was you breaking the door open?

A. We pushed three times, as hard as we could.

Juryman. That allowed time for them to come from the bed, my Lord.

Court. Was you a minute or half a minute?

A. I believe one or two minutes.

Court. It is very difficult for any man to measure time.

Bennett. When I went in, the Duke of Cumberland was buttoning his waistcoat; and at the same time, my Lady was making her escape; going into an opposite door; and as she was going to open the door, she turned herself round, and I saw her breast all bare; Mr. Stephens followed her into the other room.

Q. Did

Q. Did you go into the other room then?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Where was the Duke?

A. He was going away; and Mr. Stephens said, Don't let that gentleman go by, till we know who he is; the Duke then went into the room with the Lady.

Q. Do you remember any further particulars?

A. I saw him put his two hands together, and he said, He would take his Bible oath he was not in Lady Grosvenor's room.

Q. What then?

A. My fellow-servant then said, I will take my oath I saw you both in her room; the Duke said, Young man, have a caution of what you are going to say; that is all I remember at present; only Mr. Stephens asked the Duke several times, who he was; and he would not tell him; then says Mr. Stephens, Sir, if you will not tell, I must let them know who you are; on which he said to him, You are his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland; and then he turned to us, and asked us, if we were sure who it was? We all replied, it was his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and we would take our oath of it.

Q. Did Stephens bid you observe any thing else?

A. No.

*Juryman.* Did you see any body put their hand upon the bed, to see whether it was warm or cold?

A. No, I did not—after that, Stephens told his Royal Highness, he was welcome to go where he would; we came all out of my Lady's chamber, out of the other room, and we looked at the bed; Stephens called the maid; I observed the bed was tumbled on the outside of the clothes; both sheets were tumbled on the outside of the bed; the bed-clothes were turned down.

*Cross Examined.*

Q. Were the clothes unfolded?

A. No, Sir.

*Court.* Not turned down; but tumbled on the outside?

*Council.* Was the bed turned down, or was it not?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Part of the sheet that was turned over, I take it?

A. Yes.

ROBERT GIDDINGS *examined.*

Q. Are you one of the servants of the Duke of Cumberland?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. What servant?

A. Gentleman porter to his Royal Highness.

Q. Do you know Lady Grosvenor?

A. I have seen my Lady.

Q. Pray Sir, do you recollect her going out of town?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Do you recollect her being at St. Albans in October?

A. In October? I don't recollect.

*Council.* In October, 1769?

A. I don't recollect she was there then.

Q. Did you accompany the Duke of Cumberland there in October, 1769?

A. I did.

Q. What day in October?

A. I don't recollect the day?

Q. Do you know whether Lady Grosvenor was there, when you was with the Duke at St. Albans?

A. I do not.

Q. Did you see any servants there, that you might know to be her servants?

A. I did not.

Q. What time did you and the Duke arrive there?

A. I don't recollect the time.

Q. Day or night?

A. It was in the afternoon.

Q. Was any body else with the Duke?

G

A. He

- A. He had a servant with him.  
 Q. What is the name of him?  
 A. John.  
 Q. Has he no other name?  
 A. Swan—John Swan.  
 Q. Where is he now?  
 A. He is just here in the house.  
 Q. You can't say there was any of Lord Grosvenor's servants there that afternoon, or any in his livery?  
 A. I don't know there was any; I did not know his livery at that time.  
 Q. What time did you stay there?  
 A. We staid all night.  
 Q. Did you not return to London?  
 A. I don't remember it; I made no minutes of it.  
 Q. Where did you go when you left St. Albans?  
 A. Went forward for Stony-Stratford.  
 Q. Immediately forward for that place?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Where did you lie the night after?  
 A. I don't recollect; I made no minutes of it.  
 Q. Have not you been at the place since?  
 A. I have.  
 Q. Within this fortnight?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. Then I should think you could tell the names of places; where did you lay the second night?  
 A. At Towcester.  
 Q. What time did you get into Towcester?  
 A. Towards evening.  
 Q. Where did the Duke stay that evening? in what part of the house?  
 A. He dined below.  
 Q. What time did he dine?  
 A. I don't recollect the time he dined.  
 Q. How long did he stay in the room before he dined?  
 A. I can't say.  
 Q. Did he sup in his bed-chamber?  
 A. I don't know whether he supped at all; he drank tea afterwards.  
 Q. Where did he drink tea?  
 A. I believe in his bed-chamber.  
 Q. Was there any thing particular in the bed-chamber?  
 A. I believe I chalked the door; it was done either by him or me before him; I made it a rule to chalk the door.  
 Q. What time did he go to bed?  
 A. I don't recollect the time.  
 Q. Upon your oath this evening did you put him to bed at Towcester?  
 A. I don't recollect whether I did or not; I generally put him to bed.  
 Q. What time did he leave Towcester?  
 A. It was early in the morning.  
 Q. What hour?  
 A. I don't recollect.  
 Q. Did the Duke pass in his character of Duke of Cumberland at Towcester?  
 A. No.  
 Q. What dress was he in?  
 A. In plain clothes; rather like a country farmer or squire.  
 Q. How was you drest?  
 A. I was drest much the same as the Duke.  
 Q. Did you give yourselves any particular names, or pass in any particular character?  
 A. I believe we might.  
 Q. Speak what they were?  
 A. Just what names came in my head; I was not ordered to give any particular name.  
 Q. Had you no orders to give fictitious names?

- A. No.
- Q. How came you to give them ?
- A. I gave them of my own accord.
- Q. What name might you give his Royal Highness in Towcester ?
- A. I don't recollect what.
- Q. Nor what you passed for at Towcester ?
- A. We might pass sometimes as farmers; but whether we did or not at Towcester, I don't remember.
- Q. Where did you go from Towcester ?
- A. To Coventry, I think; or we returned to town.
- Q. Was it day or night, when you set out from Towcester for London ?
- A. I believe it was late in the afternoon.
- Q. You say the Duke was in his bed-room; you can't say whether you put him to bed or not ?
- A. He was in his bed-room.
- Q. You told me he set out early in the morning from Towcester; can you fix the time he set out ?
- A. I don't recollect the time; it must be very early in the morning, but I don't recollect the time.
- Q. Can you recollect the hour ?
- A. No.
- Q. When did you get to town ?
- A. Some time the next day.
- Q. What time ? perhaps you might guess from that, what time you might set out of Towcester ?
- A. It might be about eleven o'clock next day.
- Q. How long did you stay in town ?
- A. A few hours.
- Q. Was it a court day ?
- A. It was.
- Q. What day was it ?
- A. I don't recollect what day, or what occasion.
- Q. Was it not in October ?
- A. I believe it was the latter end or beginning of October.
- Q. Nor you don't know the occasion of that court day ?
- A. No; I do not.
- Q. Did his Royal Highness remain in town or at court any time ?
- A. Not very long; he went back the same road that evening.
- Q. You went to Towcester again then ?
- A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. What time did you get to Towcester ?
- A. That I don't know; we went on to Coventry.
- Q. What time did you get to Coventry ?
- A. In the morning; it might be nine or ten o'clock.
- Q. What house did you go to at Coventry ?
- A. The Bull-Inn.
- Q. Did you make any enquiries for company that had been there ?
- A. I did not hear of any enquiry there.
- Q. Did you make any enquiry ?
- A. I made enquiry for John Le Brun.
- Q. Was he gone ?
- A. He was gone.
- Q. Where to ?
- A. Castle Bromwich, in the road to Chester.
- Q. Did you stop at Castle Bromwich ?
- A. We changed the horses there.
- Q. Where did you go to that night ?
- A. To the Four Crosses.
- Q. What time did you get to the Four Crosses ?
- A. Early in the afternoon.
- Q. What time in the afternoon ?
- A. I don't recollect what time in the afternoon.
- Q. Did you stay there all night ?

A. Yes;

- A. Yes.
- Q. Was the Duke incog. there?
- A. The same as before.
- Q. What did he pass for there?
- A. I don't recollect whether it was farmer, or what fictitious name I gave his Royal Highness.
- Q. Did any other company lie at the Four Crosses that night?
- A. I believe none.
- Q. I ask you at the time if you knew there was any other company?
- A. I believe none; I spent a good deal of time in my bed-chamber.
- Q. Where did he pass the evening?
- A. In his own bed-chamber.
- Q. And you can't say whether there was any other company in the house or not?
- A. I can't say.
- Q. Did you see any carriages or servants?
- A. I don't recollect I did; there might be people there; and I could not tell who came afterwards, when I was up stairs.
- Q. How came you to be so long up stairs?
- A. I was fatigued.
- Q. How soon did you go up stairs to relieve your fatigue?
- A. After dinner.
- Q. At what time did you leave the Four Crosses?
- A. The next morning.
- Q. At what time?
- A. It might be five, six, or seven o'clock.
- Q. Did you recollect, at the Four Crosses, saying any thing to the Duke of Cumberland with respect to the condition of his mind?
- A. No; I did not—I might say any nonsense that came in my head.
- Q. Do you know whether any mark was set upon the Duke's door, at the Four Crosses?
- A. I don't know; probably I might mark it; I believe it was.
- Q. Did you, in the course of your journey, mark the room where his Royal Highness was to lie?
- A. I believe we did, in order to know where it was in a long gallery from the rest.
- Q. When you went from the Four Crosses in the morning, where did you get that night?
- A. To Whitchurch.
- Q. What Inn there?
- A. The Red-Lion.
- Q. What time might you get into that Inn?
- A. What hour I don't recollect.
- Q. Did the Duke dine in the inn; and in what room?
- A. In the room below stairs.
- Q. How long did he stay in the room below stairs?
- A. That I don't recollect; it was fair time, and a hurrying time; and that was the reason he went into his bed-chamber as soon as he had dined.
- Q. So he retired into his bed-chamber which was chalked as before?
- A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. Do you know whether Lady Grosvenor lay there that night?
- A. I do not.
- Q. What became of you there?
- A. I likewise went to my room there too.
- Q. Fatigued as before?
- A. I did not chuse to be among a thousand country farmers.
- Q. What might you pass for there, if you did not chuse to be among farmers?
- A. We might pass as farmers.
- Q. Then you can't say whether Lady Grosvenor's carriage was there that night?
- A. I saw nothing of that.
- Q. Nor of the servants?
- A. Nor of the servants.
- Q. What time might you set off the next morning?
- A. About five, six, or seven.

Q. At

Q. At five o'clock it is dark ; at seven scarce light, I believe ; can't you fix the time more precisely ?

A. I don't recollect.

Q. Where after Whitchurch ?

A. At Barnhill.

*Court.* Where is that ?

A. This is in the last day's journey.

*Council.* Lady Grosvenor got home that night.

Q. How long did you stay at Barnhill ?

A. An hour ; or an hour and an half.

Q. While there, did you see Lady Grosvenor, or Lady Grosvenor's servants ?

A. A family went past while we were at Barnhill ; he thought it was Lady Grosvenor's family.

Q. Where did you go next ?

A. Next to Chester.

Q. What Inn did you go to at Chester ?

A. The Faulcon.

Q. How long did you stay at the Faulcon-Inn ?

A. Two nights.

Q. What time did you get there that day ?

A. Pretty early.

Q. Did you dine there ?

A. I don't recollect that.

Q. What became of his Royal Highness that night ?

A. His Royal Highness went that night from thence to Eaton.

Q. Did he return to the Faulcon that night ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Was you with him ?

A. I was.

Q. Did you go on horseback ?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you stop at Eaton ? what was your business there ?

A. His Royal Highness went to see Lady Grosvenor.

Q. How long might he stay there ?

A. A few minutes.

Q. Then you returned ?

A. Yes.

Q. You came to the Faulcon ?

A. Yes.

Q. You lay there ?

A. Yes.

Q. What became of you the next day ?

A. The next day he went to see Lady Grosvenor.

Q. Did he come back that night to the Faulcon ?

A. Yes ; we came back that night to the Faulcon.

Q. Do you know what his Royal Highness passed for there ?

A. He passed for a farmer.

Q. Do you know the name you passed by there ?

A. Generally Farmer or Trusty.

Q. What name did his Royal Highness pass for ?

A. I might say sometimes Farmer ; sometimes the young Squire ;—I might before company say Farmer.

Q. Did you chalk the door of the Faulcon where you lay ?

A. I don't recollect whether I did or not.

Q. What became of you the next day ?

A. I believe we went to Barnhill.

Q. Do you recollect the day ?

A. It was Saturday.

Q. It was Saturday you got to the Faulcon at Chester ?

A. It was on a Saturday.

Q. The next day he went to see Lady Grosvenor ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Upon the Monday what became of you ?

- A. I believe his Royal Highness saw my Lady Grosvenor again upon the Monday.
- Q. You believe he saw her upon the Monday?
- A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. Where did you lie upon the Monday?
- A. I believe at Chester or Barnhill.
- Q. Where the next night?
- A. At Marford-hill in Denbighshire, the other side of Eaton.
- Q. Did his Royal Highness go to the house of Lord Grosvenor?
- A. His Royal Highness did not.
- Q. Where did he see my Lady then?
- A. He saw her just between the iron rails of the Garden wall, where he stopt two or three minutes.
- Q. And never went into the Garden that you know of?
- A. No, Sir, never; I was always with his Royal Highness.
- Q. No other time that you know of that he might go without you?
- A. No; I was always with him?
- Q. At Marford-hill; you lay at Marford-hill?
- A. Yes.
- Q. What became of you the next night? Where did you go the next day?
- A. The next day his Royal Highness went to see Lady Grosvenor again.
- Court. Where did he lie the third night?
- A. At Marford-hill, my Lord.
- Council. Did he stay two nights at the Hill?
- A. Only one night; I don't remember staying any longer than one night; then we returned to town.
- Q. Was it a sudden occasion your returning to town?
- A. It was sudden; I thought his Royal Highness was known; and therefore I desired him to quit the country as soon as possible; that I advised him, and he did it accordingly.
- Q. That was the reason?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Do you know whether Lord Grosvenor came into Chester that evening or not?
- A. No; I do not know of Lord Grosvenor's coming there.
- Q. So then his being known was the reason? Where did you suspect his being known?
- A. At a little place called Eccleston.
- Q. And that was the reason of his coming to town?
- A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. How long did you stay in town before he went upon the Chester road again?
- A. I don't recollect how long it was.
- Q. How many weeks?
- A. I cannot form any idea of that; I have quite forgot it.
- Q. Can you say whether he did take that road again?
- A. Yes; he did.
- Q. In what month?
- A. I believe it was in November or December.
- Q. Did you go to Chester in your second journey?
- A. His Royal Highness came through Chester to Marford-hill.
- Q. When did he arrive at Marford-hill?
- A. I don't recollect the day, nor the time.
- Q. Was it in the evening or morning he arrived?
- A. In the morning.
- Q. Do you know what became of his Royal Highness that day?
- A. He went to see my Lady Grosvenor that day.
- Q. Did he go to my Lord's house at this time?
- A. He went into the fields not far from the house.
- Q. Did he or not go into the house at any time?
- A. He did not go into the house.
- Q. Where did he lie that night?
- A. His Royal Highness returned and lay at Marford-hill.
- Q. What became of him the next morning?
- A. The next morning we saw Lady Grosvenor again, near the same place.
- Q. Where did you lie that night?

- A.* We returned to London.  
*Q.* Were you at Eaton?  
*A.* We were in the fields near my Lord's house.  
*Q.* Was you at any house there?  
*A.* We called at Eccleston.  
*Q.* At the same house where you was before?  
*A.* Yes.  
*Q.* Where you suspected you were known?  
*A.* Yes.  
*Q.* And you called at the same house again?  
*A.* Yes.  
*Q.* Then you returned to London from Marford-hill?  
*A.* Yes.  
*Q.* Do you recollect receiving any letter from Lady Grosvenor?  
*A.* I did once.  
*Q.* What time was this?  
*A.* It was in the latter end of December.  
*Q.* How came you there then? I thought you accompanied the Duke to town?  
*A.* I was sent back with a parcel to Lady Grosvenor.  
*Q.* Did you carry that parcel to Lord Grosvenor's house?  
*A.* No; not to the house—I saw the Lady walking in company with more ladies in the fields, and there I delivered the parcel to her in the fields.  
*Q.* Did you find her in the fields going there?  
*A.* I saw her as I was going over the ferry.  
*Q.* For whom was the parcel directed?  
*A.* I observed it was a parcel undirected.  
*Q.* At that time?  
*A.* At that very time; and I received a parcel from the Duke.  
*Q.* You received another in the fields for whom?  
*A.* For the Duke of Cumberland.

*Cross Examination.*

- Q.* I should be glad to learn of you when it was you first found Lady Grosvenor had any thing to do with the Duke's journey into Cheshire?  
*A.* Near Eaton; between that and Barn-hill.  
*Q.* Till you got to some place in the road about Barnhill, it had not been communicated to you that the Duke's journey had any relation to Lady Grosvenor?  
*A.* No, Sir; there he told me he went to see Lady Grosvenor, if it was possible.  
*Q.* There it was for the first time you learnt that the Duke's journey was for the purpose of seeing Lady Grosvenor?  
*A.* Yes, Sir.  
*Q.* During two days the Duke was at Chester, you say, and one or two days at Marford-hill; and again upon the second journey, I believe, upon each of these days the Duke saw Lady Grosvenor, at one time a few minutes near the garden, at another time in fields near the house?  
*A.* Generally in the foot-way near the house.  
*Q.* The other times in the fields in the neighbourhood of the house?  
*A.* Yes.  
*Q.* I should be glad to ask whether, during those interviews, you was or not within sight of Lady Grosvenor and the Duke?  
*A.* I always was.  
*Q.* Within sight and within hearing?  
*A.* Yes; and oftentimes, if I was going further, she bid me stay where I was, and stand by him.  
*Q.* Having returned from these two expeditions, you went down with a parcel, and brought back a parcel?  
*A.* Yes, Sir.  
*Q.* I believe the fact was, you accompanied the Duke upon his last journey onwards, which terminated at St. Albans?  
*A.* Yes, Sir.  
*Q.* During these interviews, were they walking about, or sometimes sitting down?  
*A.* Sometimes walking, sometimes sitting on the ground.



- Q. In all those situations you was with him?  
 A. Yes; always.
- Q. You went to St. Albans with the Duke the last time?  
 A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. Perhaps you recollect, that there have been some strange stories in the Newspapers about a supposed connection between the Duke and Lady Grosvenor about that time?  
 A. His Royal Highness told me there was such report.
- Q. Do you recollect that some little time before you got down?  
 A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. By this time you was fully apprized of the secret, that the Duke had a degree of attention to Lady Grosvenor?  
 A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. You understood he went there on purpose?  
 A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. When you came there you saw the family?  
 A. I can't say I did; I saw nothing of them at Eaton.
- Q. Do you know their livery?  
 A. I know it to be blue and yellow.
- Q. The last time you saw them at St. Albans you knew they were in the house?  
 A. Yes; I learned sometime afterwards, that Lady Grosvenor was there.
- Q. Did you make any observation of what was going forward, or doing, in the course of the evening there? my question was not what any body told you, but what you observed?  
 A. No other than that his Royal Highness went there to see her.
- Q. Did you take notice of any thing particular before that breaking into the room we have heard of?  
 A. Yes; I saw a man at the door making holes through it; I observed him, and told his Royal Highness, that there was a person in blue, boring holes in the door.
- Q. You observed a man, in a blue coat, boring holes in the door?  
 A. Yes, Sir; and his Royal Highness saw it as well as I.
- Q. What time of day might that be?  
 A. It might be about nine or ten o'clock in the evening.
- Q. Can you tell exactly the time?  
 A. I don't know exactly what time.
- Q. It was before the adventure of what afterwards happened at the door?  
 A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. Now, Sir, where was you at the time we are told my Lord Grosvenor's servants first opened this door?  
 A. I was in bed.
- Q. You was alarmed by the noise, and got up?  
 A. I did; I thought the house was coming down.
- Q. Where were the parties when you got up?  
 A. The parties were in Lady Grosvenor's bed-chamber, with some of her own servants, and some of the maids in the house.
- Q. You found in the bed-chamber, the servants of Lord Grosvenor, and a servant or two of the house?  
 A. Yes.
- Q. Were neither the Duke nor Lady Grosvenor in the house?  
 A. The Lady was in the bed-chamber at that time.
- Q. Then the Duke was not in it at that time?  
 A. No.
- Q. Was you led to observe the condition of the bed at that time?  
 A. Yes; I heard two persons bid the servants of the house examine the bed, to see whether it was tumbled or not.
- Q. What was the condition of the bed?  
 A. It was as if one person had sat upon it to pull off their shoes, and no more.
- Q. To you it had the appearance of a person sitting upon it, for the purpose of undressing?  
 A. One person and no more.
- Q. Had it the appearance of having been lain in?  
 A. Not the least in the world.

- Q. To you it had the appearance of a person pressing it, by sitting, and not by lying?
- A. Not by lying.
- Q. Was any thing disordered about the bed, that took your eye?
- A. No, Sir.
- Q. Nothing, but the pressure of the clothes, by somebody's sitting upon it?
- A. No, Sir.
- Q. What door was it the gentleman in blue was boring holes in?
- A. That door was the door I understood was Lady Grosvenor's bed-chamber.
- Q. Was it the outer door?
- A. It was the door next the passage.
- Q. How was the person dressed that was boring the holes?
- A. I think in blue, and a scarlet collar.
- Q. Had he a candle in his hand?
- A. I believe he had.
- Q. Where was you?
- A. In the Duke's room.
- Q. Could you see the window?
- A. Yes; I saw through both the windows the man boring holes in the door.
- Q. Did you shew that to the Duke of Cumberland?
- A. I saw him go into the room; I saw him examining the lock of the door.
- Q. Was he alone?
- A. I saw but one man.
- Q. And this was the door which was afterwards burst open?
- A. Yes, Sir.

JOHN BURTON *examined.*

- Q. Are you the waiter at the Saracen's-Head, at Towcester?
- A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. Do you recollect Lord Grosvenor's family being at the inn, at Towcester, the 13th of October, or thereabouts?
- A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. Do you recollect what day?
- A. It was upon a Tuesday in October.
- Q. What time of the day did they come in?
- A. About five o'clock, to the best of my remembrance.
- Q. Do you recollect any other persons in the house that day?
- A. Yes; some gentlemen came in about two o'clock.
- Court.* The last witness proved the Lady was there at the time with those persons.
- Council for the Plaintiff.* Your Lordship sees Giddings knows nothing of the matter.
- Court.* I thought you proved by the first servant, her lying at Towcester?
- Council for the Plaintiff.* We could not fix the days; so we must shew they were at the inns at the same time.
- Q. *to the Witness.* Give us an account what time they came in?
- A. They came in about two o'clock; they ordered pork stakes for dinner; and while they were dressing, they desired to see their room.
- Court.* What is this witness to prove?
- Council for the Plaintiff.* The circumstances of their journey; when they came in; and when they went up stairs; and so on.
- Court.* If it goes to the fact of seeing them together, it would be material evidence; if it only goes to their being at Towcester, Coventry, and the other places, it is not material, as that is sufficiently proved already.
- Council for the Plaintiff.* It will be for the consideration of the jury, what is the effect and manner in which the Duke and Lady Grosvenor behaved, different from what we could possibly learn from such a witness as Mr. Giddings.
- Q. *to the Witness.* You say they came in at two o'clock?
- A. Yes; and two of them dined below; and while they were at dinner they desired that there might be some stakes sent up stairs to the third person; two were in the parlour, and he was writing above stairs, and for that reason they desired it to be carried up.
- Q. Do you know who those persons were?

A. One I am confident I have seen since; I think I have seen two of them; I am certain I have seen one of the persons twice or three times; I am quite clear to two persons.

Q. Who was the person you saw since, that was one of the persons?

A. One of the persons whom I am certain I have seen since, I understand to be one Giddings; the other I think was his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

Q. What time did they go away from Towcester?

A. As soon as they had dined they went up stairs; as it was night the machines were going away, I asked them if they should have occasion for the parlours, they said no. While I was waiting at supper, the person I suspected to be his Royal Highness, asked me what company we had in the house; I acquainted him we had two machines and Lady Grosvenor. He then asked me where we usually laid our passengers that came in the machines; I told him it was according to their appearance, if genteel people they lay in genteel beds, if not, otherwise.

Q. Was Giddings with the Duke at the time you told him Lady Grosvenor was in the house?

A. Yes; he was.

Mr. Wedderburn. My Lord, I hope that will not be thought an immaterial circumstance, after Giddings's evidence, who said he did not know Lady Grosvenor to be there.

Q. When supper was done, what time did they go off?

A. They said they expected a farmer to meet, and pay them some money, and they should go away at twelve o'clock if the person they expected did not come; they should want a chaise, and asked if they could have one; they were answered in the affirmative; the horses were harnessed, and between twelve and one o'clock they set off, as I was informed.

Mr. Dunning. All that proves what has been proved already, their being at Towcester, Coventry, and every other place upon the road.

Court. Whether he speaks true or false with regard to his knowing it or not, it will not vary Giddings's evidence, for he is took throughout, and you can't call a witness to contradict him.

Mr. Wedderburn. If it was to contradict him in such a case as this, it always supplies the rest of his testimony, supposing Giddings heard it, and did not know it.

Court. He spoke out to more material points where he did know.

JANE CHARLTON examined.

Q. Where did you live in October last?

A. At the Four Crosses.

Q. Do you remember upon the 26th of October last, or thereabouts, any person coming to your house that you remarked particularly?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Be so good to say who they were, and who they appeared to you?

A. They appeared like a gentleman and two servants.

Q. Can you describe them?

A. One was a lustyish man, the other a young man.

Q. When the gentleman and two servants came, who did they say they were?

A. They did not say any thing at first.

Q. Tell us what they said to you?

A. The servant said his name was Morgan.

Q. Do you know the gentleman? Have you seen him since? Who was that gentleman?

A. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

Q. Who did they say they were?

A. The servant told me the young gentleman's name was Morgan.

Q. What were their names, the other two?

A. They did not tell me who they were.

Q. How long did they stay at the house?

A. Till five o'clock the next morning.

Q. Who shewed them their rooms?

A. I did.

Q. Be so good to say what passed upon your shewing the rooms?

A. Nothing in particular, as I know of.

Q. Do you remember whether there was any other family in the house that night?

A. There

- A. There was.  
 Q. What family was that?  
 A. Lord Grosvenor's.  
 Q. Was Lady Grosvenor there at that time?  
 A. She was.  
 Q. In the house at that time?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. What time did Lady Grosvenor come?  
 A. About four or five o'clock.  
 Q. What time did the Duke come?  
 A. The Duke came in about two o'clock.  
 Q. Where was the Duke when Lady Grosvenor came in?  
 A. In his bed-chamber.  
 Q. When did he choose his room?  
 A. The Duke had chosen his bed-chamber before she came.  
 Q. Where did Lady Grosvenor lay?  
 A. In the next room.

JANE RICHARDSON *examined.*

- Q. Where did you live in last October?  
 A. At the Red Lion at Whitechurch.  
 Q. Do you remember upon Friday the 27th of October what company was in your house?  
 A. Yes, Sir; there came three gentlemen in.  
 Q. What time in the day?  
 A. I believe about two o'clock.  
 Q. Do you know who they were?  
 A. One was his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.  
 Q. By what name did he go at Whitechurch?  
 A. The old man that was with him told me he was a young Squire, and he was an elderly man and a tutor to take care of him.  
 Q. What was the reason he wanted care to be taken of him?  
 A. He told me he was foolish, my Lord.  
 Q. Was there any other company in the house?  
 A. Another man came with him.  
 Q. Was there any other family in the house?  
 A. Yes, Sir; Lord Grosvenor's family, and Lady Grosvenor.  
 Q. What time did her Ladyship come in?  
 A. About five o'clock, I believe.  
 Q. Had the Duke chosen a bed-chamber before Lady Grosvenor came in?  
 A. Yes; and they chalked the door, Sir.  
 Q. Did Lady Grosvenor choose her own bed-chamber?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. What room did she choose?  
 A. The next to that that was chalked. She was shewn the best room next the dining-room.  
 Q. Was that the bed-room then?  
 A. She chose a very bad room, that was damp, and the windows were broke, and it was very noisy.  
 Q. Did you tell her Ladyship those circumstances?  
 A. I did. Her room was backwards, and part of it was over a gateway, and part over a parlour.  
 Q. Did you observe in particular any thing after they were retired to their rooms that night?  
 A. I saw nothing in particular.  
 Q. What time did her Ladyship go to bed?  
 A. I fancy it was between eight or nine; it was before nine.  
 Q. What time did you say the Duke of Cumberland went to bed?  
 A. Some body rang a bell to take the things away, and I never saw them afterwards.  
 Q. What time?  
 A. About four or five o'clock.  
 Q. Did you observe any thing particular after the things were taken away?

A. No.

- A. No.
- Q. What time did her Ladyship retire to bed?
- A. Before nine o'clock.
- Q. After this, did you observe any thing in the house particular?
- A. I never saw her Ladyship any more after she asked me to shew her into her bed-chamber.
- Q. Was any body with her in her bed-chamber?
- A. No, Sir.
- Q. After that did you observe any thing in the house?
- A. Yes, Sir. There was a noise in the house in the passage, like a rustling of cloaths.
- Q. Did you go to observe what was the matter?
- A. I went to see, and the room where the Duke lay was open.
- Q. Did you go up stairs?
- A. I was up stairs.
- Q. Well, what happened then?
- A. I went and locked myself in, and shut the door immediately, being afraid of harm.
- Q. What did you say you heard?
- A. I heard a rustling of cloaths in the passage.
- Court. Has she said what that rustling was?
- Witness. It was a rustling of cloaths in the same passage; they did not go by the door where I was, neither up stairs nor down.
- Q. But it was in the passage?
- A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. What time did the Duke and his company go away?
- A. I can't tell, I believe it was before it was light.
- Q. Who made the Duke's bed the next morning?
- A. I did.
- Q. Did you observe any thing in the bed?
- A. Yes, it was particularly tumbled, and more so than could be by one man; it was more tumbled than ever I saw; it was not as if it had been left after any body lying.
- Q. Did you observe any thing more particular in the bed?
- A. When I went to take the cloaths off I found some pins in it, but I cannot tell how many.
- Court. Was that in the Duke's room?
- A. It was; the upper sheet was all in a ruck together, and there was several pins, but I cannot tell how many.
- Q. Where were those pins?
- A. I observed them between the sheets.
- Q. Did you observe any thing else particular but its being much tumbled and disordered, and the pins in it?
- A. No, Sir.
- Q. What time did her Ladyship go out that morning?
- A. She had her breakfast in bed at eleven o'clock.
- Q. Did she appear to be in good health when she came in the night before?
- A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. Did you look at my Lady's bed, did you make that?
- A. Yes; but I did not see any thing particular in that.

*Cross Examination.*

- Q. You saw my Lady was in bed next morning?
- A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. She lay in a damp bed, did you say?
- A. The room was damp.
- Q. Did you say the pins were between the sheets?
- A. The upper one, Sir, was all in a ruck, and the pins within them.
- Q. Where did the servants lay? Who lay in the next room upon the other side behind the Duke's bed?
- A. Mr. Stephens and the cook.
- Q. They are servants of Lady Grosvenor?
- A. Yes; and that is on the other side of the passage.

Q. You said that was the room Stephens and the cook lay in, next to Lady Grovener's, upon the other side of the passage, do you mean by that opposite?

A. No.

Q. Whereabouts was it?

A. It was the nearest room upon the opposite side.

Q. Any body coming into my Lady's room, or the others, must have come into that passage?

A. Yes.

Q. Which door was the nearest?

A. They both go in the same ward together.

MARY SPENCER *examined.*

Q. Do you live at Whitchurch?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Upon the 22d of last October, do you know of any persons coming to your house?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Your inn is the Red Lion at Whitchurch?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. About what time of the day did they come?

A. A little after two o'clock.

Q. Do you know the persons that came there?

A. No, Sir, I do not.

Q. Can you describe them?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Please to give an account?

A. He was a young man.

*Court.* What is this witness to prove?

*Plaintiff's Council.* This witness is only to confirm the last witness in several circumstances.

Q. You know when they were chusing their bed-rooms?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. What observations did you make at that time?

A. They chalked the door.

*Court.* The porter has proved that they chalked all the doors till they came to Chester. What occasion is there to ask twenty witnesses to that? no body doubts what he says against himself.

JOHN JONES *examined.*

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Jones?

A. At Marford Hill.

Q. Do you keep a public house there?

A. I do.

Q. Do you know the Duke of Cumberland?

A. I do.

Q. Was he ever at your house?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect the first time the Duke of Cumberland was at your house?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. What day was that?

A. The first of November.

Q. That was the first time you ever saw his Royal Highness?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. What time did he stay till?

A. He staid till the second.

Q. Was he ever there again?

A. He was.

Q. When?

A. Upon the second of December. It was on Saturday month he went away. He came a Saturday about a month before.

Q. How long did he stay upon that occasion?

A. Till the third.

- Q. In what habit did he appear ?  
 A. He appeared in a coarfish cloth, in the habit of a farmer.  
 Q. What day ?  
 A. The third.  
 Q. Pray who was he attended by at that time ?  
 A. He was attended by one Giddings.  
 Q. Have you seen him since ?  
 A. I have.  
 Q. Who else ?  
 A. I don't know; there were two with him.  
 Q. You don't know where he went from your house each time ?  
 A. No, I do not.  
 Q. Did he go by any name ?  
 A. The Duke went by the name of the young Squire, or farmer, in discourse; when his back was turned he went by the name of the young Squire by Giddings; but when present, he would be called nothing but farmer in discourse.  
 Q. How far is your house at Marford Hill from Lord Grosvenor's seat ?  
 A. I believe about five or six miles.  
 Q. When did they go away from your house the first time you went down ?  
 A. The second of November, which was upon a Thursday.

JOHN ANDERTON *examined.*

- Q. Do you live with Lord Grosvenor ?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Where do you live with him ?  
 A. At London.  
 Q. Did you live with him in 1769 ?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Do you remember his Lordship's coming down to Eaton in November ?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Do you remember what day it was ?  
 A. The third of November, to the best of my knowledge.  
 Q. Had you any orders about any horses ?  
 A. I had orders to send horses when I came from New-Market with the saddle horses. I fancy it might be about twelve horses. I got down about the second of November, and ordered the horses to meet my Lord the third, at Whitchurch, about nine or ten o'clock, and he came down accordingly.

MATTHEW STEPHENS *sworn. Examined by Plaintiff's Council.*

- Q. I believe, Sir, you were at St. Albans when this affair happened, do you recollect the day ?  
 A. The 21<sup>st</sup> of December.  
 Q. How came you to go to St. Albans ?  
 A. I was attending Lady Grosvenor from Cheshire.  
 Q. You came along with her from Cheshire ?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Now, Sir, will you give an account of what happened at St. Albans, after you came there in your journey to London; what suspicions you had, and the ground of them, and what you did in consequence of it ?  
 A. I had a great many reasons for suspicions from information.  
 Q. What time did you get into St. Albans ?  
 A. It was about six o'clock when we got into St. Albans.  
 Q. Was any other company in the house ?  
 A. When I got in, I enquired, and found there was two gentlemen; I had great reason to suspect, from the informations we had had, it was his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and two attendants.  
 Q. In consequence of these suspicions what did you do ?  
 A. I took the first opportunity of examining the room where Lady Grosvenor lay, or was to lay, and in order to make a discovery of what I suspected, I bored two holes in the chamber door, and those two holes I stopt up with paper, and examined the situation of the room, and the room adjoining to it, and then went down to the Bull,

to inform my brother John Stephens of what I had done. I came up again from the Bull, and went in with a dish of meat for her Ladyship's supper.

Q. You came back again with your brother?

A. Yes. I made a mistake with regard to boring the holes. I took an observation of the room, and went down to my brother and informed him of the situation and enquiry I had made, and how I found it, and I asked his opinion how we were to go on; and while her Ladyship was at supper, I took the opportunity of boring the holes in the door; after I came down again, I went again and informed my brother what I had done; then I made a negus for her Ladyship, which I generally did after supper; when I went to carry it into the parlour to her Ladyship, I was informed she was gone up stairs.

Q. What time might this be?

A. This might be about eight, or half after eight, or pretty near nine. When I carried the negus up stairs, I had took it to the nursery door, and knock'd at the door, some body answered me that her Ladyship was not there; in the mean time her Ladyship opened the door of her bed-chamber, and called to me, and said she would take the negus into her bed-room; I gave it her; she went in and turned the key of the door; I gave directions for all the servants to go to bed, and bid the maid of the house be quiet, and gave them as a reason the children might not be disturbed. I then went down to the Bull again, and informed my brother what was done, and brought him up from the Bull with me, after staying half an hour, and carried him up stairs where her Ladyship lay, and in going up, shewed him the door of her Ladyship's bed-chamber, which had two holes bored in it, and bits of paper in it: when I was up stairs, John Anderton, his Lordship's groom, being entrusted with part of the business, was in the room with my brother and me; we agreed I should go down to the door and see who I could see or hear, which I did accordingly; and taking the bits of paper out of the door, I could not see any body; I could see the door opposite to a part of the bed, a small part of it; I plainly distinguished two voices, one of which I knew perfectly well to be Lady Grosvenor's, but in such a low whispering, as I could not possibly distinguish one word; I heard another voice, but was not certain of that voice, till I came down again a second time: I told my brother I thought his Royal Highness was there; my brother told me the fatal consequence of making such a thing publicly known: he went down and returned, and told me he heard voices, but could not distinguish from where they came; I told him I was surprized he was so deaf, and he complained to me he had a cold in his head; I went down again and heard the voices as before, and now and then I heard her pretty loud, but I heard a great deal of his voice louder than before; I heard him talk I was sure once in particular; I went up again.

Court. Did you distinguish any word that was said?

A. No, my Lord, not one word. My brother repeated the reasons he had given me before, and at the same time John Anderton informed me, that his Royal Highness, or rather the two gentlemen, had ordered a chaise at two o'clock; that determined me, as I had reason to believe he had been in the room some time, that determined me the breaking open the door, as I was convinced his Royal Highness was there: I told my brother I would go down down a third time; I did so, and heard the voices as before, but could not see them; I then insisted upon it, I would take the matter upon myself, I was quite clear, he might make himself easy, and I went and called up the footmen; they all got up readily; I informed them of part of the business, they were satisfied at that I believe: as we came down stairs I said, I shall be very cautious, don't come till I have made an observation again; if I find the voices as before, do you come on; they did come on, I finding the voices as before, and then we broke open the door.

Q. Was the door fastened?

A. The door was fastened, but I believe one or two of the evidence can speak more precisely to that than I: the door was broke open, and broke at the hinges; I expected it to go at the lock; the first object that struck me when I came into the room was Lady Grosvenor, who struck me the strongest; I was directly opposite her Ladyship, attempting to escape out of the other door; his Royal Highness stood a little on one side; I had took particular care to secure the door that he might not go, but I recollect something of saying, Stop that gentleman. The door breaking open, as soon as we entered she was turned about her face towards us, and she instantly fell as the door opened two or three steps into the adjoining room; I assisted her Ladyship at getting up; she said, You thief, you have done a very fine thing; I told her Ladyship I was extremely sorry for the occasion, and she said, I dare say you are: the Duke endeavoured



to pass by my left side, and did get further past me, and spread out his hands and said, Gentlemen, you see I was not found in the Lady's bed-chamber; I said, You are not there now, but we did find you there, or we saw you there, I can't fix to the very word; his Royal Highness answered me, (I think it was about that time, in answer to my saying we saw you there, he said,) I will take my Bible oath I was not there; I answered again, We saw you there. His Royal Highness expressed a great deal of fear and horror, and seemed to be apprehensive of some danger to his person, and said something to me; I told his Royal Highness, You may be perfectly easy, your person is perfectly safe, or words to that effect; he seemed a little easier: then I demanded of him who he was, and what business he had there; he made me no answer to that, and I repeated it; he said if I would walk with him into another room he would tell me; I said I want to know who you are, and it will better be done here: I turned about to my brother and servants upon the left hand of me, and said, Do you know who this gentleman is? my brother stepped forward and said, I know him very well to be his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland; I asked if he would swear it was him, he said he would: I then told his Royal Highness he was at liberty to go where he pleased, I was very sorry to be employed in so disagreeable a business, and his Royal Highness was at liberty to go where he pleased.

Q. Did you make any observations about the bed?

A. Yes. After this was decided, my brother walked to the fire first, I think, and then towards the bed, and said it was necessary to make some observations of the bed; we looked upon it, and the curtains were about a yard and half undrawn, and all drawn except that part; the bed was pressed to the foot, and very near the bolster, but within about six inches of the top of the turn-down, from the bottom of the bed to the top of the turn-down the sheets or within a few inches of that, was tumbled as much as a bed could be, if there had been a great deal of time taken about it. The sheets, which I think were very fine ones, were turned down very low, as for people of fashion they commonly are, and they were tumbled to a great degree. The maids came in, the chamber-maid and Mrs. Langford, the mistress of the inn; I asked her what she thought of it; she said she could see no impression but of a person sitting down; I said this is not so, but like the same all over; and if I recollect, I sat upon the side of the bed to convince her that the impression of sitting down was very different. I took notice of a dent at the farther side of the bed, which I took to be the impression of a head; it laid lower than any other part of the farther side: these were all the observations then made upon it; after that I went into the passage: I don't recollect any thing else material.

A Juryman. I should be glad if your Lordship would ask that witness when he bored the holes in the door, whether he had a candle with him or not?

Court. He bored the holes when she was down at supper, as I understood.

Q. to the Evidence. Was it not so?

Stephens. Yes, it was so.

Juryman. I thought it proper to ask if he had a candle, as Giddings spoke of seeing him.

Court. Do you know if there was any candle in the room or passage when you bored the holes?

A. I don't recollect whether I carried any candle; there was a light from the fire I remember perfectly well; I went within side the room.

Q. Can you remember if you was in a blue coat?

A. I was, my Lord.

Juryman. Do you know where Giddings lay?

A. I was not sure.

Q. Does that room command the place where you stood to bore the holes?

A. There is a window in the room that Giddings lay in; I don't know whether it does not in some degree; it is a slanting view of the window in the passage, I believe, but I am not quite sure.

*Cross Examination.*

Q. Are you acquainted with a lady of the name of Alice Williams?

A. No. I don't know no lady of that name.

Q. Do you know a lady of the name of Charlotte Gwin?

A. No. To the best of my recollection I do not.

Q. In 1765, or 1766, was you acquainted with those ladies?

A. It is possible I might know them without knowing their names.

Q. You never knew a lady called by that name?

A. Not

- A. Not that I recollect.
- Q. Do you know Mrs. Collier that keeps an inn at Chester?
- A. I did know there was such a woman kept such an inn.
- Q. What inn was it?
- A. The Faulcon.
- Q. Do you remember carrying a letter to a lady there named Gwin, from Lord Grosvenor?
- A. I remember carrying some such a thing to a lady at the Faulcon.
- Q. From whom was that message carried?
- A. From Lord Grosvenor.
- Q. What might be the message?
- A. It might be a letter that his Lordship wanted to speak to her.
- Q. Did you hear for what purpose the lady came there to the Faulcon at Chester?
- A. No, Sir.
- Q. Did you know from whence she came?
- A. I did not know from whence she came.
- Q. Do you know what place she went to from Chester?
- A. I believe there is a house near Chester called the Castle, belonging to Lord Grosvenor, and the lady went there according to the message I had taken, to meet my Lord Grosvenor.
- Q. Where did she go to Lord Grosvenor?
- A. To the Castle.
- Q. Did you go with her, or meet her there too?
- A. I was there about the same time she was, but did not go with her.
- Q. What was the purpose she met Lord Grosvenor for at the Castle? Did you leave them together at the Castle?
- A. I believe she might stay at the Castle about ten minutes, not more.
- Q. Was you with her during that time?
- A. No; I was not.
- Q. Did you introduce her to Lord Grosvenor?
- A. I introduced her into the house.
- Q. Did you conduct her into the room where Lord Grosvenor was?
- A. I conducted her into a room where my sister-in-law was; I believe I told her there was a person come to speak to Lord Grosvenor, and desired my sister would go out of the room.
- Q. In order to make room for Lord Grosvenor to come in?
- A. Yes, Sir.
- Q. Do you know what this lady's business was?
- A. I did not, nor I do not.
- Q. You say she staid about ten minutes at the Castle?
- A. I believe she did.
- Q. Did she and my Lord go out together, or did my Lord stay after?
- A. I think he staid after.
- Q. Did my Lord go after her?
- A. Not as I know of.
- Q. Did you know what name the Lady past by at that time?
- A. It is most likely, if I carried the letter the name was upon it; I think it was a message from Lord Grosvenor for her to come and speak with his Lordship, but I don't at all recollect the name.
- Q. Do you recollect the time, in the year 1765?
- A. I do not recollect the time; I believe it might be in 1765; I cannot fix the year, I took so little notice of it.
- Q. What age was the lady in appearance?
- A. By what I guess she might be five or six and twenty.
- A Juryman.* My Lord, I think this evidence has not given any account how he found Lady Grosvenor and his Royal Highness as to their dress.
- Court.* Did you see any thing of Lady Grosvenor's dress?
- A. She fell down, and I moved so quick to her assistance, and the Duke turning round by my left hand, I did not observe it.
- Court.* Nor any thing particular in the defendant's dress when you first went into the room? Who went in first?
- A. I was first.

*Juryman.* Was it by Lord Grosvenor's direction you burst open the door, or of your own head?

A. It was his directions to me, that I was to take the best measures for observation that I could.

JOHN STEPHENS *sworn. Examined.*

Q. Were you at St. Albans upon the 21st of December last?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Were you at the White Hart, Sir?

A. I was, Sir.

Q. Do you remember any thing particularly which happened there?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. What happened there then?

A. I think it was some minutes after ten o'clock, four or five of Lord Grosvenor's servants burst open the door, where Lady Grosvenor was upon the bed; it burst by the hinge side; I stood there, and the moment the door was broke open, upon the other side I saw the Duke of Cumberland stand there, and I saw Lady Grosvenor fall down some steps into an adjoining room; his Royal Highness followed into the adjoining room; I followed, and the servants followed; when we came into that room, his Royal Highness was asked who he was, and what business he had there; he made no answer to the question at first; upon being asked again, he said, Gentlemen, take notice I am not in the lady's bed-chamber: he was then asked who he was; he did not give any answer to that, but desired my brother or one of the servants to go into another room, and he would satisfy him: he seemed to be much confused, and did not answer to the questions very readily, nor did he choose to declare himself there.

Q. As to the particular observations of the bed, what do you recollect?

A. After the servants had been asked if they knew him, and he was told he was at liberty, we returned and went towards the fire, and looked at the bed; I opened the curtain, and saw the bed rolled exceedingly flat; I thought it was something very particular; and then the chamber-maid was called, and we asked her if the bed was in that situation when she left the room on the over night.

Q. What were your own observations on the bed?

A. The bed was exceedingly tumbled, and the coverlid in little wrinkles in many places, as was the sheet which came half way down the bed, and the bed was exceedingly flat, as if it had been laid upon; not flat in one place only, but almost all over, except the bolster: I did not observe the bolster was flattened at all, only all the other part of the bed.

*Court.* Did you observe any thing particular in my Lady's dress?

A. No; I did not.

Q. Nor any thing particular in the defendant's dress?

A. I did not, any more than what he had on; I observed what he had on.

*Plaintiff's Council.* We rest it here for the plaintiff.

Mr. DUNNING.

MAY it please your Lordship, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, I have the honour to be of council for his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland in this cause. Gentlemen, in that character it is my duty to submit to your consideration such observations as occur to me upon this cause, as it stands at present upon the evidence that has been produced upon the part of the plaintiff, and to state to you such further evidence as I am instructed to lay before you, upon the part of the defendant. In doing this, I shall not address myself to your passions, for that is not my business, nor my practice; and if it was both, I should think it highly improper to do so upon an occasion like the present; conceiving myself to be talking to gentlemen fully apprized of the nature of that business and duty, which you attend here to discharge, and to attend only to the evidence without adopting any degree of partiality for either of the parties; to depend upon the evidence, to decide upon that evidence, and according to the fair result of that evidence, to give your verdict upon one, or the other side, as you shall find the facts to have been proved, or that proof to fail of its object. Gentlemen, I shall not bestow any encomiums upon the felicity of the marriage-bed, of which my learned friend has much experience, myself none, but I reverence and respect that situation as much as he can do. In the next place, I shall not bestow any of those epithets, the violators of that sacred right deserve; so far as is necessary you will bestow them, if any persons

persons are brought before you either upon this or any future occasion. It is material to remind you, that the single question you are to try, is, Whether the defendant has been proved to have been guilty of that offence imputed to him by this action, *viz.* to have violated the bed of the plaintiff, Lord Grosvenor; and in judging of that question, my Lord will confirm me in telling you, and I dare say your judgements will be before-hand in telling yourselves, it is necessary that the fact should be proved by such evidence as leave no shadow of doubt in the minds of those that are to judge of it; because if there is a doubt of that evidence, it is most certain it will not warrant a doubt, but entitle the defendant to a verdict, which, upon his behalf, is my duty to pray of you. You have been told, that the present case, which was opened very correctly, is not far beyond the line of proof. My learned friend, with the candour he professed, conducted himself, I am persuaded, within his instructions, and stated no more than he expected to be proved, and a great deal has been proved that belongs to it. You for yourselves will distinguish, Gentlemen, how much his story and his proof, how much his narrative and his observations, his inferences and his argument agree with the evidence; of all which you will judge, as far as is material for you to judge in this cause.

Gentlemen, I do not pretend, I do not conceive, I am not instructed, nor shall I be so absurd as to contend before you, that the high rank of the defendant in this cause affords him the smallest apology for the conduct imputed to him. As little ought it to be expected upon the other hand, that that high rank should supply a plaintiff's proof, or induce you to listen, or incline you to believe that story between these parties, which if it had happened between any other parties, you would have thought the evidence insufficient to establish. It is the good fortune of all those that live in this country, proceeding from that administration of justice in the protection of which we live, that the law knows no distinction between the ranks of the king's subjects; for there is no man so high as to be above the reach of the law, and no man so low as to be incapable of seeking redress, where he is injured; and as the law makes no distinction, you will make none: but you will consider it as a cause between A. and B. attending to nothing but the evidence, regarding nothing of the parties, but judge from the evidence, upon the ground of which you are to pronounce your verdict. The learned gentleman who is of council for the plaintiff, tells you, how truly I don't know, nor is it to my purpose to enquire the present plaintiff's title to that relation, the rights of which he conceives to have been violated in the instance that gives birth to this action, that it sprung from a motive of affection, that the lady was amiable, that her person was engaging, her fortune not inconsiderable, and her settlements ample. I do not precisely understand the whole of that proposition in the way it has been stated; it is however foreign to the question, and it will be as impertinent in me to say any thing is opened, and not so proved by the evidence. If this was natural affection, and if that affection at the time did produce that marriage, and those ample settlements, I wish that affection had continued inviolate, and that the parties to this hour had no occasion to complain of each other. I wish it had been true, which the reverend chaplain supposed to be true, that they had lived in mutual affection till the moment of this transaction; unfortunately it has happened otherwise, through whose fault, who is to blame, and what proportion of blame is to be divided between them, so far as is material here, you will judge before the cause is over. Gentlemen, this particular cause has been divided into four different parts, and the action is represented to you as capable of being supported by either of the four, and that they are most abundantly supported by all four put together. The first head of proof consists, it seems, of a great variety of private meetings in and about this town, soon after this acquaintance between the wife of the plaintiff and the now defendant; and though my learned friend professed himself unable to mention the period, the evidence has gone a great way towards it; and the evidence proved that the Duke of Cumberland has been seen going into, and coming out of Carlisle-house in company with Lady Harrington, Colonel Craiggs, and Lady Grosvenor, three or four of them together; and though it may be proved to you their having sat in the same box at Drury-Lane play-house, as another person has been called to say to you, it is certain nothing of acquaintance began till about the period I am speaking of; for all the witnesses have fix'd it up to the month of May, 1769, or April; part said the month of May. From that time, and until the Autumn following, when Lady Grosvenor went into Cheshire, as well at the beginning of the time, as at the time she was brought to bed of the child she was then pregnant with, and before the Duke sailed on the cruize represented to you, which occasioned an absence of six weeks, as well before this period, as after the recovery of the one, and the return of the

the other, in different places they are represented to you to have met at; and witnesses, have been called to prove those meetings: from some of my Lord Grosvenor's servants, you have heard that they did, upon different occasions, carry their Lady to the Countess of Donhoff's, and a servant or two of my Lady Donhoff's made a part of their evidence, the particulars of which I will consider presently. The other parts of it you heard were that Lady Grosvenor went to Kensington gardens, and upon one or more occasions the Duke was seen with her in the gardens. From others you have learnt she was seen going into Cumberland-house in the Park; and I don't recollect any other place of meeting but Kensington gardens, Cumberland-house, and Lady Donhoff's; I think there is no other place of meeting to which this opening and first head, or branch of evidence refers: and a great deal, I should think, cannot even in point of inference, in point of conjecture, or in point of suspicion be inferred, of two at least of those places of meeting. When the same witnesses prove Lady Grosvenor was seen in Kensington gardens, that prove the Duke was likewise seen there, not with her, but in the same walk, in which it was represented the Lady was at that time accompanied with her sister, and she returned with her sister. Whether the Lady and the Duke ever met in the course of those walks, has not been made appear, and it is not material. I can hardly conceive the gentlemen of council for the plaintiff would desire you to suppose any thing of the sort is suspected by themselves to have passed in the course of those meetings: they certainly did not mean it; it would be uncandid and unjust, if they harboured even a suspicion of that sort. With respect to the meetings at Cumberland-house, when the nature of those meetings are explained, and attended to a little, they will not appear so bad as that kind of evidence insinuates. It amounts to this; Lady Grosvenor in company with Lady Donhoff, walking through the palace, set down, I think the footman says, at the gates of the palace; they walked through the gates of the palace into the Park; in the Park they were met by the Duke of Cumberland, and upon his invitation they walked with him out of the Park doors into Cumberland-house. I never have yet heard, and I suppose it will hardly be insisted upon to-day, that there is any criminality in that, when you consider a married lady in company with another lady accompanying the Duke in the Park, and into Cumberland-house; upon neither of those things can any stress be laid, that is to afford proof of itself, or towards proof of that which is incumbent upon the plaintiff to prove. The third head of evidence under this branch deserves a little more particular attention, and it is of itself certainly of more importance; I mean to speak now of the meetings at Lady Donhoff's, when Lady Donhoff was absent. It would be highly unbecoming of me to answer what my ideas, or what any body's ideas are, that we ought ever to attempt to conceal from you; though between these parties there did, about the period we are speaking of, arise, and increase a strong attachment or passion (we will call it so, if you please) from one to the other; but it is fortunately not my business to defend either of the parties against the imputation of indiscretion; it is not my business to defend them if they chose to repeat it so again, nor from the immorality of entertaining such a passion between an unmarried man and a married woman; unfortunately passions are not so easily governable, as in all cases to distinguish very nicely what is the relations, which it is the interest of civil society to form and maintain; they are not so under command, but passions like these do sometimes rise, improper as they may be. It is as little my purpose, and indeed as little in my power, to defend either of the parties against the imputation of having in these sort of meetings acted inconsistently with the rules of decorum. If the gentlemen call the passion immoral, be it so; if the conduct indiscriminate, be it so; if a violation of the laws of decorum, it certainly is so. I trust, whether I can safely or not, I must do it; but I apprehend I may safely admit all this, and yet most firmly stand upon the only ground which it behoves me to maintain, and defend one and the other of these parties against the imputation which this declaration conveys, of actual, criminal intercourse having passed between them at any of those places; that only is the jet of this action, and nothing else is to the purpose of this action. How far their conduct may be censurable, or criminal, if the phrase be a favourite one, it suffices for the present purpose to say, if criminal, not criminal to the degree this action supposes. The particular evidence I have now in contemplation, is that which relates to the transaction at my Lady Donhoff's, and you have this account from the only witnesses capable of giving any, that is, the man and maid servant; the man is the husband of her that was left in the care of the house, who are both evidences upon this occasion. The evidence I am going to consider particularly, all goes to corroborate this cause, namely, that the Duke had met Lady Grosvenor at Lady Donhoff's; the husband was called to prove his person, and to prove that

that they were there at one of those meetings, which Lady Donhoff's maid-servant has given an account of: Elizabeth Sutton, the maid's account of it is this, that it was sometime about the latter end of May; and upon the 7th of June, you will recollect and bear it long in your memory; Lady Grosvenor was delivered of a son sometime in the latter end of May, which immediately preceded that June the 7th on which she was delivered of a son, the Duke met Lady Grosvenor at Lady Donhoff's; the servant says her mistress was gone out of town in the evening of that day; and you are desired by the opening to suppose that Lady Donhoff's absence was the inducement of their meeting at her house, and that the parties were apprized Lady Donhoff was absent. I don't say they were not so. It appears in the evening she went away, Lady Grosvenor came to her house, and being informed she was absent, told the maid she imagined her mistress would return at night; in fact she did not return: soon after came the Duke, who was represented as Lady Grosvenor's brother, was shewn into the same room where Lady Grosvenor then was, which, it seems, was my Lady Donhoff's drawing-room; the house, it seems, is in Cavendish Square; it was about eight o'clock in the evening, in the month of May, when it is broad open day light; the Lady coming there in her carriage attended by my Lord's own servants; the carriage returning in the same manner; the Duke coming there in a chair; the chairmen letting themselves in by a double knock; all these circumstances, which don't speak much of privacy, under all these circumstances they met at Lady Donhoff's. It is said no sort of conveniences were wanting that they might wish for; what they are we are yet to learn from conjecture; it is said there were two tables in the room, and when the maid carried in the candles, she was directed to put them upon one of them; there were some chairs, and a couch; I am yet to know if there was any other convenience about this room, that indicated any intention of the parties meeting there. As soon as it grew darkish, the maid, without waiting for the candles to be called for, went to the door; she knocked at the door, and she was answered from within, Come in; she came in, and the door, it seems, was opened from without, without any interposition from within; she brings in the candles, places them as directed upon one of those tables; the parties were sitting upon the couch: now my imagination is not potent enough to imply from all these circumstances, that sort of insinuation and transaction which my learned friend thinks abundantly proved. But I can conceive, the parties fond as they have been of seeking all opportunities of meeting and enjoying each others company, might, very innocently, if by innocency I am understood to mean with reference to the crime now charged upon them, go into Lady Donhoff's room, representing the gentleman who was Lord Grosvenor's brother, may sit upon this couch with the Lady, nay, he may, if my learned friend pleases, kiss upon this couch; I can conceive all this to be innocent, and conceive if they came there, and sat upon the couch, and the lock of the door open, that whoever pleased to come in might come in, there was nothing to hinder them; and when this woman did unexpectedly come in, she saw nothing in their situation to strike her attention; she saw them sitting, and nothing that excited any particular attention, or introduced into her mind that there was any thing improper passing there: that is in the clearest proof, not because she says so, but because she says that which demonstrates this. She learned from her husband afterwards, who let the defendant out of the house, that that person he so let out, was the Duke of Cumberland. She remained in the error of supposing the Duke was the Lady's brother; what then could induce any one to believe, there was any thing transacted inconsistent with the relation of sister and brother, when, in this woman's belief and observations, nothing had past between those parties inconsistent with the supposed relation of sister and brother? This sort of visit was repeated, I think the witness says, three times. The first night the Lady went out of town, the second was the very night following, the third she is not so precise in that, but it was thereabouts; if you consider what happens immediately afterwards, it could not be at a long distance; you find soon after that Lady Grosvenor was delivered. For two nights successively, or within an interval of a night or two, these parties met in this sort of way at my Lady Donhoff's, where they did at these meetings expect or imagine Lady Donhoff was to return to town. The talk of the Duke's being Lady Grosvenor's brother, was only to prevent any suspicion of any thing being carried about of his not being further attended, as he only met there to converse. I don't know, nor is it at all material, if this proof standing by itself would have supported an action like this: there are scarce any two people whose conduct of life has been so prudent, as not to find themselves in the predicament the defendant stands; to be called upon, and be responsible for an action which never subsisted, by their meet-

ings in and about London, without laying much stress upon the circumstance, which, if wanting, would operate a great deal, namely, the condition of Lady Grosvenor. It is not usual in the common course of things, that women would be capable of receiving lovers in the way this action supposes. From the account you have of those meetings, there is a third person present at many places, constantly and at every instance both at Cumberland-house and Kensington-gardens; and tho' there was no third person at Lady Donhoff's, yet the openness of the door, as you have heard, the woman coming in and out without suspecting any thing, believing them to be sister and brother and nothing else; I am sure you will agree with me, in thinking it neither affords proof, nor presumption, nor probability, nor even suspicion, if it stops there: if the circumstances of such meetings don't go to the excluding such suspicion, I profess myself unable to judge such sort of cause; I am now considering on what sort of circumstance I am going to consider. As well as I am able I will now consider the circumstance that was commented upon, which arises from the Duke's letters; and if I was unable to justify the conduct of the parties in these meetings with regard to decorum, to prudence and propriety, I am sure, I am equally unable to justify them upon any of those grounds in writing and receiving those sorts of letters: but let us see whether these letters carry the evidence further than it was before we got to them; whether there is any thing in those letters which affords that irresistible conviction you are told arises from them. You are told, these letters could not be looked upon without a degree of blame, and I admit it; you are told, that the two latter letters were stronger than the two former, that the reference in the one to some couch, and as the gentleman on the other side would have you think it to be that couch which they have described to be in Lady Donhoff's room, that reference alone imports that sort of transaction imputed to the present action, what past upon that couch: and the manner he speaks of the Lady his correspondent having acknowledged her affection for him, and thanking her for owning it; it imports, says he, that she, as a married woman, had given the last proof of her love, by a gratification of that which he hoped for; and that a woman, a married woman, acknowledging that passion, should have given proof of it was certain. Gentlemen, I do conceive it is not only very possible, but very probable, and what is more, very usual, for the acknowledgement of an after-passion to precede that which is the proof of it; and I do conceive, that as an unmarried person having acknowledged a passion, and not have an idea of gratifying that passion, a married lady might, though more imprudently, more indecently if you please, acknowledge a passion without pre-supposing the passion gratified. The passages themselves that are principally relied on, are in the two last letters, for I did not observe my learned friend laid much stress upon the two first letters, they importing, as my learned friend supposes, great passion upon the part of the defendant to Lady Grosvenor; but in the two last letters, the passages selected for these sort of observations are these; the one is written from sea, the Duke representing himself as employed in thinking of Lady Grosvenor in her absence, as dreaming of her, and fancying in those dreams he had been kissing her ten thousand times, and telling her how much he loved her. Now unless it is impossible for the passions unbridled and unrestrained, to go a pitch beyond that which imagination would not have gone to in other moments; unless you can conceive it his design to go farther than he had ever gone before, no such proof seems to me to result fairly from these letters. They contain the most indiscreet expressions that can be used; the terms in which they are written do not seem to hide or take one jot from the ideas; but what is there in them that imports any thing criminal having passed upon the supposed couch, or what is it that refers to that couch, so as to be an improper or criminal transaction? I confess myself unable to discover any such thing. If the duke had really employed himself in telling her how much he loved her, and accompanied this conversation with those caresses, or kisses if you please, is it in the nature of things, in going that length that it must necessarily imply the parties must have gone their whole length, of indulging that criminal passion to the highest degree in which it is capable of being indulged? Is there any thing in the nature of things like that? Is it not perfectly inconsistent with those expressions, to suppose them to go one jot further? Why or wherefore from the impartial expression of better reason did they not? Was it for want of better opportunities? But from what cause soever, no matter what, if it does not amount to that sort of presumption which is tantamount to the full proof of it, all this may have been done, and yet the defendant not guilty of that criminality which this action supposes: from the absolute import

import of the letters themselves; every body that understands the terms of them will admit, it is unsupported by that evidence, and consequently an improper verdict for the gentlemen to expect or you to give.—Gentlemen, there is a citation of a poet in this letter, and my learned friend seems to suppose, it is impossible without criminality had past that an unmarried man, writing to a married woman, could have made use of this sort of passage, or applied the lines read to you by the clerk, in the manner they are applied. My learned friend forgets from whence the passage comes, or the story it arose from; you all remember it came from a person to another between whom no such criminal intercourse had ever passed; I never yet understood, that Prior's Emma was supposed to be the subject of a criminal intercourse; though it might be applicable to the situation he was in, or the Lady he was addressing; he applies this passage to their situation, he does so; such, says he, is my amusement, to read those sort of things which puts us in mind of our mutual feelings and situations. Now what were those feelings, and what were those situations? feelings as warm, as ardent as you please to understand them; the same feelings which actuated the breast of that Henry whose character this Henry was then adopting, actuated this Henry's breast; and such were the situations between that Henry and that Emma, as between this Henry and this Harriot he was thus addressing; and if the sentiments and situation were the same, I beg leave to say, they both are free from the imputation thrown upon them by this action. I may be told, that Henry and that Emma were neither of them married persons, and perhaps it was the object of both to become so; in that difference consists the distinction; the passion in the one case was laudable and innocent, in the other case it was certainly blameable, and certainly strictly speaking not innocent; but was it blame of the sort this action supposes? I should apprehend, you are all along taking it to be of another kind of blame than that which is charged upon them. Gentlemen, the second letter in which he thanks my Lady for her generosity, in owning this degree of passion to be mutual, that other letter is of the same sort; most certainly, he thanks the Lady for having been generous enough to own that her passion and his were mutual: I think this too is in a passage recited by, or referable to the same author, Prior, and it contains assurances of the continuance of this attachment, in such words as unceasing, eternal, and so on, in their letters; all these are expressions which necessarily of course make a part of such letters. When people are once got to a length of writing love-letters, they are got to a length of writing very foolish subjects in a very foolish manner; and whether actuated by the passion itself, or from mere natural expressions, the short and the long of it are much the same, the Lady is his very humble servant, and is so very generous as to own it; the other letter seems to me to be tantamount of every thing stated by the former; but I beg leave to insist, a man may write and a woman receive such letters as these, and yet neither the one nor the other guilty of the offence of adultery, nor ever intending to be so; lamenting if you please, according to what the French poet observes, lamenting that cruel bar, a removal of which never would happen till the deaths of some parties, and surviving of others, referring to that which my learned friend supposes to be gratified; I should rather think, passions so express had not been gratified. Gentlemen, I have never found the gratification of the passion increases the ardor, and revives the eternity, duration, and God knows what; they rather increase as we go on in these sort of letters. After the other circumstances, I should have reason to take the expressions of those letters in a different light, for examining them well, to my breast they convey an irresistible conviction that this passion was never gratified. In the next place, gentlemen, the Duke of Cumberland is with Lady Grosvenor in Kensington-gardens, in company with another Lady. This foolish tender scene supposed to have been passed between brother and sister at Lady Donhoff's, in such manner as you have heard it descanted on, I should have thought the subject not deserving to be seriously considered if it had gone no farther: but the gentleman says, there begins another very large head of evidence visibly withstanding all rejection. Then with regard to the journey into Cheshire, the Duke went under disguise and with different names, sometimes Farmer, sometimes a Young Squire, sometimes a Fool, and sometimes a Welchman of the name of Morgan, sometimes Griffin, and sometimes Tuff or Tush, and Mr. Jones, and with all these different names and different disguises, which amount to a plain coat and waistcoat and no star on, and a brown wig, and the Duke under all these prodigious disguises accompanied Lady Grosvenor in her journey to Cheshire, I say accompanied, because my learned friend has stated it so, and it is substantially so; though they did



not think fit the Duke of Cumberland should be stared at in his public character at St. Albans, at Coventry, at the four Crosses, and Barn-hill, and I can't tell where; although in other words, they did not chuse the owner of the Chester Journal, or what other papers should be printed in that country, should give a precise account of the Duke supping here, and my Lady supping there, and stopt and baited here and there on the road, and therefore I do conceive it was necessary for his Royal Highness to be disguised by the plain coat and brown wig, and some name was necessary, and some character necessary, if the real character and real name were laid down; and I can't see from this journey, and this disguise any offence, like that which is imputed in the declaration, to have passed between the parties. Gentlemen, Mr. Giddings whom they called, they chose to quarrel with, and chose to suppose he was a bad witness, because he would not prove what they suggested, and therefore he did not know what he did, nor what he said, and his evidence was to be explained away or removed, and witnesses were to be called upon to contradict one another, although they were called to be the support of one another. Mr. Giddings did not take notice of Lady Grosvenor being upon the road, being unacquainted with the livery, never seeing her at Towcester, nor at Coventry, nor the four Crosses, nor till they passed by him at Barn-hill. This seemed a little strange, and you were at a loss that he should know so little of what passed upon the road, when the Duke was supposed to know it. The Duke unquestionably had no business upon that road but to escort, or talk if you please with Lady Grosvenor. I think that is comprehending it, when the man tells you he knew he went out of town for some purpose, therefore he assisted him in that concealment; and though he knew, which was pretty near the same thing, that some woman was at the bottom of all this, it was not explained who she was till he got to Barn-hill. It is said, in the course of the road to Barn-hill the parties had met, that my Lady Grosvenor and the Duke had had interviews together, or at least the Duke knew my Lady was upon the road, or had been told so, and a foolish fellow was called to tell you so, and to inform you that he had told the Duke while he was eating pork stakes or mutton chops, that Lady Grosvenor's family was in the house, and he talked to him in the way people at an inn eating mutton chops are commonly talked to, and he proved the servants were at dinner in the kitchen while he was up stairs accompanying the Duke with his mutton chops. If she had not been upon the road, he would not have been upon the road; does it follow that Mr. Giddings must know she was upon the road? I don't recollect that there is any proof of any interview between them upon the course of their journey upon that road: let us suppose they had met at every one of those inns, does it follow that Giddings must know they did meet? He performed the duty of his station with great care and attention, great skill if you please; nor is it in proof that he conceived what was the particular object of this journey, till he came into a situation where it was necessary to relate it to him; for what could the Duke expect from Giddings till he got to the end of his journey? But when he drew near Lord Grosvenor's house, when it was natural for him to consider the motive of their coming there, it became indispensibly necessary he should know the object of the journey, and where they were to go to; and naturally the witness says, the Duke told him he came out in this strange way for the purpose of seeing Lady Grosvenor. There is certainly no contradiction in his story, nor any thing to render it in the smallest degree incredible, but upon the contrary perfectly credible, and happening just in the way and course such things must be naturally expected. There are incidents, I believe, some opened, of which there was no proof, and some proved by evidence though not opened. At the four Crosses one Charlton is called to you, I don't observe any stress is laid to have passed there, any other than their being all at the same inn together; but at Whitchurch, Jane Richardson is called, who is one of the chambermaids, she remembers the gentlemen coming there, there is no doubt who the gentlemen were; some part of her examination is to prove their identity; she proves that the room in which Lady Grosvenor lay had the windows broke, and that she told the Lady so; if this had been a common cause, upon which I thought it right to conceal any thing, this I could have told you was not evidence, which in my opinion was tangible to it; besides, I was only solicitous to prevent inferences of real transactions that did happen being stretched farther than the justice and nature of the cause would admit. Lady Grosvenor chose a bad room, when in the house there was a better. Next to this room there was a passage; on one side of that passage nearest to my Lady's room lay the servants; in the same passage at a little further distance lay the Fool as he was called :

called: if my Lady Grosvenor, in the choice of this room, had in contemplation conversation with the Duke, and if there had been any evidence of actual conversation between them, I should not have been at all solicitous about it, nor would it have been material one way nor the other in the cause; but that she should have chosen this bad room for the sake of criminal conversation with him in the night, and have chosen that her servants should lay in the same passage, seems to me to be reconcilable to nothing but insanity in both parties. The door was chalked here and every where except the exception, though Giddings's evidence did not make the exception; he said, in general it was his practice, and not confined to this particular occasion only; whenever he travelled with his master it was his usual practice to make a mark upon it, and he could not recollect whether he did it at Coventry, Towcester, or no, or at the four Crosses, only at Whitchurch; he believes he did it at most of those places, but does not recollect whether he did it at Chester; and because he did it at Whitchurch, then you are to say, as Lady Grosvenor was not at Chester once the chalk was discontinued. You see it was proved to be his practice in general to use chalk; and I don't think it at all incredible, if you suppose the parties had intercourse together, that use might be made of this chalk, and the practice in other places might be useful in finding out the room; but the gentlemen chose to suppose it was for that particular purpose only, and I have no objection if they have made themselves a title so to suppose it. This is not all her evidence; but in the course of the night one of the maids heard some noise in this passage; something which was conjectured but never examined; it is said to have proceeded from the Duke's opening the door of his room, and walking through the passage, they thought it was the Fool, and the Fool if he chose it might walk in his sleep, they would not disturb themselves about it, and they attended no more to it. Now it is singular enough that at this distance of time, and for this purpose, such a circumstance as this, unworthy as it was thought by the maid at the time, of so much attention as to excite the smallest curiosity, or enquiring into the cause, should now at this moment be introduced and brought into this cause, as helping to make out in evidence this charge, though at first it was only conjecture; but supposing the evidence not stretched, when I say stretched, I think it is the hardest thing in the world the supposing or suspecting it. Witnesses, when they come to assert what they are told to be a good cause, think they cannot do too much to serve that good cause, they cannot know too much, they cannot recollect too much, and they cannot say too much, and matters that at first are only conjecture, grow into positive proof, and people fancy they know at last what at first they only dreamt about; and a great deal must be made of it indeed to prove what is applicable to this cause. There is more still behind falls from that evidence; the next day she saw the Duke's bed, and she saw it in such a condition, that no bed that had been laid in ever appeared to be so before. I don't suppose my learned friend desires you to believe that that which passed in this bed never passed in a bed before; I don't understand him to mean that any thing extraordinary appeared in it; and whatever it was, that unexpected cause happened just then as never attracted the eyes of this maid before, and that was the chambermaid of an inn. There might have been two people in that inn that might lay together as in a common inn, and no such thing might happen; what does it appear, but something which had never been seen before, and if it proves any thing it proves no body had lain in it, or that an army had been laid in it, or that the girl's imagination is so possessed with the circumstance as not to make any thing of it. I think it was a little extraordinary, that there should be so much appearance in one bed and nothing appeared in the other bed. My learned friend hazarded a question which I should have thought an imprudent one, What was the condition of my Lady's bed? She had laid in this bed, the windows in the room were broke, the room was damp and uncomfortable, she had lain in it, and her bed appeared as it might be supposed to appear, as if it had been lain in, and the other it seems did not appear to have been lain in; what can you make of all this? I can say upon this, that what happened at Whitchurch is perfectly consistent with the idea of the purest transaction at that place, and that no sort of intercourse had been held between the two parties; and neither in one circumstance proved by that witness, nor all of them put together, prove these parties were ever together for the purpose supposed, or that they ever executed those purposes. I think there is nothing farther in the course of their journey onwards, but when they came there, the defendant and this servant of his put up at the Faulcon inn at Chester; they did not stay at Chester; I don't suppose any body can imagine, the object of the journey was only to see the town of Chester. The Duke,

accompanied with Giddings, went to the garden, and the first night they were met there by Lady Grosvenor, and were there a few minutes together, having conversed by the garden rails a few minutes; that night they parted, the Duke returned to Eccleston, where his horses were, and rode back to Chester and lay there; the next night they returned again, and went to see Lady Grosvenor, and went back again that night, and so on for three or four different times, and then went immediately for London---returned again to Marford-hill, and there he lay a second time a few nights, and he again went to Lord Grosvenor's grounds, accompanied by this same domestic, and at each of these times he saw Lady Grosvenor; what then? Is there any witness that does himself suppose, much less is there any evidence that can induce you to suppose, that in any of these meetings in the gardens, or near the house, or in the fields, any thing criminal did pass, the time of day between twelve and one o'clock, and this was dirty weather, and a dirty country? and I suppose, that is the general practice sitting at home in the county of Chester, but she walked out on these days; what is there remarkable in it? She walked out for the purpose of meeting the Duke of Cumberland, as well as he went from London to meet her in those fields; what passed there will any body suppose in that hour of the day, in broad day-light, seen in one instance by the servant that brought a message, seen by another in another manner in a kind of action? what can you suppose did then or there pass between the parties? It did not want the negative evidence of Giddings to prove nothing did pass that was criminal; no body could suppose it could have passed if Giddings was at hand; when I say at hand, he was within sight and within hearing of them, I don't suppose he was within hearing what they were then talking about, but was what is understood literally to be within sight and within hearing. Can any body suppose, that from profligacy all want of decorum was lost between these parties, when they were liable to be broke in upon, and in one instance were broke in upon by the servants? what could then have passed between them? nothing is proved there. But what evidence you have with respect to the Duke, going the first and second time into the neighbourhood of Chester, by the criminality, if you please to suppose it so, commencing some months before, and continuing till the time I am speaking of; I cannot think myself, this third head of evidence is at all more fortunate than either of the two that preceded it; that neither in the meetings at many places, nor in the letters, nor these foolish interviews in the country, can there be found any sort of evidence of the kind that will support this action. Then we come to the last important scene, as my learned friend calls it, which has every thing of full direct proof, and which there is no getting the better of nor explaining away. Though you should think the first meetings were perfectly blameless with the sense of the action, though the letters import nothing like a previous indulgence of this passion for each other, nor the meetings at Chester, nor on the road, import any thing criminal to have passed between them, yet the important discovery at St. Albans is to pin the basket. I have no doubt that the transaction at St. Albans gave birth to this action, and no other transactions would have been thought a ground for this business; but it seems the transaction at St. Albans is not to be justified, nor is it to be justified; in the way I have admitted the conduct of the parties to be in some degree unjustifiable, but I fancy the circumstance of St. Albans will be found capable of such an answer, as will make it appear to you to be insufficient for the purpose of supporting this action. In the first place, there have been four witnesses called to support that transaction by them; a fifth, from whom, upon cross examination, I got a word or two about it, who was likewise called by them though for other purposes; from all these witnesses we learn, that in the evening, some say ten, others half after ten, one told us eleven, the door of the room of Lady Grosvenor's bedchamber was burst open, and in that room were found Lady Grosvenor and the Duke of Cumberland. Gentlemen, you find the breaking open this door was the result of a sort of plot, which was laid very innocently in all senses of the word, but very simply it strikes me, by Stephens, who, after having sent his fellow-servants to bed, was to bore holes through the door in which the Lady was to lie; the opportunity was chosen for this while the Lady was at supper, which is supposed to have been towards nine o'clock; during that interval Mr. Stephens, one of my Lord's principal domestics, gets necessary instruments and bores two holes, for the purpose of seeing what should pass there: as soon as she left supper she went up stairs to the nursery, and there he carried some negus, but not finding her there, she called to him in the way for him to bring the negus to her, and he did accordingly carry that negus to her; he supposes she did shut the door and turn the key; the same witness speaks afterwards

about the lock, at the time the door was burst open, but he could not take upon him to say the door was locked or not; whether or not is not in proof one way or the other; it might be shut, yet the door was not locked when the door was burst open; it may be, and must be, if not locked the second time; for, in the interval of bursting into the room, that locking of the door would have been nothing to the purpose, if he had been certain to his recollection about it after he carried the negus, whether it was locked again or not, there is no proof about it; but having delivered this negus, the Lady being within, from the suspicions he had entertained, and the discovery which was his business to make if he could, led him to be very attentive to what passed within, and for that purpose he that had sent the servants to bed, and his brother to some other house, hears a conversation and distinguishes two voices, and is sure Lady Grosvenor's was one; this he is sure of, the other he thinks is the Duke's; he hears a conversation passing carried on by two voices, in which at that time the principal speaker was my Lady Grosvenor; he goes and communicates this to the brother, they both listen and hear two voices, but his ears were not good enough to enable him to distinguish to whom those voices belonged; the witness wondered at it, but he explained the reason, by saying his brother had a cold; the words articulated were not discovered, but both the witnesses, and I believe one of the servants did (two or three of them it is not material) hear, by listening at the door, a conversation carried on by two voices; and Mr. Stephens's story was so accurate, that, upon the second time of listening in company with his brother, he conjectured it was the Duke of Cumberland's, but then he said the Duke was the principal speaker; what warranted the witness to say this was, at both times of listening he and his deaf brother distinguished two voices; one voice was known by the sound to be Lady Grosvenor's, the other in the first instance was suspected, in the second was certainly known to be the Duke of Cumberland: well but talking will not do for this action, conversation by two voices will not do, the Lady speaking most one time, the Gentleman most at another time, will never do for this action.

*Court.* There are three times, Stephens went down a third time to listen.

*Mr. Dunning.* I now recollect perfectly; at the same time both the brothers and the footman listened, and they likewise heard the two voices, then within half an hour, as the evidence stands, of carrying the negus into the room, in which interval, or towards the beginning of it, the Duke had found his way into this room in the beginning of this conversation, it was continuing till the interval of breaking into the door, continuing, as far as is known, it had been continuing without intermission. I desire you gentlemen to understand, that the continued conversation between two voices, one preponderating with one, the other in other parts of it, is intirely compatible with what must have passed between those parties in that place. I believe my learned friend has not learned from his reading, and I am sure he has had no other way of learning, that it is usual in such circumstances to carry on that sort of conversation; and yet I hope I am not understood as treating the subject ludicrously; it is far from my intention to do so. I admit no other consideration than what is founded upon evidence. When is it this can have passed? there is not a moment left for it; we find within compass of a few minutes when the conversation began, and we find to a moment when it ended; we find when he went and called the servants he had foolishly sent to bed, and when he went to call his brother which he had more foolishly sent to another house; when he returned, he found the same conversation continuing, no distinguishable difference, sometimes the Lady most, sometimes the Gentleman most: I profess, gentlemen, little more comment or observation is necessary to satisfy you in this case; not that it is not probable, much less that it is not certain, that this business did pass at the time; but, upon the contrary, it is in clear proof that nothing of this sort did pass at that time. It may be asked, how it can be strongly proved that a young man and a young woman did not do what is natural for young people in rooms together to do? You find they were only talking: I confess myself at a loss to know what species of evidence is more necessary to prove nothing criminal at that time did pass. Now let us see what more remains upon the evidence of these willing witnesses, to say no more of them, if it be not altogether deficient, they may stand more upon it, and say, Here I have you in this part of the cause. Let me observe a circumstance more upon the evidence; Mr. Giddings, in his master's room, had accidentally observed this operation of boring the holes through the door. Mr. Giddings is not understood by my learned friend to be such a dull observer, as not to comprehend what this meant: the Duke was in the room, and he pointed and made the obser-

observation; and he says the Duke likewise saw the man in a blue coat and red collar, boring holes. I thank the gentleman for the attempt, because it succeeded in the way of disproving that more strongly in the same way it was attempted to be proved. You find he was in a blue coat and red collar; was in a light; was in a situation to be seen in the room, and supposed to be seen by Giddings. Then Stephens confirms that evidence of Giddings, that both himself and his master were apprized of what was done: can it be doubted what it meant? they knowing the holes were made for the purpose of observations; knowing my Lord Grosvenor's agents and servants, were in consequence of suspicions, entertained by himself or themselves, and being disposed to make this discovery of what past within that room, they can ask, What did your client mean, knowing all this, to put himself in that room? I am not at a loss for an answer; I must carry the disclaimer through; here is a young man of great attachments, warm passions, and not very prudent, in a situation, and subject indeed where no body is prudent; he persisted in the purpose that brought him there, in seeing Lady Grosvenor. What was the purpose that brought him there? that was evident a week or so before; Mr. Giddings proves it, and you may know without proof; I know, and every one that hears me may know, God knows where, or what quarter it came from, but there was in all the news-papers in this town, a supposed detection of these very parties, in a milliner's shop in Leicester Fields. To what good-natured pen we are indebted for that invention, and whether they meant ill or well to both parties, God knows; but there was such a story rais'd. The Duke reading of this transaction, and alarmed at it, conceived it to be right to take the first opportunity of seeing Lady Grosvenor, and he made a journey to St. Albans on purpose to meet her, and sent her word of it by a dispatch that was sent before he set out.

Well, but why an assignation at St. Albans? Why not wait till she came to town? Why not come to explanations, if necessary, in a more public manner? And why not find a proper place, and circumstances necessary to talk about it? To all these why's, I can give but one answer. I admit, to have waited till she came to town, would have been better, and to have had an explanation more public; but circumstanced as these parties were, it was not natural in them to do what parties that had no sort of intercourse together probably would have done, but would have waited for a more convenient opportunity to come together. In the way they were thinking of each other, it was to be communicated that moment they read it, or as soon as possibly he could reach her, was the proper time; and there was nothing in that could prove the Duke imprudent; it was proper for him to go and converse with her about it, and talk the business over, in order to contrive how to find out the authors of this scandal, that it might not go beyond the mark, though the occasion for it might be given in a less degree than what had really passed. The Duke then went down to St. Albans, followed by his servant, for the purpose of talking with Lady Grosvenor. The gentlemen may say, what the Duke says is no evidence; why do we not prove that? When he went into this room, it appears in evidence, he was apprized they should be observed there, but he did not expect the door would be burst open; they did not expect any body had been so commissioned, or was disposed, if commissioned, to have gone that length; but they supposed there would be people through the holes that were made, that would be attentive to what they could hear or see them do. In the way in which this has been conducted, the one way and the other, it does not appear to me to be a clear proof of a criminal transaction. It may be asked, Why should he have gone into the room, and have chosen to have sat upon that bed, at the side to conceal himself behind the curtain? It may be said, Was it not extraordinary, that he should go so far imprudently, as to put himself in their power? and that he should conceal himself as far as he could from their observation, by sitting behind the curtain? It is to be sure very imprudent conduct, and so far very indefensible conduct. But can you suppose in that situation, knowing, or having reason to believe, some person or persons were looking through the door, if the parties had but one grain of understanding, would they transact that part of the criminal conversation upon that bed, and such spectators round? Their sitting upon one side of the bed would produce other sounds to the conversation, not so easily to be heard; but the bed itself, in other circumstances, would have betrayed from the appearance and condition of it, what passed there, if it had been so circumstanced to contrive to prove what had past there.

We are told when the door was burst open, the Duke and Lady Grosvenor were both found in the room; the Duke, all the witnesses agree, standing in the middle of the room; Lady Grosvenor, they all agree, was going or standing near the door, which led into an adjoining room; two footmen were in the room with the rest that came in,  
and

and either one of them, or both, suppose themselves to have seen the Duke in the act of buttoning his waistcoat. I did expect from the opening a different sort of buttoning, I do confess, but the witnesses supposed themselves to have seen the Duke buttoning his waistcoat. The same two witnesses suppose themselves to have seen Lady Grosvenor's neck bare, and it seems she wore a sort of dress which is calculated to come close about the neck; the Lady they saw in the act of falling against the door: she did in fact fall into the next room; whether they saw her neck bare, proceeding from that accident, or their imaginations supplied them with that circumstance, I do not know; it is impossible to be certain: it is natural both parties should appear in the confusion represented; they did not think their conversation would have been so interrupted, nor the door burst open. The door, it seems, burst from its hinges; it burst open at once, and all this goodly company burst into the room, and so broke in upon their conversation: and they must be still more confused, when you consider them circumstanced as these parties were. Now, Gentlemen, I can myself conceive, that without any intentional aggravation in both those servants, they might be mistaken in those two circumstances, I mentioned concerning the appearance of the undress of the parties. When the two witnesses, their employers, the one, I think, is a steward, and the other an officer in the militia, and a friend of Lord Grosvenor's, both of whom came there for that purpose, when they both tell you neither one nor the other saw any such circumstance; can you suppose Mr. Stephens, the borer of the holes through the door; can you suppose Mr. Stephens the adjutant, who came from London for the purpose of seeing them; can you suppose the one or the other inattentive? can you suppose it true, when one did represent himself as got into the room first, and they were all in the room immediately after, so soon as there was no difference in time material? He was the first man in the room, and neither he nor his brother saw either of these material circumstances that the footmen suppose themselves to have seen: and I have no doubt, that both those gentlemen would have proved those circumstances, if they had been visible. Consider their attention from waiting the whole scene, which was the effect of their own contrivance: it cannot be doubted they saw all that was to be seen, and they have not added this sort of exaggerated circumstance; I don't mean to say aggravated neither, but in the confusion in which the servants and all were in, this kind of scene which they were not very well accustomed to, they suppose themselves to have seen what never had passed; if it had, it would have been witnessed by the two Stephens's. For upon the observation of what is proved by all the four witnesses to have passed, founded upon what knowledge the Duke carried with him in the room, you are, I trust, to be convinced nothing passed in that room to the purpose of which unbuttoning was necessary. Can you suppose the parties were so employed? the situation of the Lady might be the effect of that fall which proceeded from her going into the next room. The confusion of the Duke of Cumberland, from the transactions of that night, might cause that to pass, which the witnesses declare to have passed, from the effect of wonder caused by what had passed in the room; if it passed, it would be the effect of wonder which this scene produced. Does it import any thing more, than his not having presence of mind, or being exceedingly apprehensive of a misrepresentation and exaggeration, and afraid a much worse construction would be put on it than the transaction itself when properly known would bear? I don't wonder, upon the whole, that the Duke should talk improperly, and hold a foolish conversation; I don't wonder that those expressions did pass upon it, "I will take my Bible oath I was not there." That is a farce, for people of his high rank are not very apt to be found in such situations, and it is in fact much more likely to be their own invention than his expression. That he denied his being there, is very probable, and that his expressions and his language was different from that, is likewise very probable.—Gentlemen, I have not wittingly or designedly concealed any part of the evidence; then what is there more than these four heads, that of itself produces that strong, clear, and necessary conclusion, which my learned friend supposed would result from it, or affords that irresistible conviction he thought it would carry? These four heads of evidence, each separately considered, will not answer the purpose, yet, *juncta juvant*, all together will answer what none of them separately would perform. It is a very common argument, and stated and circumstanced as we are, we are often driven to make the best of them: but *juncta juvant* is not for the first time introduced; I have often heard that that put together, has more weight than separate circumstances, which, whilst they are separate, prove nothing; when together, they can prove no more: and to the end of the multiplication table, as many nothings as you please, and something will be the produce of them. What is there in one, or in all these circumstances put together, than what I in the outset admitted, That these parties had

formed an imprudent, and if you please, a violent attachment to each other, or a violent passion for each other? all this may be true, and yet criminal intercourse never have passed between them, as the action supposes. If the passion must have preceded, yet the passion may have happened, and not what my learned friend supposes the gratification, and indulgence of it have passed: yet the passion might have subsisted with the most perfect innocence of that crime with which he is charged in this action; all that has been given in evidence therefore, can afford no proof of his guilt. I think the argument is fair, for no man's guilt can be proved by any evidence that is compatible with his innocence.—Gentlemen, I do not dispute with my learned friend in some observations that he set out with, upon the nature of the evidence, and how this sort of evidence is to be supported; he says, It will hardly be insisted, nor will it by me, that the evidence of ocular witnesses seeing the fact is necessary to establish a proof of it. He says, and truly, in these cases circumstances may be such as make the conclusion as necessary, and the conviction as irresistible, as if the charge was supported by ocular witnesses, or more so. I am ready to admit there may be circumstances that would make it as much so; but admitting that I must go a great deal further in my admission, or his argument will not supply his cause. I do not contend that the conclusion must be necessary, nor inevitable in this cause; but I admit, because I can in no cause deny, that a charge may be proved by circumstances; it is true in all civil causes, it is equally true in all criminal causes, that there is no charge so high, or none so small, but may be proved by circumstances: but then you will take along with you the nature of the guilt, and the point which ought to influence the consideration of the court, in weighing such circumstances, and judging whether they do or not produce, or afford that necessary conviction. If a man is found weltering in his blood, with a sword through his body, though no man saw him murdered, every man sees that which necessarily infers he is murdered, whether by himself or another, *non constat*; if it appears he was not his own murderer, yet it appears it must have been committed by some other person; if it could be proved who was the person that committed the murder, yet still his will must be proved to convict him. If a man is found in the situation I before described, and another person is seen running out of the room with a drawn sword in his hand bloody, that affords what the law calls a violent presumption; and though it is not full proof, yet the conclusion of it seems irresistible, that he was the murderer; which is all that can be admitted upon the head of presumptive evidence: in Lord Coke's words it is thus explained, Probable presumption moves little, *presumptio levis*, which moves not at all; and that which the laws say, and the laws of common sense say, that those circumstances that support a violent presumption, import a full proof tantamount; yet any circumstance short of that will not do: there may be probable circumstances that will do in one case, that go not at all to another; and the degree of conclusion or inference that these violent presumptions afford, is, that they must be carried to their true pitch, so that the proof may not be mistaken, or confounded with that which is not proved; and if the circumstances so to be proved, afford an instance of a lesser degree of guilt than the action supposes, then that is no proof at all: and it is plain that there never was, from the commencement of the correspondence between the parties, to this moment, a criminal instance between them; and all the evidence put together, will not afford that violent presumption which affords full proof; and therefore the evidence being insufficient, it will not gain a verdict which the plaintiff expects: for you will not, I am persuaded, be induced to judge of it in the same manner as if full proof had been given you; and you will attend to no arguments, but give a verdict according to your own understanding, and apply these rules in the way I have taken the liberty to tell you them, corrected, as I apprehend they will be in the way, before you give your opinion upon the cause; and I trust, and am persuaded, you will think the evidence that has been given, is insufficient to entitle the plaintiff to a verdict. Gentlemen, you are told, upon the head of damages, that if you should give the plaintiff a verdict, which I trust you will not, then you have nothing to do, but to applaud the moderation of that pecuniary compensation, which the plaintiff, though unacquainted with the extent of his own injuries, has been prompted by his agents to state upon this record for 100,000*l.* which my learned friend says is far too little for the defendant to pay, or the plaintiff to receive: and for the purposes of making out that singular proposition, you are told, the *quantum* of damages in all causes depends upon the nature of the injury, and the rank of the parties. I shall beg leave to suppose there are some other circumstances must occur in the consideration of damages, that not only the nature of the injury, but the conduct of the party complaining of that injury, makes a material ingredient in that consideration, and the circumstances of the parties; and I believe

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I shall not find myself mistaken in supposing these two topics are very fit to be added to the others, if you should find yourselves obliged to come to that stage of the case in which these considerations are material. Gentlemen, it is said, this is the first instance of an action of this sort brought against a prince of the blood, but that it depends upon you whether it shall be the last. It does depend upon you indeed; for if slighter evidence than you would require in other cases, and if the consideration of the rank of either party, or their idea of having to deal with a prince of the blood, makes a consideration of your verdict for the parties, this would not then be the last that might be brought; for if circumstances consistent with the absolute negative of that which they must prove in the affirmative, would gain a verdict in their favour, there are numbers of those who would find frequent instances for similar actions. Gentlemen, the conduct of princes, it is said, is an object of great national concern; and that the conduct of this prince is more extravagantly vitiated, as he has that example of youthful tenderness, and conjugal fidelity in his family. Gentlemen, the conduct of princes is certainly a great national concern, if by princes is understood, that prince whose example, and whose conduct men are to look to, with whom the nation and state, as a state, has to do: and though there is a rank of men known in a neighbouring country, by the distinction of princes of the blood, that hold a separate state, God be thanked, there is no such order of men in this country; and I know but of one prince, whose conduct can be a national concern, which is that prince who has the sole executive authority, and who has a large share of the legislative authority in the state, and whose conduct, in every instance, is therefore a national concern, and whose conduct is, and I trust ever will be found by those who are most attentive to national concerns, such as they would wish it to be. As to distinguishing this prince, against whom this action is brought, from the rest of the people, every man that hears me, that is distinguished by high rank or low rank, or no rank at all, is no less an object of national concern; and therefore I must beg leave to dismiss from your consideration that influence in your passions, in the way in which I am persuaded you will not permit them to be influenced. It is said it will be known from the consequences of large damages to what degree you carry your resentment, and that no banishment, no imprisonment, nor any thing of that sort can be apprehended here upon that account. Does my learned friend not know, nor suppose you to know, how disproportionate the funds of any subject in this kingdom are to such aggravated damages? or does he suppose it will weigh with you, to give higher damages than the plaintiff demands, upon a supposition it will be paid by another? does he imagine it will be the case for one man to pay for the fault of another, and that the expence would fall upon those that have no share in it? I trust you will correct that misconception, and another misconception, that it is not the merits, or the conduct of the plaintiff, but the defendant's conduct that you ought to look to; and that it is not what the plaintiff ought to receive, but what the defendant ought to pay: now I have never heard the consideration of what the defendant ought to pay made the consideration of damages; I have always understood it to be what is the plaintiff under all the circumstances to receive: I understand this is a criminal cause, and not a civil one, and my learned friend was so kind as to say he would assent to that doctrine: but I don't see I have any interest to contend for that proposition; my judgement don't lead me to contend for it; not that it merits an iota, when I consider what is to be observed in the consideration of damages. It is something materially distinguishable, that it is not an action for punishment, not an action for example, not an action for vengeance, but it is what the terms of the action import, a claim for a civil reparation for a civil injury; it is certain this is not an action for punishment, it never occurred to me once to suppose it was, and I am as little disposed to assent to that doctrine, as to require my learned friend to assent to that doctrine; it is certainly nothing like it. But the action being such as it is, you will consider the circumstances; you will forget the parties; you shall forget, if you please, that the plaintiff is a peer of the realm, and the defendant a prince of the blood, and I will consent you should think the plaintiff the injured husband.—In Ireland you are told there was a cause, where the indignation of the jury led them to give such damages as drove the defendant out of the kingdom: I don't know what so drove the jury, whoever the parties were, and whatever the motives were that produced such indignation; I say it must be in Ireland, if any where, that the jury could suppose themselves at liberty in trying a civil or criminal action, to give way to their indignation, if ever so fit, that was not the time nor place to be so actuated by indignation;—and I hope, Gentlemen, they will not be copied by you. Then there is a case in which a large sum of money was given, which ended in perpetual imprisonment;



ment; the laws have provided no such punishment, but have taken care it should not be the consequence of such actions as these, at least they ought not to be the intended and intentional consequence of such actions as these: the jury ought not so to consider the subject; it is taking up the province when they are entrusted with no such power. It is said there was an action brought by a prince of the blood, and the jury gave him 100,000*l.* in damages; does he tell you when it was the sum was recovered? that the action was brought for words spoken of the then Duke of York, and he had the good fortune to meet with one of those indignant juries, and at the close of the trial they gave 100,000*l.* to the heir of the crown against one Doctor Oates, for speaking scandalous words of the Duke. Could my learned friend mean any other than to reprobate it, and to say you should try like those men that tried in that action against this prince of the blood, because that jury gave 100,000*l.* for that prince, you should give 100,000*l.* against this prince? Does this case discover any resemblance in parties, or any resemblance of the subject? I am sure there is not the least; but among all the extravagant, illegal, and violent acts that juries have done, the whole compass of actions put together since that time, or before, could not have furnished such an one as that which my learned friend has now hinted at. Gentlemen, I exhort you not to be angry, like the jury in Ireland; not to condemn to perpetual imprisonment, like some other jury; and not to copy the jury in the end of Charles II's time, against Doctor Oates. My learned friend tells you, that from the crowded audience, the people are anxious to see how far your resentment will carry you, and he is confident to say the public will not be disappointed. I am convinced they don't come here for such a purpose; if there is such an one that does, I am confident he will go home disappointed, for I am perfectly sure he will go away taught to correct that mistake, and learn that your resentment will not carry you away one jot; that you will not be actuated by such resentment, nor such passions; but that it will be received by you as in deference to your better judgement it ought to be. I have not done with the first part of this proposition intirely: you may, if you please, forget who the plaintiff is, that he is a peer of the realm; and you may know him only in the degree of an injured husband. I sincerely wish it were consistent with my duty to leave you here, knowing the plaintiff in no other character than an husband, knowing or supposing himself to be injured: I wish it was permitted to me not to bring before you any thing more respecting who the parties are, or what their conduct has been; but I beg leave to insist, confident of not being mistaken in insisting, it is not necessary who the plaintiff is, if there was no other evidence could be produced imputable to him than that of an injured husband; but if it should be found that that affection which thus had produced this match, ended with the match it produced; if it should be found that that blame, which in a very large, if you please, in any degree short of that which the action supposes, is imputable to the parties, which, though we have been short of tracing, is not confined to them; if it should be found, how regardless soever the defendant may have been of that better example, to which it seems it behoved him to have regard to his conduct, that the unhappy Lady had not that better example to have guided her conduct; if it should be found the plaintiff, by any transaction of his, led the way to produce the mischief which it is said has happened; if it should be found not to be inattention upon her part alone; if the plaintiff should be found to have given the example of improper and criminal passions, by first receiving, entertaining, and indulging criminal passions; if all this should be found true, I trust you will not conceive this immaterial, in the consideration of the action in the two parts in which it subdivides itself. To speak in the expressions of his letter, which are rather borrowed, "That those which should feel, do not feel the treasure they possess;" if it should be found to be truly said, you will not conceive this to be immaterial; but you will consider this, as I hope you will have occasion to consider it, as affording a degree of extenuation, and a degree of apology for the blameable conduct of the unfortunate Lady in this instance; or whether driven, as I flatter myself you will not, to consider it in the head of damages; but in both it is not irrelevant, in both it will be proper for your consideration.

Gentlemen, I am now proceeding to what I feel is a very painful and disagreeable part of my duty; I wish occasion had not been given for it, and it had not been exacted of me, not only for my own sake, but to have spared me this disagreeable task, which is the occasion that brings you and me together, and about which I am now talking; and I am most confident it would have never existed, if my instructions were not true, which I am now going to speak about. I am given to understand, it is no secret to any, but is a notorious circumstance, as transactions of this

fort in no case can be secret: but from the moment which formed that relation which gives the plaintiff a title to this action, from that moment to the present hour, as well as before, the plaintiff, my Lord Grosvenor, openly, publicly, and notoriously has lived himself in a constant violation of that right, the violation of which he now complains. I know that the manners of the world, and the fashions, and the cut of the garment, if I may call it so, has made distinctions where the nature of the case makes none; and as it is thought by some, to impose that obligation of chastity and fidelity upon one of the contracting parties, which the other thinks himself at liberty, from the moment it becomes his duty, to disregard; but distinctions founded upon fashion, is not the distinction you will adopt: but if you find he has injured her in the same way she is charged to have injured him, had the proof of it been as perfect from the evidence, as I take the liberty to tell you it is imperfect, that will not entitle the plaintiff to a verdict; and instead of considering the damages above all pecuniary damages, instead of considering 100,000 pounds as a moderate sum, the smallest coin the kingdom knows would be more proper. My learned friend says, the question is, What ought the defendant, considering his high rank, to pay in damages? but I trust I shall have my Lord's concurrence in telling you, the question only is, What ought the plaintiff, under all the circumstances, to receive? the consideration of damages, I persuade myself, will not be material, but the evidence will be material to account for the conduct of the parties: it will extenuate, it will explain and apologize, as well for the degree of blame the parties have incurred in this transaction. What is so natural as that young women should look to form attachments elsewhere, which they are disappointed in, not having them at home? But it is natural, what the one thinks himself at liberty to do, the other should think herself at liberty to do; and that sort of conduct which would have appeared in this Lady, or the other Lady, in any other case, or any other husband, would certainly naturally appear in a very different light, in the case of such a husband as I am instructed the plaintiff has been. I am told Lord Grosvenor's utter inattention to this duty, is among things most notorious to those whose age, temper, and way of life, cause them to see what passes in certain places about this town. If I was speaking to a jury of such sort of men I am now alluding to, to have produced proof or cases in particular circumstances, would have been a superfluous task, it would have been only proving what they had seen before; but it is necessary for me now to state and prove to you, what I am instructed to prove to you, without which you ought to pay no regard to what I speak. I am given to understand, though difficult as such a business as this in its nature is to get at the proof of, because thousands of women will do that which none of them can be brought into a court of justice to acknowledge; people cannot be compelled to prove transactions of this sort; if they could, I have names enough in my brief, to bring as many witnesses as they have called; but I have no right to call them in that degree. I must put the question only to such witnesses as will answer, and overcome that difficulty; and I am persuaded that some will be presented to you, some who are the unhappy subjects of these criminal proceedings of the plaintiff, where there are not instances of affection, no love-letters, no fancies, no raptures, no dreams, but positive, substantive, and substantial instances of the violation of that duty, which you are desired to believe has been violated against this Gentleman. Some more decently, others less decently, some speaking about the time this transaction is said to have happened between Lady Grosvenor and the defendant; some to times precedent, some to times subsequent; and one at last goes back to the very period of the marriage, which was proved to-day by the reverend Mr. Taylor; from that time, there are instances which would take a great scope to tell, will appear in proof before you. Mr. Stephens forgets, and does not recollect, all the business, which he supposes will be some part of the object of your inquiry; he forgets Polly, Charlotte, Jenny, Betty, and such names as he may recollect; his memory may be as defective as his brother's organs of hearing are, and may be as incapable of recollecting those things; but does he remember no names? He does remember some Lady who came to the Castle at Chester, but who that Lady is he don't know; bye and bye you will know; I shall call one or two of those witnesses without saying more about it. I do not speak beyond my instructions, and I believe I shall not be held down in the sort of evidence I have in command to lay before you upon this part of the cause; I only tell you it is for that reason I refer to it again, that the purpose of this evidence may not be misunderstood; not that I call this evidence simply to the head of damages, nor as importing the smallest degree of consideration that can be material for

you; but I call this evidence as equally material to both parties in the cause; it is at least necessary to afford such apology and extenuation for the conduct of the parties as the nature of the case will admit; that conduct I defend, and insist upon defending strenuously; though in some cases I admit her conduct would be indefensible, yet if this evidence comes up to my instructions, I am persuaded you will not find a verdict for the plaintiff. I shall now only make an apology for myself, for the time I have taken; I am sure the importance of the question will afford an apology for me, in having gone through this so minutely upon the observations made by the council for the plaintiff, and the different degrees of evidence produced to support it. If I have gone no farther than the purpose of impressing you with a belief, that this transaction is not blameable to the purpose of this action, I shall be happy in contributing my mite to this important point; and conceiving the evidence insufficient to support that action, I trust you will find a verdict for the defendant, when you have weighed the grounds upon which I have presumed to stand.

*Mr. Skinner.* My Lord, I have a great deal of evidence in my brief, to prove that Lord Grosvenor has been guilty of violating the rights of marriage in many instances, and I hope that will extenuate and apologise for the conduct of Lady Grosvenor, and not be thought an immaterial circumstance for the consideration of the jury; the first I shall call is Mrs. Langford, who is mistress of the White-hart inn at St. Albans.

*Mrs. LANGFORD sworn. Examined by Mr. Skinner.*

*Q.* Do you remember Lady Grosvenor coming to your house upon the twenty-first of December last?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* Do you remember the Duke of Cumberland coming to your house?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* Can you think of the time the Duke came to your house? can you remember the circumstances of being present in the room at the examination of the bed after the door of Lady Grosvenor's room was burst open?

*A.* Nobody asked me to look at it.

*Q.* Was it not when they were making observations upon the bed you was there?

*A.* No, Sir.

*Q.* Was not Stephens there?

*A.* No, not at the time I was looking at it by myself.

*Q.* How soon after the door was broke open did you come into the room?

*A.* Some time after.

*Q.* Did you hear the noise it occasioned?

*A.* Yes, to be sure.

*Q.* How soon after the noise of that alarm did you go there?

*A.* Twenty minutes.

*Q.* Who did you see there in the room?

*A.* Lord Grosvenor's servants.

*Q.* Having found them in the room, did you while they were in the room look at the bed?

*A.* I looked at it when they were gone.

*Q.* Did you look at it before they were gone? Did you come a second time?

*A.* No, Sir.

*Q.* How did you find the bed?

*A.* I found the bed, my lord, as if it had been sat upon by somebody.

*Q.* What part of the bed was it that had that impression?

*A.* The side next the fire.

*Q.* How far did you think the impression was made?

*A.* So much as any body might sit upon it once or twice.

*Q.* The impression was so far as a person sitting upon the bed, but did not look as if it had been lain in?

*A.* The Lady might sit down once or twice, but it had not the appearance of being lain in by nobody.

*Q.* When you came into the room Lady Grosvenor was there?

*A.* Lady Grosvenor was not in the room when I came in, but in the adjoining room.

*Q.* The servants had not left the room then?

*A.* No.

A. No.

Q. In what situation was Lady Grosvenor's dress?

A. Just as she came into my house; I had took notice of the dress when she came into the house, and it was just the same when I saw her again, and her head-dress was just as when the Lady came into the room.

*Court.* What dress was she in?

A. A plain hood, my lord; in that dress I saw her, and in that dress I found her, with high curls turned round.

*Cross Examination.*

Q. How long was it before you went up stairs after the door was broke open?

A. It was some time before I went up; the fright was so great at the breaking open the door it frightened me, and I had not strength nor spirits to go up.

Q. You found Lady Grosvenor in the other room?

A. Yes.

Q. Standing?

A. No, she was walking about.

Q. What was the appearance of the bed?

A. As if a person had sat upon it once or twice.

Q. The sheet was not rumbled by that?

A. The sheet was not rumbled, not where any body used to lay.

Q. Was the bed straightened down?

A. It looked as if it had been sat on, it did not look as if it had been lain in.

Q. How was it towards the foot of the bed?

A. Towards the foot just as it was made first.

Q. Did you observe the bed very carefully?

A. I looked at it, I could do no more, no body bid me look at it.

Q. Have you never told any person that you did not look particularly at the bed?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Not the next morning at St. Albans?

A. I told them it looked as if it had been sat upon.

Q. Did you not tell that gentleman, that you did not particularly observe the bed?

A. I don't know that I did.

Q. I don't talk of Mr. Stephens, nor you don't mean of Mr. Stephens, you mean another person?

A. No Sir, no person.

Q. Had you no conversation with a gentleman that came down to St. Albans, upon what observations had occurred to you the night before?

A. Yes, Sir, two gentlemen.

Q. What did you tell them?

A. I told the gentlemen the bed looked as if it had been sat upon.

Q. Did not you say these words, you did not recollect looking at the bed?

A. I recollect I did tell them something about it, but I can't tell what it was in particular.

*SARAH GILEY sworn and examined.*

Q. Was you the chambermaid at the White-hart inn at St. Albans, at the time Lady Grosvenor's door was broke open?

A. Yes.

Q. At what time did you go into the room?

A. I went in some time after the door was broke open.

Q. What did you see when you went in?

A. I saw Lady Grosvenor's servants and the waiter there when I first went in.

Q. Did you see Lady Grosvenor there?

A. Yes, I saw Lady Grosvenor.

Q. What dress was she in?

A. In the same dress as she was in all the evening.

Q. Was her hair dishevel'd?

A. No, Sir, her head was drest still, and just the same as it was all the evening.

Q. Did

- Q. Did you observe the bed ?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. In what condition was the bed ?  
 A. It was rumpled upon one side, where two people might sit there.  
 Q. Upon which side was that ?  
 A. The side next the fire-place.  
 Q. Had it not the appearance of being lain on ?  
 A. No, Sir.  
 Q. How far was it dented down ?  
 A. Not a bit near the head.  
 Q. I believe you warmed my Lady's bed ?  
 A. Yes, my Lord, twice.  
 Q. Do you remember any thing particular of the sheets being tumbled ?  
 A. The sheet where they might have sat on was a little rumpled just where they sat.

*Cross Examination by Plaintiff's Council.*

- Q. You are a chambermaid ?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. You warmed my Lady's bed at night ?  
 A. I did.  
 Q. When you left my Lady, in what situation was the lock of the door ?  
 A. The lock of the door was very well.  
 Q. On what side was the key ?  
 A. The key was on the outside, I gave it my Lady in the inside.  
 Q. Did my Lady lock the door ?  
 A. I don't know, I did not hear her put the key in the door nor lock it.  
 Q. You say the bed was flatted, I ask you if it was not much tumbled ?  
 A. It was not much tumbled.  
 Q. I ask you if it did not appear as if some persons had lain upon it ?  
 A. It did not appear to me as if any body had lain upon it at all.  
 Q. Were the sheets tumbled or crumpled into heaps ?  
 A. The corner where they might have sat, and that was all.  
 Q. I ask you whether you have ever said that the bed was tumbled, and that you thought some persons must have lain upon it ?  
 A. I never said so.  
 Q. Did any body ask you to give an account the very day after this affair happened ?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. Did you give an account in writing ?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. Is that your hand-writing ? producing a paper.  
 A. Yes, that is my writing.  
 Q. Was this the day after this had happened, when every thing was fresh in your memory ?  
 A. I was rather flurried, Sir.  
 Q. How long did that flurry continue ?  
 A. I did not recollect things so soon after the transaction, as I do now.  
 Q. Could not you then have recollected that the bed was much tumbled, or that it was not tumbled ? How came you to say the bed was tumbled, and the sheets tumbled also, and shoved into heaps, so that you thought some persons must have laid upon the bed ?  
 A. I did not say no such a thing.  
 Q. Nor you did not sign any such thing ?  
 A. No, Sir.  
 Q. Is that the paper you signed, good woman ?  
 A. That is my name upon the bottom.  
 Q. Was it read to you ?  
 A. It was.  
 Q. Was this paper you signed the day after read to you by any body ?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Do you see the gentleman in court that read it to you ?

A. It might be, for any thing I know, I don't remember.

*Court.* Was no such thing read to you as has been repeated?

A. Yes, it was.

*Court.* Repeat the words, and ask her if she heard it read.

*Council reading.* "She was desired to take notice of the bed, which she did, and saw  
"it was much tumbled and laid flat; and she said, It was not so tumbled when I left  
"it; I did not make the bed in so slovenly a manner; the sheets were tumbled and  
"rumped into heaps, and were not so when I left them."

*Sarah Gilby.* They took me to the bed to shew it me; I said, I did not leave my  
Lady's bed in so slovenly a manner; what my Lady did to it after, I could not tell.

Q. But this was read to you I have now read to you?

A. Yes.

Q. And you signed it?

A. There is my name to it.

Q. This paper was read to you, and you signed it?

A. It was, I signed it.

Q. Did you think the day after it was truth?

A. No, Sir; I don't think it was.

Q. How came you to sign it then?

A. I don't know.

Q. You say you did hear it read?

A. I might not take such particular notice of it.

THOMAS ROBINSON *sworn. Examined by Defendant's Council.*

Q. Do you remember the night when the door of Lady Grosvenor's room was broke open?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Did you observe the bed?

A. Yes, Sir, I did.

Q. How soon after the door was broke open?

A. About five minutes.

Q. What was the appearance of the bed?

A. It seemed only to be rumped upon that side next the fire place.

Q. How rumped? What was the appearance?

A. It seemed as if some body had sat upon it.

Q. Was there not the appearance as if some body had laid upon it?

A. None at all.

*Cross Examination. Plaintiff's Council.*

Q. Did you mean to say one or two people?

A. One or two.

Q. What account did you give of it the next morning?

A. I believe that is the account of it.

Q. And you never said it had been tossed and tumbled as if some body had laid upon it?

A. No, Sir.

Mrs. BEAU GERMAIN *sworn. Examined by Defendant's Council.*

Q. Are you acquainted with Lord Grosvenor?

A. Yes, Sir; particularly.

Q. How long have you known him?

A. I have not been acquainted with him since the year 1768.

Q. In what year did you know him first?

A. I knew him first in the year 1768.

Q. By whose means did you become acquainted with my Lord Grosvenor?

A. By means of Mrs. Muilman.

Q. Where did she live?

A. In Crown Court, Westminster.

Q. Do you recollect the time of being introduced by Mrs. Muilman?

A. I did not see my Lord Grosvenor at Mrs. Muilman's house.

Q

Q. Where

- Q. Where then did you see him?  
 A. I first saw my Lord in Jermyn Street at a stay-maker's.  
 Q. Were you known at this stay-maker's?  
 A. No; it was a lodging that Mrs. Muilman's maid took by chance.  
 Q. For whom was that lodging taken?  
 A. For me.  
 Q. How soon after you had been at that lodging did you see Lord Grosvenor?  
 A. The next day.  
 Q. Do you know how long that lodging had been taken?  
 A. It was taken, and upon my word I don't exactly remember the time.  
 Q. For what purpose was it taken?  
 A. It was taken for me to see my Lord Grosvenor in.  
 Q. Did you see my Lord Grosvenor there?  
 A. Yes; the second day.  
 Q. What passed between my Lord Grosvenor and you that day when you saw him there?  
 A. Nothing that day, only Mrs. Muilman wrote concerning a picture: we went that day to see the picture, which was somewhere in Westminster, but where, I don't know.  
 Q. How soon after that day did you see his Lordship again?  
 A. The next day he came, but I was not at home, and it was the day after I saw him again.  
 Q. What passed between his Lordship and you that next day?  
 A. I had particular connexion between my Lord Grosvenor and I.  
 Q. Particular connexions! of what kind, Madam?  
 A. Connexions as between man and wife.  
 Q. Did these connexions continue?  
 A. Yes; several times.  
 Q. For how long?  
 A. Not several times that day, but several different days my Lord came and continued his visits.  
 Q. By what name, Madam, was you known to Lord Grosvenor?  
 A. Sarah King.  
 Q. How long did you continue in this lodging in Jermyn Street?  
 A. Upon my word, I can't exactly remember; I believe about two or three weeks, or so.  
 Q. Did your connexions of the kind you have been speaking of, continue with my Lord Grosvenor after you had left that lodging?  
 A. No; I did not write to my Lord Grosvenor again for the space of eight months.  
 Q. Where did you see him, Madam, after you had left that lodging?  
 A. At Miss Woodfall's.  
 Q. Where does she live?  
 A. In Oxford Road, at a place next door to a public house.  
 Q. How often did you see him there?  
 A. Very often.  
 Q. What passed between my Lord and you there?  
 A. The same as before.  
 Q. At that time was you breeding?  
 A. Yes; I was brought to bed in April, in the year 1769.  
 Q. How long was that after you had been acquainted with my Lord Grosvenor?  
 A. I believe, Sir, it was between nine and ten months.  
 Q. Who was the father of that child?  
 A. My Lord Grosvenor.  
 Q. Where did you lye in?  
 A. At Mr. Harper's, Story Street, Tottenham Court Road.  
 Q. Who supplied you with money for those expences?  
 A. My Lord Grosvenor sent a twenty pound note by Miss Woodfall, and Mrs. Burdet, an acquaintance of Mrs. Muilman's and mine; we had it wrote in the name of another person.

*Cross Examination by Plaintiff's Council.*

- Q. Where do you live now, Madam?  
 A. In Orange Street, Leicester Fields. Q. Do

- Q. Do you follow any profession or employment there?  
 A. No, Sir, I am married.  
 Q. What is your husband?  
 A. He was a captain of a ship or vessel in the French service.  
 Q. What is he now?  
 A. At present he waits for his friend's assistance to set up some business.  
 Q. Where does he wait for his friend's assistance? What friend's?  
 A. His brother.  
 Q. Where is his brother?  
 A. At Paris.  
 Q. Where is he? Where does he live?  
 A. Who? my husband?  
 Council. Yes.  
 A. He lives with me. He expects some friendship from his brother.  
 Q. What business does he follow now?  
 A. None, at present.  
 Q. What is the business he is to follow?  
 A. A library.  
 Q. Do you know Mr. Giddings, Madam?  
 A. No; upon my word I don't remember him.  
 Q. He is gentleman porter to the Duke of Cumberland?  
 A. Yes; I believe I have seen him.  
 Q. Where have you seen him?  
 A. I think I saw him, to the best of my knowledge; he came to a gentleman in my house.  
 Q. Who introduced Mr. Giddings to him? How came he to know there was such a woman as you? Who introduced him?  
 A. My servants, I believe.  
 Q. Is he acquainted with your servant?  
 A. Not as I know of.  
 Q. How came he to your house then?  
 A. He came with business, he came with an assignation to come here.  
 Q. How came he to think it would be of any use to make an assignation for you to come here?  
 A. I don't know.  
 Q. Now, when he came to you, did you tell him the story you have told here?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. Is there any friendship between you and Mr. Giddings now?  
 A. None at all.  
 Q. Not so much as a present?  
 No answer.  
 Q. Not even a present?  
 A. No; nothing.  
 Q. Not even provision sent to the house?  
 A. No, nothing; only he came and asked me. I have told the truth. I did not think it was any harm. I did it to serve my Lady Grosvenor, and vindicate the cause of my own sex. I think my Lady would not use so true a man as Lord Grosvenor ill.  
 Q. What did you say?  
 A. I said it was impossible that my Lady Grosvenor could have the honour of so true a man as Lord Grosvenor was, and use him ill.  
 Q. So you did not know who Giddings was?  
 A. No.  
 Q. Out of regard to Lady Grosvenor you came here?  
 A. Yes; and if my husband looked over it, I thought there was no harm in it.

*Mrs. How sworn. Examined by Defendant's Council.*

- Q. Do you know Lord Grosvenor?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Have you ever been acquainted with him?  
 A. Yes, my Lord.  
 Q. At what time did your acquaintance begin?  
 A. In May, 1768.

Q. Where



- Q. Where did you live at that time?  
 A. In Glastonbury Court, Long Acre.  
 Q. How came you introduced to Lord Grosvenor?  
 A. By one Mrs. Leslie.  
 Q. At what place was you introduced to him?  
 A. In the house.  
 Q. At Mrs. Leslie's house?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. Was you left alone with Lord Grosvenor?  
 A. Yes, my Lord.  
 Q. What passed between you and Lord Grosvenor the first time you was introduced and left alone with him?  
 A. No otherways than that I heard, I was to lie with Lord Grosvenor.  
 Q. And did you?  
 A. Yes, my Lord, I did.  
 Q. Did you ever see Lord Grosvenor afterwards?  
 A. Yes, my Lord, I did.  
 Q. Where?  
 A. At the same house.  
 Q. How soon afterwards?  
 A. I saw him three days afterwards.  
 Q. Did any thing particular pass then?  
 A. Yes; the same thing over again pass.  
 Q. When did you see him again?  
 A. The next day after, the third day.  
 Q. And what pass then?  
 A. Nothing at all pass then.  
 Q. Did you see my Lord Grosvenor afterwards?  
 A. Yes; about once afterwards.  
 Q. How long afterwards?  
 A. I think about a week afterwards.  
 Q. Did any thing pass then?  
 A. No; nothing in the world; but he was to come to me to take me to a particular place at Hampstead, but he never came to me afterwards.  
 Q. Do you know the occasion of his leaving you?  
 A. No; I do not know any thing of it.

*Cross Examination by Plaintiff's Council.*

- Q. Did you ever see him since?  
 A. I met him a twelve month ago.  
 Q. Did you ever see him before?  
 A. No; that was about the month of May. I saw him afterwards; I spoke to him in the street as I met him.  
 Q. Did he ask you if you knew him?  
 A. Yes.  
 Q. Where do you live now?  
 A. In Castle Street, Long Acre.  
 Q. Are you married?  
 A. No, Sir.  
 Q. Do you know Mr. Giddings?  
 A. No, Sir.  
 Q. Who called upon you to come here?  
 A. No answer.  
 Court. Did you say it was a twelve month ago that you knew him?  
 A. I did.  
 Q. Did you know the person you was speaking to was Lord Grosvenor?  
 A. I do.

*MARY WATEN sworn.*

- Q. Where do you live?  
 A. In Bolton Row.

Q. Do

- Q. Do you know my Lord Grosvenor?  
 A. I do.  
 Q. Do you know of my Lord Grosvenor's having met any woman, and whom, at your house?  
 A. It was not me.  
 Q. Do you know of any such a thing?  
 A. I have heard of it.  
 Q. What do you know yourself? have you ever seen Lord Grosvenor yourself at your house?  
 A. Yes, Sir, I have.  
 Q. What did he come there for?  
 A. To see a pattern of a waistcoat my lodger had at that time.  
 Q. Who was your lodger?  
 A. Her name was Tremilly.  
 Q. Did my Lord Grosvenor meet, or see any body else at your house besides her?  
 A. I don't know. I don't go into my lodgers' apartments to see who they receive. I certainly don't know of any other.  
 Q. Did you ever know any person of the name of Gunning?  
 A. I do not.  
 Q. Are you certain no such person was there?  
 A. It might be so; but I really don't know.  
 Q. What was this woman, your lodger?  
 A. A sort of milliner, fold ruffles, and had cording for waistcoats and coats.  
 Q. When my Lord Grosvenor was there at any time, did you ever hear him speak of any thing that had passed between him and any woman there?  
 A. No; never.  
 Q. Did you ever hear him complain of any deception or ill usage put upon him there?  
 A. No; I really do not.

ANN TREMILLY *sworn. Examined.*

- Q. Do you know my Lord Grosvenor?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Do you lodge at Mrs. Waten's?  
 A. No, Sir.  
 Q. You know my Lord Grosvenor, you say?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Did Lord Grosvenor ever come to the house where you lodge?  
 A. Never, Sir; not to this present place where I live now.  
 Q. Have you ever lodged at Mrs. Waten's?  
 A. I have lodged at Mrs. Waten's.  
 Q. Lord Grosvenor came there to you, what might be his business there? What did he come for?  
 A. Mrs. Waten wanted Lord Grosvenor to give her charity, and begged he would relieve her and her family, for they wanted money; and Mrs. Waten did get me to speak to my Lord Grosvenor for her.  
 Q. When Lord Grosvenor came to the house, I ask you what he came there for?  
 A. Mrs. Waten had wrote him a letter, and he asked what business Mrs. Waten had to write to him for charity; I said she was a woman much in distress, and that he was so good and charitable.  
 Court. Do I take it right, Mrs. Waten had wrote to him for charity?  
 A. Yes, my Lord.  
 Q. Did you know any woman in the house of the name of Gunning?  
 A. Yes; I do.  
 Q. Do you know whether my Lord Grosvenor and that woman met at this house?  
 A. Yes, Sir.  
 Q. Tell what you know of that meeting? how it came about? and what was the purpose of it?  
 A. My Lord, Mrs. Waten did think if she could get this woman to see company, she would be relieved, and he came for this purpose, but my Lord did not like Miss Gunning.

Gunning; but the girl was in distress, when he said, I will give you a little trifle, tell me what place you want.

Q. Do you know any thing else that passed with my Lord and Gunning?

A. I don't know any thing passed with Miss Gunning, only honesty; I see nothing but what was honest, and what should be.

Q. In what part of the house were my Lord and this Miss Gunning together?

A. My Lord was in the parlour, and I was with Miss Gunning in the other parlour, and Miss Gunning went into the parlour to Lord Grosvenor; after that I was called in, and he staid a minute with Mrs. Gunning, and I was called out of the room.

Q. Who was with Miss Gunning and my Lord when you came out?

A. There was no body left in the room with Miss Gunning and my Lord, but they were not above a minute together.

Q. Did they go into any room besides that?

A. I did not see that.

Q. Do you know whether they did or not go up stairs?

A. They did not go up stairs, my Lord.

Q. Was it once only, or more than once, that you saw Miss Gunning and my Lord there?

A. Miss Gunning slept twice with me.

Q. Was my Lord with Miss Gunning more than once?

A. He came twice.

Q. What passed the second time when he came between him and Miss Gunning?

A. I did not see nothing.

Q. Where were they together when he came the second time?

A. In the parlour.

Q. Was any body with them, or were they alone?

A. I was all the time there.

Q. Did you ever hear my Lord Grosvenor say any thing, or complain of any thing that had passed between Miss Gunning and him?

A. No, my Lord, I heard nothing of that; he had nothing at all to do with Mrs. Gunning.

Q. What was it you heard him say?

A. He had nothing to do with Miss Gunning, and she told me the same; he said he had no affair with Miss Gunning.

Court. What is that she says?

Council. That my Lord Grosvenor said he had no affair with Miss Gunning.

They then called for Mrs. Molesworth, Miss Amelia Pelham, Mrs. Charlotte Hayes, Mrs. Delmé, but they did not appear.

Mr. WEDDERBURN.

MAY it please your Lordship, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, I did not think it would have fallen to my share to have troubled you with a reply; but the nature of the defence, which my learned friend has very truly stated to you, that he was commanded to make upon this occasion, demands of me, in justice to my client, and in justice to the public, to speak in vindication of my client, upon the recent insult which has been now offered to his character; and I do submit to you upon this cause, was it not enough for the noble defendant to have done the injury he has already done to the plaintiff, but he must add to that injury? and against his better judgement, command his council to assert what could not be proved, but has been attempted to be proved? and to call over a muster-roll of the most infamous names in town, none of which has appeared, except the two first wretches, who have sworn to their own incontinency.

I will now consider in what manner to apply the defence, in the consideration of damages for which it was introduced. Gentlemen, there is an injured husband brings an action against the second person in this kingdom, brother to the throne, for that injury. In answer to this, a defence is set up, which the learned council, who opened it, knows to be no defence in point of action. If only a zeal for maintaining Lady Grosvenor's honour, unfortunate and indiscreet as he has stated her to be, there might have been some degree of merit in that state; but this defence has nothing to do with her defence, let it be proved in the way it has been commanded him to open; it would have proved nothing, it would not have acquitted the unfortunate Lady. How has it been proved? You are told from his instructions, and I am sure nothing but instructions, and in-

structions

structions which nothing but commands would have induced him to comply with, in the conduct with which he conducts all causes, to have stated such a defence. That Lord Grosvenor was guilty of violating the sacred rites from the very hour of marriage, and that was notorious, and there was no difficulty of proving it among people that knew him; and though it was so notorious, so very often repeated from the hour of marriage, but four witnesses were called to prove it: the first is Mrs. Beau Germain, who is dressed and brought into court as you have seen, and you have heard the evidence she has given; all bespeak the miserable situation to which that woman is reduced; a husband ill accounted for, and is supposed, God knows where, to be a captain of a ship in the French service now in England, waiting for assistance, and to be got into business. How assistance can be given in England to get a captain lately in the French service any preferment here, that assistance is to come from a brother in Paris. This is the account that is given by a woman, the husband of whom is acquainted with Mr. Giddings. If the husband is of that ability, and her fortune so little as not to afford her that dress, you will judge whence that expence comes; and she says she thinks it the common cause of the sex, and she has the impudence to come here: and this woman has the impudence to tell Lady Grosvenor, that she has the honour of vindicating her as one of her own sex, by relating her own prostitution. She says she lived in Jermy Street, had lodgings taken for her by Mrs. Muilman's maid, at a stay-maker's; she lay-in within a year after, and laid the child to Lord Grosvenor. But what other witnesses is called to confirm that testimony? Is the maid called who hired the lodgings? Is Mrs. Muilman called, who, she says, introduced her to Lord Grosvenor? Are they called? Mrs. Muilman might be compelled to tell, whether she was a bawd or not; the maid might be compelled to tell who she hired that lodging for; the people of the house where she lived might have been compelled to have told you they lodged there; the two other women might have been compelled to have told you, that they had received a twenty pound note of Lord Grosvenor for the expence of her lying-in, and taking care of the child, if it would have borne it; but there is not a tittle of evidence to support a most incredible story, introduced by most incredible witnesses. The next witness is Mrs. How, who is called to shew a different fact, who is one of the dirtiest of all the women coming from about Long Acre: this woman, whose evidence is given very loosely too, was introduced, as she says, to see Lord Grosvenor once or twice; upon these occasions she saw a person, as she says, and prostituted herself to a person that called himself Lord Grosvenor; and she met in a place in some court about Long Acre at one Mrs. Leslie. If that evidence is to be admitted to blast a man's character, what man is there in this town whose character is not in danger, if it was at the mercy of such witnesses as Mrs. Beau Germain and Mrs. How, who are brought in to prove their having prostituted, or pretended to have prostituted themselves to the plaintiff? There is none of us all, not even the gravest character; there is not a learned bishop upon the bench, but may have his character blasted by the same kind of testimony, if it obtains any degree of credit. Who can enquire into the various labyrinths of abandoned profligates, from whence they have produced them, and the means by which they have been traced and brought here? Gentlemen, it is of all sorts the worst, where the proof is of the most suspicious kind of testimony, which no plaintiff is prepared for, no person can meet such a stab in the dark, by the evidence of such witnesses as these. Where is Mrs. Leslie? the evidence, so unfortunate and wretched, does not pretend to give you any account how she knew it to be Lord Grosvenor particularly: Mrs. Leslie might have been called here to have told you, (who is supposed to have introduced him) that she knew Lord Grosvenor, and that Lord Grosvenor was introduced to that woman. They then produced and called Mrs. Waten, and Mrs. Tremilly to support this cause. The first witness, even by her own confession, is a common prostitute, keeps a house where Tremilly lodges; but from the story they both tell, there is nothing improper in their part neither. This woman writes a begging letter; he finds her to be an object of charity; he finds there a Miss Gunning, who likewise thinks herself an object of distress; he has no improper connexions with them, but Lord Grosvenor's charity extends itself in a little charity; and from these two witnesses, particularly the last, in her broken English said, nothing past but honesty between Lord Grosvenor and any person in that house, and as an application for charity, the address was made to him: that is the application of that evidence laid before you, and the addition to this very bad and improper evidence introduced in this improper and cruel manner. Then they have had the affectation to read over those infamous names, the most infamous in town, as if you would not take notice of the farce that is played of calling of witnesses by name, because they are in the attorney's Brief.

This

This is a defence which necessarily supposes you will find a verdict against him, and it only goes to the poor shift of mitigating damages; and wherever the application goes to the plaintiff, it is only endeavours to used to blast the character of the plaintiff; to extenuate the guilt of one person, by imputing guilt to another: that is the sole purpose of this defence, which, I am persuaded, you as gentlemen, who have the common feelings of humanity, for this aggravated injury done to him, for this fresh insult, to depreciate him in the minds of the jury, and to take away the honour of his family, will treat with indignation, and the rank of indignation it deserves. It is impossible to extend the resentment of a jury to a stronger point than to consider such evidence to blast his character so introduced, and so feebly supported by such detectable witnesses.

Gentlemen, I will trouble you with but few words upon the nature of the cause, as the defendant's council give up the cause. It is impossible for my learned friend, with the ingenuity he possesses, though no man can argue with more dexterity than he does, by disjoining of circumstances, to make you think there is a defect in the proof; he cannot think you will imagine it from the probability of its having passed, and the utmost impossibility of not believing that every thing had passed between Lady Grosvenor and the noble defendant to complete Lord Grosvenor's dishonour. I will not go over the whole of the evidence, but my learned friend was so prudent as to say, I had rather spoke under my instructions than exceeded them. The first meetings, he says, import little, and the previous meetings must import little, because the seduction of Lady Grosvenor was his sole motive. It was necessary to shew the constant attendance of the noble defendant, and that they had opportunities, and took opportunities, as the different circumstances presented favourable opportunities to them; for that purpose I shall shew, that in different public places the Duke and Lady Grosvenor appeared together, not supposing any thing decisively criminal could have passed in public. For that reason we went on to another degree; he saw her in private meetings in Kensington gardens; he says no criminal intercourse could happen there, as it was not proved they were together, but only pursuing the same road. I am willing to say so; every opportunity could not have been favourable to all his wishes; some might have been taken where the persons of some witnesses might restrain what others might not restrain. He says she was very innocently going to the Duke's house, for Lady Grosvenor always went there with the Countess Donhoff; I can't say her presence gives sanction to all parties where she goes: I don't know for certain, nor to the contrary; she was with her upon some occasions; but my learned friend mistakes, when he says the meetings there were by chance, for you will recollect, Gentlemen, that upon all these occasions their going in at the back door of his gardens, the Lady went in at the gates of St. James's palace, where her sister lodged, and the coach then remaining, and the servants were discharged for two hours, at that season of the year, April or May, about nine o'clock; and the Duke of Cumberland is at his garden door always at these occasions, and the ladies walk in, sending away the coach, that coming back again about eleven; then they go back again the same way they came, by the Duke's garden-gates, through the Park, and the palace, and meeting the coach at the gates of the palace upon these occasions plainly proves it could not be an accidental meeting. The Duke always meets them in the Park, and desires them to walk in, and yet my learned friend says there is no harm. Gentlemen, you must plainly see it was concerted; and if the Countess was with her, it is not impossible that she might not be so totally inseparable from her upon these occasions, but he in his own house might find an opportunity of speaking to my Lady Grosvenor, without even the restraint the Countess's presence might impose.

Mr. Dunning does justice to the cause; he cannot go against his own reason, and he admits it as a breach of decorum in the parties. Who are the parties that have thus broke through it? A young man of his Royal Highness's age, and a young married woman of Lady Grosvenor's age. Mr. Dunning is forced to admit the letters prove, and all the circumstances prove they both had an unbounded passion for each other. The Duke had owned it, and in one of his letters you find the Lady had owned it, that she had a passion for him. They met alone, not by chance. It is impossible to suppose Lady Grosvenor went to the Countess of Donhoff's, intimate as she was, while she was out of town, without her knowledge. She came there in her own coach, upon a pretext that very easily imposed upon her own servants. The Duke came in a chair, it is true, but the curtains were drawn; they came there between seven and eight, and staid till about eleven; so nothing could have possibly happened, because when the good woman who attended in the house brought the candles, and came

into the room, and the door was not lock'd, but she came in by opening the door herself. Now the witness told you in her prudence, which was very commendable, she never went in without knocking at the door, and then she introduced the candles; she went to place them upon the table near the couch, where they were sitting, when the Duke bid her put them upon the other table, which, it seems, was at the further end of the room. It is said by Mr. Dunning, That her lying-in so little a time after, might prevent her having improper connexions with him. You may easily conceive, my Lady Grosvenor entertaining equal passions for him as he for her, whether the parties were to be restrained by a circumstance so immaterial as that is; if she had been delivered some few days, less danger might have been supposed; but for that reason, there is no reason to suppose, that in these meetings, censurable as Mr. Dunning says they are for a violation of decency, they should not have gone to the full extent to which they have gone. Then concerning the letters; here are two people infatuated with a violent passion for each other, and he writes, and she receives letters which were very unfit for any married woman to receive: but Mr. Dunning says, they don't imply, however, any thing which had passed between them necessary to support this action. I should have been much at a loss to conceive that any letter, that could have been wrote from any gentleman to a gentlewoman, could contain any kind of expression, that could have a direct proof of what is necessary to support this action. It is the common language of the world. Don't the letters import, in the strongest manner, that nothing was wanting between them to the full gratification of every wish they could have indulged together? Mr. Dunning supposes a married woman may be generous enough to own her passion to an unmarried man, and no advantage taken of it; his reason for that supposition is singular, because a married woman may without blame own her passion for an unmarried man, and yet may have a lawful object, and no mischief happen from him. I believe there are no instances, where a woman makes a confession of her passion to an unmarried man, but that criminality which is improper becomes their object; for that moment she becomes no longer in a situation for honour to guard her, she becomes in the power of the man for whom she has made such a liberal confession. Suppose that the Duke at first had no view of dishonour, and his intentions were pure, yet it was impossible but you must suppose from the whole of these letters, and her concurrence, it infers every thing had passed between them that was possible to have passed, necessary to support this action. Gentlemen, Mr. Dunning concludes from the expressions in the Duke's letters, because they are so extremely ardent, so very passionate, that it is the language of a person whose passions were not gratified, rather than of a person whose passions had been already gratified. He argues so, and appeals to his own conviction about it. I apprehend neither my learned friend nor I, at the cool period we are arrived, could judge so of a young man of twenty-five, and a young woman of twenty-two. I should judge young men of the Duke's time of life, and young women of Lady Grosvenor's, even after they had the gratification all their wishes could desire, they would still continue to express themselves with the same ardency; and the expressions shewed there was no reserve in the Duke's letter, and not much reserve in her in receiving such letters, containing the most passionate expressions she could receive from a lover, to whom nothing was denied. Gentlemen, the journey to Cheshire was supposed to be indiscreet, was really idle, but nothing could have passed upon that journey that was criminal. Mr. Giddings, whom we have been obliged to call as a witness, and though we don't think he deserves equal credit in all he says, yet Mr. Giddings, no doubt, is an unexceptionable witness, and the best; but, however, he has endeavoured to cover it, and urged the apology at the same time he stated the fact, and therefore does not deserve credit in all points; but undoubtedly Mr. Giddings could not be ignorant Lady Grosvenor was upon the road, from the time he set out from Towcester; the witness had told him, who told his Royal Highness at supper, and Giddings was then with him; Giddings then heard Lady Grosvenor was in the house; she went stage by stage as they went; they followed her, and he could not have the least doubt of knowing the Lady was the object for whom the Duke went that road. Gentlemen, in the next place concerning the rooms; the doors were always chalked: Mr. Giddings has told you he thought it right to chalk the door of the rooms; he thought it unnecessary at Chester; but if I mistake not, the Duke himself chalked some door.

*Court.* Giddings said the Duke did it himself, or he did it in the Duke's presence.

*Mr. Wedderburn.* I recollect now it was sometimes the Duke; but it was either the Duke in his presence, or he himself did it; that was not like combing of his hair, or bringing up the water to wash him, or doing those common things no servant neglects;

but a precaution used upon that occasion, which had a particular meaning, and a caution Mr. Giddings does not take upon him to swear was observed at Chester. It is manifest he knew pointedly and regularly every night where Lady Grosvenor was to be, though they never set out together; and it is impossible it could not be learnt, or come to the knowledge of the Duke, without her knowledge; for his servants and her servants had no communication together in the course of a week. The Duke lays at an inn always upon the road, and Lady Grosvenor was there likewise at the same inns; he always laid in a chalked room, and she always took care to lay near the chalked room; which is decisive to that point, and decisive that they did meet. The objection to their having been together at Whitechurch, is that the maid might have improved from it since; but she took less notice of it at the time that is accounted for by the evidence she gave, that there was a person lying in the house which was disordered in his understanding, and upon the first noise, she wanted to know what it was; she then recollected it was the fool's room; she thought the fool would do her some harm, and then she lockt the door; she paid but little attention to the circumstance, though it was strong enough to dwell in her mind, and to be refreshed in her mind, from the disorder in which she found the bed the next day; that only applies from passing over the circumstance the next day. What was it the woman heard? they both heard it; but being told the other woman was to say the same thing with what the witness said, we sent her back, not to give you a repetition of it. At that house the Lady chose a bed-chamber contiguous to that where the Duke lay, and not contiguous to that where her servants lay. It would have been singular if she had affectedly chosen another room, not the best, and a damp room, at any other time, when she would not have chosen any body should lay in it, not her own servants. Can you suppose that persons, who carry any degree of prudence about them, would have chosen so dangerous a place, when they had had a caution of that particular room, but this room was chosen by the Lady as it was contiguous to the chalked room. The witness hears the door of the Duke's room open; hears the rustling of cloaths between that door and the door of the Lady's room. What does the maid describe the bed to be the next morning? Mr. Dunning says a chamber-maid at an inn should not think it an uncommon sight to see a bed in which two people had lain. She says this bed was in a situation she never saw a bed before: therefore, says he, it is an imagination of the maid's, and she has multiplied it to herself; the situation is accounted for, and the singularity of it. The maid found a great many pins in the bed clothes, and proves the Lady was not undrest, and what had past had not been in the naked bed, but upon the bed; and there is no doubt that the bed would not have the appearance of two people lying in it. The maid's evidence is strong and pointed, when you come to consider the particular nature of her evidence, which proves that some person had gone drest, rustling in the passage; that that door did open and shut again. Need I ask the question, that it could not be any more than the unfortunate Lady? I think the pins being found in the bed the next day, and her being disorderly, will prove it very clear. You find he pursued stage for stage with Lady Grosvenor; the rooms were contiguous; both their passions were equal, strong for one another; and though direct proof of it was not given by the letters, nor at the meetings before they came to Whitechurch, yet the judgement necessarily formed upon that, is, that it was impossible but some one of the opportunities must have been taken by the parties; all were nocturnal; all in bed-chambers, and remote from witnesses. They were near Lord Grosvenor's house in Cheshire; I don't desire you to believe any indecency to have passed in the fields, nor in Mr. Giddings's presence; I don't desire you to believe neither, that Mr. Giddings was always so near; I think you can't. That circumstance in his testimony is extraordinary, for the Duke's taking these double journies; he does entertain noble sentiments upon other occasions, and that he should have done it with no other person but Lady Grosvenor, and to choose to have a witness, such as Mr. Giddings in company, to see all things that should occur between him and Lady Grosvenor, is very extraordinary; but I am sure there are no persons in their rank would ever choose to admit a third person so near. Then the scene at St. Albans is supposed to be innocent, for the purpose of this action, not innocent in itself, not innocent that a gentleman should be in a lady's bed-chamber at an undue hour; but for the purpose of this action it is innocent, because it was impossible for that to have passed, which should have been proved to pass then. Mr. Stephens is surprized to find when he carries his negus, that the Lady is gone to bed so soon; he went to the nursery, she was gone; he is pretty positive as to the door being locked; the chamber-maid proved the key was on the inside; and Mr. Stephens, you find, was prepared by boring two holes in the door. What is to

be done then? the next thing is to make the house quiet; he goes to the servants, and orders them to go to bed immediately, and not to disturb the Lady or children in the nursery; they all obeyed his orders and went to bed; some time after Mr. Stephens waits; he then goes to the door. You will observe nine of the witnesses tell you when the Duke came to Lady Grosvenor's room; the Duke must have been some time in the room; Stephens listens at the door; he hears two people in conversation; he goes then to his brother; a considerable interval therefore passes before his return with his brother; then he carries his brother up stairs into the room, where he was to lay; then a long conversation passed between him and his brother; then Stephens is confirmed in his idea; then after a great deal of pause and doubt, fearing lest they should do a rash act, they came down again; the servants had notice, and then they broke open the door; that scene past as the witnesses have given you an account of; the post-chaise, you find, was ordered for the Duke at two o'clock in the morning, which was very remarkable. Was there not time for conversation to have passed, from the time of Stephens's first coming to the door, and then going to fetch his brother, and then consulting? Was there not a possibility during all that time, for the dishonour of the husband being completed? Time is left sufficient for all the gratification of their wishes as they could desire. And though Mr. Dunning says there is no experience that shews much conversation passes upon that subject, yet all experience, I believe, will shew there must be some conversation pass in the interval of an hour and an half. Gentlemen, Mr. Dunning observes that nothing could have passed, because Giddings observed from the window of the Duke's bed-chamber Stephens boring the holes in the door of Lady Grosvenor's bed-chamber, and he apprized the Duke of that circumstance, which conveyed to Giddings's idea they were watched, which he communicated to his Royal Highness. In that case, I do in my conscience suppose Mr. Giddings might have come to the knowledge of that circumstance, that the door was bored, by other means than by seeing Mr. Stephens doing it. Giddings told me upon his own evidence, he had made a progress in all the houses he was in before; and at St. Albans, to be sure, he must meet with that circumstance of the holes in the door, and of the dress Stephens was in that night. I will put it upon a fair balance, whether Giddings's story be false or true. If false, then the Duke unapprized, rash, and precipitated, went into the Lady's bed-chamber without any ground of suspicion that he would be watched: but if true, the evidence is stronger than if no such circumstance had ever occurred. What is so strong a proof of it as this? If watched, it was dangerous for him to go in; he should have avoided it undoubtedly, as it would naturally be the effect of discovery. If Giddings had made the discovery, his Royal Highness would have watched for a safer opportunity. But, says Mr. Dunning, the Duke's passions were the passions of a young man, rash and inconsiderate; he had come there to see her, and he would see her, even at the risque of that being known: then if his passions were so unrestrained, that he would risque all to see Lady Grosvenor, do you think it would make him stop short, when he had risked all for the possession of her, and it would not have carried him on to the gratification of their utmost wishes? Thus far Mr. Giddings's evidence is for the interest of the cause, if all is considered. I will take his evidence as true, and upon that circumstance I will build a confirmation of the inference; for how was it possible for any man to go away from the object he had run all that hazard to obtain? If they knew there was a possibility of being watched, yet they risked being locked up together in her bed-chamber at an undue hour of the night. They risked a detection, and do you think they would not risque the whole for the gratification of their wishes? It is to be believed, because he did that which a cautious man would not have done. Permit me to say, it is not in human nature for him to run all that risque, and not to go farther; and that young men, or young princes, have not passions different from other people. Can you believe that young people of these warm passions would stop short of their object upon a consideration of prudence; when it had been ineffectual in preventing the danger of being interrupted and discovered? Mr. Dunning says that it might be all innocent; permit me to say that innocent liberty, which a man according to that argument might take with a married woman, is the liberty of having consulted assignations, with her feigning them under borrowed names; and going to meet her at the house of a person gone out of town, continuing with her four hours together, and he may take the liberty of writing to her in warm terms; she might take the liberty of telling him her passions, and as Mr. Dunning says, he might take the liberty of sitting with her upon a couch, and he may take the liberty of kissing her ten thousand times upon that couch, and nothing pass between them; nay, he may then, according to his argument, take the liberty of being upon the bed with her, and all the pins



there, and yet nothing happen. He may take the liberty of sitting upon the bed at St. Albans within the curtains, for the consideration of that liberty, and then stop short just at that precise point; to be sure, granting this much we will grant him no more. I don't see why stop short, why not go into a naked bed together? you might have supposed upon a series of this argument it was cold, the fire went out, and it was warmer to be in blankets than cloaths, and they went to bed in order to converse more easily, and yet all perfectly innocent; and you cannot suppose a guilt of which you have not seen a direct proof. If any one ever heard a trial of this kind, I don't believe that one instance has occurred, where the direct proof has by the indiscretion of the parties been capable of being given in evidence. Their being upon the bed within the curtains, their being at the Countess Donhoff's, and all their repeated opportunities, and being at the Duke's house, and all their private meetings, in the present case amounts to that violent presumption which my learned friend allows is equal to all that testimony can amount to. Consider the letters by themselves, the journey to Cheshire by itself, the journey to St. Albans. I forgot Mrs. Langford and her maid, they are anxious for the honour of her house, they come up and give an account of the impression of a person sitting upon the bed. I am sure with regard to the two Stephens's, you observe the degree of caution with which they gave their evidence, and the unwillingness they had to state any thing unless with the most scrupulous exactness in every circumstance. The elder Stephens said, Mrs. Langford did not chuse to see it with the same eyes he did. Stephens did at that time argue against her, and still she said it did not appear as he said it did appear; but four witnesses described the situation different from what she said. The maid admits the account was read over to her, and upon that account it was expressly stated, and her name was put to it, which is not ill written; the expression that the bed was shoved up into heaps, that is a chambermaid's expression; I defy the gentlemen that took it down to have coined it, it is a word peculiar to herself; she says the bed was very much tumbled and disordered, and looked as if it had been lain on; that is her account. However she may have been brought up in conjunction with her mistress, or partially since, I don't know, but you will judge of that; the other parts of the evidence have furnished me with ample matter for that. The first account she has given is a fair account, made upon the spot when the observation was recent; no reasons could have induced her then to have given a different account; it is far from being a contradiction of evidence. My learned friend observes, if the circumstance had been true with regard to the Duke's being seen buttoning his waistcoat, and the Lady's neck bare, the two Stephens's would have given an account of it. Though the two Stephens's did not see it, the two footmen did. Stephens says, he ran to the other room to Lady Grosvenor, who fell, and as the Duke was going away they did not observe the dress being loose. The first Stephens's description was, that Lady Grosvenor was running towards the next room, and by the situation in which she stood with respect to both doors, it occurs, that the witnesses might see her naked breast, because as she was going into the next room, she turned herself and looked back; but with regard to his Royal Highness buttoning his waistcoat, and the Lady's dress being so unbuttoned that her neck and breast were naked, it is sufficiently proved by the two footmen. Then you are desired to lay aside the meetings, they prove nothing; to lay aside the letters, they prove little; to lay aside the journey to Cheshire and to St. Albans, the whole proves little; and the common argument of *Juncta Juvant* will not apply in this case; in some cases it will apply with irresistible force. It is evident she had affected no reserve in her inclinations to him; it is admitted she was a passionate lover, wanted nothing but the gratifications of her wishes but one opportunity, and if but one opportunity had happened, and an imperfect account of that opportunity had happened, you might have supposed for once an alarm might prevent it, an accident might happen to prevent a second opportunity; but if opportunities are multiplied, and they are all that are wanted for the proof of the crime, here it proves to you in fair reasoning, the impossibility that so many opportunities could have happened, and the gratification of a criminal passion have been prevented, and that that passion should never have been gratified in those opportunities that were unfortunately given to the parties; this is the same course of reason a man pursues in every period of life. If probable circumstances make a solid ground, two increases and three increases, and a multiplication of that is admitted to be the strongest species of evidence; circumstances united speak for themselves, and form a body of testimony which no human villainy is capable of inventing. You have here in this cause the strongest circumstances

that can be given in evidence, if this is insufficient, the seeing the parties in the naked bed, and nothing less than the naked bed, and seeing that which ought not to be seen, can be sufficient proof of the dishonour of a husband, and a violation of the rights of marriage. Gentlemen, the consequence of such a verdict is fixing the impunity, and for future observation it is only the common precaution of locking a door, to commit all that their extravagant passions may dictate; and unless the parties were mad enough, which is beyond the conception of human folly, to go to a place where there were witnesses, this action is supposed to have no ground of proof. I am sure you will be extremely cautious how you lay down such a rule as that; the manners of the time require a different rule, to prevent a further progress of licentiousness. It is said the circumstances, as well as the rank of the defendant, and conduct of the plaintiff, are all to be taken into consideration; I don't dispute the proposition. If I talk of the rank of the defendant, I don't exclude the idea of his circumstances: if the plaintiff, though he is a peer of the realm, is to be considered as any other subject, what is done to the character of the plaintiff? he has been injured by his Royal Highness in the tenderest point, and now injured in his character by a proof attempted, and by a command given to state to you what is not proved by the evidence, but attempted to be proved by the lowest class of persons in this town, and a list of names called which never appeared, to possess you with ideas: thus you find his character attacked, but not impeached; and therefore he is entitled to a higher reparation upon that account, for the aggravation of the injury done him by the noble person, who stands in the rank of defendant upon this record. As to the rank of the defendant it approaches near to the throne, being the highest person short of royalty in this kingdom. I wonder to hear any thing said of the circumstances of his Royal Highness; need I state, will it be expected I should call evidence to prove the circumstances of the Duke of Cumberland? will it be expected that I should prove, that no damages can operate sufficiently against his Royal Highness, though the damages are given by the jury with the applause of the judges? But suppose those damages are not more than the provision of the Duke of Cumberland can be supposed to pay, and not retrench from the ordinary expences of his table. But it is said, juries are not to consider no cause of damages as a piece of punishment; the single point is, what the plaintiff ought to receive, and not what the defendant ought to pay. I have misunderstood the direction of the court in all causes, if it is not what the defendant ought to pay, nor what the plaintiff ought to receive. If it had been a man of a moderate condition in life, the same class of people with you and me, gentlemen, are we to be told it is not to be judged from the magnified situation of the defendant? but if this man receives two, and the other three, or four thousand pounds, he is well paid. Is that to be the argument that is to pass with you? I never heard that the jury in Ireland were blamed for finding a verdict upon the dictates of their own mind. I never heard that the jury was censured by the court, or the verdict thought disagreeable, or attempted to be set aside, upon a similar cause before Chief Justice Holt. Gentlemen, you are the sole judges, and it rests with you to judge how much is due for the violation of those rights, for which the public rights are injured as well as the party; and let me be permitted to state to you, that instances are not so uncommon, where the rights of the public as well as individuals are concerned, according to the nature of the injury, as to affect the public. It is not long ago that damages were given for a violation of an injury which affected the public as well as individuals, I mean the case of the journeymen-printers; a fine of two or three thousand pounds was given; in other cases much larger damages. In these cases, the principles upon which it was supported were, that the jury was the only judges how much ought to be the price of an Englishman's liberty; and I do contend, you are the only judges how much is the price of a nobleman's honour, and how much the price, situated so high as his Royal Highness is, he ought to pay for the violation of that sacred right, in which the public honour is so immediately interested: you cannot consider this as a private affair, in which he might say, I have injured your family, dishonoured your wife, I am a prince of the blood, I have affluence, here take the money. Is that to be the principle to be looked to, by those who are better instructed to determine a cause? Gentlemen, I have no doubt upon these facts which are proved, and adding the circumstances of this fresh attack upon the character of a man so injured, that you will find a verdict for the plaintiff, and I have no doubt that the damages will be such as will mark this cause as a signal cause, and a salutary example to the public.

## LORD MANSFIELD.

Gentlemen of the jury, this action is brought by the plaintiff against the defendant, for what is called criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife. Now to entitle the plaintiff to recover damages in such an action, there must be evidence, to the satisfaction of the jury, of the precise act of criminal conversation; the declaration must necessarily lay that he carnally knew her, and there must in all such cases be that evidence which satisfies the jury of a precise act: no indecencies, no familiarities, no conjectures or probabilities, is sufficient to make out the ground of such an action. But there is no precise species of evidence that is defined, what shall or not be sufficient, but it must depend upon all the proofs of the cause applied to specific facts, In most of these actions that have been tried, and in my experience a great number indeed, they generally have been able to prove what is almost equal to the very act, or to catching them in the act. I will state to you such facts to which evidence has been given; a great many arguments and inferences have been made use of in supporting the cause: I will state those particularly that require your attention. The first, in order of time stated in evidence, is what passed at the Countess Donhoff's: the next in point of time is what is contended to have passed at Whitchurch: the third in point of time and the most pointed, is what is contended to have passed upon the twenty-first of December, in their return to St. Albans. Now these are specific acts, which are laid before you as acts of criminal conversation; that is of the act itself being done; and a great deal of evidence has been given in order to corroborate the inferences drawn from them: it is given by the evidence in a confused manner, and therefore is not necessary for me to state them regularly; in regard to the facts, there is very little contradiction of the evidence; what passed at the Countess Donhoff's goes to shew an acquaintance, a familiarity, and a strong intimacy; as for instance, the footman that proves in 1768, he saw Lady Harrington and Lady Grosvenor go into Carlisle house not on a public night; that he saw another person and the defendant come out; that is evidence of an acquaintance, which don't in itself go a great deal further. Another evidence about the same year of acquaintance, is a footman keeping a box at the playhouse, and the Duke came into that box, and told the footman he need not take care of it any longer, for he would take care of it for Lady Grosvenor; the servant then quitted the box. Another piece of evidence that don't go a great deal further is, upon her going to Kensington-gardens, the witness saw the defendant pursue the same road, but there is no witness that saw them walk there together; the same witness saw her go to Kensington-gardens, saw the defendant pursuing the same road, at the same time her sister a maid of honour was with her. There is another piece of evidence previous to that, stronger than those I have yet mentioned, that is, her going to St. James's, sending her coach away for two hours, and walking into the park with the Countess of Donhoff, meeting the defendant, and at his request going into his garden by the garden-door; one of the witnesses saw them there going into the Duke's house; this happened once or twice. This is the general evidence, introductory to the evidence of the particular facts which I first stated to you: then as to this particular fact, it is proved by Elizabeth Sutton, that Lady Grosvenor visited the Countess Donhoff; that she went out of town, and she visited her both before and after she went out of town; at last she went out of town and did not come back for five weeks; during the time the Countess was out of town, Lady Grosvenor went to the Countess's about seven o'clock in the evening; she came and asked for her; Mrs. Sutton was left in care of the house, and her husband and family were there; she told Lady Grosvenor her Lady was not at home; Lady Grosvenor said, she certainly would be at home that evening; she went in, and went up stairs; the witness says, this was about seven o'clock at night, and that she asked for her brother, or whether he had been there; she don't know which was the expression; then she said her brother would come; she went up into the drawing room, and about half an hour after, a Gentleman came in a chair, which was shut up close; that when he was brought into the hall, he burst out of the chair and went up stairs; the witnesses say, he had on a blue great coat; that he went up stairs into the room where Lady Grosvenor was; she took up candles when it was a proper time, and when she went in Lady Grosvenor was sitting at top and he was at the bottom of the couch; there was a table near them, and when the witness was going to place the candles there, he bid her place them upon the other table, which she did. She says she herself was brought to bed in the next month,

and she observed that Lady Grosvenor was with child, and it came out afterwards that she was delivered on the seventh of June; she says she heard them conversing about the probability of the Countess's coming back; the witness describes his person, but that is totally immaterial, as that comes afterwards to be fixed by her husband; they went away about eleven o'clock. The next night she likewise came about the same time, publickly as before, in her own equipage; the Gentleman came in a chair, and went away on foot, and she says, till her husband told her the contrary, she took him for Lady Grosvenor's brother. The husband is called, he fixes it by seeing him come out the second night, that the person who came out was the defendant. The next witness is John Bourne, who speaks to a fact I have not stated at large yet; that is a servant of the Countess Donhoff's; he says, he has seen the defendant twice there, the defendant asked him when Lady Grosvenor was lying-in to carry a letter to her, and not to tell the Countess of it, and that the answer would be directed to the Countess, but that he must bring it to him the defendant. He says he carried the letter which was directed for Lady Grosvenor, and brought another letter back directed for the Countess, for which he gave him half-a-guinea. The letters if you desire them you may take out with you, I will in general tell you their substance, they are full of extravagant passions as can be expressed; by part of the letter you may observe this specific fact, that part in which he speaks of the couch; then the circumstances of their being in that manner there, and this letter connected with it speaking of the couch, that they leave as evidence for you to infer that the very act did pass upon that couch; and to this the only observation that is made by way of answer is this, all this passed at the Countess of Donhoff's within about eight, nine or ten days before she was brought to bed, which was about the seventh of June; this must be about the latter end of May, by the narration the woman gives of her not coming into the service till then; that is the single observation upon this part of the cause. The next fact I will state to you, though it is the last in point of time, is that upon the twenty-first of December at St. Albans; now with regard to this, there is a great deal of collateral evidence, and it is not necessary, I think, to go through this at all. When Lady Grosvenor set out for Cheshire, which was about the latter end of October last, that the defendant was at the same inn, where she staid every night, till they came to that place, that is the last stage, I think it is Chester; that he was there every night; that he did not come publicly and in his own character, but with a disguise less or more, and passed sometimes for a farmer, sometimes for a squire; then on a sudden they went to London, and this with so much assiduity and dispatch, that from Towcester he went to London, setting out in the middle of the night, and getting to town in the morning early: he let his horses go on towards Cheshire, while he went to London, and he came back again from London with such dispatch, so as to be the next night where they were. Except the fact at Whitchurch, which is made a special charge by itself, there is no precise evidence of any thing passing at any of the inns upon the road, nor of their meeting together; there is no evidence of that but conjecture; there is other evidence which they compare with it, and the arguments upon that is, after so much pains and trouble it would be extraordinary for the last thing not to follow. After he comes to Chester he goes the next morning to Eaton, then he goes to a place in Flintshire, Marford-hill I think; it was upon the second of November he came there, then he goes and makes a visit, and upon the third of November he goes to London, comes back again the second of December, and all these times he makes a visit at Eaton to Lady Grosvenor; he meets her in the fields, but is never seen in the house. Now all this evidence for the plaintiff is confirmed by one of the witnesses, which is truly said cannot admit of a doubt where he speaks against himself, which is Giddings; he speaks to all these meetings; he says he never was within the garden but once; the visits were said to be within the garden, or the fields, but he was never there but once or twice; sometimes he staid two minutes, sometimes not two minutes; there is no evidence in that which proves the facts necessary to support this charge. The witness carrying a message to her, said there was such a person as he took to be the defendant with her, and they were either sitting or lying down together, he cannot say which; when he went up towards her, she got up and ran to him, and took his message. Now there are a great many visits and circumstances exposing the Lady and him to great danger, and great discovery, while she was at Eaton at my Lord Grosvenor's: but they come at last to St. Albans, upon the 21st of December, and as that being a material fact in the cause, I will state the evidence as precise as I can. The first witness, tho' not the most material, is Thomas Dennison; he says, upon the 21st of December, at

St. Albans, Mr. Stephens called him up; he himself did not hearken at the door; he says after Mr. Stephens called him up, the door was burst open, and the first thing he saw, when the door was burst open, which was burst from the hinges, not the lock, was the defendant standing in the middle of the room drest; it was about ten o'clock he thinks; and as Lady Grosvenor was going to the opposite door, which led into another room, she fell down; the defendant, he says, was buttoning his waistcoat, and soon after he observed that Lady Grosvenor's neck was naked; her dress was a close dress, which buttoned up to her neck; he says the defendant at first seemed very much confounded, and said, I hope you will do me no harm; he was going out of the door, and Stephens said, Stop the gentleman, that we may see who he is; when he got into another room, he said, You see I am not in the Lady's room, and said he would take his oath of it; Stephens said, you have been in it. He took particular notice of the bed, and observed it was much tumbled; the defendant had on a black or dark wig, and a silk handkerchief about his neck. Upon the journey, the family that travelled was Lady Grosvenor herself, and two of her children, and the servants; in his cross examination he said about Kensington gardens, what I have stated already, and therefore I need not repeat it. The next witness speaking to this is Edward Bennett; he says supper was in about eight o'clock at night; when he had been in bed about half an hour, he was called up again, which was about half an hour after ten; Mr. Stephens went down with a dark lanthorn in his hand, and put his ear to the door, and heard sounds like two voices in the room; and when Stephens burst open the door, he saw the defendant standing in the middle of the room; the door was burst open by three pushes; they might be between one and two minutes about it; he says when they came in, the defendant was buttoning his waistcoat; he says, Lady Grosvenor went to the opposite door; her breast was bare; she fell in going into the other room, and Stephens went to her assistance; he looked at the bed, which was tumbled upon the outside. The next witness with regard to this part of the cause, is Matthew Stephens; he says, upon the 21st of December, at St. Albans, he was employed by Lord Grosvenor to detect them; having information that all was not right, he attended Lady Grosvenor from Cheshire; while she was at supper, he bored two holes in the door of the room, where she was to lay; he went up from the parlour about half after eight or nine o'clock; he carried a negus to her bed-chamber, and she took the negus and turned the lock; afterwards he looked through the holes he had bored, and he saw a part of the room, and a part of the bed, but could see no body; but he distinguished two voices, one was Lady Grosvenor's; and then a second time he listened, and heard both voices, the defendant's voice being louder than before; then he says he consulted with his brother, and his brother said, If he burst open the door and nothing was discovered, it would do mischief; they were deliberating about it some time, and they went again the third time; then after listening and hearing the voices as before, they broke open the door at the hinges; he was the first that went in; Lady Grosvenor was endeavouring to escape, and she fell down in going into the next room, but by what accident does not seem to be particularly explained; the defendant passed by him, and went into the other room, and said, I was not in the bed-chamber; he said, You was; then he said he would take his Bible oath of it; the witness's brother, and the other servants said, they knew him to be his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland; he says the bed was much tumbled, and the sheet was rumpled; he said the woman of the house came up, and said no impression appeared upon the bed but of a person sitting down; he says he was the person that first went in, and upon a question you suggested, he says, he did not see any thing particular about Lady Grosvenor's dress, or the defendant's buttoning his waistcoat, or any thing of that sort. The next witness is his brother, John Stephens; he saw the door broke open, was with them, and saw the defendant in the room standing, and he saw Lady Grosvenor going into another room; he saw the bed was rolled flat, but not the bolster; says he saw nothing particular as to the dress of the defendant, or Lady Grosvenor. As to this part of the cause, some witnesses have been called by the defendant. The first is Mary Langford; she was there while the servants were there; she looked at the bed before she left the room; she says the side of the bed next the fire was as if it had been sat upon, and there was no appearance of its being laid on; she says Lady Grosvenor's dress was just the same as it was when she came into the house; her head-dress no ways disordered or dishevelled. The next is Sarah Gilby; she went into the room while the servants were there; she says she was in the same dress as when she came in, and her hair no ways dishevelled; the bed was flatted on the side next the fire, as if one or two had sat down upon it, but there was no appearance of laying on it. Upon her cross examination they asked her,

if she did not the next day give a different account, and sign the account so given; she says she was flurried when she gave that account; she believes it might be read to her, but denies now that she said there was an appearance as if two people had been laying there. The next witness to this is Thomas Robinson, the waiter; he says the bed was rumpled upon the side next the fire, as if one, or two, or somebody had sat upon it, but no mark in his judgement of any body laying upon it. It seems he was not examined the next day, and nothing taken down with regard to him. This is the material part with regard to what passed upon the 21st of December, except a circumstance Giddings swore, that he saw a man in blue; and Stephens says he was in blue, boring two holes, and he told the defendant of it, and observed to him that there was some scheme or mischief in it; he swears he saw a man boring of holes. It is ambiguous evidence. Mr. Wedderburn says, if a proper caution was given, it should have prevented the defendant from going into the room at all; if not given, the evidence falls to the ground. It is difficult for you to judge upon that. There is but one other fact which the reply has been rested upon, which it is said is absolute evidence of the fact having happened, but it is certainly much looser than any of the other two; that is, the evidence of Jane Richardson at Whitchurch; she says the defendant was there at the same time Lady Grosvenor was; that his door was chalked, and Lady Grosvenor chose the next room to it, which she said was a damp room; she told Lady Grosvenor the same, and that the windows were broken; it was over a gateway, and in a noisy situation; she says she heard a rustling of clothes in the passage; who was going along then that made that noise in the passage, or that Lady Grosvenor was the person that made that noise, she can't say, she says she only heard it; she says the next day the defendant's bed was tumbled or disordered in such a way, as she never saw a bed tumbled before, and that there was several pins in it. This is the evidence of it, and if it rests upon that as a fact, it is extremely loose. There is no evidence that she went into that room, it is a probable conjecture; that is no evidence to make the application upon the bed. Therefore it remains upon the two other specific facts, what happened at the Countess Donhoff's, and what happened upon the 21st of December at St. Albans; and there the evidence is vastly strengthened by all the collateral proof. If such a single thing happened once, and no other evidence, to be sure it is more equivocal than when supported with all the rest; you will therefore weigh the whole circumstances, as you must be satisfied in your mind of the criminal act having happened; and if you are not satisfied of the criminal act having happened, you must find a verdict for the defendant. The next thing, if you find a verdict for the plaintiff, is the consideration of damages; and upon that point I should not have said a word, if this cause had been conducted as most causes are; but the matter of damages has been so laboured in this cause, and so many rules laid down, which are contrary to every principle of law and justice in these cases, that I must set you right. They are rules subversive of every principle and idea of law and justice. In the first place, we are to know nothing of the persons of plaintiff or defendant; God forbid the administration of justice should depend upon circumstances relative to the persons of the plaintiff or defendant. There justice is set to be blind, and we are to try this cause, and as all others should be tried, the same as if it was between A. and B. the rank of the plaintiff in this cause makes no manner of difference, as to the injury or satisfaction he is entitled to; for an injury done to the bed of any commoner of England, is as much an injury to him, and to his domestic peace, as to a peer of the realm; the injury is as great to a man of low as high rank, and therefore the situation of the parties is not the measure by which damages are to be governed; but they are to be governed by the nature of the cause upon the evidence. Another rule has been laid down, which I take in every cause to be unjust, and contrary to law; that is, in civil actions, that juries are inflicting of fines, and not giving of damages; that is not the rule, for the damages must be apportioned to what the plaintiff ought to receive; it is not that the plaintiff is to receive money in the nature of a fine. If a fine, the laws of England would set it aside; for the laws provide that no excessive fine should be inflicted; wherever the passions of a jury have carried them to give excessive fines, they have done wrong, and what ought to be limited. If they are inflamed in public causes, they have measured wrong, for the damage should be according to the injury the plaintiff has received; that is the measure of damages. I will mention some circumstances which show the measure of damages the plaintiff ought to receive. A few years ago, an action was tried here for criminal conversation; the fact was plainly proved, but it came out in the evidence that the plaintiff knew of the trap laid for the man by his wife; he assisted in it, he encouraged his wife in doing it, with a view to catch him in it, and with a view to make

a pecuniary demand: in that cause, the jury did with my approbation and direction not find a verdict for the plaintiff, but for the defendant. I have consulted the judges upon that, and it has been approved in such case, if the plaintiff by such a trap draws a man in, though the crime before God is the same, he is not to recover damages: that did happen here, and a verdict perfectly agreeable to my sentiments was given. Another thing I will now take notice of, which is, what happened to day, regarding what the plaintiff ought to receive; they have this day, without objection because they could not object, let the defendant go into a recrimination, to shew that the plaintiff had been false to his matrimonial vow; as the damages are to arise from the transactions of the defendant, it is nothing what the plaintiff's behaviour is; if it was criminal, no behaviour of the plaintiff could go to excuse them, for what they have done criminal: but if the plaintiff is under the same circumstances of behaviour with his wife; if the fact is made out, you will consider what to give him for the injury which he complains to have sustained; and therefore I will take a circumstance which has always been gone into in the extenuation or aggravation, that is, the nature of the seduction. If the defendant making use of the friendship of the husband, under this friendship and his hospitality, as some cases have been, or where they have been living in the house, making use of that friendship and the opportunities of conversing with the wife, whom the husband leaves in charge of his house, and abuses that friendship, honour, and hospitality, or standing in any relationship to the plaintiff, the measure of damages would certainly increase. If a servant or a brother make use of the introduction that gives such opportunities, the law is very strict. I don't know of the case alluded to so late as Chief Justice Leigh. I know in Queen Ann, the case of Mr. Dormer, damages were given for a servant violating his master's bed, laying in the house; and therefore the use of damages being what the plaintiff ought to receive, and whether the defendant is rich or poor, it is the same thing as to the measure. If the defendant is poor, if he has incurred a just debt, he ought to pay and make satisfaction. If it is the case with a very poor person, he is liable to have his body taken in execution, it is no excuse for a poor man; but still it entitles the other to a justification; if it was not so, a poor man would have little risque, and the rich would be punished more severely. But whether the defendant is rich or poor, that is not to measure the damages; it is in case of a fine, but not in point of damages; that is to be measured upon all the circumstances of aggravation or extenuation, arising out of the cause; as to those circumstances, you are better and more proper judges than I am; therefore I shall say nothing, but leave them to your observation; but the rule is necessary to be explained. The defendant has gone into a ground, which I think goes into the measure of damages only; I don't recollect it happening in experience, but one has so many of those actions to try, that we can't remember them all particularly. I have turned it in my mind formerly, and I have talked with others upon it, when it first occurred to me, whether a doubt might not be made, if recrimination should be a bar to an action of this kind; recrimination, the ecclesiastical law makes a bar. There is no difference between adultery of the husband and wife in point of law, for women may have a divorce for adultery from a husband, in the ecclesiastical court, as well as the husband a divorce from the wife; but if one sues for a divorce, and the other recriminates, by the rule of the ecclesiastical law, no divorce can be given; they are both equally guilty, and the law does not interpose. I am of opinion against it; in this action it cannot be a bar, for though the plaintiff may have behaved in this manner, it is between him and the person whom he has had criminal conversation with, and it is not a bar to his recovering against the defendant. I still think that the husband drawing a man into doing the act, is in fact a bar; there I am clear: but in this cause, it is my opinion, it is no bar; therefore it goes to damages only. And as to damages, it depends upon the evidence of the fact; for if the fact is proved, that the husband has likewise taken the same liberty, to be sure it goes a great way with regard to the injury he complains of, losing the comfort and society of his wife. If the witnesses called to it do not prove it, there is an end of it.

To prove this, there were four witnesses called; the first is a mistress Beau Germain, she says she knows the plaintiff particularly well; she first knew him in the year 1768, by means of Mrs. Muilman in Crown Court, Westminster; she saw him first in Jermyn Street, at a stay-maker's, a lodging which the maid took for her, and in order to admit Lord Grosvenor with her: the next day after the lodging was taken, the plaintiff came, and she says nothing passed then; the day after she was not at home, but the day after he came again, and they acted as man and wife; and she says the same connexions were repeated between them several times; she says she went by the name of Sarah King; then she was three weeks at that lodging, but she did not write to him  
again

again for eight months; she saw him often at Miss Woodfall's, and the same thing happened there; she was brought to bed in 1769; she positively swears the plaintiff was the father of the child.

The next is Mary How; she says she knew the plaintiff in 1768; was introduced by one Mrs. Leslie; was at her house left alone; she lay with him; she saw him three days after at the same house; the same thing passed; she saw him after that and she spoke to him; he did not own her; she is asked how she came to know him; she says she is sure it was him, and she said it was my Lord Grosvenor.

The next witness is Mary Waten, who says nothing material; she knows the plaintiff; he has been at her house to see a woman who was her lodger, one Mrs. Tremilly; she is called, she says she knew the plaintiff; she lodged at Waten's; she said Waten had wrote to him for charity, and he said if she could get him a woman, he would relieve her; that is not said in her presence, and therefore not evidence. She says the plaintiff and one Gunning went into the parlour, and they were alone together; the second time she was with them in the parlour. Observations have been made with regard to the character of the persons. That comes out of their own mouth. Mrs. Beau Germain accuses herself of incontinence, which, to be sure, every woman must be guilty of who has a bastard child. She is introduced by Mrs. Muilman, the other is introduced by Mrs. Leslie; but the same objection lays to her. They have sworn it. Upon these observations you will weigh whether you believe they speak truth. It is material to the verdict in damages. If you think they are perjured, you will consider the whole. If you are satisfied the facts are clearly proved, you will find a verdict for the plaintiff, and give what damages you think he is entitled to under all the circumstances. If you are not satisfied of the proof of the facts, you will find a verdict for the defendant.

*The jury went from Westminster-Hall to Lord Mansfield, at his house in Bloomsbury Square, and gave in their verdict for the plaintiff, with ten thousand pound damages.*

**F I N I S.**



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